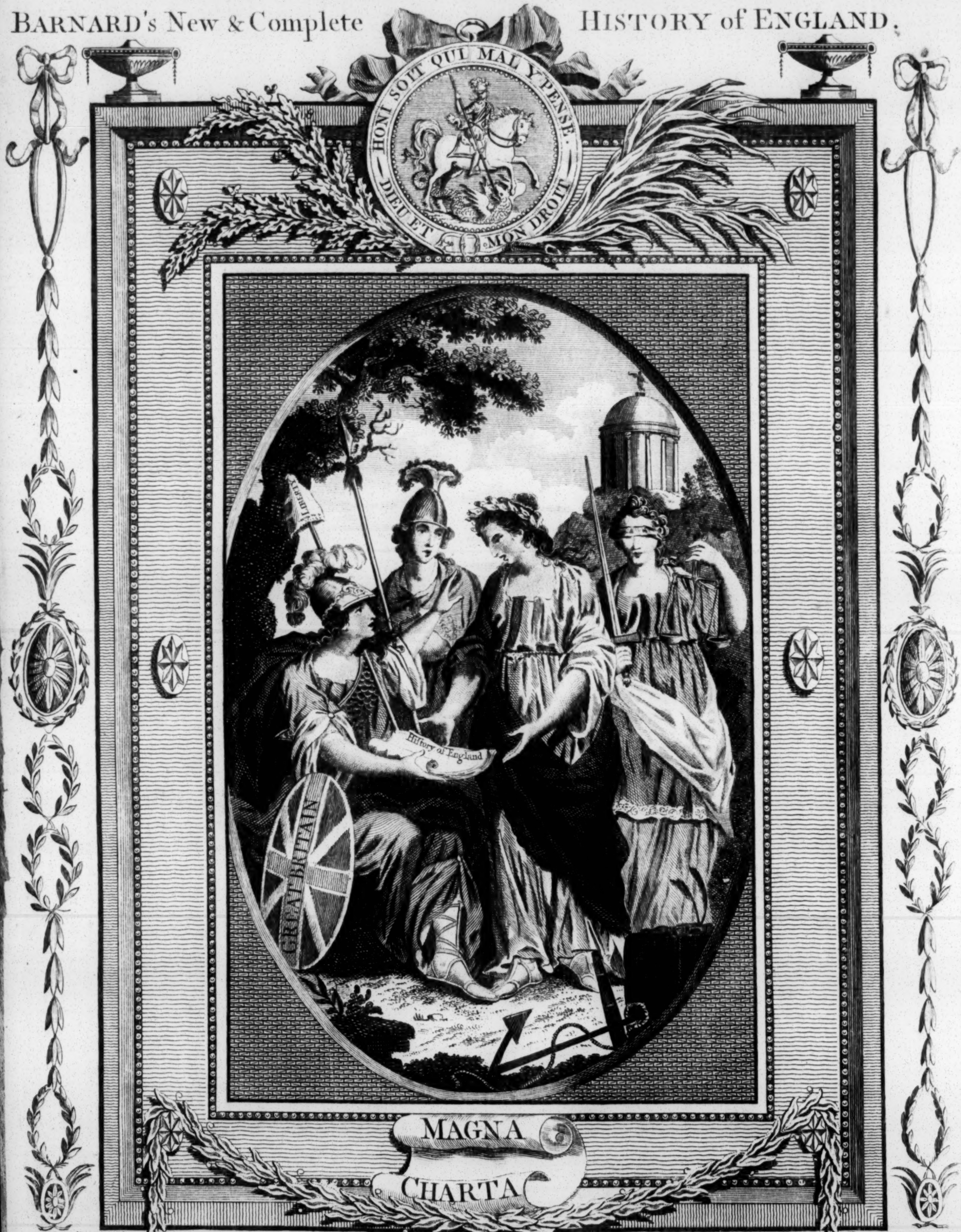
FRONTISPIECE To
BARNARD's New & Complete HISTORY of ENGLAND.


HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE
DIEU ET MON DROIT
LIBERTY
History of England
GREAT BRITAIN
MAGNA CHARTA

Hamilton delin. *Pollard ſculp.*

EXPLANATION of THIS ELEGANT PLATE

ISTORY *(emblematically representing the* Author *of this Work) attended by* Wiſdom & Juſtice, *presenting to* **BRITANNIA** *the Manuscripts*
This New Hiſtory of England, *who kindly accepts the same, & tells her they shall be deposited, as a reward for the* Impartiality *with which*
are written, in the Temple *of* Fame, *where neither* Time *nor* Enemies *shall efface the* Genuine Annals *of this* Country, *which*
n ſpite of envy & detraction, *shall remain a lasting monument of* Merit *to future ages.* — Courage, Policy, Naval Power, Internal Strength, Traf
k, Trade, Liberty, &c. *for which this kingdom has been so long conspicuous, are also alluded to in the various emblematic Figures.* —

THE
NEW, IMPARTIAL AND COMPLETE
HISTORY of ENGLAND;

FROM THE VERY EARLIEST PERIOD OF
AUTHENTIC INFORMATION,
And moſt GENUINE RECORDS of HISTORICAL EVIDENCE,
TO
THE END OF THE PRESENT YEAR.

CONTAINING

A Copious, Full, Accurate, Clear, Candid, Comprehenſive, Impartial, Univerſal and Circumſtantial Hiſtory of Every Memorable TRANSACTION, Intereſting EVENT, Remarkable OCCURRENCE, recorded in the

WHOLE ANNALS OF GREAT-BRITAIN.

WITH

A Copious Account and circumſtantial Detail of the ORIGIN, CONSTITUTION, and PRESENT STATE of this Kingdom, and of our various CONQUESTS, ACQUISITIONS, and REVOLUTIONS, in various Parts, at HOME and ABROAD.

Alſo a Complete View of the Conſtitution, and political Eſtabliſhments of BRITAIN, its Laws, Inſtitutions, Parliaments, Charters, Commerce, Arts, Sciences, Inventions, Civil, Eccleſiaſtical, Military and Naval Tranſactions, &c.

TOGETHER WITH AN ACCURATE FAITHFUL

CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT

OF ALL

The KINGS and Sovereign QUEENS who have ſwayed the BRITISH SCEPTER, and other ILLUSTRIOUS PERSONAGES, who have rendered themſelves conſpicuous either by their VALOUR, their PATRIOTISM, their VIRTUE, their VICE, or their LEARNING.

THE WHOLE

Including every particular Circumſtance worthy of Notice in the ANNALS of the BRITISH EMPIRE, which can be ſuppoſed to come under the following Heads:

WAR OR PEACE,
BATTLES,
SIEGES,
BLOCKADES,
BOMBARDMENTS,
INVASIONS,
USURPATIONS,
REVOLUTIONS,
REBELLIONS,
SEA-FIGHTS,

EXPEDITIONS,
INSURRECTIONS,
ATTACKS,
REPULSES,
RAVAGES,
INROADS,
REPRISALS,
CRUSADES,
SETTLEMENTS,
DEVASTATIONS,

CONQUESTS,
DEFEATS,
ALLIANCES,
NEGOCIATIONS,
TREATIES,
SURRENDERS,
CONSPIRACIES,
ASSOCIATIONS,
CONVENTIONS,
PLOTS,

MASSACRES,
ASSASSINATIONS,
EXECUTIONS,
STORMS,
TEMPESTS,
SHIPWRECKS,
FAMINES,
DEARTHS,
PLAGUES,
MORTALITIES,

INUNDATIONS,
FIRES,
HURRICANES,
EARTHQUAKES,
INSTITUTIONS,
PARLIAMENTS,
LAWS,
CHARTERS,
CORONATIONS,
DISCOVERIES,

COLONIES,
INVENTIONS,
ARTS,
SCIENCES,
COMMERCE,
LITERATURE,
CIVIL,
ECCLESIASTICAL,
AND MILITARY GOVERNMENT, &c. &c.

COMPREHENDING

A Genuine Deſcription of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Times,
And the STATE of the NATION during the SPACE of near TWO THOUSAND YEARS.

IN WHICH

The NOBLE STRUCTURE of the BRITISH CONSTITUTION is traced from its ORIGINAL FOUNDATION; and the SOURCES of all the Great EVENTS and CHANGES in theſe KINGDOMS accounted for with the ſtricteſt IMPARTIALITY.

INTERSPERSED

With valuable REFLECTIONS and REMARKS, elucidating obſcure FACTS, rectifying former DIFFICULTIES, correcting the ERRORS of OTHER WRITERS, and ſetting CONTESTED CIRCUMSTANCES in the cleareſt LIGHT, by the moſt GENUINE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE.

THE WHOLE

Tending to diſplay the PATRIOTIC VIRTUES of our ILLUSTRIOUS ANCESTORS, and to INSPIRE the PRESENT AGE with an Emulation of imitating their GLORIOUS EXAMPLES.

By EDWARD BARNARD, Eſq.

Aſſiſted by ſeveral GENTLEMEN, who have made the HISTORY of this COUNTRY their Peculiar STUDY.

Embelliſhed with near 140 elegant Engravings more highly and curiouſly finiſhed than thoſe given in any other Work of the Kind whatever. The ARTISTS engaged in their elegant Execution are the juſtly celebrated Meſſrs. POLLARD, TAYLOR, RENNOLDSON, PAGE, WALKER, HALL, GRIGNION, SHERWIN, ROYCE, GOLDER, MORRIS, SPARROW, ROBERTS, LODGE, NOBLE, TUKEY, GRAINGER, and others, whoſe INGENUITY has done honour to the Engliſh Nation; and who have executed this exquiſite Set of Copper-Plates from Deſigns, made by HAMILTON, WEST, DODD, SAMUEL WALE, Eſq. of the Royal Academy, CIPRIANI, ANGELICA KAUFFMAN, EDWARDS, and the fineſt Paintings of the moſt eſteemed Maſters, ſuch as HOLBEIN, WEGEL, VANDYKE, and Sir GODFREY KNELLER, and the Whole enriched with Ornaments, Decorations, and beautiful Writing by the ingenious Mr. CLOWES, Mr. GRAY, and other Maſters. Theſe elegant Embelliſhments conſiſt of ſtriking Repreſentations of the moſt Public and Private Tranſactions recorded in the HISTORY of ENGLAND, together with BATTLES by Sea and Land, and WHOLE LENGTH FIGURES of all the ENGLISH MONARCHS in their reſpective Dreſſes, from the remoteſt Period to the preſent Time, &c. (which have never been given complete in any Work of the Kind hitherto publiſhed or now publiſhing): Alſo a COMPLETE COLLECTION of all the Engliſh COINS from EGBERT firſt ſole King of all England, and the GREAT SEALS of England from William I. to his preſent Majeſty.

LONDON:
Printed for ALEX. HOGG, at the KING'S ARMS (No. 16,) Pater-noſter Row,
And SOLD by all other BOOKSELLERS, NEWSCARRIERS, or POSTMEN, in EVERY PART of ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, and IRELAND.

BRITISH MUSEUM

PREFACE TO THE PUBLIC.

THE ſtudy of HISTORY has engaged the attention of MANKIND in *all ages*, it having been conſidered by them as the grand REPOSITORY of *uſeful* and *intereſting knowledge*.—That of ENGLAND in PARTICULAR, cannot be too earneſtly recommended to perſons of *every rank*, *ſtation*, and *ſituation in life*; for here we behold, collected into one view, the moſt remarkable *events* that have happened through a *ſucceſſion of paſt ages* to the preſent *important time*. Here we ſee faithfully delineated, with the glowing pencil of truth, *conſtitutional rights*, *laws*, *government*, *policy*, *power*, *trade* and *commerce*, through the ſeveral *revolutions* of *empires*, *kingdoms*, and *ſtates*, from their *firſt dawn*, till they have gradually attained their *meridian ſplendor*. Here, in this *ample field*, the attention of *curioſity* is *gratified* by a vaſt variety of intereſting ſcenes, while *profit* and *pleaſure* await each *leiſure hour* of this *rational amuſement*.

If the acquirement of knowledge is laudable, certainly that of our *own country* may be ranked among the moſt commendable of our purſuits; indeed, the ſubject is of the utmoſt conſequence to all, and demands the particular regard of every *Engliſhman*.—If *Engliſhmen* would know when their *rights* and *franchiſes* were obtained, and by whom *handed down*, inviolate, through *ſucceſſive generations*—if they would ſee exhibited a juſt *picture* of *former times*, and by comparing them with the *preſent*, learn to value their *dear-bought liberty*—if from ſtriking views of *diſtinguiſhed characters*, they wiſh to kindle in their own *boſoms* a *love* of *virtuous actions*—if from the public contempt and infamy with which public profligacy, in men of the moſt *exalted ſtations*, are branded, they would correct their own predominant *vices*, and avoid the certain conſequences attending them—if they would behold the progreſs of the *fine arts*, and the gradual advancement of *religious knowledge*, with which both their preſent and future intereſt are connected—if they require the beſt examples for *imitation*, in their *journey through* the ſeveral ſtages of *life*—if they would have their *children* inſtructed, or entertained, without one criminal paſſion being inflamed—we would humbly recommend to them and theirs a careful peruſal of THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, as moſt likely to anſwer ſuch important ends. Every page, in theſe *valuable records*, contains matter either for *inſtruction* or *reproof*; even what have been called *barbarous ages*, afford many *uſeful leſſons*; for by attentively conſidering their *manners* and *actions*, we plainly perceive *human nature* to be the ſame from the beginning, and that EDUCATION alone draws the line between our *rude anceſtors* and ourſelves. In a word, the ENGLISH HISTORY, if properly executed, is a work of NATIONAL CONSEQUENCE; and probably this may be the reaſon why it has always met with a favourable reception from *both ſexes*, of every deſcription, condition, and party.

But amidſt the *variety* of *publications* of *this kind* that have made their appearance from time to time, very few have in any reſpect whatever anſwered the expectations of the public, having conſiſted in general of an *indigeſted heap* of *materials*, put together *without judgment*, and with little regard to *accuracy* and *authenticity*. The *compilers* have *ſlaviſhly followed each other*; yet it has frequently happened, that, either from *want* of *genius*, or in order to conceal a *ſervile imitation*, they have enlarged on the *leaſt intereſting parts* of the hiſtory, and have *paſſed over* ſlightly others, to elucidate or decorate which required a *particular attention*. Certainly, ſo intereſting a ſubject, calculated for general uſe, ſhould not be *cut ſhort*, *mangled* in a careleſs manner by the pen of *ignorance*, nor *ſpun out* with a *tedious prolixity* to anſwer *private purpoſes*. However, as we wiſh not to raiſe our *credit* upon the *abſurdities* and *errors* of other *writers*, we ſhall proceed to make a few *remarks* on the work we now *offer* to the conſideration of the public at large.

This New, Impartial, and Complete History of England, is deduced from the *earlieſt* period of time; and though, in the records of *remote ages*, *truth* is blended with *fable*, yet we have endeavoured, in all poſſible inſtances, to remove the cloud of *obſcurity*, by not omitting any *material facts*, and at the ſame time relating ſuch only as have for their foundation *hiſtoric truth*. The *chronology* and *geography*, *date* and *place*, have been particularly attended to; many *errors* reſpecting which in other writers have been carefully *corrected*; and we hope in this undertaking, the having carefully placed the *contents* of *each chapter* in one point of view, will be deemed a valuable *improvement*, and will be an acceptable ſervice to our readers.

We aſſure them, no *application* nor *expence* have been ſpared, to render this publication, in every reſpect, the *moſt perfect of its kind*; and we flatter ourſelves, when peruſed, they will have no reaſon to complain, that it correſponds not with the *title-page*, or, that its materials and arrangement are not *equal* to our *propoſals*.

We acknowledge to have aſſerted a *claim* to *ſuperior merit*. In ſupport of which, the *writer* promiſes unremitted *aſſiduity*, and that the utmoſt *exertion* of his *abilities* has not been wanting, in order to raiſe a work upon a *liberal* and *extenſive plan*, founded upon the *beſt authorities*, and which, it is hoped, will yield *inſtruction* and *entertainment*, the *profitable* and *pleaſing*, to every one of his indulgent *readers*.—For the reward of his *good intentions* and *ſtudious labours*, he ſubmits chearfully to the deciſion of an *impartial*, *unprejudiced public*.

It will readily be allowed, that a *complete* and *perfect Work* of this kind could not poſſibly have been comprized in leſs than *Seventy Numbers*; and had the private intereſt of the *printer*, and *others* concerned in the *execution* of this *work*, been ſolely conſidered, its bulk might have been extended to a much larger ſize; but both the *writer* and *publiſher* agreed to preſent the Public with a performance, not only the moſt *elegant* and *complete* of any extant, but alſo the *cheapeſt* and moſt elegant that has *hitherto been publiſhed*.

To which we beg leave to add, that with reſpect to *Embelliſhments* in ſimilar publications, the *numerous Engravings* in *our Work* will not be excelled by any. Beſides a moſt ſuperb and magnificent *Frontiſpiece*, executed by *celebrated artiſts*, in an uncommonly maſterly manner, a great number of exquiſitely curious ORIGINAL *deſigns*, together with a collection of the *Coins* and *Great Seals* of *England*, with the neceſſary *Maps*, will be introduced in the *courſe of this publication*, which, on account of their *ſuperior excellence*, both in *ſize*, *beauty* of *ſtile*, and *novelty* of *invention*, cannot but be pleaſing to people of any *diſcernment*, who may be deſirous of having in their poſſeſſion a work, wherein *elegance* and *utility* are *blended*, in order to render it deſerving of their *patronage*, in *preference* to any *other*. Not to multiply words, we ſubmit the *whole* of our *undertaking* to the *judgment* of the *Public*, founding our *claims* to their *favour* on MERIT ALONE, knowing it is only on THIS ſolid *foundation* we can hope for and expect a continuance of their encouragement and protection.

EDWARD BARNARD.

N. B. Hitherto ſome works of this kind, have, on the *one hand*, (by being *cut ſhort*, and the hiſtory *entirely ſpoiled*) been publiſhed in *too confined a compaſs* to convey the neceſſary information to readers, while, on the *other hand*, others have been run to an *unreaſonable length*, by *looſe pritting*, and *ſmall pages*, merely to anſwer *pecuniary purpoſes*. How imperfect and incomplete muſt any work of this ſort be, which is promiſed in *Sixty Numbers*, and printed in a ſize too *frivolous* (when compared to the PRESENT WORK) to *claim* any *one's notice!* Such an *aſurd propoſal* is an affront to a *diſcerning* and *generous* public: and every one ſees, that the promiſe *cannot* be honourably performed. The *Author* of the *preſent Work* has therefore fixed upon a happy medium; and earneſtly begs leave to obſerve, that the public will at once perceive, on peruſal, that the whole HISTORY OF ENGLAND cannot poſſibly be perfectly compriſed in leſs than *Seventy Numbers*, printed in a LARGE SIZE; conſidering the neceſſary *copiouſreſs* and importance of the ſubject: and to have extended the work further, would have been entirely *unneceſſary*, and only making a job for the *printer*, and others concerned in the *external executisn* of it.—In conſequence of the *extraordinary large and elegant ſize*, in which the *pages* of THIS Work will be printed, we ſhall be enabled abſolutely to comprize nearly DOUBLE what is given in other works confined to *ſixty numbers*, and much more *valuable matter*, and a more *copious and ſatisfactory hiſtory* of the *whole Britiſh Empire* in SEVENTY NUMBERS, (or deliver the overplus GRATIS) than can be found in *other works* of the kind, which have been artfully ſpun out in *ſmall ſizes*, to the unneceſſary extent of *eighty* or an *hundred numbers*, by thoſe who are only actuated by *ſelf-intereſted motives*.

So that BARNARD's NEW HISTORY OF ENGLAND is, to all intents and purpoſes, not only the moſt *perfect*, *complete*, *comprehenſive* and *impartial* work of the kind; but alſo the moſt *elegant* and *ſuperb*, being *embelliſhed* with a greater number (near *one hundred and forty*) of capital engravings, than any other ſimilar work.

*** The copper-plates in other works of this nature having being more a diſgrace than an embelliſhment, being copied from old and imperfect publications, which have been long obnoxious to a diſcerning public; we have totally obviated that imperfection, by employing the moſt renowned artiſts in the kingdom; whereby our copper-plates will juſtly correſpond with the dignity and elegance of the work they are intended to embelliſh, and exceed in value thoſe ſold in the print ſhops at three ſhillings each.

HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE

A TABLE of All the KINGS and SOVEREIGN QUEENS of ENGLAND,

From EGBERT (the *firſt ſole Monarch* of *all England*) to his PRESENT MAJESTY.

N. B. As the *Limits* of this *Chronological Table* are circumſcribed, we refer our numerous *Readers* to the *following Sheets*, Pages 5 to 39, reſpecting the *Government* of *this Country* (prior to EGBERT) under the *Celtes*, *Belgæ*, *Druids*, *Romans*, *Saxons*, *Danes*, *Picts*, *Scots*, and thoſe numerous *antient Britiſh Chiefs*, petty *Kings*, *Princes*, &c. who generally lived in *Anarchy* and *Confuſion*, and were continually making *Inroads* on each other's *Territories* and *Poſſeſſions*.

The KINGS Names.	BEGAN their REIGNS.	REIGNED			YEARS Since their Reigns.	BURIED AT
		Years.	Months.	Days.		
The SAXON LINE.						
EGBERT	800	39	—	—	948	
Ethelwolf	839	19	—	—	929	
Ethelbald	858	2	—	—	927	
Ethelbert	860	5	—	—	924	
Ethelred I.	865	5	—	—	917	Wimburn.
Alfred	872	29	—	—	886	Wincheſter.
Edward the Elder	901	24	—	—	862	
Athelſtan	925	16	—	—	846	Malmſbury Abbey.
Edmund I.	941	5	—	—	841	Glaſtonbury.
Edred	946	9	—	—	832	
Edwy	955	4	—	—	828	
Edgar	959	16	—	—	812	Glaſtonbury.
Edward the Martyr	975	3	—	—	809	Wareham.
Ethelred II.	978	38	—	—	771	
DANISH LINE.						
Sweyn	1016	—	1	11	771	Gainſborough.
SAXON LINE.						
Edmund II.	1016	1	—	—	770	Glaſtonbury.
DANISH LINE.						
Canute	1017	19	—	—	751	Wincheſter.
Harold I.	1036	3	—	—	748	Wincheſter.
Hardicanute	1039	2	—	—	746	
SAXON LINE.						
Edward the Confeſſor	1041	25	—	—	721	
Harold II.	1066	—	8	—	720	Waltham Abbey.
NORMAN LINE.						
William I. the Conqueror	1066 Oct. 14	20	10	26	700 Sept. 9	Caen, Normandy.
William II. ſurnamed Rufus	1087 Sept. 9	12	10	24	687 Aug. 2	Wincheſter.
Henry I.	1100 Aug. 2	35	3	30	652 Dec. 1	Reading.
Stephen	1135 Dec. 1	18	10	25	633 Oct. 25	Feverſham.
SAXON LINE.						
Henry II.	1154 Oct. 25	34	8	11	598 July 6	Fontevret.
Richard I.	1189 July 6	9	9	—	588 April 6	Fontevret.
John	1199 April 6	17	6	13	571 Oct. 19	Worceſter.
Henry III.	1216 Oct. 19	56	—	28	515 Nov. 16	Weſtminſter.
Edward I.	1272 Nov. 16	34	7	21	480 July 17	Weſtminſter.
Edward II.	1307 July 7	19	6	18	460 Jan. 25	Glouceſter.
Edward III.	1327 Jan. 25	50	4	27	409 June 21	Weſtminſter.
Richard II.	1377 June 21	22	3	8	388 Sept. 29	Weſtminſter.
LANCASTER LINE.						
Henry IV.	1399 Sept. 29	13	5	20	375 Mar. 20	Canterbury.
Henry V.	1413 Mar. 20	9	5	11	365 Aug. 31	Weſtminſter.
Henry VI.	1422 Aug. 31	38	6	4	326 Mar. 4	Windſor.
YORK LINE.						
Edward IV.	1461 March 4	22	1	5	304 April 9	Windſor.
Edward V.	1483 April 9	—	2	13	304 June 22	
Richard III.	1483 June 22	2	2	—	302 Aug. 22	Leiceſter.
The FAMILIES UNITED.						
Henry VII.	1485 Aug. 22	23	8	—	278 April 22	Weſtminſter.
Henry VIII.	1509 April 22	37	9	6	240 Jan. 28	Windſor.
Edward VI.	1547 Jan. 28	6	5	8	234 July 6	Weſtminſter.
Mary I.	1553 July 6	5	4	11	229 Nov. 17	Weſtminſter.
Elizabeth	1558 Nov. 17	44	4	7	185 Mar. 24	Weſtminſter.
The Union of the TWO CROWNS of ENGLAND and SCOTLAND.						
James I.	1603 Mar. 24	22	—	3	162 Mar. 27	Weſtminſter.
Charles I.	1625 Mar. 27	23	10	3	138 Jan. 30	Windſor.
Charles II.	1649 Jan. 30	36	—	7	102 Feb. 6	Weſtminſter.
James II.	1685 Feb. 6	4	—	7	98 Feb. 13	St. Germain.
William III. and Mary II.	1689 Feb. 13	13	—	23	85 Mar. 8	Weſtminſter.
The Union of the TWO KINGDOMS of ENGLAND and SCOTLAND.						
Anne	1702 Mar. 8	12	4	23	73 Aug. 1	Weſtminſter.
George I.	1714 Aug. 1	12	10	10	60 June 11	Hanover.
George II.	1727 June 11	33	4	3	27 Oct. 25	Weſtminſter.
George III.	1760 Oct. 25					

TO
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
GEORGE AUGUSTUS-FREDERICK,
PRINCE OF WALES,
EARL OF CHESTER AND CARRICK,
PRINCE ROYAL OF GREAT-BRITAIN,
ELECTORAL PRINCE OF BRUNSWICK-LUNENBURG,
DUKE OF CORNWALL AND ROTHESAY,
BARON OF RENFREW,
LORD OF THE ISLES,
GREAT STEWARD OF SCOTLAND,
CAPTAIN GENERAL OF THE HONOURABLE ARTILLERY COMPANY OF LONDON,
KNIGHT OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER, &c.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,
WITH ALL DUE SUBMISSION,
PERMIT US TO SOLICIT YOUR HIGHNESS's PATRONAGE AND PROTECTION TO
THIS NEW, IMPARTIAL, AND COMPLETE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND,
FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD OF AUTHENTIC INFORMATION
TO THE PRESENT TIME:
A WORK WHICH IT IS PRESUMED ON PERUSAL YOUR HIGHNESS WILL PERCEIVE CONTAINS
THE MOST SATISFACTORY, FULL, COPIOUS, AND CIRCUMSTANTIAL ACCOUNT OF
THE WHOLE BRITISH EMPIRE—TO WHOSE CROWN YOU ARE HEIR APPARENT.

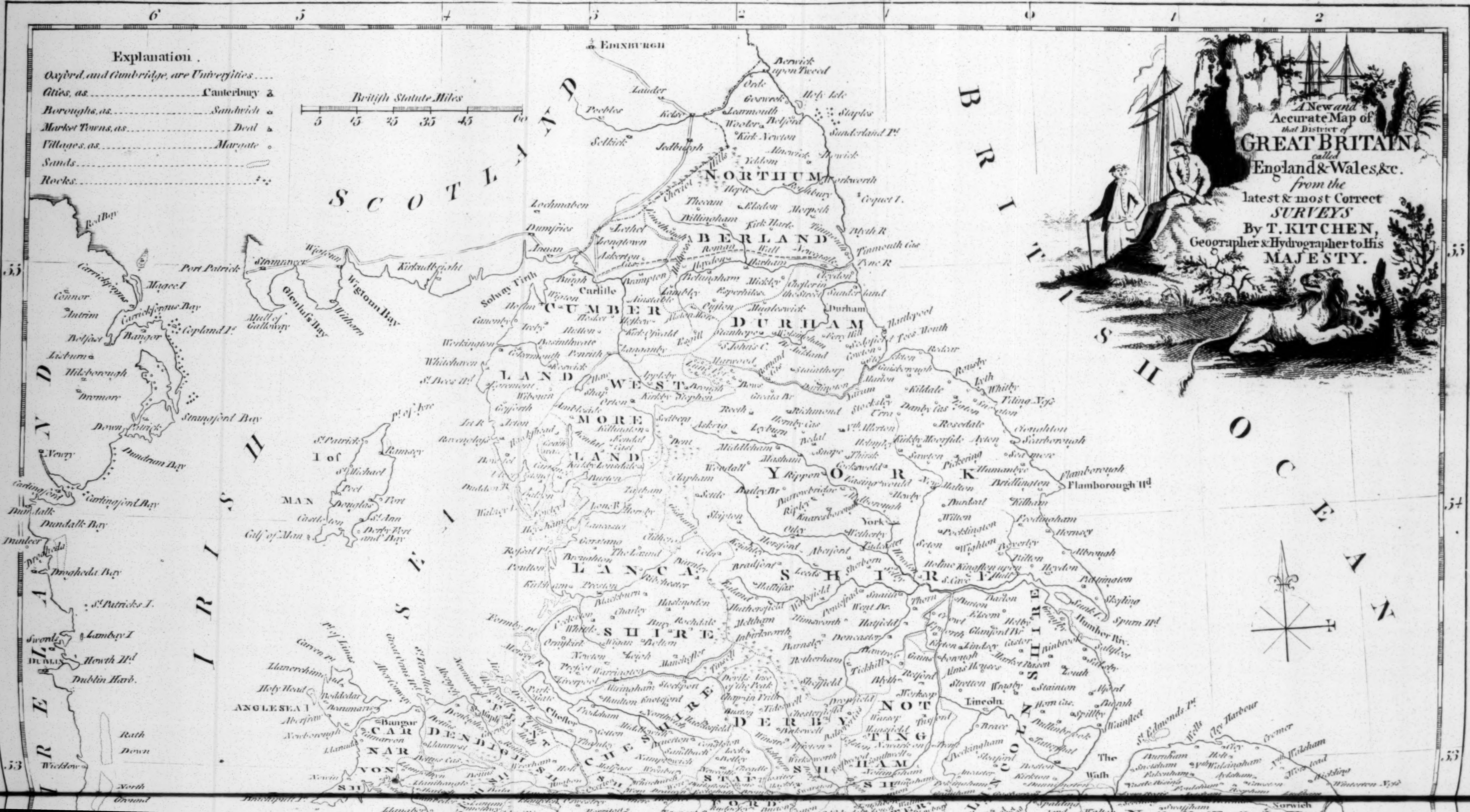
WE ARE, MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,
YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS's
MOST OBEDIENT,
AND
VERY HUMBLE SERVANTS,

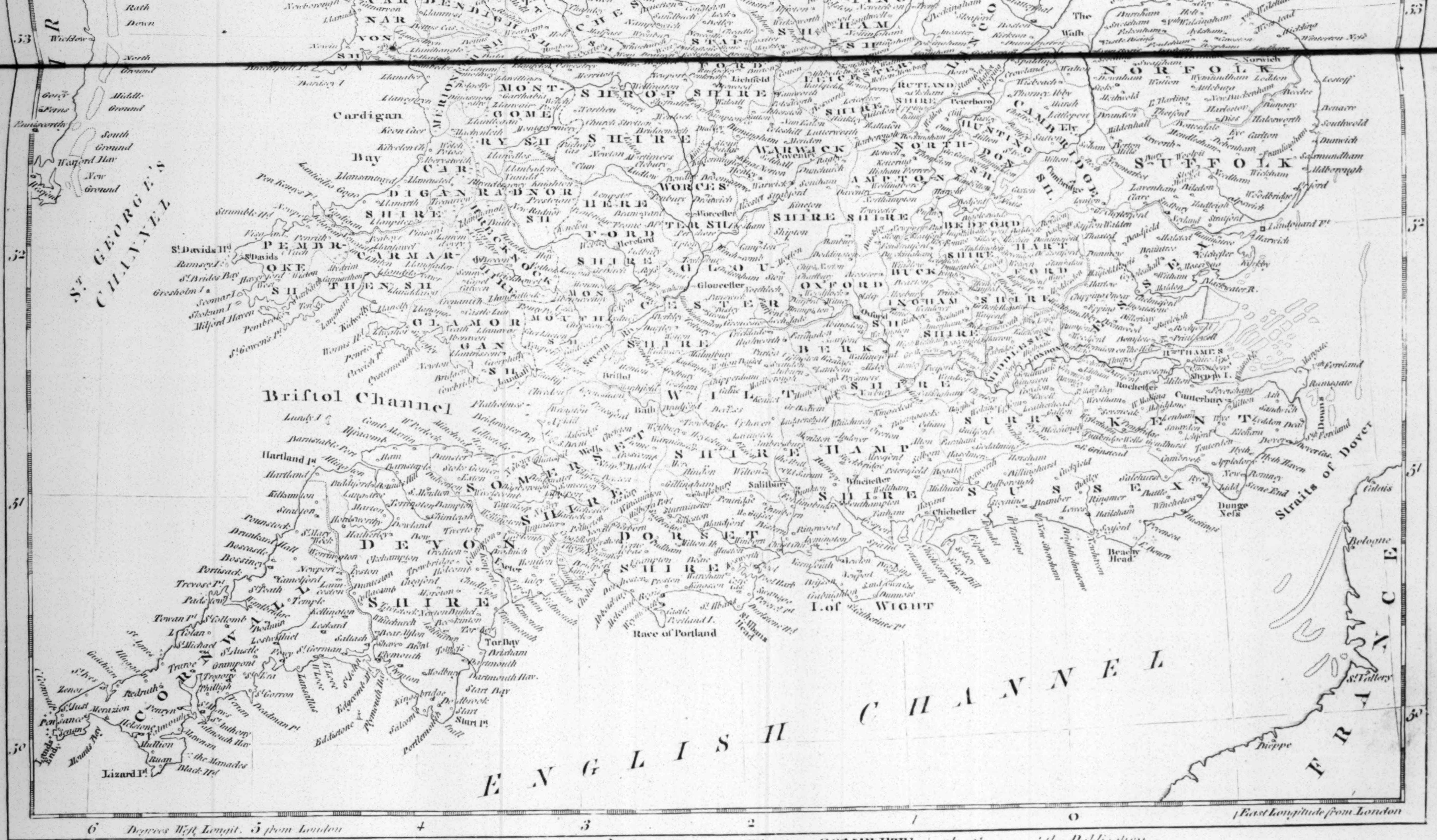
EDWARD BARNARD.
ALEX. HOGG.

29 OC62

BRITISH
29OC62
MUSEUM

London Published by Alex.r Hogg at the Kings Arms, No. 16, Paternoster Row.


A New and Accurate Map of that District of GREAT BRITAIN called England & Wales, &c. from the latest & most Correct SURVEYS By T. KITCHEN, Geographer & Hydrographer to His MAJESTY.
Explanation.
Oxford and Cambridge, are Universities
Cities, as Canterbury
Boroughs, as Sandwich
Market Towns, as Deal
Villages, as Margate
Sands
Rocks
British Statute Miles
5 15 25 35 45 60
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
1
2
55
54
53
SCOTLAND
BRITISH OCEAN
IRISH SEA
IRELAND
EDINBURGH
Berwick upon Tweed
Holy Isle
Staples
NORTHUMBERLAND
CUMBERLAND
DURHAM
WESTMORELAND
YORKSHIRE
LANCASHIRE
CHESHIRE
DERBY
NOTTINGHAM
LINCOLNSHIRE
DENBIGH
FLINT
CARNARVON
ANGLESEA I.
I. of MAN
Solway Firth
Wigtoun Bay
Glenluss Bay
Mull of Galloway
Port Patrick
Carlisle
Durham
York
Lincoln
Chester
Flamborough Hd.
Spurn Hd.
Humber Riv.
The Wash
Norwich
Dublin
Dublin Harb.
Howth Hd.
Lambay I.
St. Patricks I.
Drogheda Bay
Dundalk Bay
Carlingford Bay
Dundrum Bay
Strangford Bay
Carrickfergus Bay
Copeland Is.
Holy Head


ENGLISH CHANNEL
Bristol Channel
St. GEORGE'S CHANNEL
Straits of Dover
FRANCE
CORNWALL
DEVON SHIRE
SOMERSET SHIRE
DORSET SHIRE
WILT SHIRE
HAMP SHIRE
BERK SHIRE
SURRY
SUSSEX
KENT
MIDDLESEX
LONDON
ESSEX
HERTFORD SHIRE
BUCKINGHAM SHIRE
BEDFORD SHIRE
OXFORD SHIRE
GLOUCESTER SHIRE
WORCESTER SHIRE
HEREFORD SHIRE
WARWICK SHIRE
NORTHAMPTON SHIRE
HUNTINGDON SH.
CAMBRIDGE SH.
SUFFOLK
NORFOLK
RUTLAND SHIRE
LEICESTER SHIRE
SHROPSHIRE
STAFFORD SHIRE
MONTGOMERY SHIRE
RADNOR SHIRE
CARDIGAN SHIRE
PEMBROKE SHIRE
CARMARTHEN SHIRE
BRECKNOCK SHIRE
GLAMORGAN SHIRE
MONMOUTH SHIRE
Cardigan Bay
I. of WIGHT
Race of Portland
Lizard Pt.
Lands End
Calais
Bologne
Dieppe
St. Vallery
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52
51
50
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N.B. The New & Correct MAPS of SCOTLAND, IRELAND, &c. will be given COMPLETE in the Course of the Publication.

12-3
X

THE NEW, COMPLETE, AND AUTHENTIC

HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND:

WRITTEN
ON AN IMPROVED PLAN, BEING THE MOST IMPARTIAL WORK OF THE KIND.
THE WHOLE BROUGHT DOWN TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BOOK I.

From the very EARLIEST PERIOD *of* TIME, *founded upon the moſt* AUTHENTIC HISTORICAL EVIDENCE, *to the* INVASION *of the* ROMANS, *by* JULIUS CÆSAR.

CHAP. I.

THE INTRODUCTION.

HISTORY, in the vaſt circle of Sciences, has ever ſhone with a brightneſs of the firſt magnitude. It may be compared to a beautiful landſcape, abounding with a rich variety of objects, on which the eye of a ſpectator dwells with inexpreſſible pleaſure; or to a fertile province, whereon, every ſtep a traveller takes, he beholds the moſt pleaſing novelties, that attract his attention, and the contemplation whereof renders his journey equally pleaſing as profitable.

The Hiſtory of England comes particularly under this deſcription. If we conſider its importance, utility, occurrences, events, actions, characters, government, policy, conſtitutional liberty, religious eſtabliſhment, its amazing progreſs in the fine arts, with the no leſs aſtoniſhing extenſion of its commerce, from their firſt dawn to their preſent meridian, we inveſtigate a prodigious fund of moſt uſeful knowledge; we traverſe an ample field of intelligence, producing a variety ſufficient to ſatisfy the moſt inquiſitive curioſity, and worthy of the utmoſt attention. Here the enquiring mind of man obtains rational information; here he views, as in a glaſs, the powers of human nature brought into action; here he becomes acquainted with his own origin; here he beholds the matchleſs ſtruggles of his renowned anceſtors in the cauſe of freedom; and, what is of great conſequence to him as a ſocial being, here from the faults of others, he learns to correct his own.

An Engliſhman cannot reſt ſatisfied without making himſelf acquainted with the hiſtory of his own nation, not as a matter of curioſity only, but as a duty he owes his country; becauſe in tracing the Engliſh annals, he learns the real value of his privileges, while, at the ſame time, the tranſactions of his brave progenitors, excites in him the manly reſolution of handing them down inviolate to his poſterity.

Beſides, in the courſe of our inveſtigation, by tracing events of former ages, how is the mind agreeably amuſed, how delighted, when we are ſurprized with viewing amazing revolutions, of which examples in the Roman ſtate can alone equal; eſpecially, when we ſee a ſmall ſea-girt iſland growing gradually into a powerful nation, emerging from a ſtate of profound barbariſm, againſt an oppoſition of ambitious invaders, to the higheſt point of literary attainments, and political refinement.

Great Britain was known to the Romans in the time of the emperor Auguſtus, when the Roman empire had attained its meridian ſplendor. It was then thought the largeſt iſland in the univerſe, but inhabited by a people of inhoſpitable manners, barbarians, "A race of men from all the world disjoined."

Yet modern diſcoveries have proved, that though the leaſt extenſive, in many reſpects, it is the moſt conſiderable. Its inhabitants remarkable for their invention and induſtry, have explored and penetrated regions, the exiſtence of which were unknown to the Romans. They have traverſed an immenſity of ocean, upon which their aſpiring conquerors never dared to venture; and by the peculiarity of their ſituation, the fertility of their ſoil, innate bravery, ingenuity, naval ſtrength, and beneficial commerce, they have acquired extenſive tracts of territory, extended their conqueſts farther than their conquerors, and have roſe to a ſummit of glory, which has placed them in the firſt rank of reputation and reſpect, in the eye of European ſtates.

CHAP. II.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

VARIOUS have been the opinions of writers reſpecting the derivations of the names peculiar to this iſland.

According to the moſt authentic accounts, the appellative Britain originated from the word Brith, which ſignified blue, whereby the natives were characteriſed, who were accuſtomed to paint their bodies with a compoſition of this colour.

Albion is evidently a local, or partial appellation, from the Greek word, alphon, and the Latin, albus, white; an epithet taken probably from the whiteneſs of the chalky cliffs at Dover, and which are to be ſeen in different parts of the whole iſland. This conjecture is countenanced by the writings of antient Britiſh bards, who called England, Inis-wen, or White Iſland.

England is a name given to this iſland by our Saxon anceſtors, derived from an Anglo-Saxon province called Anglen, from whence emigrating, and landing on the coaſt of Kent, they gave to all the eaſtern provinces, under their ſubjection, the name of England.

There are thoſe who dave derived the name of Britain from that of Brutus; they ſay he was the grandſon of Æneas, a prince of Troy. But the term Britain is by no means a fair derivation from the word Brutus. Thus much we muſt venture to aſcertain as a fact, that the Romans termed this iſland Britannia before the deſcent of Julius Cæſar, from whence originated, without doubt, the modern appellative Britain. Since that period, by its amazing maritime power, and growing opulence, it has obtained the glorious diſtinction of Great; and God grant it may maintain and preſerve the envied diſtinction, amidſt ſurrounding foes, of Great Britain, until time ſhall be no more.

Thus far we have been able to proceed upon the ground of probability. But let it be remembered, a truth known to every impartial hiſtorian, that the riſe of nations, and the names peculiar to them, from the uncertain conveyance of oral tradition, and the want of written records, have been generally involved in obſcurity, or dreſſed in the fallacious garb of legendary fiction.

By whom, or from whence the iſland of Great Britain, with its appendages, was firſt peopled, is one, among thoſe ſubjects of enquiry, of which little can be ſaid with certainty. The origin of its inhabitants is hid from the moſt diſcerning eye, by that thick cloud of ignorance which has always obſcured and enveloped the tranſactions of former times; nor can the æra of their firſt ſettlement be explored, but in the paths of conjectural reaſoning. Gildas, who lived about the latter end of the ſixth century, owns frankly, that no antient monuments of this kingdom were to be found in his time.

But Annius of Viterbo, in his Beroſus, has inſerted a ſucceſſion of Celtic kings, derived from Samothes, one of the ſons of Japhet, whom he ſuppoſes to have planted colonies in Gaul, and afterwards in Britain.

Geoffrey of Monmouth alſo, famous for his monkiſh fables, pretends, that Brutus, the grandſon of Æneas, conquered this iſland, divided it at his death among his three ſons. Fabulous relations; mere fictions, ſtamped with the evident marks of forgery, that can have no place in hiſtory, becauſe not founded on the ſolid baſis of truth. A celebrated writer obſerves juſtly, that, "A hamlet had never any hiſtory; a wandering people ſtill leſs; and a ſingle city very rarely. The hiſtory of a nation cannot be written till very late; it is begun by ſummary regiſters, preſerved as far as can be in a temple or citadel. Many ages muſt elapſe before a hiſtory, any way circumſtantial, can ſucceed to this indigeſted regiſter."

CHAP. III.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

THE iſland of Great Britain approaches neareſt to a triangle in its form. Its circumference, following the windings of the coaſt, is reckoned one thouſand eight hundred and thirty miles; its aſtronomical length from north to ſouth is five hundred and forty miles, accounting ſixty miles one degree: its breadth, taken from the Land's-end in Cornwall, to the ſouth Foreland, is two hundred and eighty-five miles: bounded on the north by the North Sea; on the ſouth by the Britiſh Channel; by the Iriſh Sea on the weſt; and on the eaſt by the German Ocean; extending in longitude from nine degrees forty-five minutes, to ſeventeen degrees fifteen minutes; and in latitude from fifty to fifty-nine degrees north.

Let us here pauſe a little, and take a tranſient view of this little fertile ſpot, this land of plenty, this highly favoured, and in many reſpects, matchleſs iſle. Conſider attentively its peculiar ſituation, ſurrounded by ſome of the fineſt ſeas in the univerſe, which adminiſter not only ſecurity, but the moſt delicious dainties to its inhabitants. Behold its ſlow aſcending hills, covered with the moſt beautiful verdure. Look down into the long extending vales, on the numerous herds, feeding in the richeſt paſtures. See its ſpacious plains, lofty woods, meandering rivers, interſecting ſtreams, yielding a perpetual plenty, all the neceſſaries that nature can crave, or luxury can wiſh. Travel to its uttermoſt boundaries, you are in danger of no noxious animals, no prowling beaſts, no poiſonous inſects, to alarm or terrify. Here are no tornadoes, thunder, lightening, plague, or earthquakes, ſo terrible in their effects throughout the reſt of Europe. Chearful plenty here pours out annually her choiceſt bleſſings, and every object, every ſcene, excites unſatiated delight.

Is it to be wondered then that neighbouring tribes, addicted to commerce and agriculture as the Gauls were, ſhould effect ſettlements on a land abounding in advantages unknown to any country in the ſame parallel of latitude? They could diſcern the coaſts of Britain from their own hills; therefore, from natural ſuggeſtions would meditate an excurſion thither, and when arrived, it is reaſonable to conclude they would cultivate the lands with great ſucceſs, eſpecially when they found themſelves among a hoſpitable people, whoſe language, religion,

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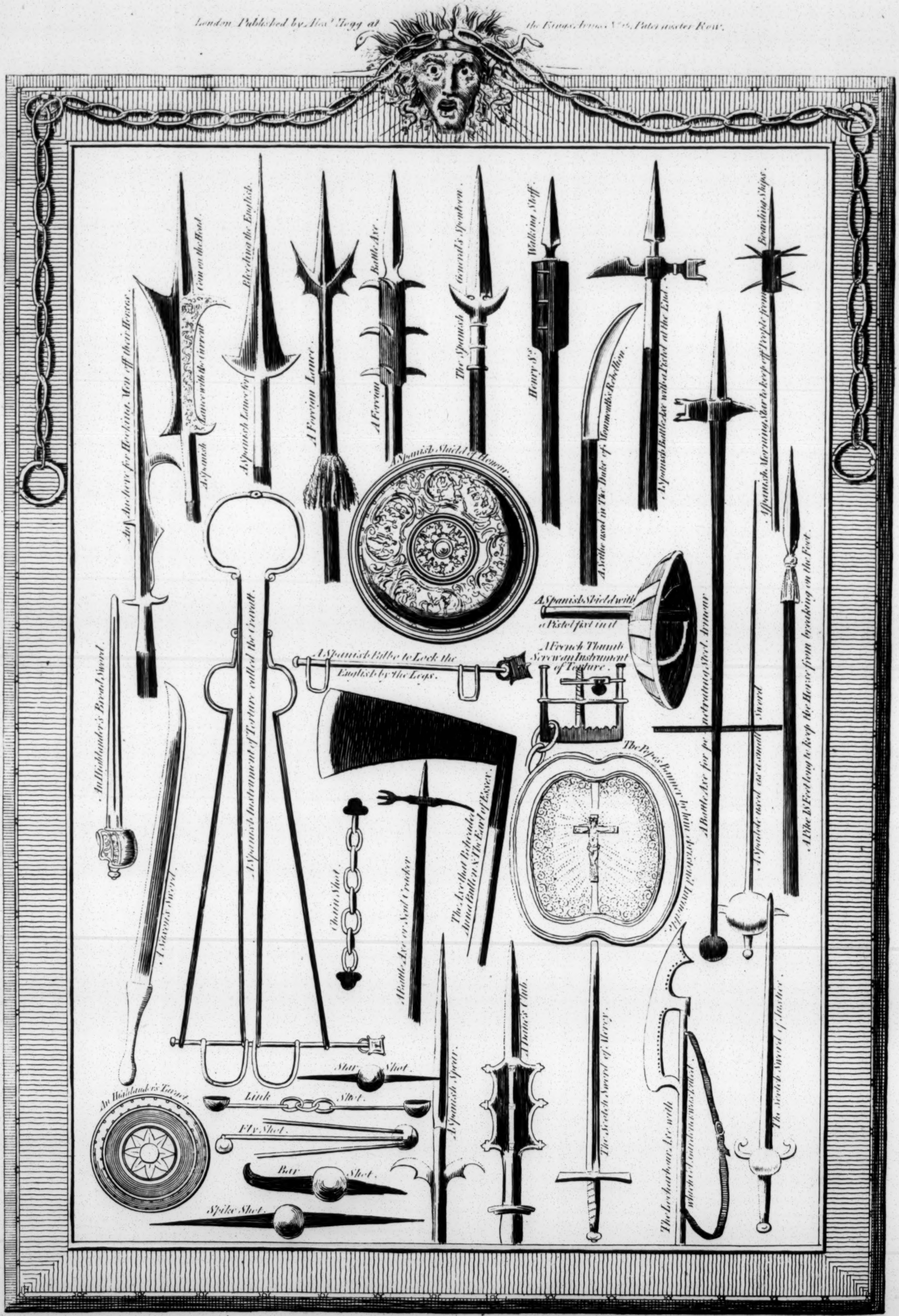

An Anchore for Hocking Men off their Horses.
A Spanish Lance with the Current Coin on the Head.
A Spanish Lance for Bleeding the English.
A Foreign Lance
A Foreign Battle Axe.
The Spanish General's Spontoon
Henry 8th Walking Staff
A Sithe used in The Duke of Monmouth's Rebellion.
A Spanish Battle Axe with a Pistol at the End.
A Spanish Morning Star to keep off People from Boarding Ships.
A Spanish Shield of Honour.
A Spanish Shield with a Pistol fixt in it
A French Thumb Screw an Instrument of Torture.
A Spanish Bilbo to Lock the English by the Legs.
A Spanish Instrument of Torture called the Cravatt.
An Highlander's Broad Sword.
A Saxon's Sword.
Chain Shot
A Battle Axe or Scull Cracker
The Axe that Beheaded Anna Bullen & The Earl of Essex.
The Pope's Banner by him christened Invincible.
A Battle Axe for penetrating Steel Armour
A Spadole used as a small Sword
A Pike 18 Feet long to keep the Horse from breaking on the Foot.
An Highlander's Target.
Star Shot.
Link Shot.
Fly Shot.
Bar Shot.
Spike Shot.
A Spanish Spear.
A Dane's Club.
The Scotch Sword of Mercy.
The Lochabour Axe with which Col. Gardener was Killed.
The Scotch Sword of Justice.

Drawn by Hamilton.
Engrav'd by G. Walker.

Various Weapons & Implements of War, which have been employed against the ENGLISH, by different Enemies:. Now deposited in the TOWER of London.

gion, form of government, cuſtoms, and manners, ſo nearly reſembled their own.

The firſt emigration, from the moſt authentic accounts, founded on hiſtorical evidence, happened in the reign of Teutat, king of the Celtes, about 1860 years before the birth of Chriſt, who ſucceeded in planting a colony in Britain, with a view of increaſing the commerce of his ſubjects.

This infant ſettlement by their quick growth and rapid proſperity, induced others to follow their example; ſo that in proceſs of time, not only the ſea coaſts, but the interior parts of the iſland became inhabited; for they who by genius and connections were inclined to commerce, fixed their reſidence in the maritime provinces; while others, from a love of eaſe, or unreſtrained freedom, penetrated into the woody receſſes, and ſought in the heart of the iſland, that ſatisfaction in a ſolitary, which they could not find in a buſy life.

Their Belgic neighbours being impoveriſhed by their population, and having heard probably the advantageous ſituation of the firſt ſettlers, determined to emigrate, and were received kindly by their deſcendants, who ſuffered them to take poſſeſſion of Cornwall, Devonſhire, Kent, and Suſſex, and with whom they incorporated by intermarriages.

We muſt not here omit mentioning, that the Phœnicians carried on a commercial intercourſe with the inhabitants of Britain, long before they were known to the Romans. This is evident from the names of many places in Cornwall, which are, without diſpute derived from the language of the Phœnicians, who called this country Bartanac, or Land of Tin. Of this commodity they imported annually great quantities, which they ſold to the Greeks and other eaſtern nations.

By ſucceſſive emigrations of the Belgæ, their numbers were ſo greatly augmented, as to create a jealouſy in the old inhabitants. Jealouſy produced animoſity and continual diſputes, which terminated in jarring diſcord; ſo that at length every tribe became a ſeparate government.

While thus unhappily divided, Divitiacus, king of the Sueſſones, landed upon the iſland a large body of forces, drawn from the Attrebates and other Belgic nations, with which he eſtabliſhed a ſettlement in Hampſhire, Wiltſhire, and other parts bordering on Hampſhire and Suſſex. Mutual ſafety about this period, however, compelled the ſmaller tribes to join others, in order to prevent the inroads of future adventurers, who were now looked upon as a common enemy; and hence, in a ſhort time, aroſe the diſtinctions of petty ſtates, or principalities, which previous to the Roman invaſion were in number ſeventeen, the names of whoſe inhabitants, and the diſtricts they included, you have in the following liſt:

Inhabitants.	Principalities.
1. Cantii, -	Kent,
2. Regni, -	Surry, Suſſex,
3. Durotriges, -	Dorſetſhire,
4. Dunmonii, -	Cornwall, Devonſhire, Somerſetſhire,
5. Belgæ, -	Wiltſhire, Hampſhire,
6. Attrebatii, -	Berkſhire,
7. Dobuni, -	Glouceſterſhire, Oxfordſhire,
8. Cattieuchlani, -	Buckinghamſhire, Bedfordſhire, Hertfordſhire,
9. Trinobantes, -	Middleſex, Eſſex,
10. Iceni, -	Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeſhire, Huntingdonſhire,
11. Coretani, -	Northamptonſhire, Leiceſterſhire, Rutlandſhire, Lincolnſhire, Nottinghamſhire, Derbyſhire,
12. Cornavii, -	Warwickſhire, Worceſterſhire, Staffordſhire, Shropſhire, Cheſhire,
13. Brigantes, -	Yorkſhire, Durham, Lancaſhire, Weſtmorland, Cumberland,
14. Ottadini, -	Northumberland,
15. Silures, -	Herefordſhire, Radnorſhire, Brecknockſhire, Monmouthſhire, Glamorganſhire,
16. Ordovices, -	Montgomeryſhire, Merionethſhire, Caernarvonſhire, Angleſey, Denbighſhire, Flintſhire,
17. Dimetce, -	Caermarthenſhire, Pembrokeſhire, Cardiganſhire.

CHAP. IV.

NATIONAL CHARACTER *of the* ANTIENT BRITONS—*A Deſcription of their Perſons—Manner of Living—Their Cuſtoms, Habitations, Arms, and Implements of War—Mode of Fighting and Marine—Their Commerce, Trade, Barter, and Money—Civil Policy, and Religion.*

TACITUS, ſpeaking of the antient Britons, extols them highly for the vigour of their bodies, the faculties of their mind, and their almoſt incredible perſeverance under uncommon hardſhips. Nor leſs Diodorus, who affirms, that in their integrity, they ſurpaſſed even the Romans.

Perfectly honeſt and ſincere, they ſcorned every ſpecies of deceit; roughly brave, to a degree of ferocity, they deteſted effeminacy and inactive indolence; generous, though unpoliſhed, they extended the moſt benevolent acts of kindneſs to ſtrangers, eſteeming it an indiſpenſible duty to perform every kind office in their power, neceſſary for their protection and defence; from whence ſprung that hoſpitality, by which this nation has been diſtinguiſhed from others through many ſucceeding generations; tenacious of liberty, in a high degree, their darling object, they endured the inclemencies of weather, ſubmitted to unwearied fatigue, fought numerous battles, nor thought the loſs of life too great a ſacrifice in its defence.

In their perſons, the men were tall, well proportioned, and robuſt; remarkable for their agility; which qualities rendered them almoſt ſtrangers to fear. The women were, what they appear to be in theſe times, fair, and beautiful in ſymmetry both of features and ſhape. The hair of each ſex was either red or cheſnut-coloured, flowing looſely over their ſhoulders. They ſhaved not the upper lip, but ſuffered the hair to grow there to a great length. Hardy in conſtitution, more ſo by habit, they knew not the conveniency, nor ſcarcely felt the neceſſity of dreſs. Some, therefore, of both ſexes went entirely naked; others wore no other covering than the ſkins of beaſts thrown negligently over them. Thus clad, the ornaments of modern luxury muſt have been uſeleſs; yet they were not without their finery, a little pride of diſtinction, inſeparable from human nature, which conſiſted chiefly in firſt pricking their bodies, and then ſtaining them with an azure colour extracted from woad. This expedient they uſed to render themſelves, according to their conceptions, either agreeable or terrible, to captivate their miſtreſſes, or intimidate their enemies.

The firſt emigrants, on their arrival, retired into the inland parts of the iſland, where they lived in a kind of ruſtic ſimplicity; their employ, tending their flocks, or hunting, to which they were much addicted. By the firſt they were ſupplied with milk, by the laſt with animal food; which, with water, were all the dainties that compoſed their frugal meals. Fowls, hares, geeſe, or fiſh, the principles of their religion forbad them expreſsly to eat; but after the Belgæ came over, who applied themſelves to agriculture, a mixture of rye and barley, made into bread, became common; and of a fermented liquor extracted from honey, barley, and apples, at their convivial feaſts or public meetings, they would drink to an exceſs of intoxication. Theſe people, with all thoſe who lived near the ſea coaſts, were more civilized, by their intercourſe with ſtrangers, than the inhabitants of the interior part of the iſland. They either ſubſiſted by commerce, or cultivated their lands with great ſucceſs; whereby they exported great quantities of hides, with tin, and became famous for their wheat, which was eagerly purchaſed by merchants on the continent.

The antient Britons, or old inhabitants, dwelt in huts placed at a ſmall diſtance from each other. Being erected generally in the middle of a wood, they were acceſſible only by winding paths, over which they cut ditches, or laid felled trees. Theſe temporary dwellings were formed of boughs reſembling arbours, or of clay covered with turf. They were deſerted at times by their owners, who frequently went in ſearch of more convenient ſituations, where they could find wood, water, and paſture ground for their cattle: the poſſeſſion of theſe bleſſings made them contented and happy. In ſummer their reſidence was generally in the vallies; but in winter they removed to the hills, being a more dry and healthy ſituation.

Before the expedition of Divitiacus, the Britons were unacquainted with all military diſcipline. Shepherds could know neither the art or inſtruments of war. Their defiles, mountains, ſwamps, and foreſts, were to them ſufficient fortifications. The arms of their head men were a broad ſword without a point, a ſhort dagger, a javelin, and arrows: while the common people had only a ſharp ſtick pointed at both ends, and long poles edged with flint or copper, at one extremity whereof was fixed a braſs bell, with the noiſe of which they attempted to terrify their enemies in the day of battle. They defended themſelves with a light round target, made of wood or of twigs interwoven, covered with ſkins, and ſtudded with nails. But the continual deſcents of foreign invaders, ſoon taught them the neceſſity and uſe of offenſive weapons. To the Belgæ they were indebted for a knowledge of theſe. It muſt be confeſſed they made great improvements upon every new diſcovery, particularly that of their war chariots.

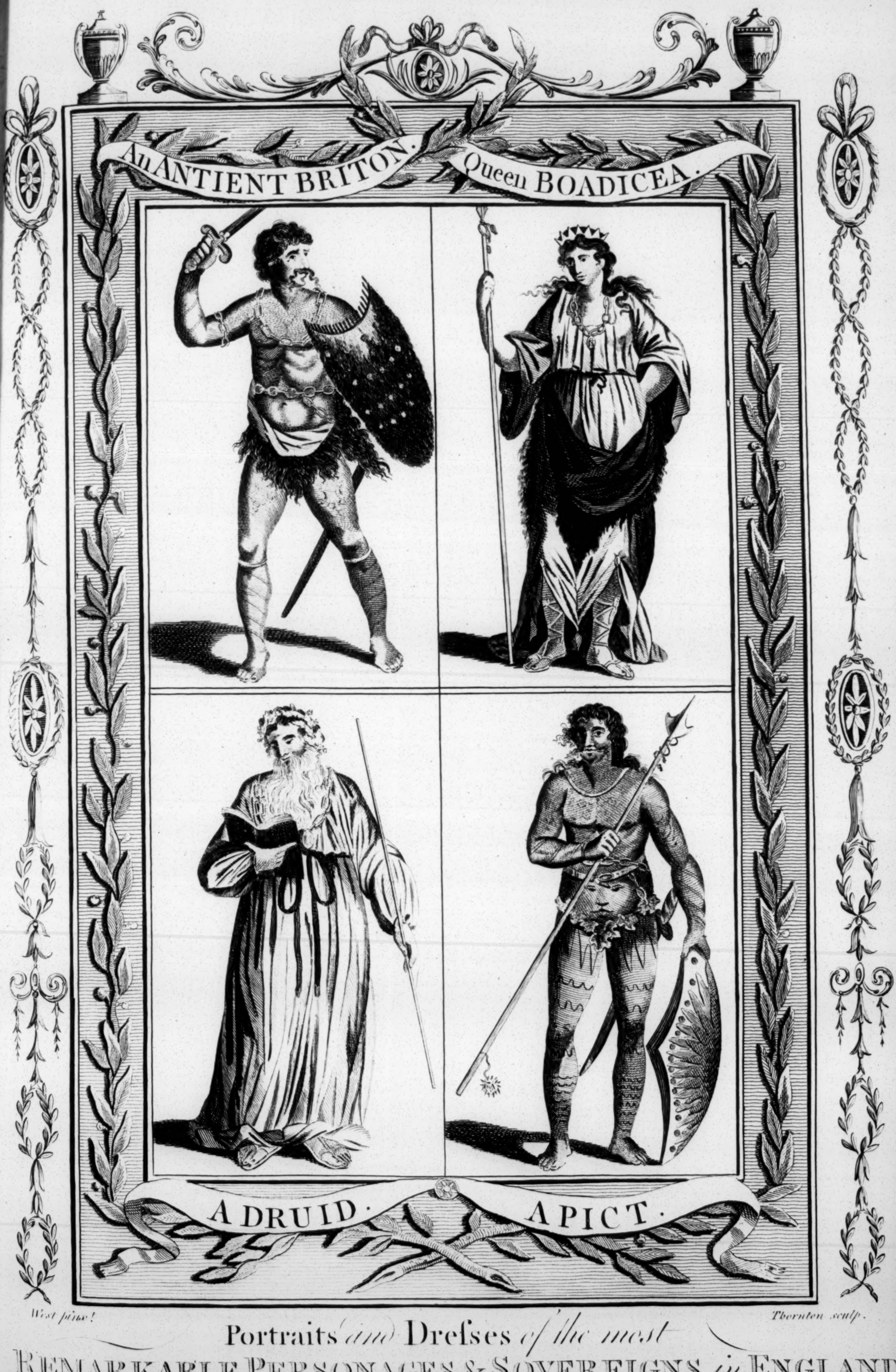
Theſe were decorated with rude embelliſhments, and conſtructed in ſuch a manner that they could be turned or ſtopped, even on the declivity of a ſteep hill. What made them very deſtructive was, their having ſharp inſtruments, reſembling ſcythes, affixed to their axles. They were drawn by two horſes, ſmall, but exceedingly ſwift. They contained a ſingle warrior and a charioteer, who drove them furiouſly, with aſtoniſhing rapidity, among the thickeſt ranks of the enemy. Such was his dexterity, that he could ſtop them inſtantaneouſly, though in full ſpeed; even in deſcending a ſteep hill he would leap from the chariot, run along the pole, and regain his ſeat, without checking the impetuoſity of the horſes. When in the center of the enemy, where they made generally a terrible ſlaughter, the combatants, after having diſcharged their javelins, leaping from their chariots, fought on foot; and when overcome with fatigue, vaulted into their ſeats, retreating as they had advanced, with the utmoſt celerity.

Their manner of fighting was agreeable to the cuſtoms of a people uncivilized, and to whom the refinements of military operations were unknown. While approaching the enemy they claſhed their arms together, raiſed dreadful ſhouts, ſinging at the ſame time the warlike actions of their renowned anceſtors. Their chariots advanced generally towards the enemy's cavalry, marking each track with bloody ſlaughter. Their infantry charged in the moſt furious manner, with an impetuoſity hardly to be reſiſted by troops not covered with armour; but if once broke or repulſed, confuſion was the inevitable conſequence, and it very ſeldom happened that they could be rallied to renew the attack.

It was a great diſadvantage to the Britons, as will appear in the courſe of this hiſtory, their being divided into ſeparate tribes, under the command of different chieftains. On this account they always engaged in ſmall bodies, drawn up at a conſiderable diſtance from each other; whereby the enemy had, in many inſtances, an advantage over them, not eaſily retrieved.

To remedy this defect in their conſtitution, in time of war, or when their darling liberty was in danger from the enterprizes of bold invaders, a commander in chief was choſen by an aſſembly of the ſtates, who as ſoon as the danger was over reſigned his delegated authority. This general had no equal in command, exerciſed the power of a dictator, and led the combined forces at the time of action againſt the enemy. The election of ſuch an officer was exceeding good policy, founded on public expediency, eſpecially when we conſider his conduct was amenable to the cenſure of the general aſſembly, by whom he was choſen, and who raiſed only thoſe to ſuch a pre-eminence, that were ranked among the wiſeſt, braveſt, and ſtrongeſt of the people.

We now come, by a natural tranſition, from the military of the antient Britons, to ſpeak of their marine, which, it muſt be acknowledged was extremely trifling. Ignorant in the art of ſhip-building, and obligated by a religious principle not to eat upon the water, it is evident they muſt be deſtitute of veſſels of burden, conſequently incapable of making long voyages. In ſhort, their whole fleet conſiſted of a few ill-conſtructed boats formed of wicker, over which was laid a covering of pitched hides. The open ſeas were not to be navigated in canoes like theſe; therefore the con-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Portraits and Dreſses of the most
REMARKABLE PERSONAGES & SOVEREIGNS in ENGLAND
prior to the Norman Conquest. Plate I.

In their perſons, the men were tall, well proportioned, and robuſt; remarkable for their agility; which qualities rendered them almoſt ſtrangers to fear. The women were, what they appear to be in theſe times, fair, and beautiful in ſymmetry both of features and ſhape. The hair of each ſex was either red or cheſnut-coloured, flowing looſely over their ſhoulders. They ſhaved not the upper lip, but ſuffered the hair to grow there to a great length. Hardy in conſtitution, more ſo by habit, they knew not the conveniency, nor ſcarcely felt the neceſſity of dreſs. Some, therefore, of both ſexes went entirely naked; others wore no other covering than the ſkins of beaſts thrown negligently over them. Thus clad, the ornaments of modern luxury muſt have been uſeleſs; yet they were not without their finery, a little pride of diſtinction, inſeparable from human nature, which conſiſted chiefly in firſt pricking their bodies, and then ſtaining them with an azure colour extracted from woad. This expedient they uſed to render themſelves, according to their conceptions, either agreeable or terrible, to captivate their miſtreſſes, or intimidate their enemies.

The firſt emigrants, on their arrival, retired into the inland parts of the iſland, where they lived in a kind of ruſtic ſimplicity; their employ, tending their flocks, or hunting, to which they were much addicted. By the firſt they were ſupplied with milk, by the laſt with animal food; which, with water, were all the dainties that compoſed their frugal meals. Fowls, hares, geeſe, or fiſh, the principles of their religion forbad them expreſsly to eat; but after the Belgæ came over, who applied themſelves to agriculture, a mixture of rye and barley, made into bread, became common; and of a fermented liquor extracted from honey, barley, and apples, at their convivial feaſts or public meetings, they would drink to an exceſs of intoxication. Theſe people, with all thoſe who lived near the ſea coaſts, were more civilized, by their intercourſe with ſtrangers, than the inhabitants of the interior part of the iſland. They either ſubſiſted by commerce, or cultivated their lands with great ſucceſs; whereby they exported great quantities of hides, with tin, and became famous for their wheat, which was eagerly purchaſed by merchants on the continent.

The antient Britons, or old inhabitants, dwelt in huts placed at a ſmall diſtance from each other. Being erected generally in the middle of a wood, they were acceſſible only by winding paths, over which they cut ditches, or laid felled trees. Theſe temporary dwellings were formed of boughs reſembling arbours, or of clay covered with turf. They were deſerted at times by their owners, who frequently went in ſearch of more convenient ſituations, where they could find wood, water, and paſture ground for their cattle: the poſſeſſion of theſe bleſſings made them contented and happy. In ſummer their reſidence was generally in the vallies; but in winter they removed to the hills, being a more dry and healthy ſituation.

Before the expedition of Divitiacus, the Britons were unacquainted with all military diſcipline. Shepherds could know neither the art or inſtruments of war. Their defiles, mountains, ſwamps, and foreſts, were to them ſufficient fortifications. The arms of their head men were a broad ſword without a point, a ſhort dagger, a javelin, and arrows: while the common people had only a ſharp ſtick pointed at both ends, and long poles edged with flint or copper, at one extremity whereof was fixed a braſs bell, with the noiſe of which they attempted to terrify their enemies in the day of battle. They defended themſelves with a light round target, made of wood or of twigs interwoven, covered with ſkins, and ſtudded with nails. But the continual deſcents of foreign invaders, ſoon taught them the neceſſity and uſe of offenſive weapons. To the Belgæ they were indebted for a knowledge of theſe. It muſt be confeſſed they made great improvements upon every new diſcovery, particularly that of their war chariots.

Theſe were decorated with rude embelliſhments, and conſtructed in ſuch a manner that they could be turned or ſtopped, even on the declivity of a ſteep hill. What made them very deſtructive was, their having ſharp inſtruments, reſembling ſcythes, affixed to their axles. They were drawn by two horſes, ſmall, but exceedingly ſwift. They contained a ſingle warrior and a charioteer, who drove them furiouſly, with aſtoniſhing rapidity, among the thickeſt ranks of the enemy. Such was his dexterity, that he could ſtop them inſtantaneouſly, though in full ſpeed; even in deſcending a ſteep hill he would leap from the chariot, run along the pole, and regain his ſeat, without checking the impetuoſity of the horſes. When in the center of the enemy, where they made generally a terrible ſlaughter, the combatants, after having diſcharged their javelins, leaping from their chariots, fought on foot; and when overcome with fatigue, vaulted into their ſeats, retreating as they had advanced, with the utmoſt celerity.

Their manner of fighting was agreeable to the cuſtoms of a people uncivilized, and to whom the refinements of military operations were unknown. While approaching the enemy they claſhed their arms together, raiſed dreadful ſhouts, ſinging at the ſame time the warlike actions of their renowned anceſtors. Their chariots advanced generally towards the enemy's cavalry, marking each track with bloody ſlaughter. Their infantry charged in the moſt furious manner, with an impetuoſity hardly to be reſiſted by troops not covered with armour; but if once broke or repulſed, confuſion was the inevitable conſequence, and it very ſeldom happened that they could be rallied to renew the attack.

It was a great diſadvantage to the Britons, as will appear in the courſe of this hiſtory, their being divided into ſeparate tribes, under the command of different chieftains. On this account they always engaged in ſmall bodies, drawn up at a conſiderable diſtance from each other; whereby the enemy had, in many inſtances, an advantage over them, not eaſily retrieved.

To remedy this defect in their conſtitution, in time of war, or when their darling liberty was in danger from the enterprizes of bold invaders, a commander in chief was choſen by an aſſembly of the ſtates, who as ſoon as the danger was over reſigned his delegated authority. This general had no equal in command, exerciſed the power of a dictator, and led the combined forces at the time of action againſt the enemy. The election of ſuch an officer was exceeding good policy, founded on public expediency, eſpecially when we conſider his conduct was amenable to the cenſure of the general aſſembly, by whom he was choſen, and who raiſed only thoſe to ſuch a pre-eminence, that were ranked among the wiſeſt, braveſt, and ſtrongeſt of the people.

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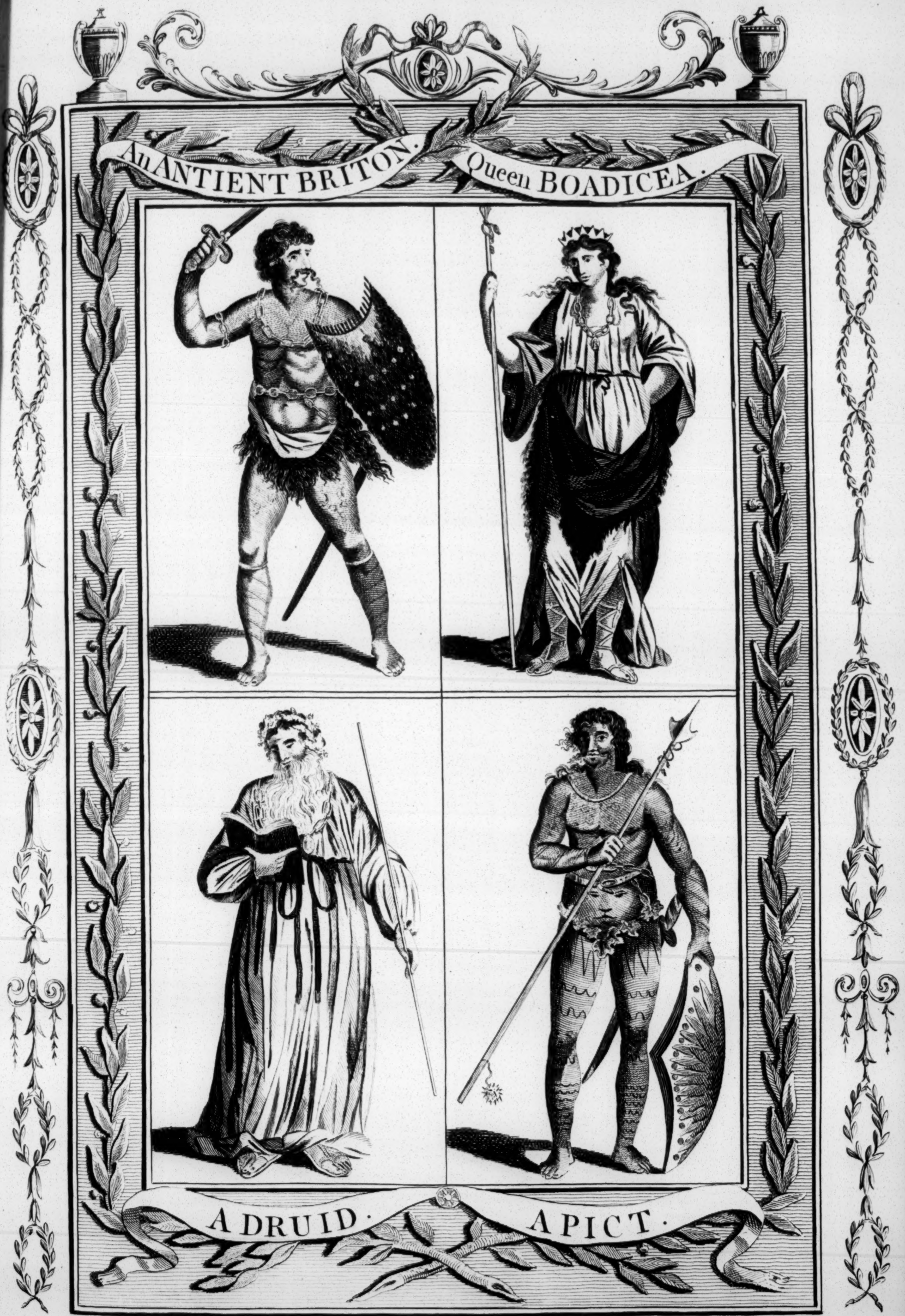
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BRITISH
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tinent of Gaul was probably the boundary of their ſea-excurſions, which they undertook only in the ſummer months, when the weather was calm and ſerene. Let us here reflect a little, and offer the juſt tribute to Providence, that from the ſmalleſt beginnings, can produce the moſt aſtoniſhing events. Human wiſdom or foreſight could never have conjectured, that navigation, accompanied with the moſt conſummate knowledge in the art of ſhip-building, ſhould have ſucceeded ſuch rude inventions of more rude iſlanders; eſpecially that a ſtupendous navy of England ſhould ride triumphant upon the ſeas, bidding defiance, which it has done in many periods of time, to the combined maritime forces of all Europe.

However, notwithſtanding the Britons could boaſt neither of a board of admiralty, nor of a grand fleet to diſturb the repoſe of their neighbours, from their trade and commerce they reaped conſiderable advantages. The Phœnicians, as we have before obſerved, near a thouſand years before Chriſt, carried on an extenſive commerce with the weſtern parts of the iſland, bringing pearls ivory, gold and ſilver, which they bartered for tin and other valuable commodities. The Britons at firſt converted their imports into ornaments to decorate their perſons; but natural ingenuity ſoon taught them how they might be applied to more important uſes; we find them, therefore, in a ſhort time afterwards manufacturing theſe valuables into chains, bits, bracelets, collars, &c. which they re-exported, and by this means gained an annual balance of trade in their favour. Before the deſcent of the Belgæ, the inhabitants of the inland parts were ſtrangers to agriculture; they ſowed no corn, ſubſiſting entirely on milk and game, with which their country abounded. But after the arrival of theſe foreigners they applied themſelves to cultivate the ſoil. Agriculture yielded that increaſe which always follows the hand of induſtry. The Britons taſted the ſweets, and were not remiſs in improving the attainments of their more intelligent neighbours, ſo that bread in the courſe of a few years became the ordinary food of the natives; at the ſame time their wheat, wool, and hides, were purchaſed with avidity by the merchants on the continent. This traffic was carried on by barter, they having no other coin than iron or braſs rings, which being made to a certain weight, paſſed among them as current.

The civil policy of the Britons was much the ſame with that of the Gauls, being divided into tribes or independent ſtates, each under the juriſdiction of a petty chief; but whether the authority of their chief warriors was hereditary or elective, cannot be determined. Thus much is known, that their old men of eſtabliſhed reputation for wiſdom or valour, generally took the lead in their public meetings; and, upon remarkable emergencies, delegates were ſent from every ſtate to a general aſſembly of the nation, in order to chooſe a generaliſſimo, to whom was committed the command of their collective body of forces. But this cuſtom prevailed only in time of imminent danger; for in times of peace no other government ſubſiſted than a kind of patriarchal one, wherein each head of his family, and the prieſt alone, controlled.

If the ſavage ferocity of theſe people was ſoftened by the ſimplicity of their lives, we may ſuppoſe it received a much ſtronger check from the principles of their religion, which was founded ſolely on ſlaviſh fear. Hence ſprung the cuſtoms, common among other idolaters, of making their idols hideouſly ugly, and of offering human ſacrifices as oblations, to appeaſe the wrath of their ſupreme dæmon. They paid divine honours to Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, and Mercury, under the titles of Taramis, Heſus, Belenus, and Tentares, to which they added, after the invaſion of the Romans, Diana, Minerva, and Hercules. Their external ceremonials conſiſted of ſtrange geſtures, violent diſtortions of the features, invocations, oblations, expiatory ſacrifices, and thankſgivings. But it is unneceſſary to dwell longer on this head, which will be more fully exemplified in the enſuing chapter, wherein we propoſe to lay before the reader a particular account of the druidical ſyſtem, including the maxims and tenets of the Druids, the antient Britiſh prieſts, both religious and political.

CHAP. V.

OF THE DRUIDS.

Whence the name was derived, and of whom compoſed—Their habits, ornaments, and place of reſidence, where they held their annual aſſembly—Of the three orders, or claſſes—The authority, power, and offices of the Druids, and the policy of their government, uſed for the nobleſt purpoſes—Almoſt adored by the people—Their external rites, religious ceremonies, devotional exerciſes, and where performed—Their remarkable veneration for the oak—Their literary precepts, lectures, tenets, and maxims, both religious and political—Their character.

THE Druids derived undoubtedly their name from that ſuperſtitious reverence they paid to oaks, Deru, in the Britiſh language, ſignifying an oak.

They were compoſed of the higheſt orders of the people, the commonalty, for obvious reaſons, being excluded from the arcana of their political ſyſtem, whereby a ſtrict alliance was formed between the church and ſtate; and this union rendered them awful to the people, and neceſſary to thoſe who by birth, education, or employment, were placed in elevated ſtations of life.

They wore their hair ſhort, but their beards very long. In their hands they carried a wand; and an enchaſed ornament, called the Druid's egg, was hung about the neck. Their garments, a kind of looſe gowns, reached down to the ground; but when employed in religious ceremonies, they always wore a ſurplice. The Iſle of Angleſea was their chief ſeat of reſidence, where they had their principal ſeminary, and held an annual meeting of the ſtates. Such was the reputation of this ſeat of the Muſes, that the children of the Gauls were ſent here for education.

Hiſtorians have divided them into three orders, or claſſes, namely, Druids, properly ſo called—Bards—and Vates, or Eubates.

The Druids of the firſt claſs united a ſecular with an eccleſiaſtical authority, by regulating all public affairs, preſiding over the myſteries of religion, offering all grand expiatory ſacrifices, adjuſting religious ceremonies; nay, their power extended to life and effects, reſpecting which their deciſions were final. Yet, they were all ſubordination to one Arch-Druid, elected from their body by a majority. This primate, or pope, enjoyed his ſupremacy during life; his perſon was held ſacred; and the power of excommunication and depoſing kings at his pleaſure, depended upon his arbitrary will.

The ſecond order, or Bards, were not only prieſts, but national preceptors, heralds, poets, and muſicians. To them was committed the important truſt of educating children of all ranks. Their memory was the repoſitory, containing the noble exploits of their heroes. Theſe they ſung in verſes of their own compoſing upon public occaſions, accompanied with harps, or a chorus of youths; as likewiſe hymns at their ſolemn religious ceremonies.

The third claſs, ſtiled Vates, devoted themſelves to the ſtudy of phyſic, natural philoſophy, aſtronomy, magic, divination, and augury; in the knowledge of which they were ſkilled to a degree, that ſeemed in the eyes of an ignorant people, above the pitch of mental knowledge.

Indeed, if we conſider attentively the authority, learning, power, offices, and policy of the Druids, we ſhall not be ſurprized that the nobility ſhould court their favour, and that the vulgar ſhould regard them with an awful veneration, almoſt equal to that with which they worſhipped their deities.

All the important affairs of ſtate paſſed under their conſideration, nor did they ever give a ſentence which was not executed. An individual, who from inconſideration, temerity, or paſſion, preſumed to call in queſtion their infallibility, was ſubject to a puniſhment worſe than death itſelf, being from that moment, excluded from the ſociety of his equals; ſhunned as a perſon abandoned by God and men; none would have the leaſt intercourſe with him; a forlorn fugitive; a deſpicable vagabond; devoted to all the horrors, without pity or relief, of a dreadful excommunication. Hence, it is evident, the Druids acted both in a civil and eccleſiaſtical capacity. Arbitrators in civil matters, judges in criminal cauſes, public oracles of the community, exempted from taxes, excuſed from military ſervices, poſſeſſed of the principal archives, enjoying the higheſt poſts of honour and truſt in the nation, intruſted ſolely with the education of youth, from theſe ſources a pre-eminence muſt take its riſe, which of courſe would end, as it in fact did, in an uncontrouled power over the minds and perſons of the laity.

In every ſtate, religion has been regarded as the main bulwark of political ſecurity. Now the Druids were the ſole guardians of religion, upon which was founded all the principles of political government. This they divided into two kinds, conſiſting of their own moral philoſophy, with the myſteries peculiar to their order, and thoſe external, fallacious deceptions, by which they kept the common people in a ſlaviſh ſubjection. Theſe have been termed the arts of prieſt-craft; but whoever ſearches the records of hiſtory will find, they have generally compoſed the eſtabliſhed religion, in every nation and period of time. From hence aroſe that refined policy of performing their ceremonies, and delivering their inſtructions by rote, never ſuffering either their ſciences or maxims to be committed to writing. A practice adopted undoubtedly from an intention of preventing the vulgar from becoming acquainted with the myſteries of their inſtitution, by means of any manuſcripts that might fall into their hands.

Every part of the druidical ſyſtem was calculated to throw a vail of ignorance over the eyes of a ſuperſtitious people; who believed their prayers were ſufficient to draw down upon them, or avert, the vengeance of their gods. Verſed in every art that had a tendency to excite admiration, or inflame the paſſions, engroſſing all the learning of their country, it is no wonder their power ſhould be abſolute.

But notwithſtanding their unlimited influence over the minds of a rude multitude, who revered them as beings more than mortal, to their honour be it ſpoken, that power which they maintained by deception, they exerciſed for the nobleſt purpoſes, reconciling private differences, and, by their mediation compoſing civil diſcords. Their preſence was ſufficient to ſtill the fury of exaſperated armies, between whom they would frequently ruſh at the riſk of their lives, exhorting them by all the powerful arts of perſuaſion, to ſubmit the cauſe of their quarrel to their deciſions. The embattled warriors, awed by their ſacred character, dropped the uplifted javelins, and through the mediation of their venerable ſages, embraced each other with the warmeſt impulſes of returning friendſhip.

Antient writers have mentioned the ſublime notions which the Druids entertained of the ſupreme Being. Tacitus, in particular, obſerves, "it was an opinion among them, univerſally eſtabliſhed, that to ſuppoſe the preſence of the Deity confined, or to repreſent him in human ſhape, or by any material image, was derogatory to his honour, and incompatible with his divine attributes." Conſiſtent with theſe exalted ſentiments were the fundamentals of their faith; for they believed in one infinite, eternal, omnipotent principle, from whom all things derived their origin. The immortality of the ſoul, and a future ſtate of retribution, were alſo among the articles of their faith. We cannot therefore but conclude, that the external rites of their religious worſhip were invented, and performed, in conformity to the prejudices of the ignorant multitude. Thus we find them from their knowledge in aſtronomy, taking advantage of eclipſes, particularly of the ſun. When this phænomenon happened, the people were ſummoned to the ſacred grove, where the Arch-Druid preſided in perſon. They conſidered the darkneſs occaſioned by the eclipſe as ſupernatural. No ſooner therefore was this begun, than victims of unfortunate captives were ſlain upon the altar. The prieſts, with an extraordinary enthuſiaſtic fury, and hands reeking with human gore, invoked the gods, continuing their frantic devotions until the darkneſs was over; at which time the Arch-Druid, declaring divine wrath to be viſibly appeaſed, diſmiſſed the deluded worſhippers with his bleſſing.

Here it may be thought proper to take notice, that all the places ſet apart for religious ceremonies, were conſecrated groves; theſe were compoſed of, and incloſed with capacious oak trees. Such was their veneration for the oak, which they held ſacred, that their victims were adorned with its boughs, their altars decorated with its branches, and the head of every one who offered ſacrifices, was encircled with garlands made from its leaves.

Nor was the tree itſelf the ſole object of their ſuperſtitious regard, a large ſhare of which they beſtowed upon its production, the miſletoe. This they deemed a peculiar gift from heaven, and adored it as a panacea, or univerſal medicine. In the ſpring on the firſt day of a new moon, it was annually ſought for. The ſearch was made amidſt a great concourſe of people, with all the ceremonies of prieſtly parade; the diſcovery was hailed with moſt exceſſive raptures of joy; it being thought the omen of a proſperous year. A proper branch having been ſelected, a principal Druid cut it from the tree, with a conſecrated golden knife, or pruning hook. The acclamations of the multitude on obtaining this precious acquiſition are not to be deſcribed; nor can their devotional ecſtaſies be conceived, when the arch-impoſtor, clad in his pontifical robe, offered two white bulls to the gods, invoking particularly thoſe, while the flame from the ſacrifices aſcended, who preſided over the healing art.

However, notwithſtanding in this and other inſtances of groſs ſuperſtition, they deluded the people, indulging them with oblations of human ſacrifices, permitting them even inceſtuous concubinage, and blinding their minds with all the execrable practices of idolatry; yet their own religious tenets, maxims, and moral philoſophy, have been the admiration of all ſucceeding ages. We here preſent our readers with a few of them, collected from various writers, that have happily eſcaped the deluge of time, and the all-conſuming whirlpool of oblivion.

DRUIDICAL TENETS AND MAXIMS.

1. ONE ſupreme God governs the univerſe, from whoſe omnipotence all things derive their origin.

2. The ſoul is immortal, it can never die, and ſhall either be rewarded or puniſhed in a future life.

3. The world ſhall be deſtroyed by fire or water, and the ſoul of man purged from ſin by the former.

4. There is another world, a future ſtate of exiſtence, and a certain day of retribution.

5. Maſters of families are ſupreme lords in their families; having in their hands the power of life and death: and it is their indiſpenſible duty, to ſpend their utmoſt care, in training the youthful minds of their offspring.

6. Children are not to be removed from their parents, nor to be admitted publicly into their company, till the age of fourteen years.

7. Upon emergencies of ſtate, an individual may be ſacrificed for the good of his country.

8. The diſloyal, or diſobedient to the decrees of the ſtate, ſhall be interdicted. Theſe ſhall roam, ſecluded from ſociety, deprived of the benefit of the law, incapable of public employments, without atoning ſacrifices, unprotected, and not to be truſted in the moſt trifling matters.

9. He who ſhall come laſt to the aſſembly of the ſtates, merits death.

10. They who lend money to the poor in this world, ſhall have it repaid to them in the next.

11. Letters or notes given to dying perſons, or thrown upon their funeral piles, will be delivered to whom they are addreſſed in the other world.

12. Priſoners of war, malefactors, or innocent perſons, are to be ſacrificed upon the altar, or burnt alive in a wicker coloſſus, at particular ſolemnities and times, in honour of, or to appeaſe the wrath of the gods.

13. Arts and ſciences are to be taught, and children to be inſtructed only in the ſacred groves.

14. Theſe muſt not be committed to writing, but to memory, from whence all inſtructions are to be delivered.

15. The moon has an abſolute influence over the human body, and cures all diſeaſes.

16. Self-devoted victims, who kill themſelves, to accompany their friends to the other world, will there live with them in perpetual reſt and bliſs.

17. Future events may be foretold from human victims, by obſerving the manner in which the body falls, by its motions when fallen, by the flowing of the blood, by the appearance of the wound, and, eſpecially by inſpecting attentively the vital parts.

18. Commerce with ſtrangers ſtrictly prohibited.

19. The miſletoe, revered for its medicinal virtues, and as a gift from heaven, muſt be gathered with reverential awe; if poſſible, on the ſixth day of the month with a golden bill or pruning-hook.

20. The powder of miſletoe promotes fertility in women, removes the cauſes of barrenneſs, and, when properly adminiſtered, is a ſovereign remedy for all diſeaſes.

Theſe are the tenets and maxims of the Druids, which we have collected from the moſt authentic accounts. It is a pity they ſhould ever have been tarniſhed with an intermixture of idolatrous notions, and the moſt execrable ſuperſtitious practices; yet hence we may diſcover plainly the dignity, importance, power and utility of this famous ſect. Their tempers, manners, and cuſtoms in general, were conformable to the pure dictates of human reaſon. In public and private life, they were honeſt, abſtemious, induſtrious, and hoſpitable. They lived in hollow trees, woods and caves; their drink, the pure ſtream; their food acorns and berries. Their opinions had the firſt effect on public aſſemblies, and their influence obtained for them the firſt choice of whatever was taken in war. They engroſſed all the learning of their country, nor was ſcarce any puniſhment inflicted without their concurrence. They were celebrated for many virtues of the higheſt order, particularly fortitude, integrity, benevolence, and true patriotiſm. From whence alone ſprung the ardent inclination of the principal people to get their children admitted into ſome of their claſſes, and that profound veneration of the vulgar, who placed them almoſt upon an equal footing with their deities. But what heightened this regard was, their being the arbitrators in differences among jarring parties, and their maintaining inviolable concord among their own orders.

This was never known to be infringed, except on the death of an Arch-Druid, when the freedom of election was ſometimes interrupted by appeals to the ſword; upon all other occaſions, they conducted themſelves with juſtice, temperance, moderation, and diſintereſtedneſs, the ſound baſis of their public character, and the permanent ſecurity of that reſpect, which the people invariably entertained for them.

Such were the antient inhabitants of Great Britain, and ſuch their prieſts, about forty years before the invaſion of the Romans, under Julius Cæſar. Of which we ſhall treat in our next book.

But, reader, you and I may perhaps require a little reſt; and ſhould nature, neceſſity, inclination, buſineſs or duty, draw off our attention, the cloſe of a book offers a fair opportunity to obey their dictates. However, before you go, permit the writer of this hiſtory, to thank you for your obliging condeſcenſion in giving him your company thus far; and to hope, that in the way, you may have found ſome ſketches of unpoliſhed nature, both pleaſing and profitable. We do not mean to make any pompous profeſſions, nor beſpeak your favour by a diſplay of our integrity, impartiality, and great abilities; theſe belong to the meaneſt adventurers. A bill of fare has been laid before you, from which you may form ſome judgment of what your future hiſtorical entertainment will be. Of this reſt aſſured, our endeavours ſhall not be wanting to provide a rich variety of entertaining information, and to lay the whole before you with ſuch an arrangement as may cauſe you to acknowledge that you are content and ſatisfied. For the preſent, in the old Britiſh ſtile, we bid you—farewel.

We would here however juſt obſerve, that (unlike other works of this kind hitherto publiſhed and now publiſhing, which have in general been mere copies of each other) we have drawn our information from the moſt reſpectable ſources of genuine authority, namely, original records, valuable antient, and modern manuſcripts, &c. &c. depoſited in the Britiſh Muſeum, and other libraries, public and private, to which we have been admitted by the kind aſſiſtance of many eminent gentlemen in different parts of the kingdom.

BOOK II.

From the INVASION *of the* ROMANS, *under* JULIUS CÆSAR, *to their final* DEPARTURE, *when they* ABANDONED *entirely the* KINGDOM.

CHAP. I.

State of the Britons at the time of the Roman invaſion—Cæſar's firſt expedition, in the year of the world 3947, *and fifty-five years before the Chriſtian epocha—Arrives off Dover with his ſhips—Weighs anchor and makes good his landing near Deal—The difficulties attending this in Cæſar's own words—The Britons are defeated, and ſue for peace, which is granted them—They revolt upon the Roman fleet having ſuffered conſiderable damages from a ſtorm—Hoſtilities are recommenced on the ſide of the Britons, who attack the ſeventh legion of the Romans, ſent out to forage—Cæſar by his timely preſence prevents their deſtruction—His camp is attacked by the Britons, whom he puts to flight—They ſue a ſecond time for peace, which is granted them; and Cæſar, with few advantages from this his firſt expedition, returns to Gaul on the twentieth of September, after an abſence of little more than three weeks.*

AMBITION, what a deſtructive paſſion! What havock does it occaſion among the works of God! Yet, under the influence of unerring wiſdom, how frequently made ſubſervient to the nobleſt purpoſes! Well may it be ſtiled lawleſs, ſeeing it will adopt the moſt unjuſt means, nay, the moſt flimſy pretences to attain its ends. Well may it be ſaid to be boundleſs, ſeeing it terminates only with life itſelf. It was this inſatiable luſt of conqueſt which turned the attention of Cæſar to the iſland of Great Britain, that invincible victor, who when no other country remained to feel the force of his arms, turned them from the ſame reſtleſs impulſe, to ſubdue that of his own. And yet we may plainly diſcern the hand of an almighty agent, employing this buſtling conqueror, as an inſtrument to anſwer the grand deſigns, and determined plan of his providence; for the conqueſt of aſpiring Romans, laid the foundation, on which was gradually raiſed the glory of Britons. From hence ſprung, amidſt the wilds of barbariſm, a civilized nation, over whom Chriſtianity has ſpread her healing wings, and wherein the arts and ſciences have obtained their zenith of perfection.

At the time when Cæſar meditated an invaſion of England, the natives were divided into petty ſovereignties, governed by their own particular chieftains, who could not be compelled to act againſt a common enemy. The ſouthern parts of the iſland were inhabited by thoſe whom they had received as friends, but who ſoon made war upon them as enemies. The Silures and Ordovice dwelt in the middle of the iſland; conſequently not being affected with the diſtreſs of their neighbours, they would not always be diſpoſed to ſend them aſſiſtance. The people in general were undiſciplined, nor were they ſupplied with warlike ſtores, ſuch as might put them upon a level with the Romans. Add to this, their country was open, without towns or fortifications, their only places of defence and retreat being foreſts, ſwamps, and mountains. They poſſeſſed neither riches nor poſſeſſions that might tempt the avarice of a conqueror. But Cæſar animated with the thought of extending his conqueſts beyond the boundaries of the ocean, was determined to pay the Britons a viſit with his victorious legions. After the conqueſt of Gaul, the mighty conqueror could not reſt ſatisfied, without adding the ſubjection of Britain to the number of his triumphs. This thirſt of dominion was a general paſſion, prevalent among the Romans, to gratify which numerous battles had been fought, a never ceaſing effuſion of blood had been ſhed, Gaul had been ſubdued, a vaſt continent laid waſte, and diſtant regions traverſed, to enlarge only the territories of the republic.

This is certain, that when the ſtronger power is determined to plunder, or ſubjugate the weaker, pretences are never wanting. Cæſar, in his commentaries, tells us himſelf, "He reſolved to make a voyage to Britain, becauſe he had been informed, in all the wars of Gaul, the enemy had received conſiderable ſupplies from thence."

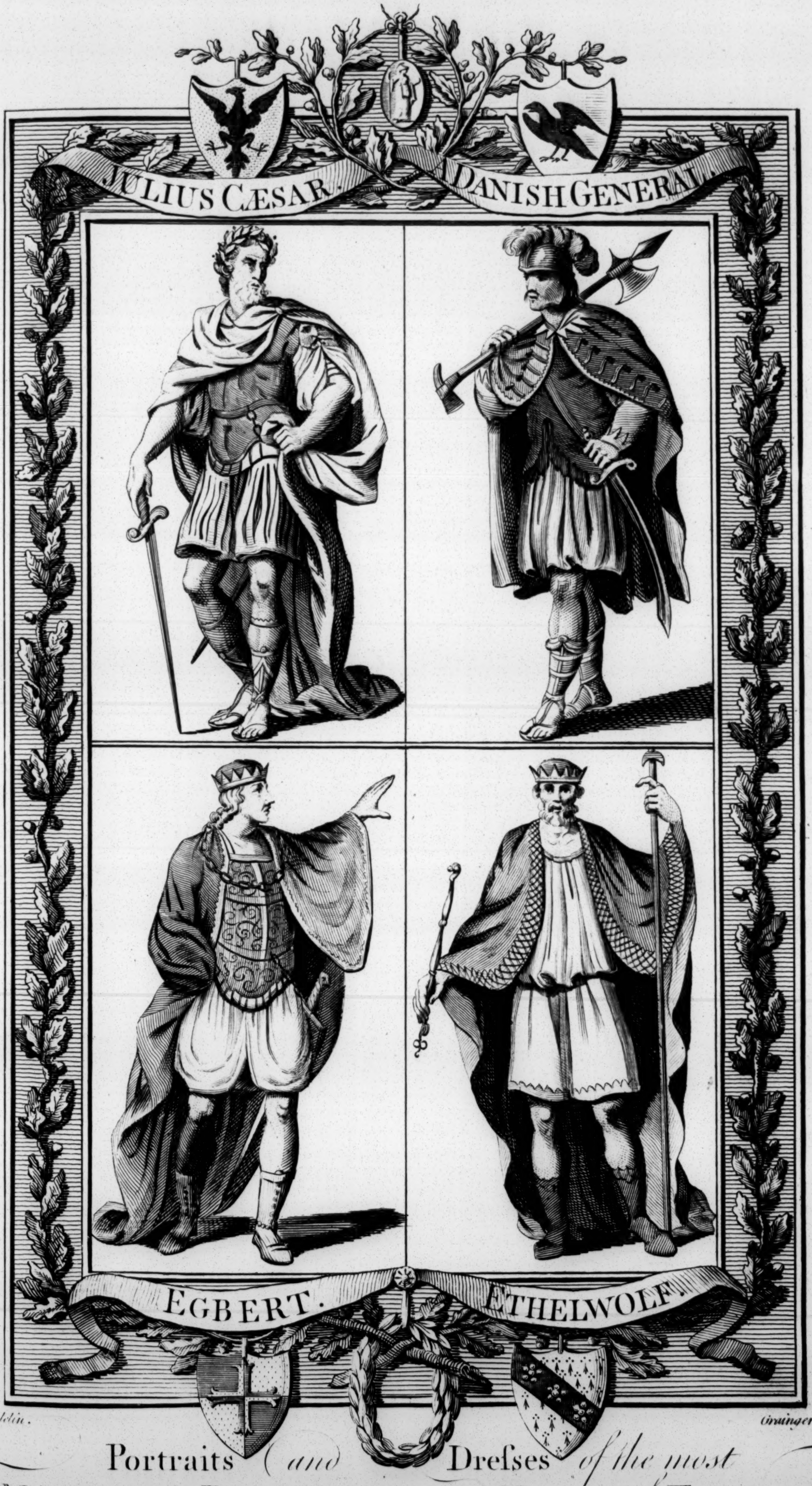
Whether this was the real reaſon or not of Cæſar's firſt enterprize, whatever might be his motives, we find, like an able general, he took every precaution, and uſed every neceſſary expedient to inſure ſucceſs.

With this view he ſummoned a council of merchants from all parts, who were known to be beſt acquainted with the country; but theſe people, who carried on a lucrative trade with the Britons, under a plea of ignorance, endeavour to deter Cæſar from his intended invaſion, yet at the ſame time took care to apprize them thereof, that they might have time to make preparations for their defence.

The aſpiring genius of Cæſar, that had often aſſiſted him to conquer inſurmountable difficulties, was not to be diſcouraged for want of information; to gain which, he ſent in a galley C. Voluſenus, a tribune of his army, to reconnoitre the Britiſh coaſts, and Comius of Arras, a Briton by birth, as his ambaſſador; neither of whom ſucceeded in their attempts; for Voluſenus, not having been permitted to land, was unable to gain any intelligence; and Comius being conſidered in the capacity of a ſpy, as well as a traitor to his country, was impriſoned, and loaded with chains. A very unwarrantable act this of the Britons, whoſe ambaſſadors were then juſt arrived with this very Comius, from Gaul, where they had been received with apparent cordiality by Cæſar, and to whom they had offered ſubmiſſion to the Roman ſtate, and to give hoſtages for their fidelity.

Cæſar who had now made every neceſſary preparation for an invaſion, began to put in execution his firſt intended expedition. To this end he drew together his fleet, conſiſting of eighty tranſports, wherein he embarked two legions, while his queſtor, and other principal officers went on board his gallies. He diſpoſed of his horſe, in eighteen other tranſports, and ordered them to follow the infantry with the utmoſt expedition. His orders in this particular could not be complied with agreeable to his wiſhes, for the embarkation of his cavalry required more time than he imagined, and this delay occaſioned difficulties in making good a landing, which his own genius alone could probably have ſurmounted.

Notwithſtanding an obſtacle ſo unpromiſing, that might have delayed a leſs able general, this brave veteran ſet ſail with his infantry alone from Morini, or Picardy, on the twenty-ſixth day of Auguſt, in the year of the world 3947, and fifty-five years before the Chriſtian æra.


JULIUS CÆSAR.
DANISH GENERAL
EGBERT.
ETHELWOLF.

Hamilton delin.

Grainger sculp.

Portraits and Dreſses of the most
REMARKABLE PERSONAGES and KINGS of ENGLAND,
with their Arms, prior to the Norman Conquest. Plate 2.

BRITISH
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MUSEUM

A. C. 51. It was at the ſtill ſolemn hour of midnight, when Cæſar ſailed from the coaſt of Gaul, and about ten of the ſame morning his ſhips arrived off Dover, at which place the Britons had taken poſſeſſion of the heighths, and ſtationed a conſiderable force to oppoſe his landing. A ſufficient proof that the Britons were acquainted with the deſign of the Roman general, and therefore, jealous of their much-loved liberty, had not been idle in making preparations for the defence of their country.

Finding it impoſſible, from the poſition of the enemy, to effect a deſcent at this place, Cæſar, after having ſummoned a council of war, weighed anchor, in order to find a level open ſhore; and falling down the tide about eight miles farther, arrived at a more convenient ſpot for debarking his troops, near the place where now ſtands the town of Deal. Here he found the Britons in force, ranged in order of battle, with a ſeeming determination to oppoſe reſolutely his landing; an account of which we think will be moſt acceptable to our readers in Cæſar's own words,

“ We found it very difficult to land, ſays he, for many reaſons; becauſe our ſhips being tall, required a conſiderable depth of water, and our ſoldiers, while their hands were employed and loaded with heavy armour, were at the ſame time to encounter the waves and the enemy in a place they were not acquainted with; whereas the Britons, either ſtanding upon dry land, or ſallying a little way into the water in thoſe places they knew to be ſhallow, having the free uſe of their limbs, could boldly caſt their darts, and ſpur their horſes forward, which were trained to that kind of combat; which diſadvantage ſo diſcouraged the Romans, who were ſtrangers to this way of fighting, that they did not appear ſo chearful and eager to engage the enemy, as in their former conflicts upon dry land; which Cæſar perceiving, gave orders that the gallies (a nimble kind of ſhipping the enemy had never ſeen) ſhould advance a little before the reſt of the fleet, and row along with their broadſides towards the ſhore, that they might more conveniently force the Britons to retire from the water ſide, by their ſlings, engines, and arrows, which did the Romans conſiderable ſervice; for the Britons, being ſurpriſed at the form of our gallies, the motion of our oars and engines began to give ground. But the ſtandard-bearer of the tenth legion, perceiving our men were unwilling to enter into the ſea, having firſt invoked the gods for ſucceſs, cried out aloud, My fellow-ſoldiers, unleſs you will forſake your eagle, and ſuffer it to fall into the hands of the enemy, advance: for my part, I am reſolved to perform my duty to the commonwealth, and my general. Having ſaid this, he immediately leaped over-board, and advanced the eagle towards the Britons; whereupon the ſoldiers, encouraging each other to prevent ſo ſignal a diſgrace, followed his example; which thoſe in the next ſhips perceiving did the like, and preſſed forward towards the enemy. The conflict was ſharply maintained on both ſides, though the Romans, not being able to keep their ranks, obtained firm footing, or follow their particular ſtandards, leaping out of ſeveral ſhips, and joining the firſt enſign they met with, were in great confuſion. But the Britons, who were well acquainted with the ſhallows, where they ſaw us deſcend in ſmall numbers from our ſhips, ſpurred their horſes into the water, ſet upon our men, incumbered and unprepared to receive them, and ſome ſurrounded us with their numbers in one place, whilſt others flanked us where we lay moſt open in another; which Cæſar obſerving, he cauſed the long boats and ſmaller veſſels to be manned, and where occaſion required, ſent them to aſſiſt their fellows. Thus our foremoſt ranks, having gained dry footing, were followed by the reſt of the army, and charging the enemy briſkly put them to flight, but were not able to purſue or take the iſland at that time, becauſe we had no cavalry, which was the only thing wanting to complete Cæſar's wonted ſucceſs.

“ The enemy being defeated, ſo ſoon as they had eſcaped beyond the reach of danger, ſent ambaſſadors to Cæſar to deſire a peace, promiſing to deliver hoſtages for their entire ſubmiſſion; and with theſe ambaſſadors came Comius of Arras, whom Cæſar had ſent into Britain, where he was impriſoned ſo ſoon as he had landed with his general's commands, but ſet at liberty again after the battle. They endeavoured to excuſe what they had done by laying the blame upon the populace, and intreating him to forgive a fault of ignorance, but not of malice. Cæſar at firſt reprimanded them for their breach of faith, that after they had voluntarily ſent ambaſſadors to him into Gaul to requeſt a peace, and delivered hoſtages of their own accord, they ſhould, without any reaſon, make war upon him; he imputed it, he ſaid, to their ignorance, and forgave them; then demanded hoſtages for their future carriage, part whereof they delivered immediately, and with the reſt who lived at ſome diſtance, they promiſed to return in a few days. And now, having diſbanded their men, ſending them into their ſeveral counties, the princes from all parts came to deliver up themſelves and their eſtates to Cæſar's diſpoſal.”

In this account, written by the victor's own pen, to whoſe character of a conſummate general appertaineth that of a faithful hiſtorian, we have a ſtrong teſtimony given to the bravery of our primogenial anceſtors. Cæſar acknowledges frankly, that he had many difficulties to contend with, that the conflict was ſharp, that the Romans were diſcouraged, and prevailed upon to attempt a landing, only by one of thoſe military accidental expedients, which are known frequently to decide the fate of battles. That after following the example of their ſtandard-bearer they were in great confuſion, being unable to keep their ranks, from which they were extricated only by the ſtrange figure of the gallies, or rather by the large ſtones and other deſtructive miſſiles thrown by their engines. Nor, if we attend to the conſequences of this firſt engagement, do we find the conqueror had reaſon to boaſt of any great advantages, being incapable either of improving his victory by purſuing the foe, or of taking the iſland, or, in a word, of doing any thing equal to his wonted ſucceſſes. The ſequel will alſo prove, that the Britons, though intimidated and defeated, for which ſufficient reaſons are aſſigned by Cæſar, yet the panic was of ſhort duration. They were forced, it is true, into a temporary peace, but they continued a very ſhort time in this amicable diſpoſition.

For the terms were ſcarcely ratified, about four days after his landing, when Cæſar received intelligence, that the ſhips he left to bring over his cavalry having ſet ſail, were overtaken at ſea by a violent ſtorm, which having ſeparated them, had drove a part back to the coaſt of Gaul, and the reſt to the weſtern coaſt of Britain; at the ſame time the veſſels and gallies belonging to Cæſar's army, ſuffered greatly in this tempeſtuous night. Some were much ſhattered; twelve of them were totally loſt; the remainder could not for ſome time be put in a condition fit for ſervice. The ſituation of the Roman army was now truly diſtreſſing, being without ſhips, in a country unknown, wherein they were like to be ſurprized every moment, or ſurrounded by a vigilant enemy. But an event that ſpread conſternation and diſmay among the Romans, rouzed the warlike ſpirit of the Britons; for the evident diſtreſs of the enemy animated them to a revolt, whereby they hoped, by this favourable opportunity, to regain their liberty. An aſſembly of the ſtates gave new vigour, by their exhortations, to this reſolution of the people; while their Druids exclaimed, that as the gods had appeared ſo propitious to them, it would be impious not to join the elements in the noble ſtruggle for freedom, that would probably effect their deliverance.

Cæſar foreſaw the conſequences that would attend this adverſe turn of fortune. He knew the ſtorm at ſea would be productive of another as outrageous on land. He therefore took every prudent precaution to raiſe the drooping courage of his ſoldiers, and to fruſtrate the probable deſigns of the enemy, by collecting within the fortifications of his camp a magazine of corn from the neighbouring fields, and by ſending one of his gallies to Gaul for materials to refit the reſt. He alſo applied the fragments of thoſe veſſels that were irreparable, to various purpoſes, with great ſucceſs. Such was the aſſiduity of this brave commander, that in ten days the remainder of his ſhattered fleet was completely repaired.

In the mean time, the Britons made every poſſible effort to reaſſemble their ſcattered troops. Their hoſtages withdrew ſecretly from the Roman camp, which they had attentively ſurveyed. Several aſſemblies of the people were held, to conſult the moſt proper means to diſtreſs their bold invaders; this they concluded might be beſt effected by cutting off their detachments, and intercepting their convoys; by which mode of carrying on the war they hoped to protract it, till the inclemency of approaching winter ſhould compleat, what the furious attack of the elements had left unfiniſhed.

The firſt foraging party that had nearly fell a ſacrifice to Britiſh policy, was the ſeventh legion, ſent out by Cæſar to reap a diſtant field of corn; who, when leaſt ſuſpecting or prepared for an attack, were ſurrounded by the Britons, they having concealed themſelves in a wood for the purpoſe of a ſurprize. The deſtruction of this detachment muſt have been inevitable, their retreat being rendered impoſſible by the Britons having ſurrounded the field with their war chariots, had not Cæſar, whoſe advanced guard perceived an unuſual cloud of duſt, gueſſed the cauſe. He immediately marched at their head, to the aſſiſtance of his diſtreſſed legion, whom he found in a compact body, hard oppreſſed by the enemy, they having quitted their chariots, and were charging them on foot with the utmoſt vigour. Cæſar's preſence inſpired his ſoldiers with freſh courage. The aſſailants were now attacked in their turn. Their impetuoſity being checked, they opened their ranks, and retired to ſome diſtance. Cæſar drew up his forces in order of battle. The combatants ſtood gazing on each other expecting a renewed charge, but neither ſide advancing, the Britons retreated unmoleſted to their woods, and Cæſar, without having being able to pour his uſual vengeance on the foe, to his camp. From which laſt circumſtance we may fairly conclude, upon an impartial view of this bloody conteſt, that the conqueror of Gaul retired, without carrying with him the palm of victory.

A raſh ſubſequent enterprize of the Britons, which they imprudently undertook, ſeems to corroborate this conjecture. Elated with their late ſucceſs, and from thence concluding that the Romans, though formidable, were not invincible, they formed the haſty reſolution of aſſaulting them in their camp. Inſpired with the effuſions of a warm imagination, and the advantages that would reſult from this daring attempt, they diſpatched meſſengers to every ſtate, who exhorted their countrymen by incentives calculated for inſpiring revenge, not to neglect ſo fair an opportunity of driving the enemy from their coaſts, and by one deciſive blow, of preventing the miſeries of future invaſions. Their remonſtrance had the deſired effect. A numerous army was in a ſhort time drawn together, and marched immediately to attack the Roman entrenchments. Cæſar drew out his forces before the principal gate of his camp, waiting the furious onſet of the Britons with his uſual tranquillity Their impetuoſity was ſoon checked by the reſiſtleſs intrepidity of diſciplined veterans, who charging with their accuſtomed fury, put them into confuſion, and compelled them to ſeek their ſafety in a precipitate flight. The Roman general, for want of cavalry, found it again impoſſible to purſue his advantages; nor could he follow the flying foe into their gloomy foreſts, in the receſſes whereof they found a ſecure retreat.

This engagement was far from being deciſive. They were indeed repulſed; but the ardent flame of liberty was not extinguiſhed in their boſom, nor was their national ſpirit broken.

However, in their preſent ſituation they thought it moſt politic to apply again for peace to the invader of their country. The penetrating eye of Cæſar at once perceived their motives, and his own intereſt. He knew they aimed only at delay, and at the ſame time he was ſenſible how abſolutely neceſſary it was for him to return to Gaul. The Britons were repulſed with conſiderable loſs, their baggage had been taken, and the circumjacent parts of the country laid waſte, yet they were not brought under the galling yoke of ſlavery. Proviſions began to grow ſcarce in his camp; winter approached; his army, though victorious, had ſuffered greatly; nor could they ſafely continue in the face of an enterprizing enemy, on an iſland wholly unknown. Cæſar therefore readily admitting the ambaſſadors, reprimanded them, and then granted their deſires, only inſiſted on having the number of hoſtages doubled, and ſent after him to Gaul. Upon which he embarked his troops, ſet ſail about midnight, and after a ſhort paſſage, landed there ſafely on the 20th of September.

Thus ended Cæſar's firſt expedition, productive of neither glory to the general, nor advantage to the ſtate; yet the ſenate, ſenſible of his great merit, and conſidering the conqueſt of Great Britain an object of the firſt magnitude, decreed him a triumph of twenty days for his important ſervices. A triumph of ambition over virtue, honour, and juſtice; a triumph, for having trampled on the laws of nations, and deluged a country, to which he had not even a pretended claim, with the blood of its innocent inhabitants.

CHAP. II.

Cæſar's ſecond expedition—He makes preparations for invading Great Britain in the ſpring with a more formidable armament—The Britons likewiſe exert their utmoſt force for the defence of their country—Caſſivellaunus is proclaimed generaliſſimo—Embarkation of Cæſar's forces, conſiſting of five legions of foot, and two thouſand horſe, in the beginning of June, fifty-four years before the birth of Chriſt—Sails from Calais, and lands near Deal, without oppoſition—Engages the Britons, near the river Stour, who are routed with great ſlaughter—Is deterred from

from purſuing the enemy by having received an expreſs, informing him, that a dreadful ſtorm had, the preceding night, deſtroyed the greater part of his fleet—Marches back to the ſea-coaſt, and by an extraordinary expedient, ſecures his fleet from ſimilar danger—The Romans are greatly harraſſed, and in one action defeated by the Britons, who in their turn are completely routed by the Romans—Conſequences of this victory—Cæſar marches with his army to Verulum, the capital of Caſſivellaunus, and takes it by ſtorm—The Britiſh chief ſends orders to the princes of Kent, requeſting them to attack the intrenchments of the enemy, and deſtroy their fleet.—The attempt is made but without ſucceſs—Finding all farther oppoſition vain, he propoſes terms of peace to the conqueror—A general pacification takes place, and Cæſar, about the middle of September, ſets ſail for the coaſt of Gaul, where he arrives after a quick and ſafe paſſage, **A. C.** 51.

THE Britons were no ſooner delivered from the invaders of their country, than they determined not to ſend the ſtipulated hoſtages. This infringement of the treaty furniſhed Cæſar with a plauſible pretence for undertaking a ſecond expedition. To effect which, warlike preparations were made in Gaul with amazing diſpatch. Such ſhips as had been damaged were repaired, others were built on a new conſtruction, calculated for ſhallow water. Military ſtores were collected in the ports of Spain, and by the ſpring of the following year, twenty-eight gallies, ſix hundred tranſports, with a great number of flat-bottomed boats, were ready for the intended invaſion.

Nor were the Britons inactive on their ſide. Alarmed at Cæſar's preparations, of which they had received ſufficient intelligence, they convened a general aſſembly of the ſtates, and elected from among their generals, the moſt diſtinguiſhed for military accompliſhments, a commander in chief over all their forces. The choice fell to Caſſivellaunus; but during the election a ſharp conflict was excited between the princes of Caſſi and the Trinobantes, the former party in favour of Caſſivellaunus, the latter of Imanuentius. The conteſt was exceeding warm; the ſuffrages were divided; but the death of Imanuentius, who loſt his life in the ſtruggle, put an end to the debate. His ſon Mandubratius, to avoid the fate of his father, fled to Cæſar for protection, and ſacrificed meanly the good of his country to an unjuſtifiable reſentment.

All Cæſar's forces being ready for embarkation, and his numerous fleet riding ſafely in the port of Itium, now Calais, he embarked five legions of foot, and two thouſand horſe, in the beginning of June, fifty four years before the birth of Chriſt. Setting ſail about ſun-ſet, he drew near the Britiſh coaſt next morning, and caſt anchor near Deal, the place where he had made his former deſcent.

A. C. 54.

A ſcene very different from what the Romans ſaw at their prior invaſion now preſented itſelf; for the Britons, diſconcerted at the appearance of ſo formidable a fleet, had retired from the ſhore, and ſuffered the Romans to land without oppoſition.

This having been effected, Cæſar fixed upon a convenient ſpot of ground on Barham Downs, where he marked out a camp, and leaving a ſufficient force to fortify and defend it, at the head of which was Quintus Atrius, he ſet out at midnight with the main body of his army in queſt of the enemy. After a march of twelve miles, he diſcovered the Britiſh army encamped upon an eminence, having the river Stour in their front, and a thick wood in their rear. As the Romans advanced, the Britons diſcovered a reſolution of diſputing their paſſage over the river with their war chariots, which they had drawn up in great order along its banks. But the Roman cavalry attacked them with ſuch vigour, that they ſoon forced the paſſage, and compelled them to retreat with precipitation into the wood in their rear.

This gloomy aſylum was fortified with ramparts, formed of large trees laid acroſs each other to a conſiderable heighth, and in its center was a ſtrong fortreſs. Both nature and art had conſpired to render it a ſtrong, though barbarous fortification. Here the Britons for ſome time withſtood all the efforts of the Roman cavalry, who were at laſt obliged to abandon their unſucceſsful attempts to the infantry; but at laſt, after a bloody conteſt, the ſeventh legion drove the Britons from their poſt, with great ſlaughter, and obliged them to ſeek ſhelter in the inmoſt parts of their woods.

Cæſar now determined to purſue the advantage he had gained, diſpatched three bodies of his troops in ſearch of the flying enemy; but they were almoſt inſtantly recalled, intelligence having been received from Atrius, the ſubſtance of which was, that during the preceding night a violent ſtorm had deſtroyed the greater part of his fleet. On this information, Cæſar countermanded the march of his troops, and returned to the ſea coaſt, where he was an eye witneſs of the havock occaſioned by the tempeſt. Forty of his veſſels were entirely loſt, and the reſt ſo much damaged, as to be unfit for the ſea till thoroughly repaired. He immediately therefore gave orders, to repair ſome ſhips that were moſt damaged with the wrecks of others; wrote to Gaul for more, and then reſolved upon executing a project, which it is a queſtion if any one but a Cæſar could have conceived and accompliſhed; this was no other than hauling up his whole fleet upon dry land, and ſurrounding it with a fortification; which truly great undertaking he completed in ten days, and then returned with his army to their former ſtation.

During this interval, the Britons had made the beſt uſe of their time, having formed a very numerous army, under the command of Caſſivellaunus, who occupied the ſame poſt in the wood, from whence the Britons had been before diſlodged.

Caſſivellaunus, convinced that his forces were not a match for the Romans in the open field, avoiding a general engagement, took the prudent precaution of harraſſing their flying parties, and cutting off their proviſions. By which mode of fighting, Cæſar was continually attacked by ſmall parties, who iſſued ſuddenly forth, charged, and then ſuddenly retreated. Though repulſed, they returned with the ſame vigour, and the ſame undaunted firmneſs.

Cæſar, perceiving the conſequences that would reſult from his troops being thus perpetually haraſſed, reſolved to fortify his camp, and to bring, if poſſible, the Britons to a general engagement. While the Romans were buſily employed in their works, Caſſivellaunus, who watched circumſpectly all their motions, thought it moſt prudent to attack them before their ramparts were finiſhed. Accordingly he ruſhed upon them unexpectedly with the utmoſt fury. The advanced guard of the Romans, unable to ſuſtain the ſhock, gave way. Cæſar, ſeeing what dreadful ſlaughter was made among them, ſent two cohorts to their ſupport; but theſe intimidated by the furious impetuoſity of the conquering Britons, halted inſtead of joining their companions; which being perceived by Caſſivellaunus, he attacked them inſtantly, and routed them with conſiderable loſs. Numbers were ſlain both of ſoldiers and officers; among the laſt were ſome of diſtinction, particularly Quintus Laberius Durus, a tribune.

On the following day when the Romans expected a ſecond engagement, they were ſurprized at ſeeing the enemy in ſmall ſcattered parties, on the adjacent hills, who ſeemed not to diſcover the leaſt intimation of coming to action. Cæſar, unacquainted with the deſertion that had happened in the Britiſh army the preceding night, among whom jealouſy had infuſed a fatal poiſon, extracted from the juſtly acquired glory of Caſſivellaunus, detached three legions, and all his horſe, amounting to about twenty thouſand men, commanded by his lieutenant Trebonius, on a foraging party, in order to clear up this, in his eye, myſterious conduct of the enemy. This, powerful detachment was ſoon oppoſed by the Britons who fell upon the Roman cavalry with a fury that obliged them to fall back upon their foot. This ſmall advantage was productive of a general engagement; for the Roman infantry ſupporting their horſe, charged the Britons in a compact body, with their uſual bravery, whereby a complete victory was obtained ſo fully deciſive, that the Belgæ, deſerted by their auxiliaries, never after engaged the Romans in a pitched battle. Thus a general deſertion completed what jealouſy had begun; the confederacy was diſſolved; and the Trinobantes abandoned the cauſe of their country, their liberty, and their gods, put themſelves under the protection of Cæſar.

Upon this ſtrange reverſe of fortune, the Britiſh chief, finding it in vain to oppoſe any longer the Romans, retired towards his own country, reſolving there to make a ſtand in its defence againſt the conqueror of the world.

Intelligence of the ſeparation having reached Cæſar, he turned his whole force in purſuit of the unfortunate Caſſivellaunus, whoſe country was now marked out for deſtruction. With this view he advanced with his army to the banks of the Thames, which he intended to croſs where it might be fordable. Here he found, on his arrival, a great number of ſtakes drove into the bed of the river, that were ſharpened at top, and concealed under the ſurface of the water; at the ſame time he beheld the enemy poſted to advantage near the oppoſite banks, which they had fortified with intrenchments and palliſadoes, but theſe artful diſpoſitions, whereof Cæſar had been informed by deſerters, were of little avail againſt this hardy veteran, whom no obſtacles could ſtop, no difficulties intimidate; for the Roman horſe going at a ſmall diſtance from the fords, plunged into the ſtream, and were followed by the foot with aſtoniſhing intrepidity, though incumbered with their heavy armour, and the water up to their chins. This paſſage was effected, at a place called Coway Stakes, oppoſite Oatlands, and, as ſome writers are of opinion, near Kingſton, in Surry.

Aſtoniſhed at this hazardous undertaking of the Romans, the Britons abandoned their intrenchments, and ſought for ſafety in their woods.

Caſſivellaunus now ſenſible that all further reſiſtance would be preſumption, diſmiſſed his forces, retaining only four thouſand chariots. With theſe he watched the motions of the enemy's main body, cut off their ſtraggling parties, and in order to prevent their ſubſiſting by ravaging the country, ordered his people to drive their cattle from thoſe parts, through which he knew they muſt paſs. This prudent meaſure was very alarming to Cæſar, as he was hereby convinced that the military conduct of Caſſivellaunus was equal to his valour.

But it was rendered abortive by a defection of the Regni-magni, inhabitants of Surry, who perceiving the Trinobantes were freed from the calamities of war, by an alliance with Cæſar, followed their example, and ſent offers of ſubmiſſion, which were accepted, upon the ſervile conditions that they ſhould furniſh proviſion ſufficient for the whole army. A ready compliance with theſe ignoble terms, enabled the Roman general to purſue his march to Verulam, now St. Alban's, the capital of the unfortunate, though brave Caſſivellaunus, working his rout with blood and devaſtation.

This place, which conſiſted of a number of huts, ſituated in the center of a wood, was fortified after the Britiſh cuſtom, with ramparts of earth, ditches, and felled trees. Theſe fortifications, though formed in the rudeſt manner, the Romns had before experienced the difficulty of ſtorming; but the towering ambition of a Cæſar was not to be diſcouraged by obſtacles of this kind; he therefore ordered an attack to be made at two different places, and carried the town by ſtorm, in which, after having put a number of Britons to the ſword, he found large quantities of corn and cattle.

Caſſivellaunus however eſcaped; and though deſerted by his friends, overpowered by his enemies, his capital taken, and his territores waſted, yet, ſupported by his own greatneſs of ſoul, in the midſt of his diſtreſsful calamities, he planned a project, which had it in the execution ſucceeded, muſt have greatly diſtreſſed, if not ruined, the invaders of his country.

Cæſar was at this time, with the main body of his army, more than eighty miles diſtant from his camp; from which the Britiſh chief concluded, a fair opportunity preſented itſelf of deſtroying the whole of the Roman fleet; impreſſed with the thought of this bold deſign, he ſent orders to Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagalus, and Segonax, four Kentiſh princes, who ſtill remained faithful, to collect their forces and ſtorm the naval intrenchments of the enemy. Theſe orders were obeyed with the utmoſt expedition: they aſſaulted the Roman camp, but the fortifications of the Romans reſiſted all their efforts, who not content with acting upon the defenſive, ſallied forth, put the Britons to flight, and took Cingetorix, their general, priſoner.

A.C. 51.

Thus reduced to the laſt extremity, Caſſivellaunus reſolved to make the beſt terms he could with the conqueror. Accordingly he ſent ambaſſadors to Cæſar, who liſtened readily to his propoſals, and concluded a peace with him on the following conditions, That he ſhould ſubmit to the Roman ſtate, pay an annual tribute, and deliver hoſtages, as a ſecurity for the performance of the treaty. Theſe matters being adjuſted, a general pacification with the Britons took place, which was no ſooner ratified, than Cæſar returned to his camp, and prepared for his departure. His ſhips were repaired and launched with all poſſible diſpatch; upon which, about the middle of September, fifty-one years before the birth of Chriſt, he ſailed for the coaſt of Gaul, where he arrived after a quick and ſafe paſſage. When returned to Rome, he preſented an offering of Britiſh pearls at the ſhrine of his ſuppoſed anceſtrix, Venus Genetrix; and employed his priſoners in adjuſting the tapeſtry ſcenes of the theatre, on which the victories gained over Britons were repreſented; while others of a more robuſt conſtitution, were allotted to the ſervile employ of carrying the ſedans of the principal nobility.

In this ſecond expedition of Cæſar, will not the eye of candour be at a loſs to diſtinguiſh its utility? To determine whether he retired as a diſappointed general or a conqueror? Did he retain one foot of ground in the iſland, or, from his victories, procure any ſolid advantages to his country? Did he take any meaſures to ſecure that temporary ſubmiſſion his devaſtations had obtained? May he not be ſaid, to have rather viſited than conquered the country? what can be alledged in juſtification, what can be advanced in defence of his having diſtreſſed a free people, full as brave and much more innocent than himſelf? Shameful ſuperiority of knowledge, deteſted poliſh of civilization, that can produce no other evidence of genuine worth, than a ſuperlative degree of refined barbarity!

All that can be ſaid in favour of Cæſar's boaſted conqueſt, all the honour due to him as a great general may be comprized in this ſingle remark, that he, as Addiſon's Cato obſerves, "who conquered more than half the globe, without being able to ſubdue himſelf, had carried the Roman arms beyond the boundaries of the ocean, and extended his military exploits a little further than his predeceſſors, for the ſake only of gratifying a falſe and paltry ambition."

CHAPTER III.

The death of Cæſar and Caſſivellaunus—The laſt is ſucceeded by Tenuantius, and at his death by Cunobeline, a prince of great talents—His ſon Adminius having been baniſhed for fomenting a rebellion, repairs to Rome, and perſuades Caligula, the reigning emperor, to undertake the conqueſt of Britain. An account of that tyrant's pretended invaſion—Cunobeline is ſucceeded by his two ſons Togodumnus and Caractacus—Theſe brave chieftains refuſe paying the tribute due to the Romans; and their ambaſſadors having been treated with an ignominious contempt, they prohibit all intercourſe with them—This conduct of the Britons furniſhes Auguſtus with a plauſible pretence for recommencing hoſtilities againſt them—Accordingly he orders Plautius, one of his generals, to invade their country with a numerous army—Plautius lands with his army on the coaſt of Kent, without oppoſition—Purſues the two brothers, and defeats them ſeveral times—In one action Togodumnus is ſlain—Claudius, the Roman emperor, at the requeſt of his general, takes ſhipping at Bologne for the iſland of Britain, and arrives ſafe off Sandwich with a large body of forces—After a campaign of ſixteen days, in which, making a rapid progreſs in his conqueſts, he returns to Rome; is decreed a triumph, and obtains the ſurname of Britannicus—Plautius and Veſpatian, on the departure of Claudius, jointly command the army—Having reduced ſeveral of the Britiſh principalities to the Roman power, and oppoſed the brave Caractacus, head of the Caſſivellauni, with great ſucceſs, they return to Rome, where they receive triumphal honours—Oſtorius Scapula ſucceeds them—Puts the Britons to flight; diſarms the diſaffected among them; and draws a line of forts between the rivers Avon and Severn—A general confederacy of the Britons is formed, the Iceni having firſt taken up arms—They are attacked in their camp, and after an obſtinate reſiſtance, the Roman general gains a complete victory.

THE all conquering hand of death having finiſhed the career of the mighty conqueror of Gaul, diſcord fixed her ſeat at Rome, and by the diſtractions ſhe raiſed, the affairs of Britain were almoſt loſt in the gloomy ſhades of oblivion. For a ſucceſſion of years after this period, very few tranſactions were inſerted in the page of hiſtory. Such as have been tranſmitted by the faithful hand of impartiality, and ſuch only, we ſhall notice in their proper order both of time and place.

Caſſivellaunus, we are informed, died ſeven years after the departure of Julius Cæſar; but not before he had ſeverely chaſtized the Trinobantes, whom one of his ſucceſſors reduced to his ſubjection. He was ſucceeded by Tenuantius, brother of Adrogeus, on whoſe demiſe, Cunobeline his ſon aſcended the throne of power. This prince was remarkable for poſſeſſing great talents, cultivated and improved by an excellent education at Rome. He kept up a friendly correſpondence with the Romans; he ſubdued the Trinobantes and Dobuni, for having joined the invaders of his country; and he coined money to pay the duties impoſed by the Romans on Britiſh merchandize imported into Gaul.

About this period the Britons opened an extenſive commerce with Gaul. They became more poliſhed, and their intercourſe with Rome, to which they ſent their children to be educated, afforded them an inſight into its power and policy. Auguſtus beheld theſe growing improvements with an eye of jealouſy, and as preſages of future independency; beſides, they paid no other tribute than a ſmall duty on merchandize; in all other reſpects they A. C. 1. were a free people. The Roman emperor therefore reſolved to compel the Britons to obſerve the treaty they had made with Julius Cæſar, and to pay the ſtipulated tribute, which had not been demanded for at leaſt twenty years. Accordingly, with a view of carrying his deſign into execution, he advanced into Gaul; but new diſturbances ſpringing up in the empire, particularly in the diſtrict of Pannonia, rendered his return neceſſary, and ſuſpended his expedition. However, after theſe commotions had ſubſided, Auguſtus marched again into Gaul, where he was met by ambaſſadors from Britain, with whom a peace was immediately concluded. This great emperor, it is well known, thought the Roman empire ſufficiently extenſive; and, on his death-bed, conſidered Britain of ſo little importance, that it was not included within the bounds he had given to the Roman empire, in a paper he left with his ſucceſſor Tiberius, who conſidered it as his political teſtament, admitting of not the leaſt variation.

A. D. 8. Tiberius, treading in the ſteps of his predeceſſor, with a ſcrupulous exactneſs, cultivated a friendſhip with the Britons, nor attempted to interrupt their tranquillity by any hoſtile preparations. This favourable diſpoſition toward them received additional ſtrength, by their humane conduct to ſome Roman ſoldiers under Germanicus, who having been ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of Britain, were entertained by the natives with the moſt cordial hoſpitality, and conveyed ſafely to their country in ſhips provided by Cunobeline.

During the reigns of Auguſtus and Tiberius, this great prince endeared himſelf to his ſubjects by his wiſdom and humanity; but that continued ſeries of proſperity he had enjoyed, was now, in the evening of life, overcaſt with clouds of domeſtic diſtreſs, by the unnatural conduct of his eldeſt ſon Adminius, who, being of a tyrannical temper, fomented a rebellion againſt his father, for which, after a hard ſtruggle between parental fondneſs and juſtice in the boſom of Cunobeline, he was baniſhed the kingdom. Adminius, with a few attendants, fled to Caligula, who then filled the imperial throne, A. D. 16. and perſuaded him to undertake the conqueſt of his native country. This proud, cruel, daſtardly tyrant, received the information of an ungrateful traitor with the greateſt marks of ſatisfaction. His avarice tempted him to undertake an enterprize, which, from the artful repreſentations of Adminius, he concluded would be attended with neither fatigue or danger. Whereupon he aſſembled an army of two hundred thouſand men, and marched to Bologne on the coaſt of Gaul, where, though there was no appearance of an enemy, he addreſſed his ſoldiers as if he was about to lead them on to certain conqueſt; but having received advice that the Britons were ready to receive him in order of battle, cowardice prevailed over his vanity, and this man-monſter determined to enjoy a triumph without endangering his perſon in the paths of honour. Accordingly he ventured out to ſea in his galley, within ſight of the Britiſh coaſt, which having ſeen, he returned with all the parade of a conqueror; and ſome of the ſoldiers, by his orders, having filled their helmets with ſhells, he ſent theſe ſpoils of the ocean, as he called them, to Rome, as trophies of his imaginary victory. A venal ſenate readily decreed the tyrant a triumph, while the army looked upon their cockle-ſhell hero with that contempt, his ridiculous conduct juſtly merited. But determined that his folly ſhould be tranſmitted to poſterity, he cauſed a light-houſe, which he named Turris Ardens, to be erected on the Belgic coaſt, oppoſite that of Norfolk, the remains whereof may ſtill be ſeen on the ſands near Bologne at low water.

In this interval, including the reigns of Auguſtus, Tiberius, and Caligula, the Britons loſt a favourable opportunity of ſecuring their liberty and independence againſt any future attacks of hoſtile invaders. Unhappily for them, with the uſeful commodities and arts of the Romans, they imported their luxuries; theſe, with the long intercourſe they had carried on with them, lulled aſleep a ſenſe of danger, and they ſunk down inattentive, inactive, in the ſoft lap of indolent ſecurity.

Cunobeline, who ſurvived Caligula a ſhort time, was ſucceeded by his two ſons Togodumnus and Caractacus. Theſe brave chiefs withheld the tribute due to the Romans, becauſe they had refuſed to deliver up ſeveral traitors who had fled to Rome for refuge. One of theſe was named Beric, a ſuppoſed chief of the Dobuni, who, by the moſt flattering repreſentations, excited Claudius to make a conqueſt of Britain.

While this miſcreant was ſoliciting the deſtruction of his country, ambaſſadors arrived at Rome to demand the fugitives. Their petition was rejected, and inſult added to a denial. They were given to underſtand at the ſame time, that if the arrears of the tribute long due were not immediately paid, they would be demanded at the head of a Roman army. Confounded at ſo ungracious a reception, the ambaſſadors, without offering a reply, repaired with the utmoſt expedition to their country. The two princes, exaſperated at the ignominious treatment of their ambaſſadors, prohibited all intercourſe with the Romans, and they even refuſed to pay the impoſts and duties laid on Britiſh commodities exported to Gaul.

A. D. 43. Claudius, who ſucceeded Caligula, forty-three years after the birth of our Saviour, made this refuſal of the Britons a plauſible pretence for commencing hoſtilities againſt them. He therefore, without delay, gave the command of his army in Gaul to Aulius Plautius, a citizen of great reputation, not leſs eminent in the ſenate than the field.

In obedience to the imperial orders, Plautius led a numerous body of forces to the coaſt of Gaul. For a time, a ſpirit of mutiny entered into them, and they refuſed obeying their general's orders, alleging, in their juſtification, that they would not paſs the boundaries of the ocean, nor plant the Roman eagles in what they called a new world. By this unexpected diſobedience the embarkation was delayed; but the eloquence and virtues of Plautius ſo effectually wrought upon the generoſity of his ſoldiers, that they returned to their duty; on which he divided them into three bodies, and embarked them at as many different ports. Having ſet ſail, they were driven back by a violent gale of wind, which had no ſooner ſubſided than they put to ſea again, and landed on the coaſt of Kent without oppoſition.

The Britons, upon what ground of policy, or from what motives, is difficult to determine, had broke up their camp near the ſea-coaſt, juſt before the Roman legions appeared, and had retired up the country. The principal body of their forces was commanded by the two brothers Togodumnus and Caractacus, both celebrated for their military abilities and virtue. Plautius loſt no time in purſuing them; and entering the country of the Dobuni, now Oxfordſhire, fell upon the Caſſivellauni, under the command of Caractacus, and put them to flight. Togodumnus, inſtead of retreating before an enemy fluſhed with victory, determined to give them battle, and was alſo defeated. The Roman general, leaving garriſons in thoſe places he had conquered, to ſecure a retreat, purſued his rout to the Thames, then called Iſis. He found the two brothers, who had effected a junction, and to whoſe ſtandard the Britons had repaired from all parts, encamped on the oppoſite ſide of the river, at a place too deep to be forded even by cavalry. But having in his army a large body of German ſoldiers, who had been accuſtomed to ſwim acroſs rapid rivers in their armour, they plunged with undaunted intrepidity into the ſtream, and were ſupported by the Roman forces, who boldly followed their example. The Britons, aſtoniſhed at a tranſaction ſo daring and extraordinary, abandoned their camp, and retired in confuſion. As ſoon as the Germans, with a body of infantry under the command of Flavius Veſpatian, and his brother Sabinus, had reached the oppoſite bank of the river, they formed, and continued their purſuit in ſearch of the enemy, who were retreating to their ſtrong holds, the neighbouring woods. A ſlight ſkirmiſh enſued, in which the Britons were worſted; but night coming on, it was not thought prudent to purſue the advantage. Theſe defeats did not depreſs the ſpirits of the Britons, who, rouſed to a ſenſe of danger, on the following day attacked the Roman army with an impetuoſity that even their veterans, trained in the ſchool of diſcipline, could not reſiſt. With a fury, bordering on madneſs, they broke through their ranks, and thinned their ſquadrons. Victory for a time was doubtful which ſide to take, till Sidius Geta turned her ſcale in favour of the Romans. He was ſuppoſed to have been taken priſoner; but having forced his way through ſurrounding foes, he ſuddenly, wheeling about, fell upon the Britons in their rear. The unfortunate Britons now found themſelves attacked on every quarter; and though for a ſhort ſpace they ſtood firm, yet in the end Roman courage prevailed, and they were put to flight. However, ſuch was the obſtinacy of this well-maintained action, that Veſpatian himſelf muſt have been numbered among the ſlain, had not his ſon reſcued him when ſurrounded by the enemy, at the hazard of his own life. This victory was dearly purchaſed by the Romans; for, in all probability, another battle, fought with equal bravery, would have rendered all future attempts againſt the Britons inefficacious. Triumphal honours were decreed to Geta by the ſenate for his important ſervices, though they had ſeldom, if ever before, conferred ſuch high marks of diſtinction on an officer of his rank.

Caractacus thus defeated, but not ſubdued, retreated along the banks of the Thames, and croſſing the river near Greenwich, the loweſt place where it was fordable, encamped in the marſhes on the north ſide.

Plautius, with his army, followed the Britons, and having reached the banks of the Thames, his German troops ſwam over, while the reſt paſſed on a bridge erected at ſome diſtance above the ford, and ſurrounded the camp of the enemy, when they thought themſelves ſecure in a ſafe retreat. A ſecond engagement now enſued, in which they were again routed with great ſlaughter, and in the utmoſt confuſion repaſſed the Thames. In this action Togodumnus, revered for his military talents, was ſlain; which raiſed ſuch a ſpirit of reſentment in the Britons, that Caractacus, collecting and re-inforcing the ſcattered remains of his army, encamped in face of the Romans, near the coaſt oppoſite to Gaul.

Plautius ſaw the gathering ſtorm, and thought it moſt prudent not to oppoſe, at preſent, the efforts of a deſperate enemy, driven to deſpair. He therefore declining an engagement, fortified his camp, and waited the arrival of the emperor, to whom he had diſpatched letters, requeſting him to repair to Britain and finiſh the conqueſt of the iſland in perſon.

Claudius, upon receiving the letters from his general, intruſted the civil government in the hands of Vitillus, whom he had aſſociated with himſelf in the conſulſhip, and embarked at Actium for Marſeilles; from whence he proceeded by land to Bologne,

logne, at which port he took ſhipping for Britain, and landed, after a ſafe paſſage, at Sandwich, with a large army.

Having effected, without oppoſition, a junction with the Roman forces under Plautius, he now took upon him the command, and advancing to Camelodunum, the capital of Cunobeline, now Malden in Eſſex, he inveſted that place, which he took with little difficulty. From hence he marched into Middleſex, where his preſence and ſucceſs ſtruck ſuch a terror, that the Belgic, and many other neighbouring provinces, made ready offers of ſubmiſſion; yet the natives in general retained their ancient love of liberty; the brave Caractacus ſtill kept the field, at the head of the Caſſivellauni, truſting that the Romans would retire to the continent on the approach of winter.

After an abſence of ſix months from his empire, and as hiſtorians ſay, a campaign of ſixteen days only in Britain, Claudius quitted the iſland; where his moderation and liberality in the conquered provinces, had made ſuch an impreſſion on the Britons, that they erected a temple to his fame, and paid him honours next to divine. Nor were the Roman ſenators leſs ſenſible of his important ſervices, to which they thought no honours in their power adequate. They therefore decreed him a ſplendid triumph, and, what muſt be more flattering to his vanity, they beſtowed upon him the ſurname of Britannicus.

Before his departure from Britain he left the management of the war to Plautius, who divided his army into two bodies; one of which he headed in perſon, and gave the command of the other to Flavius Veſpatian. The latter was ſent againſt the Belgic colonies, while the former oppoſed the original natives, who inhabited the inland parts of the iſland.

A. D. 49. Veſpatian made a rapid progreſs in a very ſhort time. The Belgic colonies followed the example of their countrymen, and ſubmitted as readily to Veſpatian, as they had done before to Claudius. He penetrated, having paſſed almoſt inacceſſible hills and extenſive moraſſes, into Wilts, Dorſet, and Somerſetſhire. Theſe he reduced to Roman provinces, which he governed with ſuch wiſe regulation, that they ever after remained firm to his intereſt, and even furniſhed his army with ſoldiers to ſubdue the northern inhabitants. Having fixed garriſons in the places he had conquered, he returned to Rome, where, by a decree of the ſenate, he was honored with a triumph.

Plautius had many more difficulties to encounter with than Veſpatian. He had to contend with Caractacus, that ſteady patriot and faithful undaunted friend to his country. This prince, nurſed in the lap of adverſity, had acquired, by long experience, a large fund of military knowledge. He was rigorous without haughtineſs, brave without raſhneſs, judicious without oſtentation. He never engaged his enemies without ſecuring ſome advantages, and ſo fruitful in expedients, that he was generally ready for a ſecond engagement the day after he had ſuffered a defeat. Convinced of Roman ſuperiority in military diſcipline, he endeavoured, as much as poſſible, to avoid a general engagement; at the ſame time he watched every motion of the Romans with the greateſt attention, and ſeldom miſſed any opportunities that offered of ſurpriſing their detachments. He reſiſted at the head of the Caſſivellauni alone, the whole power of the Romans in Britain. Plautius, however, notwithſtanding continually haraſſed by this vigilant chief, who cut off his convoys and ſtraggling parties, ſubdued the counties of Glouceſter, Oxford, Middleſex, Eſſex, and Hertfordſhire. He alſo reduced the Iſle of Wight to obedience, and diſcovered the Orkneys. Satisfied with theſe acquiſitions, and finding ſtill greater obſtacles to be ſurmounted, the Roman general having been recalled, repaired to Rome, and there received the reward due to his great merit. An ovation was decreed him; at which the emperor himſelf rode at his left hand, both to and from the Capitol, amidſt the loud acclamations of rejoicing citizens.

A. D. 50. Oſtorius Scapula ſucceeded Plautius, and on his arrival in Britain, found Caractacus had made frequent inroads into thoſe diſtricts which had ſubmitted to the Roman power, and recovered great part of his territories. He therefore without delay collected thoſe troops that lay neareſt the places haraſſed by the Britons. This done, advancing by forced marches, he put them to flight; but knowing, from experience, that an enemy like the Britons could be kept no longer in ſubjection than while deprived of the means of reſiſtance, he diſarmed all the diſaffected, and placed a line of forts, in advantageous ſituations, between the rivers Avon and Severn. Camelodunum he made a place of arms; and, about this period, London was made a trading colony; and all that part of Britain between the ſea and the Thames, was thrown into the form of a Roman province, to which the name was given of Britannia prima.

The Britons from theſe repeated ſucceſſes of their invaders, apprehending the moſt terrible conſequences, began in general to be alarmed. The Iceni, inhabitants of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridge, who had formerly lived in friendſhip with the Romans, though as yet unſubdued by them, firſt took up thoſe arms which they diſdained to ſurrender. The confederacy becoming general, a place was appointed for a rendezvous, and a commodious ſpot marked out for a camp. This was environed with a rampart of earth, and acceſſible only by one narrow path which would not admit the approach of cavalry. The Roman general, without waiting for the flower of his legions, advanced againſt theſe fortifications, and making a diſpoſition he thought moſt proper, attacked the Britons in their camp, who after a moſt valiant reſiſtance, were forced to abandon the unequal conteſt, and the Romans obtained a complete victory. This determined the fate of the Iceni, and their ſubjection fixed the fidelity of thoſe provinces, which began to fluctuate between the fear of Roman power, and the hopes of recovered liberty.

CHAPTER IV.

The Roman General Oſtorius, turns his arms againſt the Cangi and Brigantes, whom, after a brave oppoſition, he totally routs with great ſlaughter—The Brigantes having joined the Silures, are determined, under the command of Caractacus, to make another ſtand againſt the invaders of their country. The battle between them and the Romans particularly deſcribed—The latter ſtorm their camp, and obtain, after a moſt obſtinate engagement, a complete victory—The ſpeech of Caractacus, when exhibited a public ſpectacle at Rome, before the emperor Claudius and Agrippina—The Britons become more formidable, and in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes defeat the Romans—Oſtorius dies with grief, and is ſucceeded by Didius—A civil conteſt breaks forth in Britain, occaſioned by the infamous conduct of Cartiſmandua, which produces an engagement between the Britons and Romans, to whom ſhe had fled for protection, and paves the way for a general revolt—Didius dying, Paulinus Suetonius, a celebrated general, is appointed by Nero to ſupply his place. Suetonius adopts the moſt prudent meaſures to ſurmount the difficulties he had to encounter with—He lays waſte the iſle of Mona, now called Angleſey, the antient ſeat of the Druids, and deſtroys every

every place dedicated to their religious worſhip—A general inſurrection of the Britons, cauſed by the infamous conduct of Catus Decianus toward the Britons in general, and particularly to Boadicea, widow of Praſatugus, king of the Iceni—She inſpires the Britons with ſentiments of revenge, and is appointed by them to the chief command—Camelodunum and Verulum are taken by ſtorm—The ninth legion, under Petilius Cerealis, are defeated with great ſlaughter—She enters London with her army, and deſtroys both the town and inhabitants with fire and ſword—Seutonius, in order to ſtop the further ravages of the Britons, determines to hazard a battle; an engagement enſues; the Romans obtain a complete victory; and Boadicea, diſappointed in her revenge, puts an end to her life—The Roman general ſullies his victory with wanton cruelties; on which account he is recalled, and Petronius Turpilianus ſucceeds him—The new governor, with his two ſucceſſors, tread in the paths of peace; and under the reigns of Vitellius, Galba, and Otho, Britain enjoys uninterrupted repoſe—Veſpatian confers the government of Britain on Julius Agricola. He conciliates the affections of the Britons; and by his prudent meaſures more than force, ſubdues the whole iſland—This effected, he makes an incurſion into Caledonia; penetrates far into the northern parts; and erects a chain of forts to ſecure his conqueſts—The emperor Titus confirms him in his government, and he makes a further progreſs in Scotland—A battle between the Roman army and the Caledonians, under their intrepid and ſkilful general Galgacus; in which the latter, though much ſuperior in number and ſituation, was entirely routed with great ſlaughter—The emperor Adrian arrives in Britain, and for the ſecurity of the ſouthern provinces, raiſes a rampart of earth and wood from the mouth of the Tyne to Solway Frith—Antoninus Pius ſucceeds him, and builds another wall from the Frith of Dunbritton to that of Edinburgh—Severus arrives in the iſland; he marches through the country almoſt to the extremity of North-Britain; concludes a peace with the Caledonians; dies at York, and aſſumes the title of Britannicus Maximus—Conſtantius by his prudent adminiſtration, conciliates the affection of the Britons—His ſon Conſtantine the Great, who ſucceeded him, by treading in his father's ſteps, makes them a happy people. He openly declares himſelf a Chriſtian, and puts a final period to Pagan ſuperſtition. His diſtinguiſhed character—The Britons being haraſſed by the Saxons and Franks, Valentinian ſends Theodoſius into Britain, to ſtop their ravages. He reſtores tranquillity in the iſland—They are ſtill more diſtreſſed during the reign of Gratian, but are relieved by the arrival of Chryſanthus—The death of Theodoſius puts a period to their repoſe; about which time the Roman empire drew near to its diſſolution—Aleric the Goth, having ſacked Rome, occaſioned a recal of the legions from Britain—Valentinian III. after repeated ſolicitations from the Britons, ſends a ſingle legion to their aſſiſtance, which is recalled and another ſubſtituted in its room, under the command of Gallio; who quits the iſland, with whom departed alſo the power and dominion of the Romans in Britain—Concluſion of this chapter and the ſecond book, with a few remarks reſpecting the ſtate of the Britons under the Romans, the progreſs of literature, and the introduction of Chriſtianity into the iſland.

OSTORIUS having obtained this important victory over the Iceni, and effected a chain of forts to prevent the future incurſions of the Britons, he made Cogidunus, chief of the Dobuni, a denizen of Rome, by which prudent meaſure he ſecured in his intereſt a powerful and faithful ally.

The Roman general now marched againſt the Cangi, who had determined to defend their liberty to the laſt extremity. His endeavours to reduce them proved ſucceſsful; but he had hardly accompliſhed this hazardous undertaking, when, in the midſt of his devaſtations, a more formidable enemy required his preſence in another quarter. The Brigantes having revolted, had made a dreadful inroad into the Roman territories. He therefore advanced againſt them with haſty marches; but paſſing by Hatfield foreſt, the Britiſh forces, who there lay concealed, ruſhed out, and attacked the Roman army with their uſual fury. This firſt aſſault inſpired them with hope of certain victory. The Roman legions were thrown by it into diſorder. But thoſe brave veterans having recovered their ranks, ſoon checked the preſumption of the Brigantes, who, by neglecting to ſecure a retreat, were totally routed with great ſlaughter. However, though defeated, their martial ſpirit remained unconquered; for the ſcattered remains of their army were no ſooner collected, than they joined the Silures, and determined, under the command of Caractacus, to make another ſtand againſt the invaders of their country. The Romans revered the talents of this able commander, while the Britons looking up to him as their deliverer, prepared to encounter Oſtorius with redoubled ardour.

Caractacus, who well knew how unequal a conteſt his countrymen maintained with the enemy, in the open field, endeavoured to gain poſſeſſion of inacceſſible poſts. With this view he politically transferred the ſeat of war from the county of the Silures, or South-Wales, to that of the Ordovices, or North-Wales, this abounding with craggy rocks, and high mountains; which natural fortifications would enable him either to attack or annoy the enemy to the greateſt advantage. He therefore formed a camp on the ſummit of a mountain, waſhed by a river deep and rapid; and by way of adding to the natural ſtrength of this poſt, he fortified the bank of the river with ramparts of ſharp-edged flints. In this poſition he determined to wait the approach of the Roman army.

As they drew near, Caractacus addreſſing his troops with all the power of natural eloquence, conjured them to act like men in the approaching hour of combat. He told them the impending engagement would ſecure their independence and their valuable liberty, or reduce them to perpetual ſervitude. He reminded them of former injuries, and ſucceſsful efforts to redreſs them; of the bright examples of their intrepid anceſtors, who had driven the renowned Cæſar from Britain, and choſe death to a life of infamy, under the loſs of freedom. He invoked the ſhades of their valuable predeceſſors, imploring ſolemnly their preſence as ſpectators in this important day of trial, not omitting to enumerate the noble ſtruggles they had endured, to deliver them, their poſterity, from the griping hand of violence and oppreſſion. A ſhout of general applauſe, at the concluſion of this ſpeech, pervaded the Britiſh camp, nor ſtopped till it reached the ear of Oſtorius. But though alarmed at theſe acclamations, they had no other effect than to make him adopt the moſt prudent meaſures for the event. He ſurveyed attentively the ſtrong poſition of the enemy. He ſaw at one view the difficulties to be ſurmounted were many; but notwithſtanding the nature of the country, and the reſolute behaviour of the Britons, which rendered the proſpect more gloomy, he relied with pleaſing hope on the tried valour of his legions, whoſe ardour to engage was ſcarcely to be repreſſed. Dangers, when the prize of victory is diſplayed, tend only to inflame a deſire of glory, and to augment courage in the boſoms of the brave. Oſtorius marked the eagerneſs of his troops, but would not ſuffer them to engage, till he had diſcovered a ford, where they might paſs the river with the leaſt obſtructions.

The ſignal for an attack being given, the Romans croſſed the ſtream, and aſſaulted the ramparts of the enemy with unſhaken firmneſs; the Britons defended them with equal bravery. The conteſt was long and bloody, and fortune ſeemed at firſt to ſide with the Britons; but Roman diſcipline prevailed; the ramparts were forced, and both armies came to a cloſe engagement. Victory was for a time at a loſs on which of the contending hoſts to beſtow her palm, till the Roman veterans removed her uncertainty. Covered with their heavy armour, the weapons of the Britons made little impreſſion, while death followed every blow they ſtruck. Caractacus, unable longer to ſupport the unequal conflict, retreated to his camp on the ſummit of the mountain. The aſcent was ſteep, and the Britons diſputed every foot of ground like men regardleſs of deſtruction. But their efforts, though vigorous, were in vain. Death preſented himſelf to them on every ſide. The Romans had gained the ſummit. Slaughter enſued. Blood and devaſtation filled the Britiſh camp. Victory rode triumphant among the Roman legions, and delivered the ſtandard of Britiſh liberty into their hands. This was indeed a day of carnage and deſolation; the ſlain were innumerable. Many perſons of diſtinction were taken priſoners, to decorate the vain ſhew of a Roman triumph; and among theſe, the compaſſionate eye of a feeling hiſtorian cannot but drop a tear while he numbers, the wife, daughter, and brothers, of the truly heroic Caractacus.

Abaſhed, confounded, and diſtracted at this fatal overthrow, as a generous lion, terrified by his purſuers, is driven into the toils, ſo did Caractacus inconſiderately fly for ſhelter to the ſtrumpet Cartiſmandua, queen of the Brigantes. She had a long time been a friend to the Romans, and at variance with her huſband Venutius, for the active part he had frequently taken in the defence of his country. Delighted therefore with the favourable opportunity of gratifying her revenge and obliging the Romans, ſhe baſely loaded Caractacus with chains, and delivered him into their hands. An action, which it is hoped, in all the records of future hiſtory, will be branded with the ſtrongeſt marks of infamy. The military reputation of this illuſtrious hero was well known at Rome. He had for many years ſupported that formidable confederacy, began by Caſſivellaunus, and was eſteemed the moſt experienced among the Britiſh chiefs. We may reaſonably ſuppoſe then, that the capture of ſuch a priſoner would be received with univerſal joy, and that the Romans would wiſh to ſee exhibited as a public ſpectacle, a man whoſe military talents had frequently checked the flight of the Roman eagles. All the captives therefore were ſent to Rome, in order to gratify the general curioſity of the people. On the day appointed for this purpoſe the whole city attended; the prætorian guards were under arms, the emperor and empreſs, each being ſeated on a magnificent throne adorned with the trophies of war. All eyes were intent on the proceſſion, which moved ſlowly on in the following order. The vaſſals and dependants of Caractacus walked firſt; after theſe proceeded the warlike ſpoils; which were followed by the general's family, whoſe flowing tears ſufficiently ſhewed, that their ſpirits were equally depreſſed with their fortunes. Very different was the manly deportment of the brave Caractacus. His ſteady countenance demonſtrated that his ſoul ſoared far above his preſent condition. His behaviour was collected and firm. When he drew near the imperial throne, he boldly addreſſed Claudius in the following words, recorded by Tacitus, the Roman hiſtorian.

"Had my moderation kept equal pace with my birth and fortune, I had entered this capital not as a captive but a friend. Nor wouldſt even thou, O Cæſar! have diſdained to rank in the number of thy friends, a prince deſcended from a long race of royal and illuſtrious anceſtors, and the commander of many nations. My preſent condition adds luſtre to your glory, though it reflects diſhonour upon me. I was once maſter of men and arms, of horſes and chariots of war, of riches and power. Can you wonder that I fought to preſerve, and that I loſt them with regret? If the Romans are deſirous of univerſal empire, does it follow that all mankind ſhould tamely ſubmit to the yoke? Had the hand of perfidy ſooner betrayed me, I ſhould have been leſs diſtinguiſhed by misfortunes, and you by glory. Had I fallen in battle, both my name and fortune had been conſigned to oblivion. Puniſh me with death, and I ſhall ſoon be forgotten; ſuffer me to live, and the generous action will remain an eternal monument of your clemency."

This ſpeech delivered by ſo noble a captive, affected the whole audience. The mind of Claudius, naturally humane, melted into ſympathiſing pity, and felt the ſtrong impulſe of glowing generoſity. He ordered the chains of Caractacus and his family to be taken off in his preſence, while at the ſame time, the famous Agrippina congratulating them on the enjoyment of their liberty, received them with the tendereſt marks of kindneſs, and afterwards loaded them with favours. Such was the conduct of the generous Roman and the ſpirited Briton, both of whom may be ſaid juſtly to have an equal claim to the admiration of poſterity.

This victory was placed by the ſenate among the brigheſt periods of Roman glory, and they honoured Oſtorius, though abſent, with a triumph. But the proſperity of the Roman general had now paſſed its meridian ſplendor, while that of the Britons appeared to riſe with new luſtre. The Romans, lulled into ſecurity by ſucceſs, grew indolent and careleſs. The Britons taught by fatal experience the value of military diſcipline, became more formidable than ever. They fell upon the præfect and his legionary cohorts, who were left to erect forts in the country of the Silures, and would have cut them to pieces, had not a reinforcement arrived in time from the neighbouring garriſons. The præfect himſelf, with eight centurions, and a great number of privates were among the ſlain. Soon after they routed a foraging party, with ſome ſquadrons ſent to its ſupport.

They were purſuing their advantages, when Oſtorius ſent out his cohorts to ſtop their progreſs. Their endeavours proving unſucceſsful, he was obliged to draw forth the whole of his legions. Even theſe were no longer invincible. The Britons attacked them fiercely, and maintained the battle till night, when they retired with very little loſs.

Their ſucceſſes were followed with innumerable ſkirmiſhes, which now became frequent all over the face of the country, in woodlands, in fens, as chance or choice, temerity or precaution, reſentment or avarice, directed; ſometimes with, ſometimes without the orders of their reſpective leaders. Two cohorts of auxiliaries, ſent out by rapacious officers, not taking neceſſary precautions, were cut to pieces while ravaging the country, whoſe ſpoils the Britons diſtributed among the inhabitants of the neighbouring ſtates; and this generous conduct paved the way for a general revolt.

A. D. 53. So many unfavourable and ſucceſſive occurrences could not fail affecting Oſtorius Scapula, now doubly depreſſed by a weight of years and a load of afflictions. To the laſt he fell a martyr and died with grief, for not being able to terminate a war he had ſucceſsfully began.

The demiſe of this able general was conſidered by the Britons as a happy preſage of returning independence. They diſplayed again the ſtandard of liberty, and were determined to hazard a battle with the invaders of their country. Manlius Valens took the command of the Roman forces till the arrival of Aulus Didius, who was appointed by the emperor to ſucceed Oſtorius. But before he could reach his government, an engagement had taken place between the two armies, in which the Romans were defeated; and the Britons fluſhed with ſucceſs, had penetrated into Britannia prima; whereby their legionary troops were diſpirited, and their auxiliaries thrown into great conſternation.

Didius, on his arrival, found ſufficient reaſons to reprehend Manlius, and exerted his utmoſt endeavours to recover the loſſes ſuſtained by the imprudent conduct of that general. By his abilities and application, though unequal to the taſk he was ſent to perform, this Roman proprætor put a ſtop to the victories of the Silures.

About this time Claudius dying, was ſucceeded by Nero in the imperial throne, a prince whoſe luſt, avarice, and cowardice, rendered him averſe to military exploits; but the people conſidered Britain as one of the faireſt jewels in the Roman diadem; and Nero thought it prudent to tread in the ſteps of Claudius, whoſe memory he highly reſpected.

A kind of civil war alſo broke out in Britain, occaſioned by Cartiſmandua, queen in a province of the Brigantes, that infamous betrayer of Caractacus, having taken to her polluted bed Volocatus, one of her menial ſervants. She likewiſe put to death the brother and kinſman of her huſband. Exaſperated at ſuch ſhocking injuries, Venutius excited the reſentment of the neighbouring ſtates againſt her. They received his pointed repreſentations with all the marks of horror; and determined to puniſh the baſe Cartiſmandua in an exemplary manner. The Silures and Brigantes joined the confederacy, and bound themſelves by the moſt ſolemn acts of their religion, either to take ample vengeance on the infamous betrayer of their country, or periſh. Cartiſmandua now experienced ſome of thoſe conſequences that ever attend a gratification of lawleſs paſſions. Deſerted by her friends, hated by her ſubjects, expoſed to the fury of an enraged people, ſhe had no choice left but that of flying for ſuccour to the enemies of her country, who readily received her with much more kindneſs and reſpect than her licentious character merited.

The Britons immediately purſued her to this friendly aſylum, and the Romans marched out to meet them. An obſtinate engagement enſued, the field of battle was covered with ſlain, and Cartiſmandua was with difficulty preſerved from falling into the hands of an incenſed people. We may juſtly conclude, this battle not a little tarniſhed the military honours of the Romans; for we find Venutius ſeized upon all the dominions of Cartiſmandua, and the confederates, exaſperated at the protection given her by the Romans, reſolved unanimouſly to exterminate or expel thoſe bold intruders. Didius, who was very old and infirm, intruſted the command of the army, whom he could not head in perſon, to generals much inferior in merit. He ſaw with extreme grief the ſudden reverſe of his fortune, and fell a victim to the complicated attacks of diſeaſe and vexation.

A. D. 61. When an account of his death reached Rome, Paulinus Suetonius, a celebrated general, was appointed to ſupply his place. A leader of his abilities was much wanted in Britain, and the Romans cheriſhed the moſt flattering expectations from his military talents. Nor were they deceived by a falſe hope, for this great commander took the moſt prudent meaſures to ſurmount the difficulties he knew he had to encounter with. The greater part of the Roman army was encamped in the country of the Ordovices, near the ſtreight which ſeparates the iſland of Mona, now called Angleſey, from the coaſt of North-Wales. This iſland was well peopled, and the place where the Druids had fixed their reſidence. Suetonius determined to deſtroy their ſeat of ſuperſtition, conceiving that while the Britons were under the influence of their inſtructions, it was in vain to think of reducing them by force to obedience. Mona therefore muſt be laid waſte and the Druids extirpated, in order to pave a way for Roman ambition to triumph over Britiſh liberty.

Suetonius perceiving the arm of the ſea that divides Mona from the adjacent coaſt, could not be forded by his infantry, collected a ſufficient number of boats for tranſporting the legions, while the horſe croſſed the ſtreight. As he drew near, he found the ſhore lined with the natives to oppoſe him, but being drawn up at ſome diſtance, he landed with very little oppoſition. A ſcene now preſented itſelf which ſtruck the Romans with a ſuperſtitious horror; as the Britons advanced, they beheld their women running up and down their ranks with diſhevelled hair, like ſo many furies, having flaming torches in their hands, and making diſmal lamentations: while at the ſame time the Druids, who were intermixed with them, invoked heaven, pouring forth the moſt horrid execrations, and calling down the vengeance of the gods upon the enemies of their religion.

This unuſual ſight, with the horrid yellings with which it was accompanied, transfixed for a time the Roman legions motionleſs. Suetonius ſeeing their conſternation and how much they were expoſed to the arrows of the Britons, flew from rank to rank, and endeavoured to rouſe his ſoldiers to action. At length animated by exhortations of their general, they attacked and ſoon routed the confuſed multitude that had made a ſhew of oppoſition, driving them, their prieſts and women, into their woods, with a terrible ſlaughter. Being by this defeat maſter of the iſland, Suetonius deſtroyed every place dedicated to ſuperſtitious worſhip. He overturned their altars that had often been ſtained with human blood, cut down their magical woods, demoliſhed their myſterious groves, burnt their prieſts in thoſe fires that had been lighted for the ſacrifice of Roman priſoners, and by theſe acts of cruel ſeverity put an effectual ſtop to Druidiſm. He then ordered forts to be erected, and left a garriſon ſufficient to ſecure this new conqueſt.

But while thus employed, his attention was required to the interior provinces, where a general revolt ſeemed impending; excited by oppreſſive taxes laid on the Britons, and the avarice, injuſtice, and brutality of Catus Decianus, the Roman procurator.

Praſatugus, king of the Iceni, having no ſon to inherit his immenſe treaſures, bequeathed them to the emperor, making Nero co-heir with his two daughters, hoping by that means to procure a powerful protector for his children. But he was fatally deceived, for the abominable vices of Nero had long made him a ſtranger to juſtice, gratitude, and humanity, and his officers copying too cloſely his example, were guilty of the moſt ſhocking acts of brutality, that luſt could dictate, or avarice perpetrate. Catus Decianus, a man of infamous character was ſent into Britain as procurator, or ſuperintendant of the finances. Claudius had remitted the confiſcation of the eſtates of thoſe Britons who had withſtood his power, but Decianus eſtabliſhed a court of reſumption, by which he adjudged ſuch eſtates as had been forfeited to the imperial treaſury. In vain the oppreſſed Britons remonſtrated; the procurator, a ſecond Nero, not only diſregarded their complaints and diſtreſſes, but, under pretence of acting as guardian to the daughters of the deceaſed Praſatugus, rapaciouſly ſeized the whole of his kingdom, pillaged his palace, ordered his widow, upon exclaiming againſt his iniquitous proceedings, to be publicly ſcourged, and even commanded ſome of his licentious centurions, to violate the chaſtity of her two daughters.

Fired by ſuch inhuman barbarity, and ſuch vile indignity offered to the widow and daughters of their king, the Iceni, already ripe for a revolt, had recourſe to arms, and were joined by the Trinobantes, under the command of Venutius. Other neighbouring ſtates alſo united with them, who could not behold ſuch glaring inſtances of Roman cruelty without deteſtation. Determined therefore to pour vengeance on their oppreſſors, they bound themſelves in the moſt ſolemn manner to revenge their country's wrongs, or to periſh in the glorious attempt.

Boadicea having been appointed head of her allies, and who inherited the ſpirit of her anceſtors, inſpired them with ſentiments of revenge, by pointing in the moſt ſtriking colours the unjuſt injuries received by herſelf and family. The Britons felt the force of her eloquence, and waited with impatient deſire of pouring deſtruction on the heads of her inhuman enemies.

The firſt place that felt their vengeance was Camelodunum. This place was taken by ſtorm. Blood and ſlaughter enſued, and the inhabitants experienced every torture an exaſperated enemy could deviſe. Boadicea retaliated on the Roman women the ſame kind of injuries done to herſelf and daughters. The garriſon retired to the temple of Claudius, vainly imagining, that a ſtructure devoted to religious purpoſes would have been a ſufficient defence againſt the ſwords of the victors; but they ſhould have conſidered, Mona was then laid waſte, and her ſacred groves deſtroyed; ſo that religious fury, in the breaſt of the Britons, being added to a ſenſe of civil wrongs, not pity herſelf could reſtrain their rage; they forced the temple, laid the edifice in aſhes, which its ſanctity could not protect, and put every Roman in it to the ſword.

Elated with this ſucceſs, they continued marking their footſteps with devaſtation wherever they came. Petilius Cerealis marched with the ninth legion to ſtop their ravages. The Britons advanced to meet them, and after an obſtinate conflict, all the infantry were cut to pieces, and the horſe only eſcaped, with whom Cerealis fled to his fortified camp.

Suetonius informed of theſe events, made the greateſt expedition to reach London; but finding it impoſſible to defend it with his little army againſt the numerous forces of the Britons, he withdrew to the Surry ſide, upon which Boadicea entering London, deſtroyed both town and inhabitants with fire and ſword. The city of Verulum ſhared the ſame dreadful fate, and it is ſaid the Britons, both places included, put to death more than eighty thouſand perſons, ſparing neither age, ſex, nor condition.

In order to put a ſtop to theſe depredations, the Roman general determined to hazard a battle. This being reſolved on, he choſe an advantageous poſt, where his forces amounting only to ten thouſand, would have it in their power to ſuſtain the fury of the firſt attack. Accordingly, having reconnoitered the country, he fixed upon a ſpot of ground, acceſſible only by a narrow defile, having an open plain in front, and a large wood in his rear. He now placed his legionary troops in the centre, the light-armed on each ſide, and his cavalry on the wings. In this poſition and order of battle, he waited the approach of an incenſed heroine, and prepared to receive the aſſalut of the enraged Britons, or to attack them as circumſtances might require.

He did not long wait for the enemy. The Britons hoping by one deciſive blow, to extirminate the whole power of the Romans, haſtened to the attack. Boadicea led them into the plain, in the front of the Roman army. In this inſtance preſumption effected what military prudence might have prevented. Relying upon the number of their forces, not leſs than two hundred and thirty thouſand men, they did not entertain a doubt of obtaining a complete victory; and deluded by this vain confidence they brought their wives and children with them into the field, that they might be ſpectators of the battle, and aſſiſt them in plundering the invaders of their country. Theſe being placed in waggons poſted in their rear, rendered a retreat extremely difficult.

The Britons now appeared in ſuch numbers as to aſtoniſh the Romans. At their head ſtood Boadicea in her chariot with her two daughters. She was dreſſed in a looſe bodied gown, with a ſpear in her hand, and a hare in her boſom, which, at the end of her harangue, ſhe let ſlip as an omen of ſucceſs. In her perſon ſhe was tall and robuſt. Her face comely and full of dignity. Her complexion was fair, and her yellow treſſes flowed below her waiſt. Addreſſing herſelf to the army, ſhe repreſented with the moſt powerful eloquence, and in the moſt pathetic manner, the inhuman inſults which, without provocation, ſhe had received; "But, added ſhe, the deſire of revenging mine own injuries, however great, is the leaſt motive that induced me to attack thoſe tyrants of the world. It is the univerſal ſlavery that is preparing, the chains that is forging for my brave and numerous people, that have rouſed me to vengeance. I have taken the field to defend the liberties of my country; but if there be any here who prefer the yoke of ſlavery to freedom; who can tamely behold their wives and daughters raviſhed, and ſtoop ſo low as to kiſs the feet of an inſolent maſter, they will do well to depart. For myſelf, I am abſolutely determined to conquer or periſh."

A general ſhout of applauſe reſounded through the ranks of the Britiſh army. The ſignal for engaging was diſplayed, and the Britons ruſhed to the charge with their accuſtomed fury. On the firſt onſet they ſeemed rather to court than decline deſtruction, but their moſt vigorous exertions could not diſorder or break the Roman ranks. The legionary ſoldiers now ſallied out into the open plain upon the enemy, and were followed by their auxiliaries. They charged the Britons with irreſiſtible intrepidity, and bore down all oppoſition. Yet victory was doubtful, till the field of battle was covered with the ſlain. At length the Roman diſcipline prevailed, and the Britons were routed with incredible ſlaughter. Eighty thouſand of them were killed, whereas of Romans not more than four hundred were ſlain, and as many wounded. The unfortunate Boadicea, ſeeing her revenge diſappointed, and her hopes fruſtrated, by the defeat of her army, put an end to her life by poiſon. Some writers are of opinion that the place where this battle was fought, was Saliſbury plain, and that Stonehenge was erected as a monument to commemorate the heroiſm of Boadicea; others think the important conteſt was decided in a large open ſpace, which are now the fields between Hampſtead, Highgate, and London, near the centre of which, about a mile and a half north of Clerkenwell, is a ſmall projecting bank, which ſome perſons yet call Boadicea's camp.

Suetonius, without we conſider the complexion of the times, and what an inhuman man-monſter was then reigning emperor, might be ſaid to have purſued his conqueſts with a cruelty unaccountable in ſo great a man. Not a Briton received quarter. Even defenceleſs women and children were put to death; whole diſtricts were laid waſte with fire and ſword; towns and villages were reduced to aſhes; and the Britons having neglected to raiſe corn for themſelves, by imagining the Roman magazines certain plunder, a famine cloſed theſe ſcenes of diſtreſs, and almoſt depopulated thoſe parts of the iſland the ſword had ſpared. Yet notwithſtanding theſe accumulated miſeries, though deprived of cattle, bread, habitations, and friends, they refuſed to ſue for peace, reſolving rather to periſh than make the leaſt ſubmiſſion. This inflexible obſtinacy, Julius Claſſicanus, who ſucceeded Decianus in the office of procurator, attributed to its true cauſe, namely, the haughtineſs and ſeverity of Suetonius; in conſequence of which he wrote to the emperor of Rome, informing him, that an end could not be expected to Britiſh reſentment, unleſs Suetonius was recalled. His letter had its proper weight at Rome, to which he was ordered to repair, and Petronius Turpilianus was ſent to ſupply his place.

A. D. 62. The conduct of this new governor was very different from that of his predeceſſor. He was humane, gentle, and, during the whole time of his command, permitted the Britons to enjoy unmoleſted repoſe, ſo that he accompliſhed eaſily by moderation, what military ſeverities could not effect. The Iceni, and other revolted provinces, re-acknowledged the Roman juriſdiction. The Britons, in general, forgot their wrongs. Their rage abated, plentiful harveſts adorned their fields, and peace once more extended her olive-branch over a deſolate country. After having reſided in Britain three years, he returned to Rome. Triumphal honours were decreed him; experience having taught the Romans, that lenity and mildneſs were more likely to ſubdue the Britons, than tyranny and military executions.

A. D. 65. He was ſucceeded by Trebellius Maximus, whoſe inactive diſpoſition, avarice, and want of experience, cauſed an inſurrection among his ſoldiers, which broke out into tumults, and being encouraged by Roſcius Cælius, they deſerted, and compelled him to fly the kingdom.

About this time the emperor, with whoſe name it is ſufficient to have ſullied one page of our hiſtory, put an end to his life with his own deteſted hands; and during the ſucceeding ſhort reigns of Vitellius, Galba, and Otho, Britain enjoyed an uninterrupted calm of tranquillity. Vitellius appointed Vectius Bolanus to the government of Britain; and on the demiſe of Vitellius, his ſucceſſor Veſpatian gave the command to Petilius Cerealis. This brave general conquered the Brigantes, whoſe country extended from Solway-Frith to Cheſhire, and from the Tyne to the Humber; and Julius Frontinus, who ſucceeded him, ſubdued the Silures.

A. D. 78. But the honour of having ſubdued the Britons was reſerved for Julius Agricola. The tranſactions of this great general and conſummate ſtateſman, are ſuccinctly related by Tacitus, his ſon-in-law, one of the moſt elegant writers, and without exception, the beſt hiſtorian that any age or nation ever produced. His authority, therefore, we propoſe to follow, as being, in our opinion, ſuperior to all others. Agricola had ſerved under Suetonius with great reputation. Previous to his arrival in Britain, the Ordovices, inhabitants of North-Wales, had cut off a body of Roman horſe ſtationed on their frontiers. Agricola, though the ſummer was far advanced, reſolved to check this inſurrection in its infancy, which portended dangerous conſequences. He accordingly aſſembled the legions and auxiliaries, though diſperſed in different parts of the country, and with the utmoſt expedition marched againſt the Ordovices. Their rocks and mountains were no effectual bars againſt ſuch an experienced commander. He routed them on plains, drove them from precipices, and purſued them through places deemed inacceſſible. Haraſſed in every part, and unable to remain in any place of ſafety, they ſubmitted to the Roman governor, and embraced the conditions held out by his clemency.

When the winter was over, Agricola began his operations which he had planned for completely reducing the iſle of Angleſey, an undertaking, Suetonius, when recalled, had left unfiniſhed. This he effected with great reputation to himſelf; and then returning to the ſouthern provinces, he made it his chief ſtudy, during winter, to gain a perfect knowledge of the tempers and diſpoſitions of the Britons, whereby he might put in practice the moſt likely means to conciliate their affections. His endeavours to this end were crowned with ſucceſs. He began his civil adminiſtration with acts of clemency, without relaxing in the diſtribution of juſtice. He was particularly careful to reform thoſe abuſes that had crept into the army, and to reſtrain the licentiouſneſs of his troops, that no freſh cauſe of diſpute might ariſe from their inſolence and oppreſſion. He was an enemy to every ſpecies of corruption. Severe, but not cruel; affable, without receding from his dignity. No griping extortion or rigour, were employed in collecting the tribute; no iniquitous impoſitions were ſuffered; and in all his public acts, he endeavoured to give the leaſt diſſatisfaction poſſible to the people in general. By thus holding the reins of government with an equal hand, he made himſelf beloved by all parties, both of Britons and Romans. The laſt cheriſhed a real attachment to his perſon, and the firſt revered him as a parent.

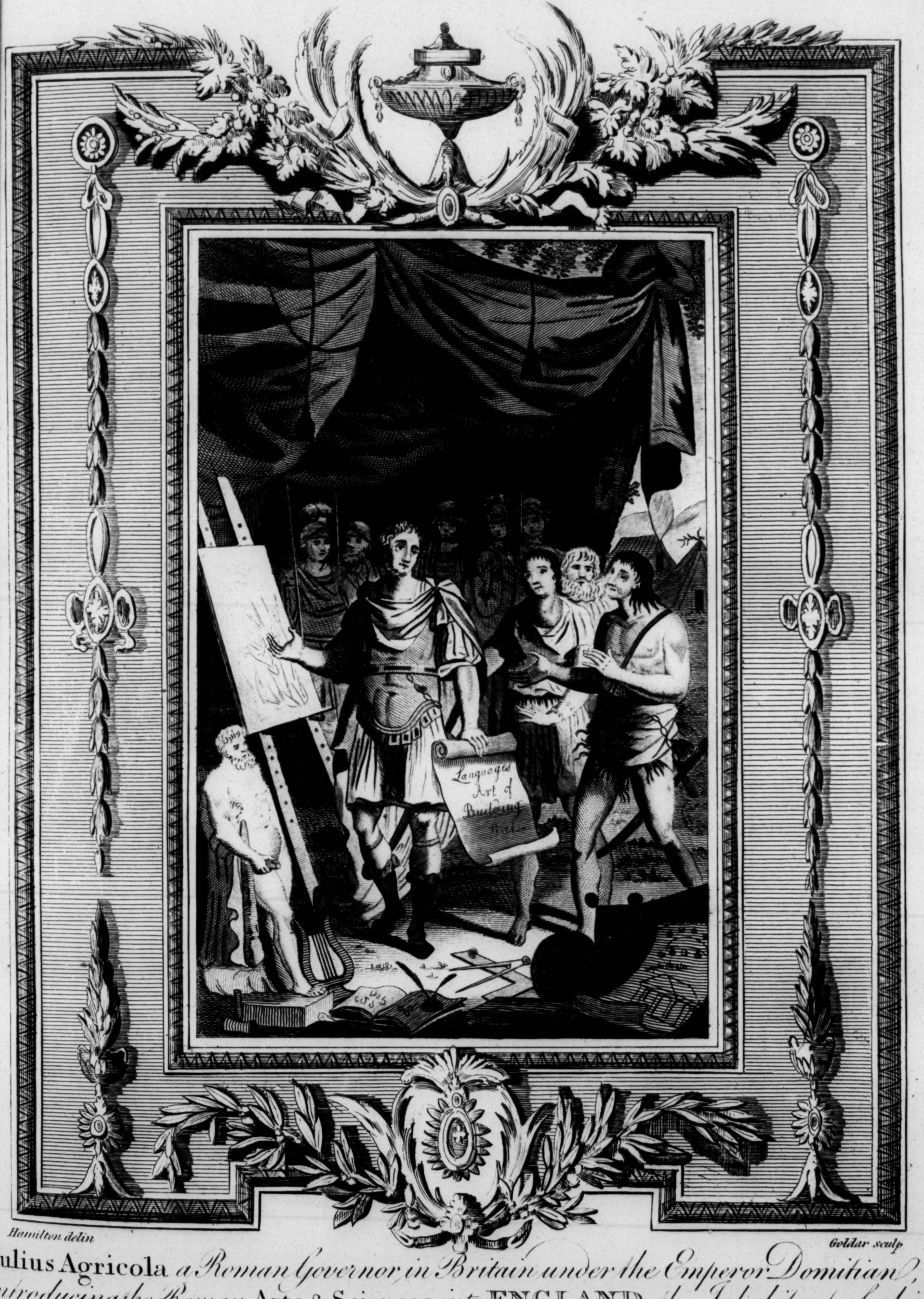
Some of the provinces ſtill refuſing obedience to the Roman power, particularly the Medini, inhabitants of Northumberland, Agricola took the field the enſuing ſpring, and compelled them to ſubmiſſion. By the ſword in one hand, and the olive-branch in the other, he prevailed upon ſeveral capital cities to receive Roman garriſons: and by degrees, with the lenient art of perſuaſion more than force, he ſubdued the whole iſland.

Returning at the end of the campaign to his head-quarters in the ſouth, he purſued throughout the winter his former ſyſtem of politics. He erected temples, courts of judicature, and other public ſtructures. He encouraged the building of private houſes, and eſtabliſhed ſchools and ſeminaries. The Britons, in time, became fond of the arts and manners of the Romans. They cultivated the Roman language; put on the Roman habit; and imbibed greedily Roman luxuries: till at length their natural ſimplicity, together with the very remembrance of their former independence, was buried with their freedom in the grave of diſſipation.

In the ſummer following Agricola made an incurſion into Scotland, then called Caledonia, wherein he penetrated to the Frith of the river Tay. Here he erected a chain of forts to ſecure his conqueſts. Theſe were well ſupplied with proviſions, and a brave intrepid garriſon. It is ſaid, they were conſtructed with ſo much art, and ſo advantageouſly ſituated, that not one of them was either forced, ſurrendered, or quitted as untenable, during his reſidence in Britain.

A. D. 81. The emperor Titus ſucceeding Veſpatian, confirmed Agricola in his government; who early in the ſpring proceeded in his operations, and led his army northward of the forts he had erected, having in his rout ſubdued ſeveral of the ſmaller tribes. In the year following he coaſted along the country, ſaw the coaſt of Ireland, and formed a plan for its invaſion; but this deſign, by the death of Titus, was never executed. He ſpent the concluſion of this campaign in ſecuring his conqueſts, by building a chain of forts acroſs the neck of land lying between the Friths of Clyde and Forth, by which all communication between the Britons and Romans were cut off.

A. D. 83. In this year of his command, the brave and politic Roman general marched beyond



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Julius Agricola a Roman Governor, in Britain under the Emperor Domitian, introducing the Roman Arts & Sciences into ENGLAND, the Inhabitants of which re astonished & soon become fond of the Arts & manners of their cruel Invaders. —

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beyond Badotria, or the Frith of Forth. During his march, which extended through Perthſhire and Fife, his fleet coaſted the ſhore, which appeared alarming beyond expreſſion to the inhabitants living near the ſea. At this time Galgacus was king of the Caledonian Britons, a prince admired for his military talents. He had been educated in the ſouthern part of Britain, ſerved under the Romans, and was well acquainted with their manner of fighting. Knowing the ſuperior advantages that attend acting upon the offenſive, he reſolved to attack the Roman forts erected between the Forth and Clyde, without waiting till the enemy ſhould carry fire and ſword into the heart of his country. This ſudden movement of Galgacus, with exaggerated accounts of the number of his forces, having been reported to the Roman officers, they adviſed their general to retreat; but Agricola, ſenſible of the effect ſuch a ſtep muſt produce, reſolved to face the enemy, but adopted every prudent precaution his preſent critical ſituation required. He ſaw the danger of keeping his troops in one body, to oppoſe a numerous, active enemy, who might ſurround him, and cut off his proviſions. In order, therefore, to avoid the fate of periſhing by famine, he divided his forces into three bodies. Galgacus no ſooner perceived this, than he fell ſuddenly upon the weakeſt diviſion of the Romans, and, having cut to pieces the advanced guard, poured like a deluge into their camp. The ſuddenneſs of this attack filled the legionary ſoldiers with aſtoniſhment, which was greatly heightened by its having been made in a dark and tempeſtuous night. Fortunately for them, Agricola having been informed by ſpies of the enemy's deſign, diſpatched a reinforcement of light armed infantry to their aſſiſtance; who when they reached the camp gave a general ſhout, which intimidated the enemy, and animated with returning vigour the deſpairing legion. Thus timely ſupported, the whole body fell with fury upon the Caledonians, who, unable to reſiſt the charge, betook themſelves to flight, and retreated to their ſtrong holds, whither the Romans did not think it prudent to purſue them. This defeat, inſtead of quelling, rouſed in their boſoms the ſpirit of liberty, which diffuſed itſelf through the whole country. A general aſſociation was entered into, and an army far more numerous was raiſed; but before they were ready to take the field, the ſeaſon was too far advanced to attempt a deciſion of the great impending conteſt.

A. D. 84. Early in the ſpring, having collected their forces, and ſecured their wives and children in places of ſafety, they waited for the Romans at the foot of the Grampian hills. The Romans were impatient to be in the field of action. They called on their general to lead them into Caledonia, aſſuring him of their readineſs to undergo every fatigue, and face every danger. Agricola, pleaſed with their martial ardour, ſent his fleet before him, with orders to alarm and harraſs the enemy; while he himſelf advanced againſt the Caledonian army, which conſiſted of thirty thouſand men, headed by Galgacus. Upon the approach of the Romans, this intrepid chief harangued his troops in theſe words:

“ When I conſider the cauſe of this war, and the preſent criſis, I have reaſon to preſume, that the future happineſs and freedom of the whole iſland will date their birth from this important day. For we are the moſt valiant remains of the Britons, ſeated in the remoteſt regions, beyond the ken of thoſe nations enſlaved by the enemy; ſo that our eyes are yet unpolluted, and free from the contagion of foreign tyranny; and this ſecret receſs, unknown to fame, has hitherto preſerved us in all the bleſſings of liberty. Beyond us is no nation, nothing but waves and rocks; and on that ſide, nothing but bondage and ſlavery, which is to be expected from the Romans, a people inſatiable in their luſts, and unbounded in their ambition. Thoſe robbers of the world, and ravagers of the univerſe, now the exhauſted continent can no more furniſh their rapines, endeavour to rifle the wide ſeas and ocean. Where they meet with opulent enemies, their cruelty proceeds from avarice; when with poor, it riſes from ambition. The eaſt and weſt, vaſt as they are, cannot ſatiate their voracious minds. They, and they alone, with equal greedineſs, graſp at the riches and poverty of all nations. Devaſtations, murders, and extirpations, paſs with them under the falſe names of empire and government; and they boaſt of eſtabliſhing peace in thoſe provinces they have rendered deſolate. Our goods are their tribute; our corn their proviſions; and our bodies their tools for all kinds of drudgery: and if the modeſty of our wives and daughters has preſerved them from open violence when they were enemies, it cannot ſecure them from their laſcivious friendſhips now they are gueſts. Other ſlaves, whom nature and fortune have deſtined to ſervitude, are nouriſhed by their maſters; but the Britons alone purchaſe their own bondage, and maintain and ſupport their oppreſſors. Were our enemies courage in war equal to their debaucheries in peace, we might juſtly dread their arms; but their glory is all owing to our diſſentions. Our union will diſperſe their forces, that are gathered out of many nations, ſo that one miſcarriage of theirs will diſſolve their whole power.

“ In fine, there you ſee tribute and ſlavery, here death or liberty. Therefore let us conſider the glory of our anceſtors, and the fate of our poſterity.”

This animated ſpeech, had it been delivered to any other than undiſciplined troops, might have had the deſired effect, that of ſecuring a victory. But in theſe to whom it was addreſſed, it only excited a ſhort-lived tranſitory fury, which was productive of a hideous ſhouting, cuſtomary with all barbarous nations before they begin an engagement. It was alſo a cuſtom among the Romans for their generals to harangue them previous to a battle; nor did Agricola omit this neceſſary formality, but endeavoured to animate his ſoldiers with all the powers of Roman eloquence.

Galgacus drew up his forces on the declivity of a mountain, by which their whole number was to be ſeen at one view, and exhibited a very formidable appearance. Agricola formed his army in two lines. The firſt conſiſted of eight thouſand auxiliary foot, and three thouſand horſe forming the wings. The ſecond was wholly formed of Roman legions. Both armies waited for the ſignal to engage with great impatience. It being given, a flight of arrows was diſcharged on both ſides, and the battle began with inexpreſſible fury. The conteſt was obſtinately maintained, with dubious ſucceſs. For ſome time the God of war ſeemed to favour Galgacus, and the Caledonians appeared to have the advantage; which Agricola perceiving he quitted his horſe, and at the head of three Batavian, and two Tungrian cohorts, advanced to a cloſe engagement. This attack turned the ſcale of victory; for by cloſing with the enemy, and engaging them ſword in hand, their javelins, which they could dart with great dexterity, were rendered uſeleſs. But what contributed chiefly to the rout that immediately enſued was, the ready ſupport which the whole Roman army afforded their general, who following his intrepid example, forced the Caledonian cavalry to fall back on their foot, by which a confuſed intermixture of forces followed; and the ranks being too thick, and the ground too uneven for them to do much execution, numbers were borne down by the weight of their own horſes, and many of their chariots being without drivers, contributed, with other unfortunate circumſtances, to put the whole army into irreparable diſorder. In the mean time, the Caledonian foot that had been poſted on the top of the hill, wheeled round during the heat of the action in order to flank the Romans, and attack them in their rear. But they were oppoſed by four ſquadrons of horſe, which Agricola had reſerved to fruſtrate any attempt of that kind. Thus diſappointed, and unable to ſtand the furious aſſault of the legionary forces, the Caledonians gave way on every ſide. Galgacus in vain attempted to rally his forces, and lead them once more againſt their enemies; it was impoſſible to be effected; they fled towards the woods, and were followed by the Romans in ſome diſorder; which Agricola ſeeing, he ordered a ſtrong body of light armed infantry to ſcour the woods. This entirely diſconcerted all the meaſures of the Caledonians, who hoped the enemy would have purſued them in ſtraggling parties, whereby they might have had ſome favourable opportunities of cutting them off. But Agricola's forces advancing in compact bodies, drove them from the woods, and compelled them to ſeek for ſhelter in the inacceſſible parts of the mountains. The carnage was very great. Ten thouſand Caledonians fell in this fatal battle, when not more than three hundred and fifty of the Roman army were ſlain. The ſcene of ſavage brutality that followed, is almoſt too ſhocking for humanity to relate or read. Driven to deſpair, and dreading captivity more than death, the Caledonians ſet fire to their huts, and even maſſacred their wives and children, that they might not fall into the hands of, in their opinion, more ſavage Romans. Oh, can the tears of melting pity refrain from flowing, over ſuch bleeding ſacrifices to unfeeling ambition, and the inſatiable deſire of conqueſt.

A. D. 85. This victory was not leſs fatal to Agricola, than to the Caledonians; for the infamous Domitian became jealous of the reputation of his general, and his ſucceſſors were the cauſe of his diſgrace. He was recalled, under pretence of being promoted to the government of Syria. On his arrival at Rome, triumphal honours, and a ſtatue crowned with laurel, were decreed him by the ſenate. But he lived a very ſhort time to enjoy the juſt reward of his merit; for corroding envy had gained admiſſion into the breaſt of the daſtardly emperor, nor would the military fame of Agricola ſuffer him to reſt, till he had found means to diſpatch him by poiſon. Thus fell this celebrated governor of Briton, deſerving of the higheſt honours conſidered as a general, a civil magiſtrate, or a proprætor. His talents were great, his judgment ſound, his memory tenacious. He was fruitful in reſources, and intrepid in danger; a friend to merit, and an implacable enemy to extortion.

A. D. 87. He was ſucceeded by Saluſtius Lucullus, who likewiſe fell a victim to the emperor's jealouſy. About this time the Caledonians, having collected their ſcattered forces, attacked the Romans with ſome ſucceſs. They even took ſeveral of the forts erected on the iſthmus, between the Forth and Clyde.

A. D. 111. Julius Severus was ſent to quell this inſurrection of the northern people; but was recalled before he could lead his forces againſt the enemy. In his abſence, the Caledonians continued their inroads, and in a battle between them and Lucius Antoninus the Romans were defeated, and Lucius himſelf dangerouſly wounded.

A. D. 120. An irruption, attended with ſuch ſucceſs, required the immediate preſence of an able general. Priſcus Luſcinius was therefore ſent into Britain, and ſoon after followed by the emperor Adrian in perſon. On his arrival he marched into Scotland, and having proceeded to the forts erected by Agricola, he found no enemy to encounter with; for the Caledonians had retired upon his approach to their faſtneſſes, in the mountainous parts of the country. He therefore ſet about providing for the future ſecurity of the Roman provinces. To this end, and to prevent future incurſions of the enemy, he raiſed a rampart of wood and earth, covered with turf, above eighty miles acroſs the country from eaſt to weſt, from the mouth of the Tyne to Solway Frith; and for ſtill greater ſecurity to the ſouthern provinces, he placed garriſons, at proper diſtances, along the whole line.

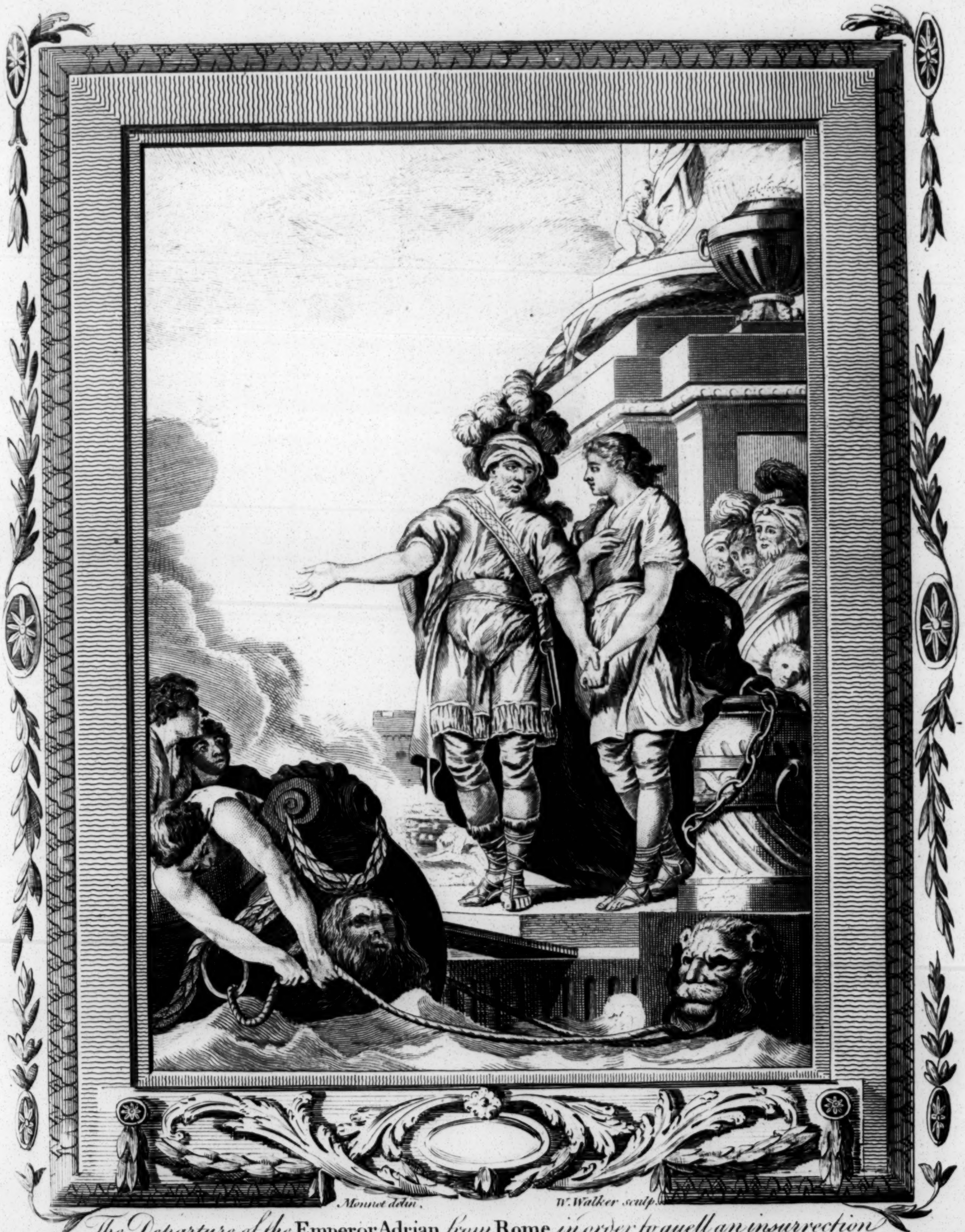
Having thus provided for their ſafety, and alſo reformed ſeveral abuſes that had crept into the government under the command of Agricola, he returned to Rome, where he was complimented by his ſycophants with the title of Reſtorer of Britain; which was added to his other honorary diſtinctions, and ſtamped upon his coins.

A. D. 138. Antoninus Pius ſucceeded the emperor Adrian, when in the year following the northern inſurgents demoliſhed ſeveral parts of their boundary; but they were intercepted in their progreſs by his lieutenant Lollius Urbicus, who compelled them to retire; and to prevent, if poſſible, future incurſions, he built another wall of ſtone, covered with turf, from the Frith of Dunbritton to that of Edinburgh. From this period to the death of Marcus Aurelius, nothing material occurred. To Britain it was an interval of peace; nor did the northern people renew their depredations, the garriſons having been every where well ſupplied with proviſions, and the ſoldiers regularly relieved.

A. D. 180. But no ſooner had Commodus, on the death of his father Aurelius, aſſumed the purple, than his criminal exceſſes rendered him an object of deteſtation at Rome, and contemptible in Britain. The Caledonians judged this a favourable opportunity for expelling their invaders from the bounds of their territories. They aſſembled a ſtrong body of forces, who made a breach in the wall of Antoninus, ſtormed an adjacent fort, and put the garriſon to the ſword. Intelligence of this event having been received at Rome, Ulpius Marcellus, a commander of great military experience, was ſent to ſuppreſs the inſurrection in North Britain, where he began his operations with ſucceſs, and finiſhed them with judgment, by reviving the diſcipline of his army, puniſhing the revolters, and reducing affairs to their former channel; for which important ſervices to the ſtate, he was treated in a moſt ignominious manner by a puſillanimous emperor, who, when he could not proceed to greater extremes, deprived him of his government.

On the departure of Marcellus, a mutiny broke out in the Roman army, who renounced openly their allegiance to Commodus. To quell this commotion, the emperor ſent Perennes, his favourite, into Britain; who by his imprudent adminiſtration in removing veteran officers, and treating the ſoldiers with rigorous ſeverity, increaſed the general diſcontent, inſomuch that they deputed fifteen hundred from the army to accuſe Perennes of high treaſon. Commodus pretended to believe their allegations; and in order to divert the ſtorm from himſelf, delivered his favourite up to the enraged ſoldiery, who immediately ſeized upon the victim of their reſentment, and put him to death.

Helius Pertinax (afterwards emperor) being appointed to the government of Britain, he brought, after having ſurmounted many difficulties, the mutineers to ſubjection, and reſtored tranquillity to the province. However, the neceſſary ſeverities he was obliged to have recourſe to in this attempt, excited



Monnet delin. W. Walker sculp.

The Departure of the Emperor Adrian *from* Rome, *in order to quell an insurrection hich was raised by the inhabitants of Great* Britain *against the Roman Yoke of Slavery.*

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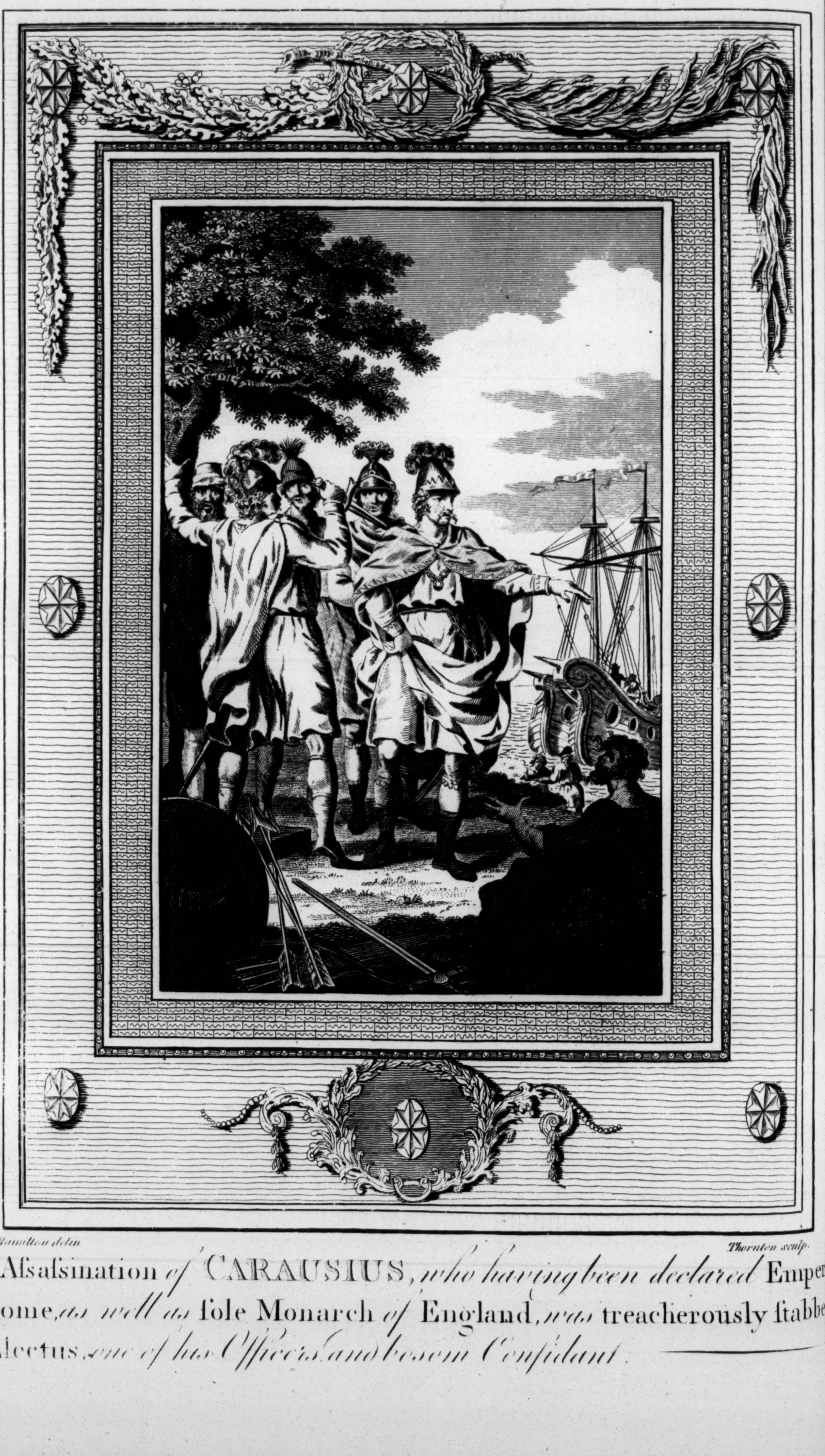

Hamilton delin — Thornton sculp.

The Aſsaſsination *of* CARAUSIUS, *who having been declared* Emper
of Rome, *as well as* ſole Monarch *of* England, *was* treacherouſly ſtabbe
by Alectus, *one of his Officers, and boſom Confidant.*

uch an averſion in the ſoldiers, that he was recalled at his own requeſt, and ſucceeded by Clodius Albinus.

A. D. 193. About this time the tyrant Commodus was poiſoned by his concubine Martia. On his death the Roman empire was diſtracted with inteſtine convulſions, and the affairs of Britain were diſregarded in the bloody contentions for empire. Different pretenders for the imperial diadem ſtarted up, and anarchy erected her throne in the capital of the world. At laſt Severus, having defeated all his competitors, and being ſeated ſecurely on the throne, determined to divide the government of Britain into two parts. The ſouthern department he committed to Heraclitus, and the northern to Virius Lupus. The latter was ſo haraſſed by the Caledonians, that he endeavoured to prevent their frequent viſits, and to purchaſe repoſe with money; which proved only an incentive, inſtead of a reſtraint to the Caledonians; for finding they could be well paid, they took from hence a reſolution of being more troubleſome than ever, that they might be the oftener bribed. The emperor being informed of their repeated inſurrections, and the impolitic conduct of his general, reſolved on an expedition into Britain, though at that time ſixty years of age, and much afflicted with the gout. Accordingly,

A. D. 208. Severus arrived in the iſland, attended by his two ſons Caracalla and Geta. Though old and infirm, he proſecuted this difficult enterprize with equal alacrity and perſeverance. The Scots and Picts, apprized of his intentions, and knowing, as a general, he had no equal, endeavoured to diſſipate the gathering ſtorm, by ſuing ſubmiſſively for peace; but the emperor was not to be diverted from his main deſign. He therefore diſmiſſed their ambaſſadors with an equivocal anſwer, and, having made all neceſſary preparations, marched into the enemies country. Leaving his ſon Geta in the ſouth, he proceeded northwards, accompanied by Caracalla. At length, after incredible fatigue, he advanced almoſt to the fartheſt bounds of North Britain. His army was too powerful to be oppoſed by the natives, who every where ſubmitted to his unconquerable perſeverance; but he met with obſtacles more difficult to ſurmount, than whole legions of embattled troops. The vaſt tract of country he paſſed through was covered with woods and interſected with bogs and marſhes. Sometimes a frightful precipice oppoſed his progreſs, at others a broad and rapid river obſtructed his march. By impediments of this kind, that continually lay in his rout, his forces were deſtroyed without fighting, and diſcouraged without facing an enemy. The Caledonians ſaw his diſtreſs, and renewed their applications for a peace. He accepted of their propoſals, having loſt in his march through Scotland above fifteen thouſand men, and a peace was accordingly concluded. But knowing that their obedience would be ſecured, and the conditions of the treaty obſerved, no longer than they were overawed by a military force, he repaired the old wall built by Adrian, facing it with ſtone, and making it twelve feet high and eight feet thick. This wall the north Britons called Murſever, that is, Severus's wall, and the ſouth Britons, the Picts wall. The legionary ſoldiers of the Romans were employed in erecting this aſtoniſhing piece of architecture, the remains of which may at this day be traced for near ſeventy miles, and will probably long continue a monument of the conſummate ſkill, and indefatigable induſtry of the Romans. Having finiſhed his expedition, leaving the command of the army to Caracalla, Severus retired to Eboricum, or York, and took the title of Britannicus Maximus, which was afterwards ſtamped upon his own coins, and thoſe of his ſons.

Caracalla, by his imprudent conduct in not controling the inſolence, tyranny, and cruelty of his ſoldiers, who made excurſions beyond the wall, and committed the moſt wanton outrages, exaſperated the Scots and Picts to ſuch a degree, that regardleſs of the peace lately concluded, they had again recourſe to arms, and retaliated ſeverely upon the Romans, the unprovoked injuries they had received from their hands.

A. D. 218. The emperor when informed of this inſurrection, but not of the cauſe, was ſo highly incenſed, that he meditated nothing leſs than a general maſſacre of the devoted Caledonians; and with a determination of gratifying his ill-founded revenge, he iſſued orders to his army in the moſt rigorous terms; but lived not to ſee his cruel mandate executed; for before the neceſſary preparations were completed, being depreſſed by infirmities and age, he died at York, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age. His ſoldiers, by whom he was greatly beloved, performed his funeral rites with a magnificence ſuitable to his dignity and diſtinguiſhed merit.

His two ſons Caracalla and Geta, to whom he had jointly bequeathed the empire, having in their eyes the luxuries of Rome, as beſt adapted to their vicious inclinations, made a peace with the Scots and Picts; and ſoon after quitted the iſland, taking with them their father's aſhes, which they depoſited in the tomb of Adrian. But Caracalla, whoſe ambition would not ſuffer a compeer with him on the throne, conſidering Geta as an enemy rather than a brother, cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated. The wretch had made many fruitleſs attempts on his father's life, but in this baſe act of fratricide he unhappily ſucceeded.

From this period nothing remarkable occurred in the hiſtory of England, till the reign of the emperor Diocleſian.

A. D. 284. On his aſcending the throne, he commiſſioned Carauſius, a perſon of mean extraction, but famous for his courage, to ſcour the Britiſh ſeas, with a powerful fleet, of the piratical Franks and Saxons. Carauſius executed his orders with great ſucceſs; but refuſing to account with the emperor's officers for the treaſure he had amaſſed, Maximinian, who was a ſharer with Diocleſian in the government of the empire, diſpatched an emiſſary with private inſtructions to put him to death. Being apprized of this he ſailed to Britain, where he was received with the greateſt acclamations of joy by the inhabitants. The Roman army immediately proclaimed him emperor, and inveſted him with the purple robe. Carauſius now augmented his navy, and performed a coaſting voyage by Gaul, Spain, and Italy; and ſo ſucceſsful were his depredations by frequent deſcents upon the coaſt, that Maximinian was at length compelled to yield him the ſole government of Britain. His power thus indirectly obtained, was well employed; for he fortified the wall of Severus, and embraced every prudent meaſure for the ſecurity of his new ſubjects.

A. D. 293. Conſtantius about this time was joined with Maximinian and Diocleſian, in the government of the Roman empire; and Carauſius being at Bologne, he marched with a large army to inveſt that place. Conſtantius blocked up the port with a ſtone bank. Carauſius deſpiſing this obſtruction, fought his way through the Roman camp in a dark night, and going on board a ſmall veſſel provided for the occaſion, landed ſafely in Britain. He now omitted no means of putting the iſland in a ſtate of defence; but while thus employed, he was ſlain by Alectus, a boſom friend, and one of his officers; who aſſumed the government, and made preparations for waging war againſt Conſtantius. The emperor was not remiſs on his ſide. Having landed his forces, with a determined bravery, he ordered that his ſhips ſhould be ſet on fire, that his troops might have no reſource but in death or conqueſt: which ſingular proof of valour drew the Britons from all quarters to his ſtandard. A battle enſued, in which Alectus was ſlain, and Conſtantius was hailed as their deliverer from tyranny and oppreſſion.

A. D. 296. Diocleſian and Maximinian reſigning the imperial government to Galerius and Conſtantius, the latter took charge of the affairs of Britain. He thought the iſland worthy of his reſidence, and applied himſelf with unremitted labour to make thoſe a happy people, who conſidered him as their father. During his adminiſtration the arts and ſciences thrived by his munificence, and he permitted the free exerciſe of religion, which had for ſome time before been planted in the iſland. The city of London was ornamented with elegant ſtructures; it was become conſiderable for its extent, beauty, and riches; it was the centre of commerce, and the reſidence of many wealthy merchants.

The Caledonians having again invaded the Roman provinces, Conſtantius was on his march to quell the inſurgents, when he died at York, in the twelfth year of his reign; and was ſucceeded by his ſon Conſtantine, to whom was given the honorary diſtinction of Conſtantine the Great, on account of his ſingular talents and virtues.

A. D. 311. He arrived in Britain a ſhort time before his father's death, who nominated him his ſucceſſor. Soon after this event he repulſed the Scots and Picts. He openly declared himſelf a Chriſtian, and by his zeal for the doctrines of the goſpel, put a final period to the deceptions of Paganiſm. His genius was piercing; his memory tenacious; his learning uncommon; his liberality unbounded. Affable, polite, equitable and humane, he won the hearts of all his ſubjects. No perſon ever retired diſſatisfied from his preſence; no perſon ever implored his aſſiſtance in vain. His laurels of conqueſt were never ſtained with the blood of the vanquiſhed. The ſword of rapacity never followed his victories. Deeply affected with every ſpecies of diſtreſs in others, he often repaid from his own coffers the loſs which the needy had juſtly ſuſtained by his ſentence. To be unfortunate was a ſufficient recommendation to his protection, and the ſufferer was always ſure of finding relief. No diſturbance, no inſurrection happened during his whole reign, though extended to an uncommon length. He divided the iſland into four governments, namely, Britannia prima, comprehending the country between the Thames and the Engliſh channel; Britannia ſecunda, including that part of the iſland that lies between the Severn and the Iriſh Sea; Flavia Cæſarienſis, containing Cornwall, Somerſetſhire, and part of the counties of Wilts and Glouceſter; and Maxima Cæſarienſis, including the northern counties, together with Nottinghamſhire, Derbyſhire, Staffordſhire, and Lincolnſhire. After this adjuſtment Britain was ſubject to a præfect of Gaul, under whom the public buſineſs was tranſacted by a deputy.

A. D. 337. This year was rendered memorable by the death of Conſtantine the Great, who left the Britons to lament their loſs on the twenty-ſecond of May, after a proſperous reign of thirty-one years. From this period to the reign of Valentinian, we cannot find any tranſactions, or events relative to Britain worth recording. But a ſcene now opened which more than repaid the inactivity of many years. The Franks and Saxons committed the moſt horrid ravages on the ſea-coaſts, while the Scots and Picts invaded the interior parts, laying waſte the country wherever they came. The Britons thus harraſſed both from abroad and at home, were in a ſituation truly deplorable. Valentinian, convinced that only a general of abilities and experience could relieve them from the cruelty of the barbarians, ſent Theodoſius, (father of the firſt emperor of that name) to Britain, with a ſelect body of troops. His preſence ſoon changed the face of affairs, and reſtored tranquillity in the iſland. He defeated the invaders, recovered the ſpoils they had taken, and by degrees drove them into their own country beyond the Friths. This done, he formed the country between the walls of Adrian and Antoninus into a ſeparate province, which he called Valentia, in honour of the emperor. He alſo added new works, and placed ſtrong garriſons, at proper diſtances, that a ſufficient force might always be ready to oppoſe any future inroads of the Caledonians. He now turned his attention wholly to the pirates, and having ſent out a ſtrong fleet, the Franks and Saxons were totally defeated. Having repaired to London, where he was received with every demonſtration of heart-felt joy, he called that city Auguſta, which name it ſtill retains in poetical compoſitions.

Every object of his expedition being now attained, Theodoſius applied himſelf to regulate the internal police of the ſtate, which he fully effected by the moſt mild and prudent meaſures; ſo that he became the idol of the people, inſomuch that when he left the iſland, he was followed to the ſhip by a vaſt multitude of all ranks, teſtifying in the warmeſt manner their regret and ſorrow for his departure. When arrived at Rome, the emperor received him with the ſtrongeſt marks of ſincere affection, and the ſenate having decreed him a ſtatue, ordered that it ſhould be placed among their moſt beloved and celebrated anceſtors.

When Theodoſius quitted Britain he inveſted Maximus, a ſoldier of great experience, who had ſerved under him, with the chief command. He was of a noble family in Spain, and by treading in the ſteps of his illuſtrious predeceſſor, gained equal reputation and eſteem among the people; in conſequence of which a profound peace ſtill continued in the iſland, and the northern inhabitants remained quiet in their own country.

A. D. 364. The emperor Valentinian dying, his ſon Gratian ſucceeded him, and choſe Flavius Magnus Theodoſius, ſon of the great general of that name, to be his aſſociate in the empire. This exaltation of young Theodoſius exaſperated Maximus, who thought it an indignity to ſerve under a perſon he uſed to command. By his complaints of the injuſtice done him, he prevailed on his ſoldiers to proclaim him emperor, and accompany him to the continent. Elated with this dawn of ſucceſs, he took with him the flower of the Britiſh youth, and paſſed over into Gaul, where his army received additional ſtrength by a reinforcement of German auxiliaries. Having firſt defeated Gratian, who fled to Lyons, where he was murdered by the hand of Andragathius, one of his officers, Maximus advanced againſt Theodoſius, by whom he was routed and put to death.

A. D. 388. At this time the condition of the Britons was very diſtreſsful. Their iſland left defenceleſs by Maximus, without troops, without a fleet to guard their coaſts, they became an eaſy prey to the enemy. The Scots and Picts renewing their depredations, entered the Roman provinces with fire and ſword, and committed in their rout the moſt horrid barbarities. The Britons tranſmitted to Rome repeated ſupplications for aſſiſtance. Theodoſius liſtened to their ſolicitations, and appointed Chryſanthus to the government of Britain, who ſuppreſſed the northern inſurrections. He likewiſe defeated the pirates who had for ſome time infeſted the coaſt. By which means the Britons once more enjoyed a ſhort reſpite from the incurſions of their ſavage invaders.

A. D. 395. But the death of Theodoſius put an end to their repoſe. From this period the Roman empire drew near its diſſolution. The utmoſt exertion of her remaining ſtrength became neceſſary to oppoſe a deluge of barbarians from the north, which continually increaſing, rolled on, and overflowed the plains of France and Italy.

A. D. 403. Alaric the Goth, during the reign of Arcadius and Honorius, ſons of Theodoſius, ſacked the city of Rome, which event occaſioned a recall of the legions from Britain. This was of courſe neglected, whereby the ſouthern parts lay expoſed to the ſudden inroads and deſcents of their northern neighbours. The Saxons, Picts, and Iriſh landed in ſeveral parts of the iſland. In vain the Britons oppoſed their incurſions. Their effeminacy was not an equal match for ſuch hardy adventurers. Driven almoſt to deſpair, they implored in the moſt pathetic terms the protection of the emperor. But Honorius was not in a condition to grant them relief. Affairs now became deſperate.

A. D. 423. At length in the reign of Valentinian III. a legion was ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Britons, who drove the Picts and Scots from their borders. But this aid was ſoon withdrawn, when the northern ſavages renewed hoſtilities.

A. D. 447. The Britons unable to repel their attacks, again renewed their applications to the Romans for ſuccour. The emperor commiſerating their depreſſed ſtate, ordered another legion for their protection, under the command of Gallio. But the interior parts of the Roman empire being now invaded, rendered their recall alſo neceſſary. Gallio therefore, after informing the Britons that they were to expect no farther aſſiſtance from Rome, gave them all neceſſary inſtructions for their defence. He rebuilt the wall of Severus, exhorted them to practiſe the Roman diſcipline, taught them the methods of making implements of war, and pointed out the natural advantages they poſſeſſed from their ſituation. Having performed theſe friendly offices, he took a final farewel, and embarked with his legion for the continent. Thus ended the dominion of the Romans in Britain, four hundred and ſixty years after Julius Cæſar's firſt invaſion; three hundred and ſixty-ſeven after they got poſſeſſion under Claudius; and about three hundred and thirty after they extended their conqueſts under Agricola and his ſon Titus.

Some of the following particulars reſpecting the ſtate of Britain under the Romans, are extracted from the Notitia of the Roman empire, publiſhed about the year 410.

Britain, appertaining to the diſtrict of the Præfectus Prætoria of Gaul, was under the juriſdiction of a governor or vicar. According to the number of provinces he had five magiſtrates under his command, two being conſulars and three preſidents. The conſulars as officers ſubordinate to the governor or vicar general, ruled Valentia and Maxima Cæſarienſis, and the preſidents preſided over Britannia prima, Britannia ſecunda, and Flavia Cæſarienſis. Under theſe five officers were many of inferior rank, to aſſiſt them in the adminiſtration of the civil government.

That of the military was committed to the ſuperintendance of three principal officers, the Comes Britanniarum, Comes Littoris Saxonici, and the Dux Britanniarum. The firſt commanded the troops and garriſons in the interior parts of the iſland, and the two latter thoſe of the eaſtern and northern coaſts: The chief of the three was the Comes, or Count of Britain, who had under his command three thouſand foot, and ſix hundred horſe. The Comes, or Count of the Saxon ſhore, acted as admiral of the coaſt, and had nine garriſons under his command; which together formed a body of two thouſand two hundred foot, and two hundred horſe. The Dux, or Duke of Britain, was ſtationed in the north, having fourteen garriſons to ſuperintend, which contained a body of ſix thouſand foot, three hundred horſe, and twenty-three military poſts on the Picts wall, defended by eight thouſand foot, and ſix hundred horſe; ſo that the eſtabliſhed military force in Britain amounted to nineteen thouſand two hundred infantry, and one thouſand ſeven hundred cavalry.

To facilitate the communication of the troops in the different parts of the kingdom, and a free intercourſe among the people, the ſoldiers, in peaceable times, were employed on the public highways. Theſe were extenſive, grand, and uſeful. Their remains are ſtill the ſubject of admiration to the curious. By the Romans they were called, conſular, prætorian, regal, and military ways, and afterwards by the Saxons, ſtradas, from whence comes the modern appellation of ſtreets. There were many in number, but the four principal ones had the names given them of Via Vetelingiana, or Watling ſtreet; Via Icenorium, or Ikenield ſtreet; Erming ſtreet, and Foſs way. Two of theſe extended the whole length of the kingdom, and the other two the breadth, from ſea to ſea. To theſe works of labour the Romans added twenty-eight cities, beſides a great number of caſtles, forts, towers, walls, locks, and other public buildings, for the repoſe of the weary, and the reception of travellers.

Many churches were alſo built, and Chriſtianity introduced by the Romans into Britain. But the exact time is uncertain. All we know is, that the Chriſtian religion had been propagated in the iſland before the end of the ſecond century; for in the general perſecution under Diocleſian, about the year 303, many of the Britiſh Chriſtians ſuffered martyrdom for their faith, among whom was St. Alban and ſeveral others. In 314, three Britiſh biſhops attended the council of Arles in France; in 325, the ſame number attended the council of Nice; and in 359, three more attended the council of Ariminium. From whence it is juſtly concluded, that the Chriſtian church in Britain was originally independent of the church of Rome.

What progreſs the Britons made in literature during theſe periods is uncertain; no traces of their learning, not a ſingle book having been handed down to us. Architecture and ſculpture flouriſhed during the reign of Carauſius, and further improvements were made in other polite arts, during the reign of Conſtantine the Great; but the names of the artiſts with their works have ſunk together in the vortex of oblivion.

Thus did Britain, like a young phœnix, riſe into exiſtence from the aſhes of its mother. If a finite mind may be allowed to explore the intricate ways of infinite wiſdom, it ſhould ſeem, the Roman empire was demoliſhed, that the magnificent ſtructure of Britiſh glory might be raiſed upon its ruins; that a nation might flouriſh, who ſhould not only improve the Roman arts, but enjoy the beſt form of government, and the pureſt religion in the whole world.

BOOK III.

From the INTRODUCTION *of the* SAXONS *and* DANES *into* BRITAIN, *to* WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, *when it was Subjected to the* NORMANS.

CHAP. I.

The Britons are harraſſed by, and become an eaſy prey to the Picts and Scots—They apply in vain to the Romans for aſſiſtance—Elect Vortigern generaliſſimo, who adviſes them to have recourſe to the Saxons for protection—One thouſand five hundred of theſe people arrive in England, under the command of Hengiſt and Horſa—Having been reinforced at different times, they avow their intentions, ſubdue that part of Britain now called England, which they divide into ſeven kingdoms, namely, Kent—Suſſex, or South Saxons—Weſſex, or Weſt Saxons—Eſſex, or Eaſt Saxons—Northumberland—Eaſt Anglia—Mercia—which have been diſtinguiſhed by the general appellation of the Saxon Heptarchy—The hiſtory of the ſeveral kingdoms in order; by whom founded; when eſtabliſhed; and their final diſſolution by Egbert the Great, firſt king of all England—The religion of the Anglo Saxons; their converſion to Chriſtianity, and eccleſiaſtical hiſtory.

THE Britons deprived of aſſiſtance from the Romans, unacquainted with the art of civil government, unaccuſtomed to the toils of war, their martial ſpirit enervated on the lap of indolence, found their ramparts but a weak defence, and deſerting their ſtation, became an eaſy prey to the Picts and Scots. Theſe inſurgents having made ſeveral breaches in the wall of Severus, entered their territories, ſpreading deſolation through the country, marking their footſteps with blood, and leaving behind them as they went, the veſtiges of their cruel devaſtations. Thus harraſſed, the Britons were compelled to ſue for peace, which they obtained on the hard condition of ſurrendering all the country north of the Humber to their ferocious enemy, who ſoon broke the treaty, and renewed their former deſtructive inroads. To theſe were added the greateſt of all national calamities, that of a dreadful famine; ſo that the horrors of hunger kept equal pace with the deſolations of war. The former extended even to the Caledonians, who found it impoſſible to ſubſiſt in a country they themſelves had laid waſte. From theſe ſources of calamity ſprung domeſtic broils, religious contentions, and a dreadful peſtilence, which raged ſo furiouſly, that the living were ſcarcely ſufficient to bury their dead.

A. D. 448. In this deplorable ſituation, the ſword in their borders, peſtilence in the heart of their country, famine at their doors, they applied by letter, inſcribed, "the groans of the Britons" to Ætius, Valentinian's general, for aſſiſtance. "The barbarians, ſay they, drive us toward the ſea, the ſea throws us back upon the barbarians; and we have only the wretched alternative left us, of periſhing by the ſword or the waves." But their requeſt could not be granted. The ravages on the continent, by the Goths and Vandals, were equal to thoſe committed in Britain.

However the Picts and Scots having retired into their own country, with the ſpoils they had taken, afforded the miſerable Britons a ſhort interval of peace, in which their ſpirits, though not their antient courage, revived. Returning to their former habitations, they applied themſelves to agriculture, and in a little ſpace of time reſtored the bleſſings of plenty to their impoveriſhed country. To render theſe permanent, and to cement a union among themſelves, they elected Vortigern king of Devonſhire and Cornwall, generaliſſimo; who inſtead of animating this degenerate people to defend themſelves, made a propoſal in a convention of the ſtates, to employ an army of Saxon troops for their protection. The motion was approved unanimouſly, and ambaſſadors were immediately diſpatched, to treat for a ſtipulated number of thoſe foreign auxiliaries. To ſuch kind of wretched expedients will that nation generally have recourſe, who are enervated by effeminacy, or accuſtomed to the yoke of ſlavery.

The Saxons at that time were a branch of thoſe Gothic nations, who pouring down from the north, gave laws, manners, and liberty to the reſt of Europe. Their name is derived from the word Seax, ſignifying a ſhort hooked ſword, which was their principal weapon. Valour and a love of liberty formed their diſtinguiſhed character. Their chiefs were ſubject to the regulations of the ſtate, and to the voice of the people, who always came armed into their public aſſemblies. Their attachment to their leaders was very remarkable, and military ardour was the firſt principle in their government. They had by this ſpread themſelves through the northern parts of Germany, and were in poſſeſſion of all the ſea coaſt from the mouth of the Rhine to Jutland. For a time they limited their piracies to the ſea-coaſts of Germany, between the Rhine and the Elbe, but at length extended them to the northern parts of Gaul, and the weſtern ſhores of Britain.

The appearance therefore of the Britiſh deputies could but be very pleaſing to a people whoſe country was overſtocked with inhabitants. Their invitation was gladly accepted; and Witigiſil their commander in chief, having ſummoned an aſſembly, it was reſolved to ſend a ſufficient force into Britain, under the command of his two ſons.

A. D. 449. Accordingly the two brothers, Hengiſt and Horſa, were appointed to conduct this firſt expedition. Nor did they find any difficulty in perſuading their countrymen to follow their ſtandards. About one thouſand five hundred having been ſelected by lot, they embarked in three ſhips, and arrived in the iſle of Thanet in Kent, which had been aſſigned them by Vortigern for the place of their reſidence. This was the firſt piece of land the Saxons poſſeſſed in Britain.

It was not long before the Saxons had an opportunity of convincing the Britons, that they had not applied to a people incapable of defending them from their northern invaders. The Scots and Picts having been defeated in ſeveral engagements with the Saxons, dreaded their very name. A complete victory was obtained near Stamford in Lincolnſhire, over the barbarians, from whom the ſpoils they had taken were recovered, and they themſelves entirely expelled from ſouth Britain.

Theſe ſucceſſes gained in ſo eaſy a manner, together with the fertility of the country, which they beheld, in their various marches through it, with longing eyes, awakened in them an ambition of ruling thoſe they came to protect, and ſubduing the whole iſland they had been invited to defend. However for the preſent they concluded an agreement with Vortigern, whereby they were to receive both pay and ſubſiſtence; with which terms they ſeemed for a while ſatisfied, and remained quiet. But at the ſame time they ſent over to their countrymen ſuch repreſentations of the Britons and the iſland, as inſpired them with longing deſires of becoming ſharers in their good fortune. Hengiſt and Horſa alſo artfully urged Vortigern, to ſend for an additional number of Saxons, pretending that they would be of ſervice in cultivating a country, adapted to the purpoſes of Agriculture. Vortigern conſented, and upon a ſecond invitation from this weak prince, a fleet of ſeventeen ſail brought over five thouſand men, Saxons, Jutes, and Angles; with whom came Rowena, a lady of incomparable beauty, related to Hengiſt, who was afterwards eſſentially ſerviceable to the Saxons in their political deſigns; for her charms made quickly an impreſſion on the heart of Vortigern, who was ſo faſcinated that he divorced his former wife, and after his marriage with Rowena, he aſſigned the fertile kingdom of Kent to Hengiſt and Horſa, for the reſidence of the Saxons. The Britons ſaw this increaſe of their auxiliaries with anxiety. They perceived the folly of the ſtep they had taken, and were deſirous of retrieving it.

A. D. 452. But it was now too late. The Saxons were landed and their forces continually augmenting. A third embarkation took place, and the northern countries began to ſwarm with theſe adventurers, as the ſouthern parts had for ſome time already done. Reaſons are never wanting when the ſtrong are determined to oppreſs the weak. Thoſe alledged by Hengiſt and Horſa were, that their troops had not been paid for their ſervices. The plea was denied by Vortigern, but without effect, for Hengiſt, without his permiſſion, ſent for more troops from the continent, who arrived under the command of his brother Octa, who with his ſon Ebuſa ſettled in the north.

The Saxon intereſt thus ſtrengthened, the two brothers threw off the maſk, and avowed their intentions, pretending to pay themſelves, and take by force what they affirmed had been unjuſtly withheld from them. Under this pretext, they formed an alliance with the Picts and Scots, ravaged the adjacent country, committed horrid depredations in the county of Kent, and laid waſte with fire and ſword the territories of thoſe who paid them for their defence.

Fired with indignation againſt their perfidious auxiliaries, the Britons had recourſe to arms; and having depoſed Vortigern, placed his ſon Vortimer on the throne. This active prince revived the courage of the Britons. He fought ſeveral battles with the Saxons. In one near Ailsford, he gained a complete victory, and Horſa fell in the conflict.

A. D. 457. The Saxons were alarmed at this change of fortune; nor would they venture a ſecond engagement; but retreating to their camp, waited the arrival of freſh ſuccours. Hengiſt now took upon himſelf the title of king of Kent, and having received the expected reinforcement of troops, he ſallied from his camp, marked his way with blood and deſtruction. Neither age nor ſex were ſpared. The prieſts were burnt upon their altars; the churches were levelled in the duſt; and the whole country through which they paſſed exhibited one ſcene of horrid deſolation.

A. D. 465. Vortimer exerted his utmoſt efforts to ſtop theſe barbarous ravages of the Saxons; but before he could accompliſh this deſirable end, death put a period to his deſigns, and the Britons were left without a leader. At this dangerous criſis, they choſe Ambroſius, of Roman deſcent, his ſucceſſor. Aſſiſted by Arthur, whoſe exploits have given riſe to many fables, he defeated ſeveral detachments of the Saxons, who being curbed by his humane, prudent, and intrepid conduct, were rendered incapable of undertaking any capital enterprize; and ſeveral years elapſed before they could make ſettlements in any part of the kingdom.

A. D. 477. Ella, a Saxon chief invaded Suſſex, and having effected a ſettlement, took the title of king of the South Saxons. About eighteen years after Cerdic and his ſon Kenrick landed in the weſtern parts of England. He was oppoſed by the celebrated Arthur, but conquering all oppoſition, he laid the foundation of the kingdom of Weſſex. About this time no leſs than three armies of Saxons made a deſcent on the weſtern parts of the iſland. The firſt conſiſted chiefly of Angles, headed by Uffa, who founded the kingdom of eaſt Anglia. Cridda eſtabliſhed the kingdom of Mercia; and Erkenwin that of Eſſex. After theſe came Ida, who drove the Britons from their poſſeſſions, and was crowned king of Bernicia, including the counties of Northumberland and Durham. Ella, another Saxon prince, ſubdued Lancaſhire, and moſt part of Yorkſhire. Theſe counties were afterwards united by a marriage between the grandſon of Ida and the daughter of Ella, under the title of the kingdom of Northumberland.

Hence it will appear, that the Saxons, Jutes, and Angles, under the general name of Anglo-Saxons, were ſettled in Britain, after a contention between them and the Britons, which had continued more than one hundred and thirty years. The Saxons having now eſtabliſhed ſeven kingdoms, gave the name of England to the whole. But it may be proper to obſerve, that the iſland of Britain was now in poſſeſſion of four kinds of people, very diſſimilar in their manners. Firſt, the antient Britons, now called the Welſh, were ſettled in Cambria, and in the weſtern diviſion of Danmonium, or Cornwall. Secondly, the Picts, who dwelt on the eaſtern ſide of that part of the kingdom which now bears the name of Scotland. Thirdly, the Scots, who inhabited the weſtern diſtrict of that country. Fourthly, the Saxons, Jutes and Angles, who now bore the general name of Engliſh, and reſided in the ſouthern and eaſtern parts of Britain, ſtretching from the wall of Severus to the channel. Theſe though divided into ſeparate governments, each of which had its own aſſembly, governor and laws, yet in time of national danger, they united, and choſe by mutual conſent one common dictator, or chieftain, as the guardian of the united ſtates. He was commander in chief, and was placed at the head of their political confederacy, but without any juriſdiction in the dominion of others. He led the combined forces againſt the enemy in time of war, and preſided in the grand general council in times of peace.

Hiſtory furniſhes few inſtances with revolutions more rapid, univerſal and complete, than the eſtabliſhment of the ſeven Saxon kingdoms in Britain. The whole ſouthern parts having changed their inhabitants, manners, language and government; the Britons being driven up into Wales and Cornwall, or compelled to ſubmit to the conquerors. Nor were the victors ſatisfied with their poſſeſſions. They ſtained their conqueſts with the lives of the innocent, and founded their power on the maſſacre of its inhabitants. The following table will ſhew the ſeveral kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy, by whom and when founded, and what counties they included.

No.

No.	Names of the kingdoms.	By whom founded.	When eſtabliſhed.	The Counties they included.
			A. D.	
1	Kent	Hengiſt	457	Kent.
2	South Saxons	Ella	491	Suſſex. Surry.
3	Weſt Saxons.	Cerdic.	519	Cornwall. Devonſhire. Dorſetſhire. Somerſetſhire. Wiltſhire. Hampſhire. Berkſhire.
4	Eaſt Saxons.	Erkenwin.	527	Eſſex. Middleſex. Part of Hertfordſhire.
5	Northumberland.	Ida.	547	Lancaſhire. Yorkſhire. Durham. Cumberland. Weſtmoreland. Northumberland. Part of Scotland as far as the Frith of Edinburgh.
6	Eaſt Angles.	Uffa.	575	Norfolk. Suffolk. Cambridgeſhire. Iſle of Ely.
7	Mercia.	Cridda.	582	Glouceſterſhire. Herefordſhire. Worceſterſhire. Warwickſhire. Rutlandſhire. Northamptonſhire. Lincolnſhire. Huntingdonſhire. Bedfordſhire. Part of Hertfordſhire. Buckinghamſhire. Oxfordſhire. Staffordſhire. Derbyſhire. Shropſhire. Nottinghamſhire. Cheſhire.

Before we enter upon the hiſtory of theſe kingdoms in the order here laid down, a few remarks on the nature of the Saxon government, and the evidence upon which its events and occurrences are founded, may not be unacceptable to the diſcerning part of our readers.

The Saxon heptarchy in many particulars reſembled the preſent government of the united colonies in America. Their national council was a congreſs, which regulated the general affairs of the united ſtates. At the ſame time each kingdom had a general aſſembly, under whoſe juriſdiction came all matters that related to its own interior police and government. Beſides which inſtitutions, they had, when emergencies required, an aſſembly of wiſe men, called a Wittenagemat, from whence our modern parliaments are ſaid to have originated.

The ſovereign was elected from among the royal family; but under the direction and control, in every meaſure, of the grand council, over whom he preſided. When any important affairs were to be agitated, all the warriors of the nation met in arms, and the people expreſſed their approbation by rattling their armour, or their diſſent by a confuſed murmur. The meaſures choſen by general agreement were executed with alacrity; and proſecuted with vigour. The warriors of each tribe attached themſelves to their leaders, with the utmoſt unſhaken conſtancy. They attended him as his ornaments in peace, as his defence in war, as his council in the adminiſtration of juſtice. To die for the honour of the band was their chief ambition: to ſurvive its diſgrace, or the death of their leader was infamous. They even carried into the field their wives and children, that they might be partakers of, and incentives to their valour.

The Saxons were ignorant of all the refined arts of life; tillage itſelf was almoſt wholly neglected: they ſeem to have been anxious even to prevent any improvement of that nature; and their leaders, by annually diſtributing anew all the adjacent lands among the inhabitants of each village, prevented them from attaching themſelves to any particular profeſſions, or making any ſuch progreſs in agriculture as might divert their attention from military expeditions, which compoſed the firſt leading principle of their political conſtitution.

The hiſtory of the Saxon heptarchy is involved in a cloud of obſcurity. A regular ſeries of facts cannot be found properly authenticated to ſwell the page of hiſtory. After the moſt laborious inveſtigation of celebrated writers, the ſame doubts, the ſame uncertainties ſtill remain. Theſe took their riſe from the ignorance and ſuperſtition of monkiſh writers, who in all their accounts, military and civil, have directed their attention ſolely to eccleſiaſtical matters, ſo that their writings are little more than records of the wonderful ſufferings of monaſteries, and the deliverances of the church from the perſecutions of Paganiſm. Theſe bigotted monks, guided by the ſpirit of enthuſiaſtic credulity, have adopted the moſt abſurd fictions, and given as hiſtorical facts, relations that ſhock the ear of reaſon. At the ſame time they have often either omitted, or blended with improbable, and ſometimes contradictory circumſtances, ſuch civil tranſactions as are neceſſary for continuing the thread of hiſtorical narration.

All therefore that can be accompliſhed with ſucceſs in this obſcure period, is to collect the ſcattered particles which form the outlines of the Saxon heptarchy, and theſe, in conformity to our declarations, we ſhall endeavour to trace with all poſſible fidelity.

A ſuccinct account of the ſucceſſion of the kings, and the revolutions of each particular kingdom of which the Saxon heptarchy was compoſed.

I. KENT.

A. D. 457. HENGIST having, in a deciſive engagement at Crecanford, defeated the Britons, who loſt four thouſand men, founded the kingdom of Kent, and by his valour rendered it the moſt formidable of the Saxon heptarchy. This event took place eight years after his arrival in the iſland, and he ſwayed the ſceptre of regal authority thirty-one years. After his death the kingdom declined under his three immediate ſucceſſors, who poſſeſſed but a ſmall ſhare of the military ſpirit of their anceſtors.

Eccus, who ſucceeded him, was content to poſſeſs his throne in tranquillity; which at his death he left to his ſon Octa, during whoſe reign the Eaſt Saxons diſmembered the provinces of Eſſex and Middleſex from that of Kent. Having ſat upon the throne twenty-two years, he died, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Hermenric, who performed nothing memorable during a long peaceful reign of thirty-two years.

Ethelbert his ſon aſcended the throne, when the peace of the heptarchy was diſturbed by Ceaulin, king of Weſſex. While the Britons were in a capacity to maintain a conteſt for their liberty, a union of council and intereſt ſubſiſted among their invaders; but after the Britons were expelled to the barren mountains of Wales and Cornwall, the Saxons repining at an unequal ſhare of proſperity, turned their arms againſt one another. Ceaulin, ambitious of power, made no ſcruple of ſacrificing the laws of equity to the thirſt of empire. He ſeized without a plea of juſtice, the kingdom of Suſſex, on the death of Ciſſa. And not content with this acquiſition, he formed a ſcheme of becoming maſter of the whole heptarchy. He had for ſome time obſerved the indolence of the Kentiſh princes, and thought this a proper time for carrying his plan into execution. Theſe political deſigns of Ceaulin were evident to the penetration of Ethelbert, and he took without delay the moſt prudent meaſures to render them abortive. To this end, he ſummoned the other princes of the heptarchy to a general council, and convinced them of the neceſſity of arming in their own defence. They felt the force of his reaſoning, and appointed him commander in chief of their combined forces. Ceaulin gave them battle. He was totally defeated, and ſurvived but a ſhort time his overthrow. Deprived of their leader, and the greateſt part of their army, the Mercians were in no condition of oppoſing their conquerors. They ſubmitted therefore to Ethelbert, who reſtored the kingdom to the lawful heir, but under ſuch limitations as greatly augmented his own power.

But the moſt remarkable event in the reign of Ethelbert, was his converſion from the idolatry of Paganiſm, and the introduction of the Chriſtian religion among the Saxons, of which we ſhall treat hereafter.

This wiſe prince was the firſt Engliſh king who framed a regular code of laws. He alſo built the old cathedral church of St. Paul, London, on a ſpot where a temple dedicated to Diana once ſtood, and Melitus was its firſt biſhop. After a proſperous reign of fifty-two years, he fell aſleep in the boſom of peace and calm tranquillity.

A. D. 616. Eadbald, his ſon, to whom the crown devolved, aſcended the throne. This prince, blinded with a paſſion for his mother-in-law, abandoned his religion, that he might indulge his criminal paſſion without reſtraint. Laurentius, the ſucceſſor of Auſtin, laboured with the utmoſt aſſiduity to make Eadbald ſenſible of the enormity of his vices, and at laſt ſucceeded. Convinced by the arguments of Laurentius, he renounced the Pagan religion, divorced his inceſtuous conſort, and became a remarkable penitent for his crimes. He deſtroyed the idolatrous temples, broke the ſtatues of the gods in pieces, and firmly eſtabliſhed the Chriſtian religion in his kingdom. He contributed by the force of his arguments, much more by his exemplary piety, to the converſion of Edwin, king of Mercia. After a reign of twenty-two years, he departed this life, with the character of an excellent and pious prince, beloved by his ſubjects, and revered for his virtues, even by the Pagan monarchs of the heptarchy.

This kingdom continued in the royal line of the founder, till the year 794. But, after the death of Eadbald, no events that deſerve the notice of hiſtorians have been recorded. On the extinction of the Hengiſt family, of whom Aldric was the laſt, the kingdom was rent by factions, and became the ſport of fortune; till at length it was tributary to the kings of Mercia, and ſo remained till conquered by Egbert the Great.

II. SUSSEX, or SOUTH SAXONS.

A. D. 491. THIS kingdom, the ſmalleſt in the heptarchy, was founded by Ella: Its whole extent was inconſiderable, containing only the county of Suſſex, and part of Surry, which being covered with woods and thinly inhabited, made it incapable of repelling the attacks of a more powerful enemy. Ella was poſſeſſed of great military talents, and on the death of Hengiſt was placed at the head of the Saxon heptarchy. Having reigned twenty-three years, he died, and was ſucceeded by his ſon

A. D. 514. Ciſſa, who not poſſeſſing the abilities of his father, purchaſed a peace of Cerdic, king of the Weſt Saxons, upon conditions of paying him an annual proportion of money and troops. By this means he kept the ravages of war at a diſtance from his own territories, and at the ſame time enabled Cerdic to repel and ſubdue the Britons. He built the city of Chicheſter, the capital of the county at this day. His age, and the length of his reign, were extended to an uncommon duration. He died without iſſue, after a peaceful reign of ſeventy-ſix years, in the year 590, in the hundred and ſeventeenth year of his age.

This kingdom, on his demiſe, was ſeized by Ceaulin, king of the Weſt Saxons; however, the inhabitants ſtruggled hard for the recovery of their liberties, and ſometimes with promiſing ſucceſs; but about the year 760 it was ſubjected to the obedience of Weſſex, and from this period became a province of the Weſt Saxons.

III. WESSEX, or WEST SAXONS.

A. D. 519. CERDIC, a very able warrior, founded this monarchy. He fought many battles with various ſucceſs; but he ſurmounted all oppoſition, and the martial ſpirit of the Saxons was carried to its greateſt height among this tribe. He reigned, after the eſtabliſhment of his kingdom, in great tranquillity fifteen years, and dying in 534, was ſucceeded by his ſon Kenric, who reigned only four years.

A. D. 560. Ceaulin, his ſon and ſucceſſor, invaded thoſe eſtates that were in his neighbourhood, adding great part of the counties of Devon and Somerſet to his dominions. His ſucceſſes excited ſuch a jealouſy throughout the whole heptarchy, that occaſioned a general confederacy to be formed againſt him, at the head of which was placed Ethelbert, king of Kent. A battle enſued, Ceaulin was completely defeated by the allied forces; and this misfortune rendering him contemptible in the eyes of his ſubjects, they expelled him from his throne. In his exile he died in extreme miſery.

A. D. 593. Cealric, his nephew, was raiſed to the throne by the conqueror. He died after a reign of ſeven years, and was ſucceeded by

A. D. 598. Ceolwulph, his couſin, who ſupported his dignity with great glory till his death. This happened when he was engaged in reducing the South Saxons.

A. D. 611. Kengils, his nephew, ſucceeded him, and in the third year of his reign aſſociated with him in the government, his brother Quinchelm. Theſe two princes fought a deciſive battle with the Britons at Banton, above two thouſand of whom were left dead on the field.

A. D. 628. Penda, king of Mercia, made an attempt upon Cirenceſter; in conſequence of which a battle was fought near that town, which was maintained with invincible reſolution on both ſides, till night put an end to the conflict. The next morning preſented a diſmal ſcene of ſlaughter, and cooler thoughts ſuggeſted, that a renewal of the engagement would end in the deſtruction of both armies. Each party therefore relaxed in demands, and a peace was happily concluded. Quinchelm died ſeven years before his brother Kengils, who in the year 643 was ſucceeded by

Kenwal, his ſon, a prince unſteady in his temper, and exceedingly vicious. A. D. 672. After having been expelled his kingdom, and again reſtored to it by the king of Mercia, he paid the debt of nature, and left his crown to his wife Saxeburga. This lady, after a ſhort reign of only twelve months, was ſucceeded by

Eſcwin, a deſcendant of the great Cerdic, who in the ſecond year of his reign was attacked by Wulphur, king of Mercia, and a general action took place between them at Bedwin in Wiltſhire. The battle was long, the ſlaughter great; but at laſt victory turned her ſcale in favour of the king of Mercia. Two years after this battle Eſcwin died, in 676, and left the throne of Weſſex to Kentwin, ſon of Kengils.

A. D. 685. Kentwin was ſucceeded by Ceadwalla. This enterprizing tyrant defeated the South Saxons, plundered the kingdom of Kent, and conquered the iſle of Angleſey, wherein his cruelties exceeded the bounds of ſavage barbarity. On his death,

A. D. 689. Ina, his nephew, aſcended the throne. This prince, formed to ſhine either in the council or the field, was declared in the third year of his reign head of the Saxon heptarchy. In the firſt year, the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles becoming vacant, thoſe people ſolicited him to rule over them; an inconteſtible proof of the general eſteem in which his character was held. He made war upon the Britons, who inhabited the weſtern parts of England, and having ſubdued great part of their territories, he treated the vanquiſhed with humanity unknown to Saxon conquerors. He allowed them to retain the poſſeſſion of their lands, encouraged marriages and alliances with his ſubjects, and gave them the privilege of free denizens. Being firmly eſtabliſhed in his extenſive dominions, he applied his whole attention to form a code of ſalutary laws, which appear as ſupplementary to thoſe of Ethelbert, and the ground-work of thoſe afterwards inſtituted by Alfred the Great. After a long, glorious, and proſperous reign, he quitted his crown for a cloiſter, by turning monk, in 727, and his royal conſort retired to the monaſtery of Barking, where ſhe ended her days. Ina having thus abdicated the throne, his crown was placed on the head of his kinſman

Ethelhard, who after ſwaying the ſceptre thirteen years, died, and Cuthred, his ſucceſſor, was inveſted with regal authority. A. D. 743. The whole reign of this prince was a continued ſeries of tumult and war. His ſon was ſlain in a mutiny, and this misfortune was followed by a rebellion in the weſtern parts of his kingdom. He turned his arms againſt the Britons in Cornwall, and united part of that county to his own kingdom. Dying at Benford, he left his crown to

A. D. 755. Sigebert his nephew, who aſcended the throne. He was young, very head-ſtrong, and violent. Haughty without dignity, and cruel without provocation, he treated his nobles with inſolence, and his people with inhumanity. Kenewulf, who ſucceeded him, drove the tyrant into the foreſt of Andreſwald, where he was killed by the hand of a ſwineherd.

Kenewulf in the beginning of his reign was ſucceſsful; but in the latter part, the victorious Offa took from him all his dominions north of the Thames. He was aſſaſſinated by Keneherd, brother of Sigebert, who, with his adherents, were all cut to pieces, after an obſtinate defence, by a ſelect body of noblemen.

A. D. 754. On the death of Kenewulf, Brithric, deſcended from Cerdic, mounted the throne of Weſſex. About this time, the famous Egbert began to diſplay thoſe qualities which raiſed him to the ſovereign command of the Saxon heptarchy. His great merit, added to the affections of the people, which he had acquired, excited jealouſy in the breaſt of Brithric. Egbert, ſenſible of his danger, withdrew ſecretly into France, where he was kindly received by Charlemagne. By reſiding in this court, he acquired thoſe accompliſhments which enabled him afterwards to conquer the Saxons, and poliſh their barbarity; ſo that the misfortunes of his youth were of great advantage to his future conduct and fortune.

Brithric reigned in peace till the year 789, when he was poiſoned by his infamous conſort Edburga, who fled to France, whither the avenging hand of heaven purſued her ſteps; for ſhe wandered about a miſerable vagabond, and periſhed through extreme want.

At this period the Danes made their firſt deſcent on the Engliſh coaſts, landing a body of men from three ſhips at Portland; but they were defeated with great ſlaughter, and retreated to their veſſels with the utmoſt precipitation.

IV. EAST SAXONS, or ESSEX.

ERKENWIN is ſaid to have founded this kingdom, in 527, though at what period it became an independent monarchy is very uncertain. His immediate ſucceſſors were Sibert, Saxred, Seward, Sigebert, Sigebert the Little, Sigebert the Good, with a few other ſucceeding princes, whoſe names only, and the time they filled the throne, have been noticed by hiſtorians; and if any actions were performed by them worthy of being recorded, they are now buried in oblivion. The laſt of their kings was Swithred. After an interval of about 190 years, Eſſex, with the reſt of the heptarchy, ſubmitted to the conquering arms of the great Egbert.

V. NORTHUMBERLAND.

THIS kingdom comprehended the counties of Northumberland, York, Durham, Lancaſter, Cumberland and Weſtmorland.

A. D. 547. Its firſt monarch was Ida, whoſe reign commenced. He divided it into two provinces, Deïra and Bernicia; the former containing the ſouthern part of Northumberland between the Humber and the wall of Severus; and the latter the country ſituated to the northward of that wall, and bounded by Scotland. Ida was a juſt, generous, and brave prince. He fought many battles with the Britons, and was in one of them ſlain by Owen, prince of the Cumbrians.

The Saxons were long oppoſed by the famous Arthur, who has been celebrated by ſo many fabulous writers that his true hiſtory can hardly be known. He was born about the year 496, and in the year 516 he was appointed to the command of an army, raiſed to oppoſe the Saxons. In order to procure him more reſpect from the ſoldiers, he was crowned king of Gwent, a name then given to the country lying between the Whye and the Severn. His perſonal bravery, generoſity, and affectionate care of his ſoldiers, procured him large reinforcements; and the ſucceſs againſt the invaders of his country anſwered the moſt ſanguine expectations of his ſubjects. He was often victorious, but not always; nor was it in the power of any hero, however great, to drive the Saxons out of Britain. Arthur, indeed, ſtopped their progreſs, and frequently defeated their army, when commanded by moſt able generals. During one of his expeditions againſt the Saxons of Northumberland, Madred, his nephew, whom he had left guardian in his abſence, uſurped the throne. Arthur returned, fought ſeveral battles with him, and at laſt in a deciſive one, near Camlen, ſlew him with his own hand; but he himſelf received a wound which occaſioned his death, after a reign of twenty-ſix years, and was lamented univerſally by his ſubjects.

A. D. 586. Ethelfrid, one of the deſcendants of Ida, married Acca, daughter of Ella; and on the death of that prince, Ethelfrid ſeized the province of Deïra, and united it to Bernicia, forming by this means the kingdom of Northumberland. Acca dying two years after the nuptials, left an infant ſon named Edwin. Thoſe who were appointed his guardians, apprehending his life to be in danger, fled with him into North Wales; where, in the court of prince Cadwin, he received his education.

The active diſpoſition of Ethelfrid, induced him to turn his arms firſt againſt the Britons, whoſe country he laid waſte even to the gates of Cheſter. The Britons alarmed at the progreſs of his victorious army, marched out with all their forces to engage him. They were attended with a body of 1250 monks from the monaſtery of Bangor. Ethelfrid, ſurpriſed at ſo unuſual a ſight, enquired into the cauſe of their preſence. He was told they were prieſts, who came thus unarmed to pray for the deſtruction of his army. "Then, ſaid he, they are as much our enemies, as thoſe who employ their ſwords for the ſame purpoſe." He immediately ſent a detachment, who fell upon the defenceleſs monks, fifty only of whom eſcaped from the ſwords of their cruel aſſailants. Intimidated by this event, the Britons made a precipitate flight; Cheſter was taken; and the monaſtery of Bangor levelled to its foundation. This ſtructure, according to Bede, covered ſo large an extent of ground that its gates were a mile aſunder, and was inhabited by two thouſand one hundred monks, who maintained themſelves by their own labour.

A. D. 616. The growing abilities of young Edwin began now to diſplay themſelves, as he approached to manhood. Ethelfrid had beheld them, when in their dawn, with an eye of jealouſy. He now dreaded their effects. The young prince, conſcious that his right of ſucceſſion would be conſidered by an uſurper as an unpardonable crime, endeavoured, as much as poſſible, to keep beyond the reach of his power. He wandered, therefore, through the neighbouring kingdoms for ſome years, wherein his engaging behaviour gained him univerſal eſteem. At laſt he found an aſylum in the court of Redwald, king of the Eaſt Angles. The uſurper, alarmed with the thought of innocence, having found ſo powerful a protector, ſolicited Redwald to deliver up or deſtroy his gueſt. Rich preſents were promiſed if he would comply, and war threatened in caſe of refuſal. Redwald, after rejecting ſeveral offers of this kind, ſeemed inclined to ſacrifice to intereſt the rights of hoſpitality, and detained the laſt ambaſſador in order to take a final reſolution. Edwin, having been informed of theſe tranſactions, came to a determination of remaining in Eaſt Anglia; thinking it would be better to die, in caſe the protection of that court failed him, than to prolong a life expoſed to the perſecutions of his powerful rival. This confidence in Redwald's honour, together with his other accompliſhments, engaged the queen in his favour, who perſuaded her huſband to embrace more generous ſentiments. Influenced by her ſtrong pleas in behalf of diſtreſſed innocence, Redwald, knowing well the cruel diſpoſition of Ethelfrid, thought it ſafeſt to attack him before he was prepared for a defence. Accordingly, having raiſed a powerful army, he marched into the territories of Northumberland, where, in a pitched battle, Ethelfrid was defeated; and ruſhing furiouſly into the midſt of his enemies, was ſlain, after having killed Regner, a ſon of Redwald, with his own hand. His two ſons Oſwald and Oſwy fled to Scotland, and Edwin was ſeated on the throne of Northumberland.

A. D. 618. Edwin, diſtinguiſhed for his impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, bent his whole attention, in the beginning of his reign, to civilize the manners of his ſubjects. He reclaimed them from a licentious practice of rapine, to which they had been long accuſtomed, and with the courage to attempt, had the happineſs to effect their reformation. The troops of robbers that infeſted the country were diſperſed. His people were happy under his equal government, and were ready to ſacrifice their lives in his ſervice. A remarkable inſtance of this has been recorded by hiſtorians. Quinchelm, king of Weſſex, attempted to deſtroy this gallant prince by treachery, whom he could not defeat in the open field. The inſtrument he employed in this baſe buſineſs was one Eumer, who having obtained admiſſion to the preſence of Edwin, drew a dagger to execute his deteſtable intention; but Lilla, one of Edwin's officers, interpoſing his body between the aſſaſſin and his royal maſter, received the blow, and died with the glory of having ſaved the life of his beloved ſovereign.

A. D. 633. The proſperity of Edwin excited the jealouſy of his neighbours, particularly Ceadwalla king of the Britons, and Penda king of Mercia, who uniting their forces, advanced as far as Hatfield Foreſt in Yorkſhire, before Edwin was informed of their having entered his kingdom. Deſirous of freeing as ſoon as poſſible his ſubjects from the depredations of a ferocious enemy, he gave them battle with an army much inferior in number. Victory for ſome time ſeemed inclined to beſtow her palm on Edwin, when Offrid his eldeſt ſon, being ſhot with an arrow, fell dead at his father's feet. This ſudden ſtroke determined the fate of the day; for Edwin, now exaſperated, loſt his uſual coolneſs and preſence of mind. Mad with parental fury at this fatal event, he ruſhed into the midſt of the enemy and ſoon found the death he ſought for. The Northumbrians, no longer headed by their darling king, fell into confuſion, and fled from the field of battle. Penda and Ceadwalla now tried who ſhould excel in acts of barbarity. Neither age nor ſex had power to move their pity. The ſword of deſtruction deluged the fields with the blood of their owners. Paulinus with Ethelburga the queen dowager, fled into Kent, their native country, taking with them the jewels of the crown, and the plate belonging to the church.

A. D. 635. A ſcene of horrid ravages continued in Northumberland till Oſwald, the ſecond ſon of Ethelred, roſe the deliverer of his country. He had retired to Scotland on the death of his father, where he had made great proficiencies in his ſtudies, particularly that of the military art. He was a Chriſtian; of ſtrict religion and virtue; endued with every talent neceſſary to adorn a throne. Touched with the calamities of his country, he quitted his retreat with a very ſmall force, and entering Northumberland, took poſſeſſion of an advantageous poſt near the wall of Severus. Here he waited the approach of Ceadwalla, who fluſhed with the effuſion of human blood, conſidered Oſwald and his ſmall party, rather as his prey than an enemy; but Oſwald's little band withſtood the firſt furious aſſault of the Britiſh army, who attempted to force their intrenchments. Ceadwalla, enraged at this unexpected diſappointment, encouraged his men, and leading them up to make a ſecond attack, he was pierced through the heart with an arrow. The Britons now by the loſs of their general fell into diſorder, which Oſwald took care to improve, and iſſuing from his intrenchments at the head of his little troop, he put the enemy to flight, obtained a complete victory, and in a ſhort time drove the Britons out of the kingdom with great ſlaughter. Upon which, having aſcended the throne of his anceſtors, he applied himſelf to cultivate the arts of peace. His great merit rendered him conſpicuous among the princes of the heptarchy, who choſe him chief of their political confederacy. This elevation rouſed the reſtleſs ambition of Penda, who could not behold without envy a rival in fame; for as the inimitable Shakeſpear obſerves, a man's virtues ſometimes prove his greateſt enemies.

A. D. 642. Penda, without any provocations, without any reaſons aſſigned, without the leaſt complaint of injuries received, entered the territories of Northumberland, carrying fire and ſword among a people who had not injured him, and endeavoured to cruſh a prince, in contempt of the laws of nations, only becauſe his amiable qualities eclipſed his own. Oſwald advanced to meet the tyrant with what forces he could haſtily collect; but the number of his troops were too ſmall to contend with thoſe of Mercia, who were long uſed to conqueſt, and very numerous. The two armies met at Maſerfelt, where a furious battle enſued; in which Oſwald was ſlain, and his kingdom expoſed to the implacable malevolence of Penda; but making an attempt to take Banbury caſtle, he was baffled in his deſign, and directed his march towards Eaſt Anglia.

Few remarkable tranſactions happened in Northumberland after the death of Oſwald. Aſſaſſinations, the murder and depoſition of weak princes, compoſe the principal part of its hiſtory.

VI. EAST ANGLIA.

THE Angles, a people from Jutland, who landed at different times in independent bodies on the eaſtern coaſt of England, having eſtabliſhed themſelves in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeſhire, and the iſle of Ely, at length formed a diſtinct kingdom A. D. 575.

Uffa was the firſt who took upon him the regal title and authority. But we have no account of him after his aſcending the throne till his death, when he was ſucceeded by his ſon Titel, who reigned twenty-one years in obſcurity.

A. D. 599. Redwald, on the death of his father Titel, aſcended the throne, whoſe merits rendered him ſo conſpicuous, that he was choſen head of the Saxon heptarchy, which high poſt of honour he filled with juſt applauſe. After a glorious reign of twenty years, he died, and his ſon Eorpwald, a very weak prince, was placed in the ſeat of royalty. Here he appeared to great diſadvantage after his illuſtrious father; indeed he was better qualified for a convent than a kingdom. Richbert, one of his generals, was ſo exaſperated at his ſupine inactivity, that he aſſaſſinated him with his own hand. After the death of Eorpwald, a ſucceſſion of obſcure princes filled the throne of Eaſt Anglia, of whoſe names that of Sigebert alone is worthy of notice. He began his reign in 636, and eſtabliſhed the firſt literary ſeminary we read of in the Engliſh hiſtory, which he furniſhed with maſters qualified to teach the ſciences. He reſigned his crown with great humility to Egric his kinſman, preferring the habit of a monk to the robes of royalty; but Penda, king of the Mercians, having entered the kingdom of Eaſt Anglia with his army, Sigebert was earneſtly requeſted to emerge from the convent, and take the field againſt the invader. Yielding to the preſſing ſolicitations of his ſubjects, he put himſelf at the head of the army and engaged the Mercians; but after an obſtinate conteſt, in which both Sigebert and his kinſman Egric were ſlain, victory declared in favour of Penda.

A. D. 749. Ethelbert, the laſt of the Eaſt Anglian princes, gained the love of his ſubjects by his learning, piety, and juſtice. A treaty of marriage was concluded between him and Althrida, daughter to Offa king of Mercia, to whoſe court the unſuſpecting Ethelbert repaired, in order to conſummate his nuptials, from whence his ſubjects promiſed themſelves a long ſeries of happineſs, under the government of their beloved prince. But Offa, with whom ambition had more charms than virtue, violating the ſacred rites of hoſpitality, deſpiſing every thing held dear by mankind, trampling upon the laws of honour, cauſed the innocent Ethelbert to be aſſaſſinated, and ſeized upon his kingdom, which after this period became a province to Mercia.

VII. MERCIA.

THIS kingdom, by much the largeſt and moſt opulent of the Saxon heptarchy, was founded by Crida, a deſcendant from Woden. A. D. 582. He ſwayed the ſceptre only two years; and on his death Ethelbert, king of Kent, ſeized upon the Mercian territories; but perceiving his uſurpation raiſed diſcontents, which might terminate in his own deſtruction, three years after he reſigned the throne to Webba, the ſon of Crida. Throughout a reign of nineteen years he performed nothing memorable. At his death he left his kingdom to Penda his ſon. But Ethelbert fearing the turbulent temper of Penda would involve the whole heptarchy in confuſion, conferred the crown on Cheorl, a nephew of the late king. He reigned eight years, but the traces of his government with his actions, are conſigned, like thoſe of his predeceſſors, to oblivion.

A. D. 624. Penda, though fifty years old when he aſcended the throne, glowed with all the fire of youth, and had the advantage of having great experience united with a daring martial ſpirit. A love of conqueſt was his ruling paſſion, which blazed forth in ſuch horrid exceſſes, as have juſtly branded him with the appellation of a ſanguinary tyrant. The ſword of deſtruction ever attended his rout, and his whole reign was a continued ſeries of blood. It reflects an honour to Chriſtianity, that he always refuſed to embrace its tenets. Time could not quench the flame of his ambition, nor ſtop the progreſs of his inhuman devaſtations. In the eightieth year of his age, when others are tottering on the brink of the grave, he marched at the head of his army into Northumberland, fully determined to depopulate the country; but victory now forſook his ſtandard, he attacked the Northumbrian army, and was ſlain by the ſword of Oſwy.

A. D. 655. He placed Peada the ſon of Penda on the throne, but reſerved the greater part of the kingdom to himſelf, and on the death of Peada took poſſeſſion of the whole: which he held till the Mercians, headed by three popular noblemen, recovered their independence, by driving Oſwy out of their territories.

A. D. 660. Wulpher, Penda's ſecond ſon, who had been concealed by his ſubjects, was now placed on the throne of Mercia. This prince inherited the reſtleſs ambition of his father. War was his favourite purſuit, yet after his baptiſm he was a remarkable friend to the church. Having conquered the Iſle of Wight, he next attacked the Britons, and drove them from their poſſeſſions between the Severn and the Wye. After theſe the kingdoms of Eaſt Anglia and Eſſex felt the power of his arms, which he reduced to a ſtate of vaſſalage, in which they continued to the end of the heptarchy. At length, after a reign of fifteen years he was defeated by Egfrid, and dying, left his crown to Kenrid his ſon.

A. D. 675. Kenrid being an infant, his uncle Ethelred, celebrated for his military talents, aſcended the throne. His firſt expedition was againſt the kingdom of Kent, great part whereof he laid waſte. He next turned his arms againſt Egfrid, king of Northumberland, from whom he recovered Linſey. Soon after which, being infected with the gloomy ſuperſtition of the times, he reſtored the throne to Kenrid his nephew, from whom he had unjuſtly withheld it, and retired into the monaſtery of Bardney, which he himſelf had founded, and died in obſcurity. Kenrid, after having reigned four years, followed his uncle's example, and ſequeſtered himſelf from the world in the gloomy cell of a convent.

A. D. 709. Ceolrid, his ſucceſſor, was a more active prince. He ſupported a war with Ina, king of the Weſt Saxons, and fought a bloody battle with him at Woodenſburg in Wiltſhire, when neither party could claim the victory. He attempted a dangerous taſk in thoſe times, to leſſen the power of the monks, which brought down upon him the reſentment of the whole fraternity; who not ſatisfied by taking away his life by poiſon, of which he died in the greateſt agonies, have aſperſed his memory, after devoting his ſoul to eternal perdition. So dangerous was it in thoſe times of ignorance to moleſt a body of men, who, like the drones, lived upon the labours of others, and became a real burden to the community.

A. D. 716. Ethelbald, grandſon of Eoppa, brother of Penda, ſucceeded this unfortunate monarch. Inſtigated by a reſtleſs ambition, he invaded the territories of his neighbours. Had his abilities been confined to proper objects, his reign might have been glorious; but his manners were depraved, and his ambition unbounded. Yet in acts of benevolence to the church he was profuſely liberal. The monaſtery of Croyland was founded by him; and he exempted the clergy from all taxes and ſecular ſervices. He entered Northumberland, from whence he returned loaded with ſpoil. His dominions having been attacked during his abſence by the King of Weſſex, he marched againſt the Weſt Saxons, drove them back into their own country, and demoliſhed Somerton, one of the frontier garriſons. A peace having been concluded, the two kings joined their forces and totally routed the Britons, who had drawn together a prodigious army. Ethelbald now applied himſelf to the affairs of his own kingdom, in which a rebellion broke out, and Ethelbald fell in a battle with the inſurgents. Beornred, who headed the rebels, took poſſeſſion of the throne, but the uſurper was drove from his ſeat of royalty by a band of nobles, who placed Offa, brother of Penda, on the Mercian throne.

A. D. 755. Offa was one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of all the Mercian princes; and yet in his character appear ſuch a ſtrange mixture of virtues and vices, that it is a difficult matter to determine which were predominant. Impelled by an inſatiable thirſt of power he invaded Kent, and over-run that kingdom, after killing the prince, who then filled the throne, with his own hand, in a battle at Otford. He next directed his courſe to Northumberland, where he loaded his army with ſpoils; and then reducing Nottinghamſhire, annexed it to his own dominions. The king of the Weſt Saxons endeavoured to oppoſe the rapid progreſs of his arms; but he was defeated by Offa, and obliged to purchaſe a peace at the expence of all his territories on the north ſide of the Thames. Having concluded a peace with the Britons, to prevent their future incurſions, he threw up a ſtrong intrenchment, which began near the mouth of the river Dee in Flintſhire, and extending along the mountains, ended at the influx of the Wye into the Severn. The Britons, who had given not the leaſt diſturbance to the work while it was carrying on, were induced by the arguments of their king Marmodius to attempt its deſtruction. With this view, under pretence of celebrating Chriſtmas, they aſſembled a body of forces, with which making a ſudden eruption into Mercia, they threw down the bank, and filled up the ditch in ſeveral places. Exaſperated at the treacherous violation of a truce they themſelves had requeſted, Offa condemned their hoſtages to ſlavery, and entering Wales at the head of a powerful army, defeated the Britons in a very obſtinate battle. He now made his ſon Egfrid coadjutor with him in the government, gave his daughter Ethburga in marriage to Brithric, and repulſed the Danes with great ſlaughter. But notwithſtanding theſe and other ſplendid actions, notwithſtanding the merit of ſome good qualities, notwithſtanding a ſeries of ſucceſs raiſed his reputation to a great height, yet the murder of Ethelbert, king of the Eaſt Angles, will ever remain an indelible blot on his character; it ſullied the glory of his reign, and at this moment brands the name of Offa with infamy. To wipe off this ſtain, and perhaps to appeaſe the remorſes of his conſcience, he paid great court to the clergy, practiſing all the auſterities of the monks, ſo much eſteemed in thoſe times of groſs ſuperſtition. He even made a pilgrimage to Rome, where his riches could not fail of procuring him papal abſolution. Here he engaged to pay the pope an annual donation for ſupport of the Engliſh college at Rome. This ſum was raiſed by the tax of a penny, called Peter's pence, on each houſe poſſeſſed of thirty pence a year. This donation he changed to a tribute, or annual ſubſidy of three hundred and ſixty-five maricuſes, or rather a tax of a maricuſe per diem, which amounted to one hundred and thirty-ſix pound ſeventeen ſhillings and ſixpence; the maricuſe being valued at thirty-ſeven Saxon pence, or three half crowns of our preſent money. Returning home he founded the church and monaſtery of St.

A. D. 796. Alban, which when near compleated, he died at Offy, having reigned forty-ſix years.

Egfrid, his ſon, after a ſhort reign of five months, was ſucceeded by Kenulf, deſcended by a collateral branch from Penda. He invaded Kent, took the king priſoner, and annexed that kingdom to his dominions, which he governed by a ſubſtitute. At his death, he left one ſon and two daughters.

A. D. 819. Kenelm, his ſon, being a minor, was murdered by order of his eldeſt ſiſter Quendrida. But ſhe did not reap the expected fruits of her execrable wickedneſs; for the unnatural wretch was depoſed by her uncle Ceolwulf, who alſo, in the ſecond year of his reign was driven out of his kingdom by Beordrulph. Nor did this uſurper ſit more than two years on his throne, when he was defeated and ſlain by Egbert, king of the Eaſt Angles. His ſucceſſors Ludican and Wiglaff underwent the ſame fate, by the ſame hand, the Saxon kingdoms being unable to withſtand the conquering arms of Egbert, who united them all into one grand monarchy.

Thus have we endeavoured to give a faithful account of the Saxon heptarchy. If we eſtimate its duration from the arrival of Hengiſt, it will be found three hundred and ſeventy-eight years; but if from the eſtabliſhment of the kingdom of Mercia, it will be only two hundred and forty-three. Various cauſes have been aſſigned for its diſſolution; but the principal were, the ambition of the ſeveral monarchs, and the great diſproportion of their reſpective kingdoms. Hence ſprung continual wars, inteſtine broils, civil commotions, and in the end univerſal anarchy; for in Northumberland, Mercia, and all the other kingdoms, Weſſex excepted, the antient race of kings being extinct, the nobles contended with each other for abſolute ſway; and in the furious ſtruggles, the people at large fell a ſacrifice to the ambition of a few.

No diſcoveries in the arts mark this period of Paganiſm and monkiſh ſuperſtition. Literature was little cultivated by the monks, who graſped the ſhadow inſtead of the ſubſtance; who ſubſtituted the gloomy devotions of a cell, for the benevolent precepts of the goſpel. Nor could the arts and ſciences flouriſh in a country harraſſed with diſſentions and continual wars; where the torch of civil diſcord was lighted by the hand of rapine; and where a deſire of conqueſt produced only a ſucceſſion of uſurpations, and a long train of national miſeries. Even Chriſtianity loſt its force among the Anglo Saxons. Religion, inſtead of enlightening their minds, involved them in the thickeſt clouds of ſuperſtitious bigotry. This will evidently appear in the view we now propoſe to take of their eccleſiaſtical hiſtory; which we ſhall attempt to ſtretch out with the ſame impartiality, which has guided our pen in the relation of civil matters.

The religion of the Saxons; their introduction to Chriſtianity; and eccleſiaſtical hiſtory,

THE religion of the Saxons, previous to their converſion, like that of all Pagan nations, was groſs idolatry. They practiſed divination by lots in a peculiar manner, the prieſt preſiding in all public affairs, and the maſter of a family in private.

Their idols were numerous. On Sunday they worſhipped the ſun. His image was placed in a temple, and ſolemnly adored. Monday was dedicated to the moon. Tuiſco they worſhipped on Tueſday, or Tuiſ-day. Woden on our Wedneſday, antiently called, Wodenſ-day. This ſeems to be the ſame with Mercury, and to him they offered human ſacrifices. Thor, the ſon of Woden and Friga, they worſhiped on Thurſday, or as it was then called, Thorſ-day. Friday, Frigaſ-day, or Frigedeag, was devoted to Friga, or Venus. She was the goddeſs of peace, plenty, love, and amity. Saturday, or Seaterſ-day, was dedicated to Seater, among the Romans called Saturn.

But their greateſt favourite and patroneſs was Hertha, or the earth. She was drawn in a vehicle covered with a ſacred veſtment, and placed in a holy wood, in an iſland of the ocean. This portable temple was carried about by cows, and attended by a prieſt, who was ſuppoſed to know the ſecrets of the goddeſs, nor dared any other mortal to touch it. Whatever place the idol pleaſed to honour with its preſence, the inhabitants were inſtantly filled with joy; all tumult and war ceaſed; the ſword was ſheathed; and harmony proceeded from every tongue, and filled every breaſt. When ſhe returned to the grove, her carriage was waſhed in a lake appropriated to that purpoſe. Such was the idolatry of the Saxons when they ſettled in England. How far their manners were ſoftened, and their religion improved by the introduction of Chriſtianity, will now appear.

Chriſtianity was firſt introduced in the time of Ethelbert, king of Kent. He had been married ſome time to Bertha, daughter of Caribert, king of Paris, and it was ſtipulated in the marriage articles that ſhe ſhould enjoy, unmoleſted, the free exerciſe of her own religion. This princeſs being a Chriſtian, was attended by Luidhard, a prelate venerable for his learning and exemplary life. He preached in the church of St. Martin, which had been built in the time of the Romans, near the walls of Canterbury; and by his frequent diſcourſes with the nobility, converted many of them to the Chriſtian faith. The excellent underſtanding, and irreproachable life of the queen, contributed greatly to this end. Adorned with all the charms peculiar to her ſex, and with unaffected piety, which adds luſtre to greatneſs, ſhe inſpired the king and his whole court with favourable ſentiments of her religion.

Theſe promiſing circumſtances induced pope Gregory the Great to ſend Auguſtine, or Auſtin, with other monks, on a miſſion to the court of Ethelbert; who, on their arrival in France, were ſo intimidated by accounts of the difficulties they had to encounter with from the ferocious manners, conſummate ignorance, and idolatrous practices of the Saxons, that they ſent their ſuperior back, in order to obtain leave for relinquiſhing the undertaking; but Gregory ordered them to proceed on their journey; and to avert the imagined dangers that terrified his miſſioners, he requeſted at the ſame time by letters, aſſiſtance from the court of France, recommending them in preſſing terms to their protection. He ſolicited not in vain, for

A. D. 597. Having been furniſhed with interpreters from among the Franks, who ſtill ſpoke the language of the Saxons, and recommendatory letters to queen Bertha, Auſtin, and his followers, entered upon their voyage, and embarking, after a ſhort paſſage, landed in the Iſle of Thanet. Auſtin immediately acquainted Ethelbert with the deſign of his coming, requeſting his permiſſion to preach publickly the doctrine of the goſpel. The king ordered him to continue in the Iſle of Thanet, and followed his meſſage in perſon, attended with queen Bertha and the whole court, then the moſt ſplendid in all the heptarchy. The miſſioners having had an audience granted them, were received by Ethelbert in the open air, in order to break the force of their enchantments ſhould they be employed againſt him. They advanced into the royal preſence with a ſlow pace, bearing a crucifix with their credentials, and chanting their litanies with all the marks of unaffected devotion. The king ſeemed deeply affected, but did not at that time declare himſelf a proſelyte; however, he permitted the miſſioners to reſide in Canterbury, with a free toleration for preaching their religion whenever they pleaſed. Auſtin and his brethren, by their auſterities, to which were united purity of manners, endeared themſelves to the people, who concluded, that the promulgers of a religion, founded upon the principles of ſelf-denial, and who mortified every paſſion, muſt act from conviction. The virtuous queen gave them free admiſſion to her chapel, and Ethelbert himſelf became their convert, and was baptized. The example of kings is always powerful. In this inſtance it was quickly followed by his nobles and people. Auſtin was conſecrated archbiſhop of Canterbury; the Britiſh churches that had fallen to decay were repaired or rebuilt; heathen temples were devoted to the worſhip of the true God; a ſeminary of learning was opened in the capital; and, in a ſhort time, the Chriſtian religion triumphed over the idolatry of the Saxons.

A. D. 616. But this fair ſtructure was in danger of being demoliſhed, by the inceſtuous paſſion and criminal exceſſes of Eadbald, who abandoned his religion that he might indulge his vicious inclinations. But Laurentius, the ſucceſſor of Auſtin, ſo effectually reclaimed the king, that touched with unfeigned contrition for his enormous vices, he deſtroyed the Pagan temples, broke the idols in pieces, and firmly eſtabliſhed the Chriſtian religion in his kingdom. He extended his zeal for the goſpel even beyond the limits of his own territories, having contributed by the force of argument, but more by his exemplary piety, to the converſion of Edwin, king of Mercia.

A. D. 634. The Chriſtian religion was planted in Weſſex, among the Weſt Saxons, by Berennius, an Italian eccleſiaſtic, who was inveſted with an epiſcopal character, and created a biſhop of York. Kinegils declared himſelf a convert; and ſome time after Quinchelm, being ſeized with a violent fever, embraced the faith, and died A. D. 661. immediately after his baptiſm. Kenwal alſo, built the cathedral church of St. Peter at Wincheſter, as an atonement for the cruelties he had committed in the early part of his life; a ſpecies of pious fraud, which in ſucceeding ages of ignorance was much practiſed. Ceadwalla, another prince of Weſſex, after his converſion A. D. 686. repaired to Rome, where he was publickly baptized by Sergius II. who then filled the papal chair, but ſurvived the ceremony only a few days. He was buried in St. Peter's church, where his tomb may ſtill be ſeen.

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Alban, which when near compleated, he died A. D. 796. at Offy, having reigned forty-ſix years.

Egfrid, his ſon, after a ſhort reign of five months, was ſucceeded by Kenulf, deſcended by a collateral branch from Penda. He invaded Kent, took the king priſoner, and annexed that kingdom to his dominions, which he governed by a ſubſtitute. At his death, he left one ſon and two daughters.

A. D. 819. Kenelm, his ſon, being a minor, was murdered by order of his eldeſt ſiſter Quendrida. But ſhe did not reap the expected fruits of her execrable wickedneſs; for the unnatural wretch was depoſed by her uncle Ceolwulf, who alſo, in the ſecond year of his reign was driven out of his kingdom by Beordrulph. Nor did this uſurper ſit more than two years on his throne, when he was defeated and ſlain by Egbert, king of the Eaſt Angles. His ſucceſſors Ludican and Wiglaff underwent the ſame fate, by the ſame hand, the Saxon kingdoms being unable to withſtand the conquering arms of Egbert, who united them all into one grand monarchy.

Thus have we endeavoured to give a faithful account of the Saxon heptarchy. If we eſtimate its duration from the arrival of Hengiſt, it will be found three hundred and ſeventy-eight years; but if from the eſtabliſhment of the kingdom of Mercia, it will be only two hundred and forty-three. Various cauſes have been aſſigned for its diſſolution; but the principal were, the ambition of the ſeveral monarchs, and the great diſproportion of their reſpective kingdoms. Hence ſprung continual wars, inteſtine broils, civil commotions, and in the end univerſal anarchy; for in Northumberland, Mercia, and all the other kingdoms, Weſſex excepted, the antient race of kings being extinct, the nobles contended with each other for abſolute ſway; and in the furious ſtruggles, the people at large fell a ſacrifice to the ambition of a few.

No diſcoveries in the arts mark this period of Paganiſm and monkiſh ſuperſtition. Literature was little cultivated by the monks, who graſped the ſhadow inſtead of the ſubſtance; who ſubſtituted the gloomy devotions of a cell, for the benevolent precepts of the goſpel. Nor could the arts and ſciences flouriſh in a country harraſſed with diſſentions and continual wars; where the torch of civil diſcord was lighted by the hand of rapine; and where a deſire of conqueſt produced only a ſucceſſion of uſurpations, and a long train of national miſeries. Even Chriſtianity loſt its force among the Anglo Saxons. Religion, inſtead of enlightening their minds, involved them in the thickeſt clouds of ſuperſtitious bigotry. This will evidently appear in the view we now propoſe to take of their eccleſiaſtical hiſtory; which we ſhall attempt to ſtretch out with the ſame impartiality, which has guided our pen in the relation of civil matters.

The religion of the Saxons; their introduction to Chriſtianity; and eccleſiaſtical hiſtory,

THE religion of the Saxons, previous to their converſion, like that of all Pagan nations, was groſs idolatry. They practiſed divination by lots in a peculiar manner, the prieſt preſiding in all public affairs, and the maſter of a family in private.

Their idols were numerous. On Sunday they worſhipped the ſun. His image was placed in a temple, and ſolemnly adored. Monday was dedicated to the moon. Tuiſco they worſhipped on Tueſday, or Tuiſ-day. Woden on our Wedneſday, antiently called, Wodenſ-day. This ſeems to be the ſame with Mercury, and to him they offered human ſacrifices. Thor, the ſon of Woden and Friga, they worſhiped on Thurſday, or as it was then called, Thorſ-day. Friday, Frigaſ-day, or Frigedeag, was devoted to Friga, or Venus. She was the goddeſs of peace, plenty, love, and amity. Saturday, or Seaterſ-day, was dedicated to Seater, among the Romans called Saturn.

But their greateſt favourite and patroneſs was Hertha, or the earth. She was drawn in a vehicle covered with a ſacred veſtment, and placed in a holy wood, in an iſland of the ocean. This portable temple was carried about by cows, and attended by a prieſt, who was ſuppoſed to know the ſecrets of the goddeſs, nor dared any other mortal to touch it. Whatever place the idol pleaſed to honour with its preſence, the inhabitants were inſtantly filled with joy; all tumult and war ceaſed; the ſword was ſheathed; and harmony proceeded from every tongue, and filled every breaſt. When ſhe returned to the grove, her carriage was waſhed in a lake appropriated to that purpoſe. Such was the idolatry of the Saxons when they ſettled in England. How far their manners were ſoftened, and their religion improved by the introduction of Chriſtianity, will now appear.

Chriſtianity was firſt introduced in the time of Ethelbert, king of Kent. He had been married ſome time to Bertha, daughter of Caribert, king of Paris, and it was ſtipulated in the marriage articles that ſhe ſhould enjoy, unmoleſted, the free exerciſe of her own religion. This princeſs being a Chriſtian, was attended by Luidhard, a prelate venerable for his learning and exemplary life. He preached in the church of St. Martin, which had been built in the time of the Romans, near the walls of Canterbury; and by his frequent diſcourſes with the nobility, converted many of them to the Chriſtian faith. The excellent underſtanding, and irreproachable life of the queen, contributed greatly to this end. Adorned with all the charms peculiar to her ſex, and with unaffected piety, which adds luſtre to greatneſs, ſhe inſpired the king and his whole court with favourable ſentiments of her religion.

Theſe promiſing circumſtances induced pope Gregory the Great to ſend Auguſtine, or Auſtin, with other monks, on a miſſion to the court of Ethelbert; who, on their arrival in France, were ſo intimidated by accounts of the difficulties they had to encounter with from the ferocious manners, conſummate ignorance, and idolatrous practices of the Saxons, that they ſent their ſuperior back, in order to obtain leave for relinquiſhing the undertaking; but Gregory ordered them to proceed on their journey; and to avert the imagined dangers that terrified his miſſioners, he requeſted at the ſame time by letters, aſſiſtance from the court of France, recommending them in preſſing terms to their protection. He ſolicited not in vain, for

Having been furniſhed with interpreters from among the Franks, who A. D. 597. ſtill ſpoke the language of the Saxons, and recommendatory letters to queen Bertha, Auſtin, and his followers, entered upon their voyage, and embarking, after a ſhort paſſage, landed in the Iſle of Thanet. Auſtin immediately acquainted Ethelbert with the deſign of his coming, requeſting his permiſſion to preach publickly the doctrine of the goſpel. The king ordered him to continue in the Iſle of Thanet, and followed his meſſage in perſon, attended with queen Bertha and the whole court, then the moſt ſplendid in all the heptarchy. The miſſioners having had an audience granted them, were received by Ethelbert in the open air, in order to break the force of their enchantments ſhould they be employed againſt him. They advanced into the royal preſence with a ſlow pace, bearing a crucifix with their credentials, and chanting their litanies with all the marks of unaffected devotion. The king ſeemed deeply affected, but did not at that time declare himſelf a proſelyte; however, he permitted the miſſioners to reſide in Canterbury, with a free toleration for preaching their religion whenever they pleaſed. Auſtin and his brethren, by their auſterities, to which were united purity of manners, endeared themſelves to the people, who concluded, that the promulgers of a religion, founded upon the principles of ſelf-denial, and who mortified every paſſion, muſt act from conviction. The virtuous queen gave them free admiſſion to her chapel, and Ethelbert himſelf became their convert, and was baptized. The example of kings is always powerful. In this inſtance it was quickly followed by his nobles and people. Auſtin was conſecrated archbiſhop of Canterbury; the Britiſh churches that had fallen to decay were repaired or rebuilt; heathen temples were devoted to the worſhip of the true God; a ſeminary of learning was opened in the capital; and, in a ſhort time, the Chriſtian religion triumphed over the idolatry of the Saxons.

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CHAP. II.

Contains the Hiſtory of Egbert, the firſt Founder of the Engliſh monarchy—with that of his Succeſſors—to Canute the Great, the firſt Daniſh king of England—including a faithful Narrative of the various Deſcents and Eſtabliſhment of the Danes in this Kingdom.

EGBERT.

The firſt Saxon king of all England, and founder of the Engliſh Monarchy.

THIS great warrior and accompliſhed ſtateſman, was the ſole deſcendant of thoſe Saxon adventurers who firſt ſubdued Britain, and paſſed the earlier part of his life, as we have already obſerved, in the court of Charlemagne, king of France, where he reſided about twelve years, till the death of Brithric, king of Weſſex.

Immediately upon which event, the Weſt Saxons, ſent a deputation, who intreated his acceptance of a crown, to which he had a lineal claim.

A. D. 800. Egbert returned to England, and was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy. On his aſcending the throne of his anceſtors, the royal families in all the other kingdoms of the heptarchy were extinguiſhed; at the ſame time their internal diſſentions had rendered ſome very weak, and others almoſt defenceleſs. But inſtead of ſeeming to aſpire to conqueſt, he appeared in the character of a mediator between neighbouring kings, who were ſo well ſatisfied with his deciſions, that they appealed to his award upon all occaſions. In order the better to cover, and at a proper ſeaſon accompliſh his grand deſign, he firſt turned his arms againſt the Corniſh Britons, whom he defeated in ſeveral engagements. The Welch made the cauſe of their countrymen their own, ſo that the war became long, doubtful, and bloody. The aſſiſtance they afforded the Corniſh Britons ſo irritated Egbert, that he entered Wales with fire and ſword; and, after ſubduing one of their provinces made a law, which enacted, that if a Welchman paſſed Offa's dyke, the offence ſhould be capital. But before Egbert could reduce this hardy race, though he had often vanquiſhed them, he was recalled to defend his own territories againſt Bernulf, king of Mercia. The Mercians were the only people capable of defending themſelves againſt the power of this young hero, who, before his acceſſion, had nearly attained abſolute ſovereignty in the heptarchy. They had reduced the Eaſt Angles under their ſubjection, and eſtabliſhed tributary princes in the kingdoms of Eſſex and Kent. Northumberland was in a ſtate of anarchy; and no ſtate of any conſequence remained but Weſſex, which being much inferior to that of Mercia in extent, was ſupported wholly by the abilities of its ſovereign.

Egbert led his forces againſt the invaders of his country. A bloody battle enſued at Ellandun in Wiltſhire, where the army of Bernulf was totally defeated. Another complete victory gained ſoon after, finiſhed the conqueſt, by making Egbert maſter of Mercia. Kent made very little oppoſition. Eſſex was conquered with equal facility. The inhabitants of Northumberland, on his approaching their territories, came out to do him homage as their ſovereign. The Eaſt Angles having declared in favour of the conqueror, implored his protection. Suſſex had been incorporated with his own kingdom. And thus about four hundred years A. D. 589. after the arrival of the Saxons in Britain, by the policy and bravery of one man, were all the kingdoms of the heptarchy united under one grand monarchy; which Egbert ordered to be diſtinguiſhed by the name of England. Having now attained the ſummit of his wiſhes, by the unanimous conſent of his people, he was ſolemnly crowned at Wincheſter. But though happy in the affections of his people, and by having reſtored peace throughout the kingdom, yet his tranquillity was ſoon interrupted by the piratical Danes, who made three ſucceſſive deſcents upon England.

Theſe ferocious people ſeem to have been a mixture of different nations, but of the ſame original as the Saxons, agreeing with them in language, manners, religion, and cuſtoms. Charlemagne had carried on a war with them for thirty years, in which ſpace of time he drove them out of the more ſouthern provinces of Germany, and obliged them to take ſhelter in Jutland, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, from whence they uſed to commit depredations on the ſea coaſts of France as well as of England.

They landed on the iſle of Shepey. A. D. 832. Having plundered the country, they retired before it was poſſible to attack them. This ſucceſs encouraged them to make a deſcent the year following at Tinmouth; but receiving a check from the inhabitants they re-embarked, and cruiſing along the coaſt, landed near fifteen thouſand men at Charmouth in Dorſetſhire. Egbert on the firſt news of this invaſion, marched againſt them with a body of new raiſed forces, who were unable to reſiſt their too formidable invaders, who gained a complete victory; and Egbert with his routed army were indebted for a ſafe retreat to the darkneſs of the night. But the Danes were convinced by this engagement, that they muſt expect the moſt vigorous reſiſtance from this warlike prince. They therefore retired to their ſhips, having firſt entered into an alliance with the Corniſh Britons.

The Danes returned to the Engliſh A. D. 835. coaſt, and landed in Cornwall, where their army was augmented by a ſtrong reinforcement from their new allies. But Egbert was not to be intimidated by this formidable junction. He advanced againſt them to Hengſton-hill, where the two armies met. Victory now fought by the ſide of her beloved hero, and the Danes were totally defeated. The very few who had the good fortune to eſcape fled to their ſhips with the utmoſt precipitation.

Egbert now advanced in years was A. D. 838. obliged to take the field againſt thoſe diſturbers of his repoſe, and was again victorious. The Britons retired to their mountains; the Danes to their ſhips. The laurel had ſcarcely encircled the head of this intrepid, wiſe, and humane monarch, when death put a period to his conqueſts, but not his fame, which will only terminate with the deſtruction of time and death. His dominions, but not his virtues, he left to be poſſeſſed by his ſon Ethelwolf.

Ethelwolf, during the life of an elder brother, was educated in a cloiſter, where he took ſub-deacons orders in the monaſtery of Wincheſter; but his brother dying, a diſpenſation from pope Leo allowed him to re-aſſume a ſecular life. Upon his return to the world, he aſſiſted his father in ſeveral expeditions, but could never get the better of his indolent diſpoſition.

In the firſt year of his reign the A. D. 839. Danes landed at Southampton, from three and thirty ſhips, and laid the adjacent country waſte. For five years following theſe freebooters

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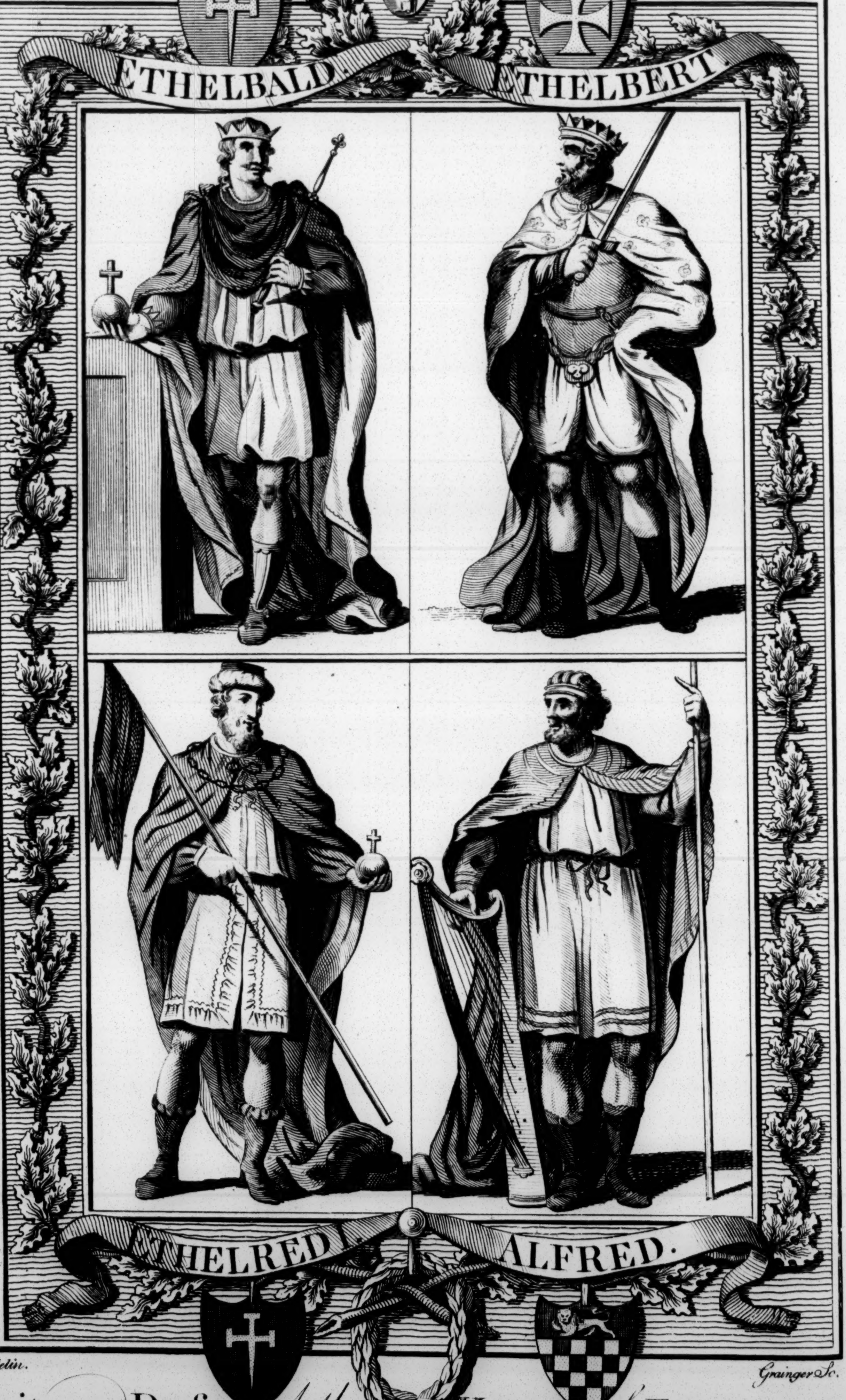

ETHELBALD.
ETHELBERT.
ETHELRED.
ALFRED.

Hamilton delin.

Grainger Sc.

Portraits *and* Dreſes *of the* KINGS *of* ENGLAND,
(*with their* Arms) *prior to the Norman Conqueſt.* Plate 3

infeſted the kingdom, committing every where the moſt dreadful ravages. In one of their deſcents they laid waſte the beſt part of Mercia, and burned the cities of London and Canterbury. They were indeed defeated ſeveral times with great ſlaughter, ſometimes by the governors of different counties, twice by Ethelwolf himſelf in perſon, and once by his ſon Athelſtan at ſea. However they commonly attained the end of their expeditions, which ſeems at firſt to have been no more than to plunder the country. At length they reſolved to effect a ſettlement in England; and with this view fixed their reſidence, in ſpite of oppoſition, firſt in the Iſle of Thanet, and afterwards in that of Shepey, where they continued during the remaining part of his reign.

A. D. 854. About this time, notwithſtanding the unſettled ſtate of his kingdom, Ethelwolf undertook a journey to Rome, accompanied by his favourite ſon Alfred, who was then only ſix years of age. Benedict XIII. received him very courteouſly; but at the ſame time took advantage of his extreme weakneſs, by perſuading him to make a grant of three hundred marks a year to ſupport the lamps of St. Peter and St. Paul, and alſo to ſubject his whole kingdom to the intolerable load of Rome ſcot, or Peter's pence, a tax which continued from this period to the time of the reformation. But he granted a more ſolid proof afterwards of real devotion, by a formal charter, which beſtowed the tythes upon his own clergy.

Having conſumed one year at Rome, he ſet off on his return to England. Paſſing through France he fell in love with Judith, the beautiful daughter of the emperor Charles the Bald, and giving way to his dotage married her. This unpopular ſtep, added to the diſguſt they had long entertained on account of his impotent adminiſtration, occaſioned a reſolution among ſome of his nobility and prelates of depoſing him; but others more diſpaſſionate effected an accommodation, and reſtored the internal peace of the kingdom. The remaining part of this king's life was employed in acts of devotion and charity, and finiſhed, when it drew near to a cloſe, by an act of prudence, in ſettling the ſucceſſion to prevent diſputes after his death. He bequeathed his own territories to his ſon Ethelbert, on whoſe death they were to deſcend to Ethelred, and for want of male iſſue was entailed upon Alfred. His perſonal eſtate he divided equally among his children, ordering all his ſucceſſors to maintain one poor perſon out of every tenth family. Having thus ſettled his temporal concerns he died in peace, after a reign of nineteen or twenty years. He was twice married; firſt to Oſburg an Engliſh lady, and afterwards to Judith. By his firſt conſort he had one daughter and five ſons. Theſe were Athelſtan, who died before him, and Ethelbald, Ethelbert, Etheldred, and Alfred, all of whom in their turn ſucceeded him.

ETHELBALD and ETHELBERT.

A. D. 857. Ethelbald and Ethelbert aſcended jointly the throne of their father. The former was an abandoned, the latter a virtuous prince. The firſt infamous action of Ethelbald's reign, and the only one we ſhall notice, was an inceſtuous marriage with Judith his father's widow, whom by the remonſtrance of Swithen, biſhop of Wincheſter he ſoon after divorced. He reigned only two years, and on his death the government of the whole kingdom devolved to his brother. Ethelbert was as remarkable for his virtues as Ethelbald had been for his vices, conſequently the one was as much deteſted, as the other was beloved by his ſubjects. Humanity and moderation formed principally the character of Ethelbald. Throughout his reign no complaints of injuſtice were heard no civil commotions diſturbed the tranquillity of the ſtate. His people would have enjoyed uninterrupted felicity had it not been for the inroads of the Danes, who, while they were lulled aſleep in the arms of peace, landed at Southampton, and extended their moſt ſhocking brutalities to Wincheſter, which they reduced to aſhes. Their progreſs was ſtopped by Offiric and Ethelwolf, two Engliſh generals, who after a bloody engagement, drove the few that had eſcaped the ſword to their ſhips without their plunder. But notwithſtanding this defeat, a ſhort time after another conſiderable body of theſe freebooters, having deceived the Kentiſh men by agreeing to a truce for a ſtipulated ſum, commenced hoſtilities ſuddenly in the night, and committed the moſt horrid maſſacres in the whole eaſtern part of the country. In the midſt of theſe diſtreſſes Ethelbald died univerſally lamented, and was ſucceeded by Ethelred his younger brother in conformity to the will of his father, though he left two ſons, Adelhelan and Ethelwould.

ETHELRED.

A. D. 866. Ethelred enjoyed very little repoſe during his reign, the irruptions of the Danes becoming more frequent and more formidable than in that of his predeceſſor. Their firſt deſcent was made in the territories of the Eaſt Angles, who by concluding a treaty with the invaders of their country, enabled them to enter the province of Northumberland, where they ſeized the city of York, and defended it againſt Oſbert and Ella, who periſhed in the aſſault. They next, under the command of Hingua and Hubba, penetrated into Mercia, and threatened the kingdom with univerſal ſubjection; but Ethelred in conjunction with his brother Alfred, marched with a powerful army to Nottingham, diſlodged them from the poſts they had taken, and obliged them to retire into Northumberland. From hence purſuing their rout through Lincolnſhire, they deſtroyed the abbey of Bardney, Peterborough, Ely, and all the monaſteries that lay in their way. Ebba, the abbeſs of Coldingham, expecting the invaders at her convent, ſummoned her nuns together, after deſcribing in glowing colours the luſt and cruelty of the barbarians, ſhe added, that for her own part ſhe was reſolved to preſerve her chaſtity at the expence of her beauty. Then taking up a razor ſhe cut off her noſe and upper lip. Her example was immediately followed by the whole ſiſterhood. This bold expedient produced the deſired effect with regard to their honour, but coſt them their lives. For the brutal Danes, incenſed at their diſappointment, ſhut up the nuns in their monaſtery, and reduced the whole to aſhes.

A. D. 870. Theſe inhuman ſavages entered Eaſt Anglia, and having defeated the governor Edmund, they barbarouſly murdered him by ſhooting at him as a butt or mark with arrows; from the burial of whom the town of St. Edmund's-bury takes its name. Proceeding the year following to Reading, they were oppoſed at Aſhdown by Ethelred and Alfred. When the Danes were drawn up in order of battle, Ethelred was aſſiſting at maſs within his tent, but could not be prevailed upon, though ſeveral meſſengers were ſent by his brother, by any apprehenſion of danger to leave his devotions unfiniſhed; ſo that Alfred was obliged to ſtand the ſhock of the whole Daniſh army, who attacked him with great fury, but Ethelred coming to his aſſiſtance, the Danes after an incredible ſlaughter were defeated. In this engagement they loſt one of their kings and five earls. Two months after another battle was fought, in which Ethelred was mortally wounded. A. D. 871. He died, leaving to his brother, with his prudence, bravery, and humanity, his cares and misfortunes. He was buried at Wimburn, in Dorſetſhire, not leſs lamented than beloved by his ſubjects.

ALFRED the GREAT.

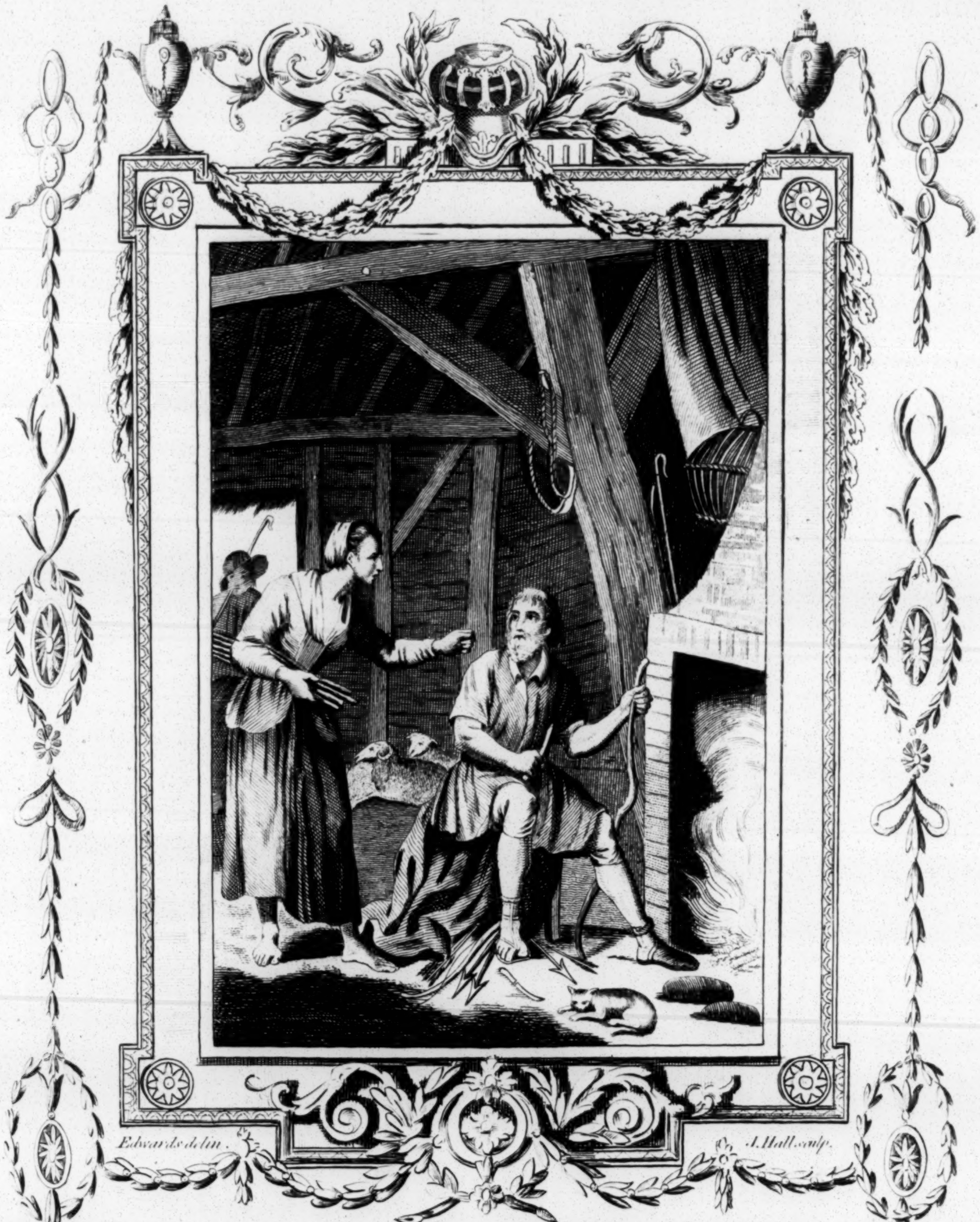
A. D. 871. This prince, to whom the ſurname of Great has been applied with ſtrict juſtice, aſcended the throne when he was only twenty-two years of age; yet at this early period of life his virtues, which in others begin to bud, were in full bloom. He had given convincing proofs of his valour, and the genuine goodneſs of his heart; but the time of trial now approached, wherein he was to be expoſed to the moſt imminent danger, over which he was to triumph with uncommon fortitude, and by ſurmounting which, with virtuous perſeverance, he was to reſtore ſtability to the throne, and happineſs to his ſubjects. At this time the proſpect before him was gloomy. The cities and religious ſtructures were levelled with the duſt; agriculture was neglected, and the farms were deſtroyed. He wanted ſubjects to recruit his armies; many of whom had periſhed by the ſword, and others fled to the mountains to eſcape from the cruelties of a barbarous enemy. His treaſures were exhauſted, and the whole country deſolated by the repeated depredations of lawleſs robbers. Such a ſituation would have depreſſed a ſoul leſs intrepid than that of Alfred's; but he alone viewed this ſcene of complicated diſtreſs with unſhaken firmneſs. He applied himſelf with the utmoſt aſſiduity to expel the Danes from his dominions, who being reinforced with freſh ſupplies under Guthrum, Oſcitel, and Amund, menaced the kingdom with a total ſubjection. In one year he fought eight conſiderable battles with them. But this wiſe monarch ſoon perceived that it would be impoſſible to prevent the inundation of thoſe barbarians, without deſtroying their naval force; he therefore fitted out a fleet of ſhips, which ſailed immediately to block up Exeter. In their paſſage they fell in with a large fleet of the enemy, conſiſting of one hundred and twenty ſail, which after a furious engagement they entirely deſtroyed. A ſhort time after a fleet under the command of the famous Rollo appeared on the Engliſh coaſts. When that of Alfred approached, the Dane thought it moſt prudent not to attempt a landing, therefore ſtood over to the French ſhore, and made himſelf maſter of Normandy.

A. D. 878. But notwithſtanding this prudent meaſure, ſupported by the moſt vigorous exertions on the part of Alfred, the reſtleſs diſturbers of his repoſe daily gained ground. The Daniſh general Haldane invited more of his countrymen over, while he himſelf at the head of a numerous army penetrated into the heart of the country as far as Chippenham. The torrent of bold invaders continually increaſed, rolled on, and bore down all oppoſition. Many of the Engliſh fled to the continent or to Wales; others were barbarouſly murdered; the remainder paid to the conquerors a ſervile obedience. Alfred, to whom ſubmiſſion was worſe than death, deſerted by his terrified ſubjects, unable to raiſe a force ſufficient to check his blood thirſty enemies, was compelled to exchange his regal habitation for an obſcure receſs. Yet was he not univerſally forſaken. A choſen band unconſcious of ſervile dependance, was attached to their beloved king, reſerving themſelves for better times; with hope that ſome favourable opportunity might happen for delivering their country. Having diveſted himſelf of all the enſigns of his royalty, diſmiſſed his ſervants, and placed his family with perſons on whom he could rely, Alfred, now indeed truly great, wandered about the ſwampy parts of Somerſetſhire in the habit of a peaſant, and at length took up his abode with a faithful cowherd, who had been entruſted with the care of ſome of his cattle. Here we ſee in our Engliſh hero an example of true greatneſs: regardleſs of indignities for the good of his country; the vigour of whoſe mind was ſtrengthened by misfortunes, while humiliation only gave an edge to his revenge. The wife of the cowherd, ignorant of the condition of her royal gueſt, ordered him one day to mind ſome cakes which ſhe had placed before the fire. Alfred, being employed in trimming his bow and arrows, through neglect ſuffered the cakes to burn, which ſo offended the good woman that ſhe rated the king very ſeverely, telling him, among other paſſionate expreſſions, that he was ready enough to eat the cakes when baked, though he would not take care of them while baking. Alfred received this reproof with chearfulneſs, having his mind ſolely engaged in meditating on the means of delivering his country.

By this time the ſearch of the enemy became more remiſs, which afforded Alfred frequent opportunities of viſiting his ſelect band, who had retired into the center of a bog, formed by the waters of the Thanet and Parret. Here they found about two acres of firm ground, which they ſurrounded with intrenchments. From this retreat, now called the iſle of Athelney, Alfred at the head of his followers made frequent excurſions, ſo that the Danes often felt the vigour of his arm, without being able to diſcover from what quarter the blow proceeded.

The period now approached when this great luminary was to emerge from the ſhade of obſcurity, and to re-appear with increaſed ſplendor. Ivar had returned to Denmark, whereupon the command of the army devolved upon his brother Hubba, who entered Devonſhire, laid ſiege to the caſtle of Kinwith, whither Odun, earl of that county with a few of his followers had fled. Odun made a vigorous ſally upon the Danes, routed the whole army, killed Hubba, took the famous ſtandard that had been wove by the three ſiſters of Hubba, with many incantations, and in which the Danes placed a ſuperſtitious confidence.

This unexpected blow encouraged Alfred to execute a project he had formed, of viewing in perſon the Daniſh camp under the diſguiſe of a muſician. The harper was well received; and even introduced to the tent of Guthrum their prince. During his ſtay he remarked the ſupine ſecurity of the Danes, and their diſſolute manners; at the ſame time he heard they were to celebrate a grand feſtival, the conſequences of which he knew would be riot and diſſipation. Having fully attained the end propoſed by his aſſumed character, he returned to his friends, and immediately diſpatched meſſengers to every part of the kingdom, ordering them to aſſemble at a fixed time on the borders of Selwood foreſt. They obeyed with inexpreſſible joy the ſummons of their beloved monarch, who ſoon finding himſelf at the head of a conſiderable army, led them to Eddington, where the Danes lay encamped, and attacking them unawares, routed them with ſuch a terrible ſlaughter, that the ſurvivors were glad to agree to the alternative propoſed by their conqueror, of either abandoning the kingdom or embracing Chriſtianity. Thoſe who refuſed to part with their religion embarked for Flanders; but Guthrum, attended by thirty of his officers, repaired to Allez, a ſmall village in Somerſetſhire, where they were all baptized. Peace now extended her olive branch over the whole iſland; and though in the courſe of twenty years following the Danes made many attempts on different parts of the kingdom, yet in moſt of them they were unſucceſsful, being either drove to their ſhips by the inhabitants, or defeated by Alfred, whoſe very name carried with it ſuch terror, that wherever he appeared they fled. So that after numberleſs deſcents, and committing


Edwards delin.
J. Hall sculp.

King ALFRED *in* disguise *rebuked by the* NEAT HERD's WIFE, *for letting the* Cakes burn *which (she observed) he himself was so fond of.*

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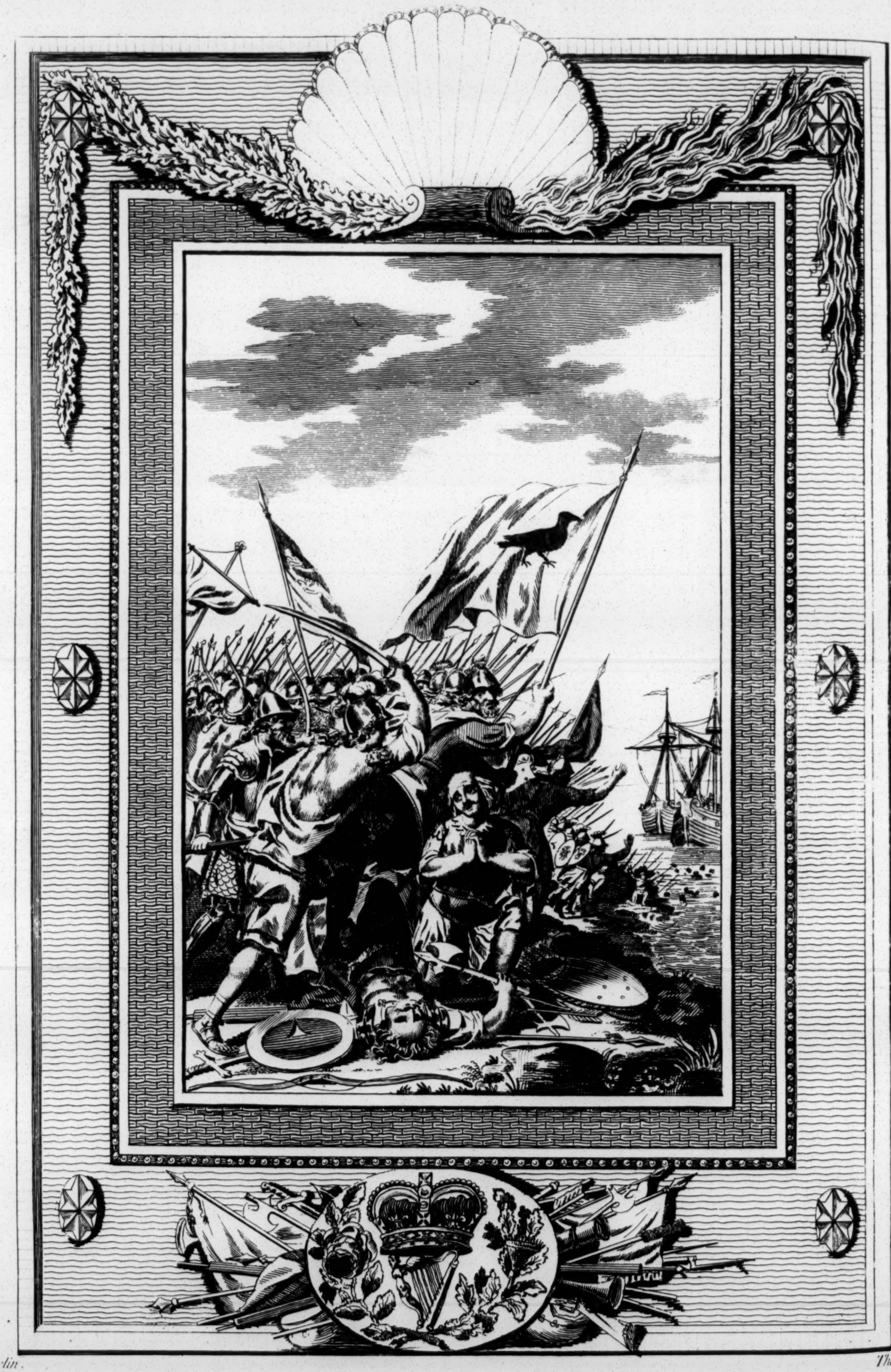

Hamilton delin.

Thornton

The ENGLISH (*during the reign of* EDWARD *the* Elder) Defeating *the* DANISH ARM
near Watchet, *in* Somerſet-ſhire; *a* Few *only* Eſcaping, *by* Swimming *to their* Ships.

mitting a continued ſeries of outrages, they were at laſt expelled entirely the kingdom.

Hitherto we have viewed Alfred the Great in the light only of an intrepid warrior, having given a detail of his actions chiefly of a military nature; we ſhall therefore now enter a little more fully into his glorious character, by conſidering his civil inſtitutions, and beholding him as the excellent ſcholar, the patron of learning, a wiſe legiſlator, an able politician, a moſt accompliſhed prince, who perhaps has never been equalled by any king of this or any other nation.

After having defeated the Danes, he eſtabliſhed civil and military inſtitutions, encouraged induſtry, executed juſtice, and took the wiſeſt methods of providing againſt their future inroads. He equipped a fleet of three hundred and thirty ſail of ſhips, which were diſtributed at proper ſtations round the iſland, to oppoſe the Danes either before or after they had landed. He raiſed a regular militia for the internal ſecurity of his kingdom. He rebuilt the cities, towns, churches and monaſteries that had been deſtroyed by the hand of ſavage barbarity. He repaired the caſtles on the ſea coaſts, erected new fortifications, and fortified London with walls and ramparts. He divided England into counties, which were ſubdivided into hundreds, and theſe again into tythings, or dwellings of ten houſholders. By this inſtitution every man was obliged by his own intereſt to keep a watchful eye over the conduct of his neighbours, and juſtice was impartially adminiſtered. He laid the foundation of that ineſtimable privilege we now enjoy, of trial by a jury of peers. He revived the Saxon Wittenagemat, which is the origin of our modern parliaments. The diſpoſal of his revenue was ſingular. His income was divided into ſeven parts; one for the ſupport of his houſhold; a ſecond for the payment of his ſervants; a third for the entertainment and relief of ſtrangers; a fourth for the ſupport of religious houſes founded by himſelf; a fifth for the ſupport of public ſeminaries of learning; a ſixth for the rebuilding monaſteries; and the remainder for the relief of the poor in general. He divided his time into three parts, of eight hours each, devoting eight to acts of devotion, eight to affairs of ſtate, and the reſt to ſtudy, ſleep, and neceſſary refreſhment. He made a conſiderable progreſs in learning; for beſides compoſing ſeveral original works, he tranſlated the paſtoral of Gregory I. Boethius concerning the conſolation of philoſophy, and Bede's eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. To encourage arts and ſciences he invited learned men from the continent, and paid them liberally for their inſtructing his ſubjects. No perſon who was not a ſcholar was allowed to hold any place under him. All freeholders whoſe eſtates amounted to two hides of land, were obliged to ſend their ſons to ſchool till the age of ſixteen. He ſettled ſeveral ſeminaries, founded or at leaſt repaired the univerſity of Oxford; of which he himſelf was patron. He ſent perſons to ſurvey the Arctic regions, and if poſſible diſcover a north-eaſt paſſage to the Indies. We are informed by himſelf, in his tranſlation of Oroſius, that one Ohter, a Dane, ſurveyed the coaſts of Norway and Lapland by his direction, and preſented him not only with a clear deſcription of thoſe countries, but alſo brought with him ſome teeth of the ſea-horſe, and gave a good account of the whale fiſhery.

In his perſon Alfred was very comely, having a calm but lively aſpect. In his private character he was the moſt amiable perſon of the age. His temper was ſo even, that after he had aſſumed the crown, he never ſhewed any ſigns either of levity or melancholy. If we conſider his piety, we might conclude he had never been out of a cloiſter; if his wars, that he had always lived in a camp; if his learning and writings, that he had paſſed all his time in a univerſity; if his civil inſtitutions, that he had made the laws the ſtudy of his life.

This celebrated hero, this founder of the Engliſh conſtitution, this accompliſhed prince fought in perſon fifty-ſix battles by ſea and land; and after having reſtored peace to his happy ſubjects, fell at laſt a victim to death, being the thirtieth year of his reign, and the fifty-third of his age. A. D. 901. He left behind him two ſons and three daughters. His eldeſt ſon died before him. His ſecond ſon, Edward, ſucceeded him; and his third, Ethelward, devoted himſelf to literature. His eldeſt daughter was married to the earl of Mercia; his ſecond to the count of Flanders; and the third was an abbeſs.

EDWARD THE ELDER.

A. D. 901. Edward the Elder, who equalled his father in military talents, had no ſooner aſcended the throne than he was involved in war, his couſin-german Ethelwald, ſon to king Ethelbert, having laid claim to the crown. In order to ſupport his pretenſions, he put himſelf at the head of a ſtrong body of Norman freebooters, and joined the Danes of Northumberland, who had choſen him their king. Edward immediately collected his forces, and coming up with him in the neighbourhood of Bury, a battle was fought with great obſtinacy, in which Ethelwald, with the greateſt part of his officers, were killed upon the ſpot.

A. D. 911. But the death of this pretender did not eſtabliſh national tranquillity; for the Danes continued their ravages, notwithſtanding they were frequently purſued and routed with great ſlaughter. The remainder of Edward's reign was filled up with ſucceſsful enterprizes againſt the Northumbrians, and foreign invaders. He fought two ſignal battles at Temsford and Malden; he vanquiſhed Thurketill, a great Daniſh chief, and obliged him to leave the kingdom; he ſubdued the Eaſt Angles; he expelled Reginald and Sidroc, two rival princes of Northumberland; he conquered ſeveral tribes of the Britons, and even obliged the Scots to do him homage.

A. D. 913. Having by his bravery procured an interval of peace, he rebuilt the city of Hereford, which the Danes had laid in aſhes; fortified Witham, repaired ſeveral churches; and erected the ſeminary of Cambridge into a univerſity.

He was aſſiſted in his military operations by his gallant ſiſter Elfleda, who had devoted herſelf to the exerciſe of arms, and fought many battles with victory by her ſide. She diſdained the occupations of her ſex; yet her prudence and virtue were equal to her courage. The happineſs and peace of her country ſolely engaged her attention, both which ſhe laboured ſucceſsfully to eſtabliſh.

A. D. 921. The Danes, notwithſtanding they had been continually defeated by Edward and his intrepid ſiſter, who never loſt a battle, now menaced the Engliſh with a general inſurrection. But the activity of Edward compelled them to abandon all their deſigns. They were driven from one part of the country to another; their caſtles were taken, and their towns laid in aſhes. They felt the ſame diſtreſs they had ſo often inflicted on others.* Submiſſion now became their only reſource. They accordingly laid down their arms, and readily embraced the terms offered by the victor. After having reduced the whole kingdom of England, and principality of Wales to his obedience, death put an end to his glory and life in the twenty-fifth year of his reign. A. D. 925.

The character of this prince was very reſpectable; but was eclipſed to his ſubjects by his being the immediate ſucceſſor of Alfred the Great; yet, upon the whole, he was a great monarch, and a good man. By his firſt wife he had two ſons, Ethelwald and Edwin; and two by his ſecond wife Edgiva, Edmund and Edred, who afterwards reigned; to whom were added eight daughters. He had alſo by Egwina, the daughter of a ſhepherd, a natural ſon named Athelſtan, who immediately ſucceeded him on the throne, his legitimate children being thought too young to rule a nation expoſed to domeſtic calamities, and foreign invaſions.

ATHELSTAN.

A. D. 925. Athelſtan aſcended the throne in the thirtieth year of his age, by the unanimous conſent of the people, whoſe choice was ſufficiently juſtified, if we conſider the ſplendid accompliſhments of this prince.

On his acceſſion, a conſpiracy was formed to wreſt the ſceptre from his hand, by Alfred, a nobleman of conſiderable authority, who was committed upon ſuſpicion to priſon. Alfred denied the charge, and offered to take a ſolemn oath of his innocence before the pope. Upon which he was ſent to Rome, where he had no ſooner taken the oath, moſt probably a ſacramental one, than he was ſeized with a fainting fit, and at the end of three days expired in great agonies. Whatever might be the cauſe of this tragical event, which bears a very ſuſpicious aſpect, Alfred was conſidered as guilty, and his eſtate given to the monaſtery of Malmſbury.

Athelſtan now endeavoured to give ſecurity to his government, by providing againſt the inſurrections of the Danes. To this end he marched into Northumberland, where he conferred on Sithric, a Daniſh nobleman, the title of king, and gave him his ſiſter Editha in marriage; but Sithric dying within a twelvemonth, Anlaf and Godfrid, his two ſons by a former marriage, aſſumed the ſovereignty, without waiting for Athelſtan's conſent. Their preſumption, however, was ſoon puniſhed by that monarch, who expelled them, when the former retired into Ireland, and the latter into Scotland, where he was protected by Conſtantine, who was then on the throne. This Athelſtan reſented; and marching into Scotland reduced the king to ſuch diſtreſs, that, being in danger of loſing his crown he was at laſt compelled to ſue for peace in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms.

A. D. 934. But Conſtantine, after Athelſtan had returned to Weſſex, joined in a confederacy with Anlaf, a Daniſh prince ſettled in Ireland, and Owen, king of the Cumbrian Britons in Wales. Owen marched to join Conſtantine; and Anlaf ſailed from Ireland with a numerous army, in a fleet of two hundred and ſixteen ſail of large ſhips. Theſe forces were landed on the north ſide of the Humber, and proceeded immediately to form a junction with the allies. Athelſtan was no ſooner apprized of this powerful confederacy, than he drew together his forces, and appeared unexpectedly before the enemy; when, to uſe Cæſar's words, he came—he ſaw—he conquered. The Engliſh began the attack with uncommon bravery. The allies were driven from the field with prodigous ſlaughter; and the few that eſcaped ſought their ſafety in a precipitate flight. This battle was fought near Bruneford, or Brunſburg, in Northumberland; and the victory was in a great meaſure obtained by Turketul, the Engliſh chancellor, who with a ſelect band of Londoners broke through the ranks of the enemy, unhorſed the king of Scotland, who was dangerouſly wounded, and by his amazing valour decided the fortune of the day. There fell in this remarkable engagement, beſides Conſtantine, who died of his wounds, ſix kings of Ireland and Wales, twelve earls, ſeveral other general officers, and an almoſt incredible number of counts and privates.

A. D. 941. After this deciſive action, Athelſtan enjoyed his crown in tranquillity, and died in the ſixteenth year of his reign, and in the forty-ſixth of his age. This prince, throughout his reign, which conſiſted chiefly of military exploits, acted in every reſpect worthy of his illuſtrious deſcent. He employed men of learning to tranſlate the Bible into the Saxon language. He died without iſſue, and was buried in the abbey of Malmſbury.

EDMUND.

A. D. 941. Edmund, the brother of Athelſtan, at the age of eighteen, was crowned with great pomp at Kingſton in Surry. He was ſcarcely ſeated on his throne when the Northumbrians, thinking his youth a circumſtance in their favour, revolted. But Edmund ſuddenly marched into their country, and the rebels were ſo overawed, that they ſtrove to appeaſe him by the meaneſt ſubmiſſions. He inſiſted on their embracing the Chriſtian religion as a preliminary to a treaty, with which condition they made not the leaſt difficulty in complying.

A. D. 945. The Cumbrian Britons having aſſiſted the Northumbrians in their late revolt, Edmund marched into their country at the head of his army; drove their prince from his throne, and beſtowed his dominions on Malcolm king of Scotland; who undertook the defence of the northern border, and did homage to Edmund as lord paramount of the ſoil.

Peace now took up her reſidence in the dominions of Edmund, and a ſeries of happy days were expected to flow from his mild government, when an event happened which put a period to his life, and the hopes of his ſubjects. While he was celebrating the feaſt of Auguſtine, in commemoration of the converſion of the Saxons, on the twenty-ſixth day of May, 946, at Pucle church in Glouceſterſhire, one Leolf, a notorious robber whom the king had baniſhed, took his ſeat at one of the tables where he himſelf was at dinner. Provoked at this inſolence, Edmund ordered him to leave the place. On his refuſing, the king leaped from his ſeat, and ſeizing him by the hair dragged him to the ground; when the ruffian thus puſhed to extremity, drew a dagger, and ſheathed it in the boſom of his prince. Death followed the wound, Edmund fell to the ground, and inſtantly expired. His nobles, exaſperated to madneſs, fell upon the regicide, and cut him to pieces with their ſwords.

Such was the untimely end of this young prince, after a ſhort but promiſing reign of about ſix years. He was buried at Glaſtonbury, of which the famous Dunſtan was then Abbot. By his queen Elgiva he had two ſons, Edwy and Edgar, but as they were very young, Edred his brother ſucceeded him on the throne. During the reign of Edmund many new laws were enacted, ſome of which are ſtill exiſting. In his time robbery was puniſhed with hanging. The ſhort time this king ſat upon the throne renders it impoſſible to draw his character with ſtrict juſtice. His victories in the field are undeniable proofs of his valour; and the pains he took to make his people happy, are demonſtrations of his humanity.

EDRED.

A. D. 946. Edred, brother of the deceaſed king, was crowned at Kingſton in Surry, by Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury. He had ſcarcely began his reign, when the Danes of Northumberland

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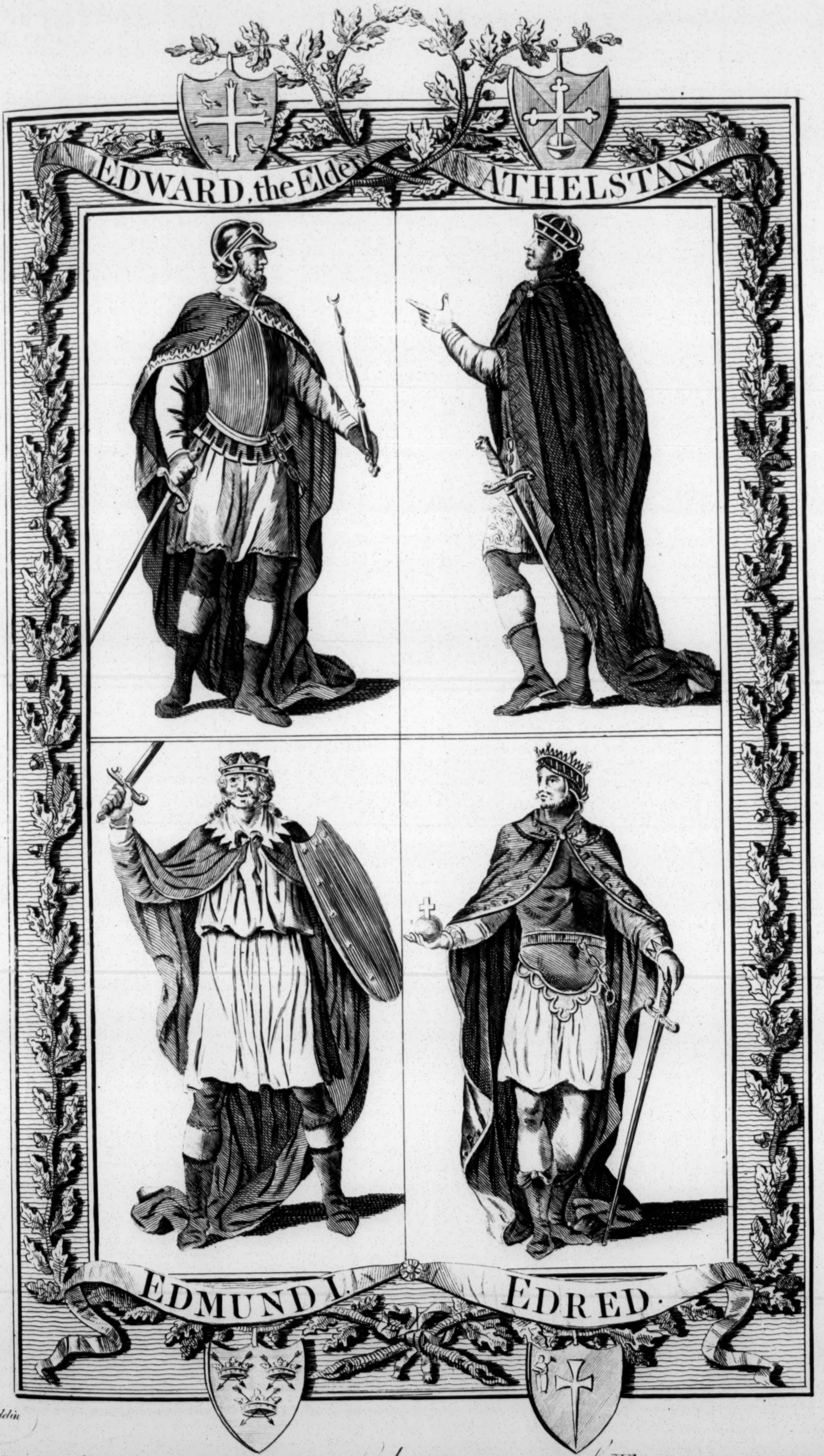

Portraits *and* Dreſses *of the* KINGS *of* ENGLAND, (*with their* Arms) *prior to the* *Norman Conquest*) Plate 4.

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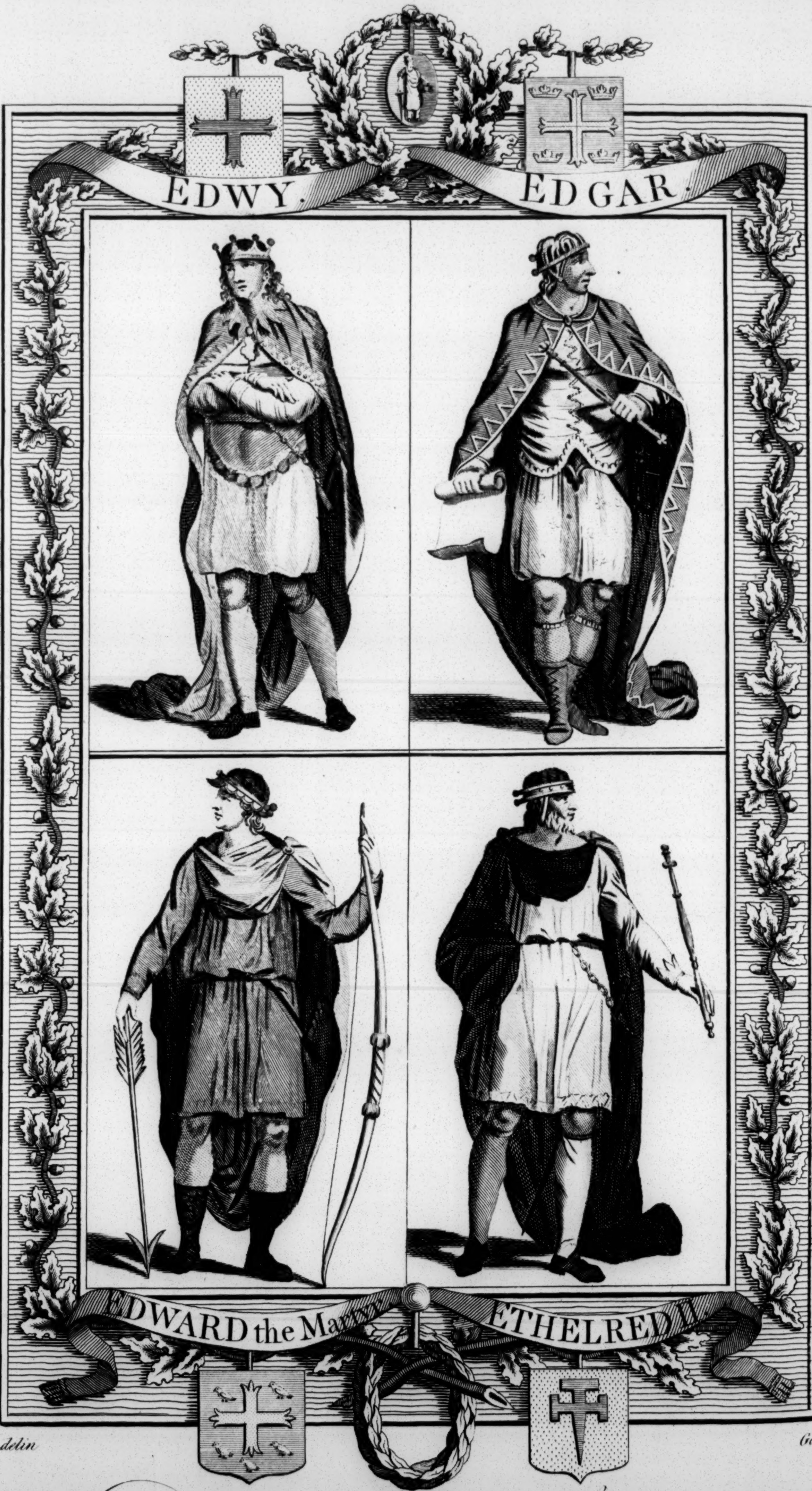
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Portraits *and* Dreſses *of the* KINGS *of* ENGLAND,
(with their Arms) *prior to the Norman Conquest.* Plate

land as uſual revolted; but Edred marched without delay into their country and reduced it. Soon after they again renounced their allegiance, and even added treachery to rebellion, by attacking his army on their return home; upon which he ſuddenly marched back into the heart of their country, and after ravaging it with fire and ſword, effectually ſecured it with Engliſh garriſons.

A. D. 953. Peace being thus reſtored, Edred applied himſelf to exerciſes more ſuited to his inclinations than thoſe of war. Superſtition was the ruling paſſion in the breaſt of this prince, and the principal feature in his character. He ſubmitted his conſcience to the guidance of Dunſtan, abbot of Glaſtonbury, who was not only his ſpiritual director, but in reality the ſole governor of the kingdom. Dunſtan was one of thoſe enterprizing men, whoſe ſtubborn prejudices have frequently interrupted the tranquillity of nations. He had no merits but thoſe of a churchman; as an Engliſhman they were execrable. The bigotted monarch was however deceived. He ſubmitted even to receive corporal puniſhment from his hand. This bold churchman taking advantage of Edred's weakneſs, introduced into England the Benedictines, a new order of monks, who immediately excited the moſt violent commotions, by openly profeſſing, among other rigid monaſtic auſterities, the doctrine of celibacy; and to render their rivals, the ſecular clergy, as odious as poſſible, every inſtance of diſſoluteneſs in that order was now repreſented as a general corruption, and when other ſlanderous topics were wanting, marriage became a general ſubject of invective, and their wives received the name of concubines. On the other hand the ſecular clergy, provoked at this attack, vigorouſly defended themſelves; inveighing bitterly againſt an innovation, which however advantageous to the church, is extremely pernicious to civil ſociety.

In the midſt of theſe diſputes Edred died of a quinſey, on the twenty-third of November, in the year 955, in the ninth year of his reign, highly extolled by the deceitful flatteries of Dunſtan and his monks, who it muſt be acknowledged by the death of this weak king, loſt a generous benefactor. He left three children; but they being infants, he was ſucceeded by Edwy his nephew, the ſon of his brother Edmund.

EDWY.

A. D. 955. Edwy when he mounted the throne was not more than ſixteen or ſeventeen years of age; and was ſo remarkable for perſonal accompliſhments, that he obtained the ſurname of the Fair. Unhappily for this young prince he engaged in a controverſy with the monks, who have purſued his memory with the ſame unrelenting fury which they exerciſed againſt his perſon, during his ſhort and unhappy reign. What gave riſe to their malice, was Edwy's having married a beautiful princeſs of the blood royal, named Elgiva, who though only his ſecond or third couſin, was within the degrees of conſanguinity prohibited by the canon law. The monks therefore loudly exclaimed againſt him as guilty of inceſt, and even obliged him to agree to a divorce. Dunſtan, commonly called ſaint Dunſtan, was at the head of theſe incenſed bigots. This precious ſaint firſt encouraged the dupes of his hypocriſy to inſult regal authority, and afterwards excited the people to rebel againſt their ſovereign.

On the day of his coronation, Edwy, to avoid exceſſive drinking then univerſally practiſed, and probably attracted by ſofter pleaſures, retired to the queen's apartments, where in the preſence of his mother he indulged his fondneſs for his beloved Elgiva. The nobles haſtily concluding the abſence of their king an affront offered to themſelves, complained of the inſult. Dunſtan ſaw their diſguſt with ſecret ſatisfaction, and taking with him Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury, they both ruſhed without ceremony into the royal preſence, reproached the king in the harſheſt terms, and forcing him from the arms of his wife, puſhed him forward to the company of the nobles. Edwy, though young, was exaſperated at this outrage of the inſolent monk; and to be revenged for the ſame, called him to an account for his adminiſtration of the treaſury during the reign of his predeceſſor. Dunſtan refuſed to comply; upon which he was declared guilty of malverſation in his office, and baniſhed the kingdom. But during Dunſtan's abſence, his cabal poiſoned the minds of the people with the higheſt encomiums on his ſanctity. They repreſented him as a vicegerent of heaven, and his baniſhment as an act of the greateſt impiety. Having by their clamours infuſed into the minds of the vulgar a falſe terror, they proceeded to the moſt outrageous violations of royal prerogative. Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury, one of the moſt violent fanatics of that age, ſuſpecting that the reſentment of Elgiva had been the principal cauſe of Dunſtan's baniſhment, ſent into the palace a company of ſoldiers, who with more than brutal violence dragged the fair queen from the arms of her huſband, branded her face with a red hot iron, in order to deſtroy that beauty with which Edwy was enamoured, and then conveyed her by force into Ireland. Edwy enraged at the barbarity of Odo, turned his reſentment againſt the monks, whom he expelled the kingdom. Had he purſued his blow, and drove Odo alſo out of the iſland, an interval of tranquillity might probably have ſucceeded the outrages of diſappointed bigotry. But the popularity of Odo intimidated Edwy, who finding it impoſſible to ſtem the torrent of rebellious oppoſition, ſhut himſelf up in the city of Glouceſter.

About this time the lovely Elgiva, having been cured of her wounds, was returning from Ireland, with the pleaſing hopes of once more enjoying the happineſs of her huſband's company, when ſhe unfortunately fell into the hands of a party ſent by Odo to intercept her, who ſteeled againſt the ſoft pleadings of humanity, ſacrificed her to the fury of unrelenting monks. This innocent female victim was hamſtringed, and expired a few days after in moſt acute torments.

A civil war now raged with unremitting violence, which after an effuſion of blood terminated in a peace, by which Edgar the younger brother was proclaimed king, and to Edwy was allotted only the kingdom of Weſſex. Odo now having ſeen the accompliſhment of his wicked devices againſt his ſovereign, died; and Dunſtan returning to England was made biſhop of Worceſter, then raiſed to the ſee of London, and afterwards to that of Canterbury.

The unhappy Edwy, robbed of his amiable Elgiva, deprived of his kingdom, and excommunicated, whereby he was conſidered by his ſubjects as a monſter of impiety, pined in ſecret till he became a prey to melancholy, which brought him to the grave in the fifth year of his reign.

The character of this prince has been loaded by monkiſh malevolence with almoſt every vice; but had he tamely ſubmitted to the government of an ambitious prelate and an artful monk, all his faults had been forgotten, and his virtues diſplayed with the ſpecious varniſh of monaſtic eloquence.

EDGAR.

A. D. 959. Edgar, who before the death of his brother Edwy had obtained the ſovereignty, aſcended the throne before he was ſeventeen years of age, and the ſurname given him of the

Peaceable, becauſe his reign was undiſturbed by any commotions foreign or domeſtic. It was principally to his great preparations both by ſea and land that he owed his ſecurity. He quartered a ſtrong body of regulars in the north, to keep the mutinous Northumbrians in ſubjection, and to repel thoſe of the Scots, while a powerful navy guarded the coaſts; which had orders from time to time to make the circuit of his dominions. The foreign Danes did not dare to approach a country that appeared in ſuch a poſture of defence; and the domeſtic Danes ſaw if they engaged in a rebellion, it would be attended with inevitable deſtruction. The kings of Wales, Ireland, Scotland, and the Iſle of Man acknowledged him for their ſovereign; and on a viſit he made to Cheſter, he is ſaid to have been rowed in his barge on the river Dee, by eight tributary kings.

Nothing tended more to the tranquillity of Edgar's reign than his patronage of the monks; for the voice of the people was always in their favour, ſo that they could foment inſurrections, or preſerve the public peace almoſt at their pleaſure.

His liberality to theſe eccleſiaſtics exceeded all bounds of diſcretion. He is ſaid to have founded more than forty monaſteries, and repaired many others. The recompence of theſe favours was the quiet poſſeſſion of his crown, and the name of ſaint conferred after his death.

He changed the tribute of the Welch into three hundred wolves heads, the kingdom being then infeſted with wolves, and pardoned all crimes committed before a certain period, on condition the criminals ſhould produce a certain number of the tongues of thoſe animals; an expedient that produced ſuch diligence in hunting and deſtroying them, that they have not been ſeen ſince in this iſland.

He was alſo ſevere againſt corrupt magiſtrates, inflicting exemplary puniſhment on ſuch as were guilty of mal-practices; and the better to enſure the adminiſtration of juſtice, he made an annual circuit through the different parts of his dominions; yet in his private life he is ſaid to have been very licentious; for though by permiſſion of the pope he ſummoned a general council, in which the ſecular clergy were accuſed of many irregularities in order to beſtow their benefices on the monks; he himſelf at the ſame time carried off a nun from her convent by force, whoſe name was Wilfrid, and even committed violence on her perſon.

Being on a viſit at the houſe of a nobleman near Andover, and ſeeing his daughter, he became ſo enflamed with her beauty, that he inſiſted on having his inclination immediately indulged, by ſleeping with her that very night. The mother of the young lady, knowing the impetuoſity of the king's temper, pretended a ready ſubmiſſion to his will, but in order to preſerve the honour of her daughter, prevailed on a waiting woman to ſupply her place. When the return of light diſcovered the deceit, the king appeared not diſſatisfied with what had happened, and transferred his love to the good natured damſel, who was called Elfleda the Fair. She became his favourite miſtreſs, whom he kept till his marriage with the beautiful Elfrida, the following particulars of whom have been related by moſt writers of credit.

Elfrida, daughter of Olgar earl of Devonſhire, was univerſally reputed the greateſt beauty in the kingdom. The fame of her charms had even been communicated to Edgar, who reſolved if they ſhould prove anſwerable to report to raiſe her to his throne. In order to inform himſelf of the truth, he ordered Athelwold his favourite upon a viſit to her parents, charging him to be very particular in the account he ſhould bring him of their daughter's accompliſhments. Athelwold in executing this commiſſion was ſeized with a violent paſſion for Elfrida, and inſtantly took a weak reſolution of ſacrificing his fidelity to his love. Upon his return he therefore told the king, that the high quality and riches of Elfrida had been the foundation of public fame, and that her charms would have been overlooked in a woman of an inferior ſtation. Having thus diverted the king from his deſign, he ſome time after took an opportunity of renewing the ſubject, and obſerved to Edgar that though her birth and fortune had not produced in him the ſame illuſion as in others with reſpect to her beauty, yet he thought upon the whole ſhe would be an advantageous match for himſelf. Edgar, pleaſed with the means of eſtabliſhing his favourite's fortune, not only perſuaded him to execute his purpoſe, but ſupported his ſucceſs by recommendations to Elfrida's parents, and ſoon after Athelwold was made happy by marrying the lady; but dreading a diſcovery of his mean artifice, he confined her in his caſtle in the country, nor would allow her the uſual ceremony of appearing at court, with the hope of preventing her ever being ſeen by Edgar. But this prince having by ſome of his courtiers been informed of the truth, paid Athelwold a viſit at his caſtle, when he was ſo enchanted with the beauty of Elfrida, who notwithſtanding her huſband's entreaties to the contrary, uſed every art to ſet off her charms, that he reſolved to take vengeance on his favourite, who had deluded him by an act of baſeneſs of the moſt flagrant kind. For this purpoſe he took Athelwold under pretence of hunting into a wood, where drawing him aſide from his attendants he ſtabbed him with his own hand, and was ſoon after publicly married to Elfrida. This lady to expiate her crime in being the occaſion of her huſband's death, or moſt likely to ingratiate herſelf with the monks, eſtabliſhed on the ſpot where his blood was ſpilt a ſociety of nuns to pray for his ſoul. A very different kind of puniſhment this than what had been inflicted on the unhappy Edwy and his beloved Elgiva.

The monks, in the hiſtory of this king's reign, have given us rather a fulſome panegyric on his character, than a regular ſeries of actions. If the enriching churches and monaſteries may be conſidered as cardinal virtues, Edgar certainly poſſeſſed them in a high degree; and on this baſis alone his ſanctity is founded. However without employing the pen of adulation, we may with ſtrict truth obſerve, that few princes in thoſe turbulent times enjoyed ſo long an interval of tranquillity; to obtain which he took the moſt prudent methods. His political conduct particularly in preventing invaſions, have given a real luſtre to his character. His laws for the preſervation of civil happineſs are equally admirable. His court was admired for its hoſpitality, and was generally filled with a concourſe of foreigners, who were charmed with his elegance, magnificence, and politeneſs. He extended his liberality in a bountiful manner to men of genius and learning. Ever attentive to the trade of his ſubjects, he regulated the coin of the kingdom, and took care that it ſhould be of a proper ſtandard, in order to ſupport the credit of the nation in foreign markets. He alſo reduced the weights and meaſures to one ſtandard.

After enjoying a peaceable reign of ſixteen years, and in the thirty-third of his age, Edgar died in 975, and was buried at Glaſtonbury. By his firſt wife the daughter of earl Ordmer, he had a ſon named Edward, who ſucceeded him on the throne; and by his ſecond wife Elfrida, he had a ſon called Ethelred, who ſucceeded to Edward. He had likewiſe a natural daughter by the nun

Wilfrid,

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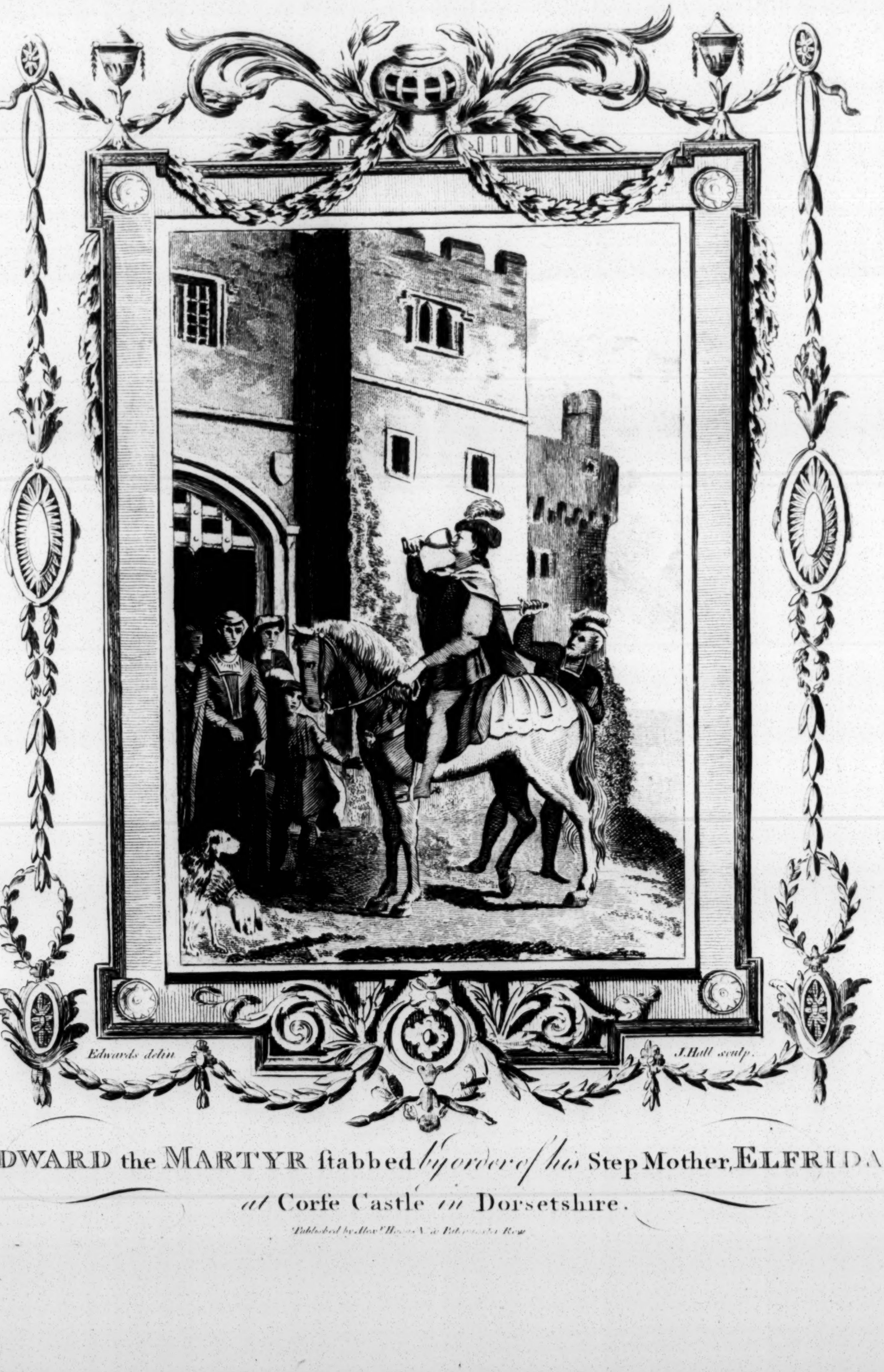

Edwards delin
J.Hall sculp.

EDWARD the **MARTYR** ſtabbed *by order of his* Step Mother, **ELFRIDA**
at Corfe Castle *in* Dorsetshire.

Published by Alex.r Hogg N.o 16 Paternoster Row

Wilfrid, whoſe name was Editha, highly extolled on account of her piety.

EDWARD the MARTYR.

A. D. 975.

Edward the Martyr, who was only fifteen years of age, aſcended the throne by the influence of Dunſtan, to whoſe power and favour he was indebted for a ſceptre; for a ſtrong party had been formed againſt him by the intrigues of his ſtep-mother the fair Elfrida, who, under pretence that he was illegitimate, endeavoured to raiſe her own ſon Ethelred to the throne; but Dunſtan, with the principal nobles, declaring in favour of Edward's title, this prince was anointed and crowned at Kingſton in Surry. Dunſtan, having thus carried his point, determined to keep the monks in their benefices, and exerted to this end the king's authority in their favour; thus, in a manner, taking the government into his own hands.

But as the declarations of a prince in his minority, and wholly at the devotion of Dunſtan, would carry with it the moſt glaring marks of ſuſpicion, recourſe was had to ſome pious frauds, believed by the populace to be real miracles. At one time Dunſtan declared he had received a real revelation from heaven in favour of the monks; at another, he made a crucifix ſpeak to the ſame purpoſe; and, on a third occaſion, he contrived matters ſo, that the floor of the hall where the aſſembly was met ſunk down, and great numbers were cruſhed to death; but the beam which ſupported Dunſtan ſtood firm, and the prelate remained unhurt in the midſt of the general ſlaughter.

Theſe impoſtures were interpreted by a deluded, ignorant people, indiſputable deciſions in favour of the celibacy of the clergy, and no farther oppoſition was made to the deſign of extending it over the whole kingdom.

Soon after Edward's acceſſion to the throne, Elfrida retired, with her ſon, to Corſe-caſtle, in Dorſetſhire. All animoſities between her and the king in appearance, ſeemed to have been entirely forgotten. On the part of Edward, this reconciliation was real; but Elfrida nurſed in ſecret the fury of revenge, and waited only for a favourable opportunity to execute her horrid deſign.

Edward, who poſſeſſed the moſt amiable innocence of manners, as his own intentions were pure, harboured not the leaſt ſuſpicion of others. Though his ſtep-mother had oppoſed his acceſſion, he always treated her with reſpect, and on all occaſions expreſſed the moſt tender affection towards his brother. Returning one day from hunting near the ſeat of his mother-in-law, he embraced that opportunity of paying her a viſit, unattended by any of his retinue. When arrived at the caſtle, he was received with every external mark of affection by Elfrida, who invited him very courteouſly to alight; but finding him in a hurry to be gone, inſiſted upon his drinking a cup of wine as he ſat on horſeback. The young prince complied with her requeſt; but while he was holding the cup to his lips, a ſervant of Elfrida's whom ſhe had prepared to execute her horrid purpoſe, came behind him and ſtabbed him in the back. The wounded prince clapped ſpurs to his horſe; but ſoon becoming faint with loſs of blood, he fell from the ſaddle, and his foot ſticking in one of the ſtirrups, he was dragged along till he expired. The ſervants of Elfrida followed Edward by the track of blood, and finding the body terribly defaced, they threw it into a well, where it was found by Edward's ſervants, and buried privately at Wareham in Dorſetſhire, whence it was removed to the monaſtery of Shafteſbury, founded by Alfred the Great, where many miracles were ſaid to have been performed at his tomb; a circumſtance by no means remarkable, when we conſider how great a friend the king had been to the monks, who cauſed him to be canonized and honoured with the title of martyr, though his murder had not the leaſt relation to any religious opinions.

Elfrida, either ſtung with remorſe, or to prevent the impending ſtorm that threatened to overwhelm her, built ſeveral monaſteries, and ſubmitted to many penances; but notwithſtanding all her outward ſigns of contrition, whether real or affected, ſhe continued till the day of her death in obſcurity, nor could ever retrieve the good opinion of the people.

The murder of Edward happened in the third year of his reign. It is ſaid, that after this tragical event, Dunſtan offered the ſovereignty to Editha, the natural daughter of Edgar, who was abbeſs at the convent of Wilton; but conſcious of the defect in her own title, and terrified at the deplorable fate of her brother Edward, ſhe refuſed the offer, whereupon Dunſtan crowned Ethelred, who was then in the twelfth year of his age.

ETHELRED II.

A. D. 978.

Ethelred II. was the only ſurviving heir of the regal line. His whole reign was continually diſturbed by the invaſions of the Danes, who now, after a long interval, renewed their attempts againſt this iſland. Theſe were at length ſo ſudden and frequent, that the people began to be diſpirited, and the troops were harraſſed by marching from place to place to repel them.

In the mean time the credit of the monks declined at a rapid rate. The king was no friend to theſe hypocritical impoſtors. Three biſhops, their profeſſed champions, died. Dunſtan departing this life, was deteſted by the very people, who, in his life-time, had honoured him as the firſt of ſaints; and it is thought public odium contributed to ſhorten his days.

A. D. 991.

The Danes, before they attempted a general invaſion, by way of trial, landed in ſeven veſſels near Southampton, ravaged the country, and departed with impunity. Six years after they made another attempt in the weſt with like ſucceſs. This year a large body of them, under the command of Juſtin and Guthmund, debarked at Ipſwich in Suffolk, when Brithnock, duke of Eaſt Anglia, marched to oppoſe them, whom they defeated and ſlew, and then carried the terror of their arms through all the circumjacent country. Ethelred, in this extremity, adopted the ill-judged policy of bribing the enemy, and gave them ten thouſand pounds to depart the kingdom. This diſgraceful expedient induced the Danes to appear the next year on the eaſtern coaſt, in hopes, either of obtaining more money, or of ſubduing an indolent people who had not courage to defend themſelves. But at this time the Engliſh determined to aſſemble a fleet at London, capable of giving battle to the enemy. This prudent meaſure was rendered unſucceſsful by the treachery of Alfric, duke of Mercia. The king's council had formed a plan for ſurrounding and deſtroying the Daniſh fleet in the harbour; on which the traitor privately informed the Danes of their danger, and in the night before the engagement deſerted to them with a ſquadron under his command. Ethelred, enraged at his perfidy, apprehended his ſon Alfgar, and cruelly ordered his eyes to be put out; yet notwithſtanding Alfric's treachery, and the reſentment it might have been ſuppoſed he would harbour at the indignity offered to his ſon, the court had the folly to intruſt him again with the government of Mercia.

A. D. 993. Sweyn, king of Denmark, and Olaus, king of Norway, being now well acquainted with the defenceleſs ſtate of England, made ſeveral deſcents with a formidable armament. They made incurſions into Kent, Suſſex, and Hampſhire. They ravaged Durham and Yorkſhire without oppoſition. Banbury was deſtroyed; Lindeſey laid waſte; and the Northumbrians, though deſcended from the Danes, were obliged either to join the invaders, or be plundered. A powerful army was raiſed to put a ſtop to their cruel depredations; but, in a general engagement, the Engliſh were abandoned by Frena, Frithegiſt, and Godwin, their three leaders, all of them deſcended from the Danes; which deſertion occaſioned a ſhameful flight.

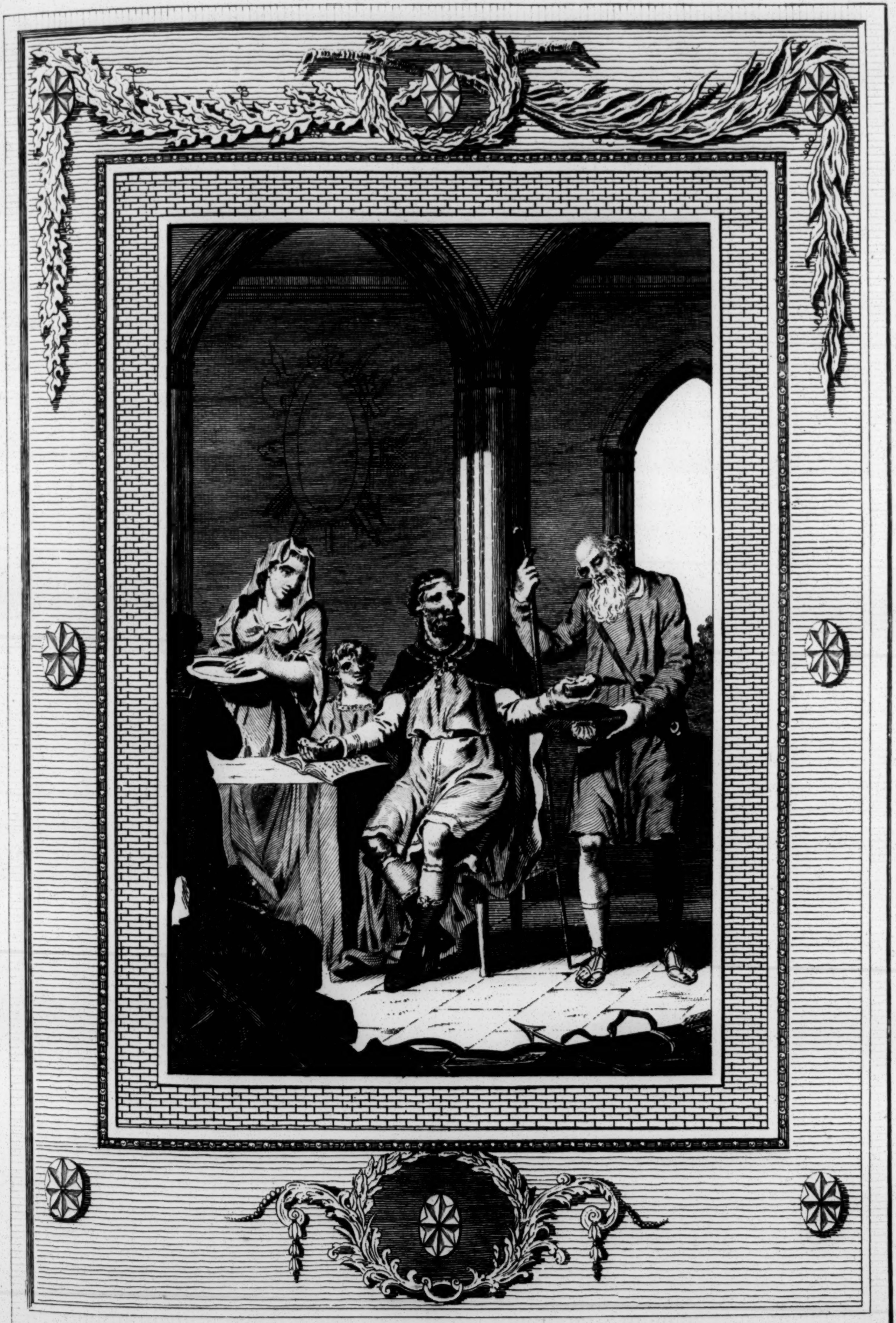
Encouraged by this ſucceſs, theſe invaders ſoon after entered the Thames, in ninety-four veſſels, and laid ſiege to London; but the brave citizens made a bold defence, and obliged them, they having loſt a great number of men, to make a haſty retreat. In this national diſtreſs, recourſe was again had to negociation, in which the Danes agreed to quit the kingdom on receiving ſixteen thouſand pounds. The terms were complied with by Ethelred, and the enemy returned to their own country. Olaus, who had embraced Chriſtianity, obſerved religiouſly the conditions of the treaty, nor ever after attempted to interrupt the tranquillity of the nation.

A. D. 997. The interval of peace, purchaſed by this infamous treaty, was of no long duration. New armies of Daniſh pirates appeared in the Severn, under different leaders. They ravaged Wales, Cornwall, and Devon. Then returning to Briſtol channel, they penetrated into the country by the Avon, carrying fire and ſword into Dorſetſhire. The next year, having changed the ſeat of war, they entered the Thames, and laid ſiege to Rocheſter, near which place they defeated the Kentiſh men in a pitched battle. Theſe, and other ſucceſsful inroads, which were always attended with ſlaughter, fire, and devaſtation, drove Ethelred to his uſual reſource, that of meanly purchaſing a temporary peace with money; but the pirates now raiſing in their demands, required the payment of twenty-four thouſand pounds, to which Ethelred and his council imprudently ſubmitted. This ſum was levied on the people by a tax, which afterwards was diſtinguiſhed by the name of Danegelt.

A. D. 1000. Though the departure of the enemy procured the Engliſh another ſhort interval of repoſe, they made not the leaſt uſe of it for the purpoſe of ſelf-defence. Ethelred indeed was now convinced, that unleſs ſome expedient could be found to check the rapid progreſs of the Danes, the whole kingdom muſt ſubmit to the yoke of ſlavery. He therefore determined to ſtrengthen himſelf, by forming an alliance with ſome foreign power. With this view ambaſſadors were diſpatched to Richard II. duke of Normandy, to demand his ſiſter Emma in marriage for Ethelred. The propoſals were accepted by Richard, and that princeſs, remarkable for her beauty, arrived in England, where the nuptials were celebrated with the utmoſt magnificence.

This alliance might have been productive of happy conſequences, had not the king followed the advice of perſons who had often betrayed him, and who, under the pretext of an inviolable attachment to his perſon, laboured to complete his ruin. Ethelred wanted capacity to perceive the pernicious tendency of their advice, who prompted him to engage in a project that overwhelmed his people with miſery, and entailed eternal infamy on his memory. This was nothing leſs than a general maſſacre of all the Danes in England, except thoſe poſſeſſed of Eaſt Anglia and Northumberland, who were too numerous to be murdered by the few Engliſh reſiding in thoſe counties. The orders given on this horrid occaſion were circulated with ſuch ſecrecy, that the miſerable victims received not the leaſt intimation of the dreadful ſentence that hung over their heads. It was put in execution on the feſtival of St. Brice, being the thirteenth of November, which fell on a Sunday, a day on which the Danes uſually bathed themſelves. They were maſſacred with ſuch circumſtances of brutality, as are too ſhocking to be related in the ear of ſoft humanity. Neither age nor ſex were ſpared. Chriſtians and Pagans ſuffered the ſame fate. No diſtinction was made between innocence and guilt; all alike indiſcriminately fell victims to Saxon brutality. Even the famous Gunilda was numbered among the ſlain. This ſiſter of the king of Denmark having long lived in England, had embraced the Chriſtian religion, and was married to Paling, an Engliſh nobleman. When her brother Sweyn withdrew his forces from England, ſhe became an hoſtage for his duly performing the conditions of the treaty. She had always conducted herſelf with the greateſt prudence. Her actions were ſtrictly conformable to her religious profeſſions. But neither amiable manners, goodneſs of heart, nor exemplary virtue, had power to ſave her. She was devoted to periſh, with her friends, by the barbarous orders of a timorous monarch. Nor was her death ſufficient to ſatisfy the thirſt for blood in the breaſt of ſuch inhuman ſavages. Cruelty was added to barbarity. Her huſband and children were murdered before her eyes, and then ſhe herſelf ſuffered the ſame fate. This ſweet innocent betrayed, while under the murdering hand of her butchers, neither fear nor timidity; not a feature in her countenance was diſtorted; and, in almoſt the agonies of death, ſhe told her inhuman murderers, that her murder would involve the kingdom in the moſt dreadful calamities. Never were prophetic words more completely fulfilled; and never did a barbarous policy prove more fatal to its authors. Some of the Danes, inſtead of flying to the churches, ſtained with human blood, took refuge on board a veſſel; and ſailing to Denmark, carried the dreadful news to Sweyn, who, juſtly tranſported with rage, determined to revenge the death of his ſiſter with implacable fury, and devoted the iſland to deſtruction. The whole nation of Denmark was inſpired with the ſame ſpirit of reſentment.

A. D. 1003. He embarked a powerful army on board three hundred ſail of ſhips. Cornwall firſt felt the effects of his fury. The city of Exeter next fell into his hands; the place was laid in aſhes, and the inhabitants treated with Gothic barbarity. Ethelred now finding his crown in danger, aſſembled a large army; but duke Alfric, who was intruſted with the command, feigned ſickneſs, refuſed to lead the forces againſt the Danes, till they were diſpirited, and in a ſhort time diſſipated. Alfric ſoon after died, and Edric, who was no leſs a traitor, ſucceeded him in the government of Mercia, and the command of the Engliſh army. The ſoldiers demanded to be led immediately againſt the Danes; but Edric ordered a retreat, which was conducted in ſo careleſs a manner, that the enemy fell upon the rear of the Engliſh, and put the whole army to flight. The king ſeeing his territories reduced to the utmoſt deſolation, to which were added the miſeries of famine, ſubmitted in 1007 to purchaſe a peace, by the payment of thirty thouſand pounds. From this period we read of nothing but the treachery of Edric in repeated inſtances; the ſacking of cities; the burning of towns; and ſcenes of the moſt complicated diſtreſs viſible in every part of the kingdom.



Hamilton delin.

ALFRED the Great (during his Misfortunes occasioned by the Ravages of the Danes) Generously Dividing his Last Loaf with a Poor Pilgrim, who begged for something to satisfy his Hunger, at Athelney in Somersetſhire.

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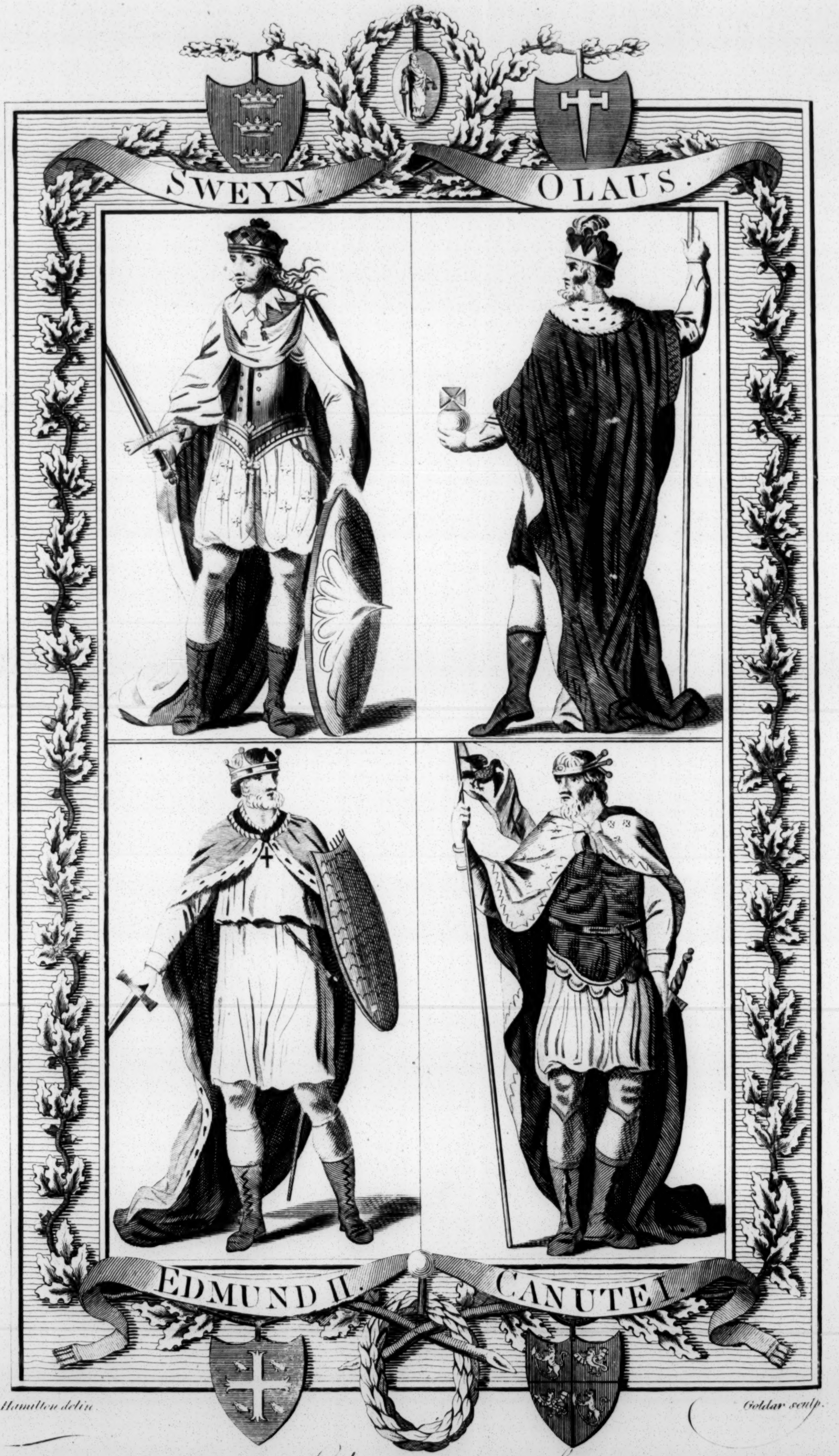
SWEYN.
OLAUS.
EDMUND II.
CANUTE I.

Hamilton delin.

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Portraits and Dreſses of the KINGS of ENGLAND, &c.
(with their Arms) prior to the Norman Conquest. Plate 6

kingdom. Treachery among the nobles; diſſention among governors, and deſpondency in the people, prevailed univerſally. At length the only expedient thought moſt eligible, was to purchaſe another precarious and infamous peace for the ſum of forty-eight thouſand pounds. Yet this did not bring them the ſhort repoſe they expected; for the Danes, regardleſs of their engagements, continued their wanton cruelties. They even obliged the county of Kent alone to pay them eight thouſand pounds, and murdered the archbiſhop of Canterbury for refuſing to countenance this demand.

A. D. 1014. In this ſtate of deplorable miſery the Engliſh nobility, as their laſt and only reſource, ſubmitted to the conqueror. They ſwore allegiance to Sweyn, and delivered hoſtages for their good behaviour. Ethelred no leſs afraid of the treachery of his own ſubjects than of the enemy, fled into Normandy, where he had before ſent Emma his queen, with Alfred and Edward their two ſons. Richard II. received his unhappy gueſts with marks of affection, that reflect honour on his character.

The Engliſh now ſunk under a heavy load of miſery. They brooded in ſilence over their miſfortunes, and gave themſelves up a prey to deſpondency. The Dane was a ſtranger to compaſſion. In his adamantine breaſt humanity pleaded in vain the cauſe of the people. But the triumph of this brutal tyrant was of a ſhort date; for he died ſuddenly in leſs than ſix weeks after Ethelred had left the kingdom.

The nobles and prelates, hoping their king had learned in the ſchool of adverſity a perfect knowledge of his paſt errors, ſent a deputation, requeſting him to take again poſſeſſion of his throne. Ethelred, pleaſed with this teſtimony of the affection of his people, promiſed to redreſs all their grievances, and to exert his whole power in defence of his country; but on his return he diſcovered the ſame incapacity, cowardice, and credulity, by which he had been ſo often fatally miſled. He even liſtened to the inſinuations of that traitor Edric, againſt Sigefert and Morcar, two of his principal nobles and faithful adherents in Mercia. Edric invited them to his houſe, where he cauſed them to be murdered; and Ethelred ſhared the infamy of this action by confiſcating their eſtates, and putting the widow of Sigefert into a convent. Prince Edmund, the king's eldeſt ſon, paying her a viſit there, fell in love with her, and married her ſoon after, without having requeſted his father's conſent.

A. D. 1015. At this time Canute, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Sweyn, became as terrible to the Engliſh as his father had been. Having terminated the troubles in Denmark, he embarked his army, and landed without oppoſition on the coaſt of Weſſex. He put on ſhore at Sandwich all the Engliſh hoſtages, having barbarouſly cut off their hands and noſes; after which he ranſacked the eaſtern coaſt with mercileſs fury. His next expedition was againſt the counties of Wilts, Dorſet, and Somerſet; where the horrid depredations that were committed, raiſed ſuch a general alarm in the nation, that Edmund, the eldeſt ſon of Ethelred, collected a conſiderable body of troops in the north, while the perfidious Edric levied a number of forces in Mercia. The two generals led the army directly againſt the invaders of their country. Had Edric been faithful, in all probability Canute had been defeated. But ſincerity had nothing to do with this monſter in human ſhape; who formed a deſign of taking away the life of Edmund, or to deliver him into the hands of the enemy. Fortunately for this prince the plot was made known to him, juſt as the troops were making preparations for an engagement. A retreat now became abſolutely neceſſary; and Edric finding his perfidy detected, deſerted to Canute. Edmund now made ſome fruitleſs excurſions in the north, and then returned to London, where he found every thing in confuſion by the death of the king, who after an inglorious reign of near thirty-eight years expired, in the fiftieth year of his age.

By his firſt wife Elgiva, he had Edmund, who ſucceeded him; Athelſtan, who died an infant; and Edwy, who was murdered by order of Canute. He had alſo three daughters, Edgiva married to an Engliſh earl; Edgitha to the traitor Edric, duke of Mercia; and the third named Edgina, who was eſpouſed to Uthred, earl of Northumberland. By his ſecond wife Emma, he had two ſons, Alfred and Edward; and a daughter named Goda. The ſons were immediately after their father's death conveyed by their mother into Normandy. The daughter was married firſt to Walter earl of Mantes, and afterwards to Euſtace earl of Bologne.

Ethelred poſſeſſed few if any of thoſe virtues that add luſtre to a crown. If we conſider his youth it is not to be wondered at, that he ſhould be without learning and without experience; but he had neither genius, capacity, nor courage; and his cruelty in maſſacreing the Danes has ſtained his character with indelible infamy. His whole conduct was a ſeries of indolence, irreſolution, timidity, and weakneſs. At the beginning of his reign his inactivity involved his country in misfortunes, and his attachment to an infamous traitor completed its diſtreſs; and if his abilities in time of peace were unequal to the taſk of governing the kingdom, little could be expected from his lazineſs and inactivity in times of danger.

EDMUND II.

A. D. 1016. Edmund II. ſurnamed Ironſide, from his great ſtrength of body, had he not been cut off in the prime of his youth, would probably have equalled the moſt illuſtrious of his predeceſſors. On his acceſſion he had to contend with a formidable rival in the perſon of Canute, who was already in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of the kingdom, and upon the death of Ethelred had beſieged London. But the intrepid citizens defended their city with ſuch obſtinacy, and made ſo many ſucceſsful ſallies, that the king of Denmark was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, after having loſt a conſiderable part of his army. Edmund was at this time in Weſſex, whither Canute marched with a view of gaining a victory by ſurprize. The two armies met at Penne, in Somerſetſhire, where an obſtinate battle was fought, in which Edmund proved victorious. The two kings ſeemed now determined to end the conteſt by one deciſive engagement. Edmund waited ſome time on the borders of Wiltſhire, and when Canute appeared, both parties began their neceſſary preparations. The ardent deſire of victory which the commanders manifeſted inſpired their troops with martial enthuſiaſm. The armies engaged and continued fighting till night put an end to their furious attacks. Early in the morning the engagement was renewed, when each ſide gave aſtoniſhing proofs of undaunted valour. Edmund having penetrated far into the ranks of the enemy, they began to give way; but the traitor Edric revived their ardour, by ſevering the head of one Oſmer a ſoldier, whoſe features bore a ſtrong reſemblance to thoſe of Edmund. Having placed this on the point of a ſpear, he expoſed it to the view of the Engliſh, calling upon them to behold the head of their king. Edmund obſerved the conſternation of his troops, but though he took off his helmet, and rode through their ranks, yet this trifling incident obliged him to leave the victory for that day undecided. However Canute, not willing to ſtand the trial of a third aſſault, quitted the field in the night, and embarking his forces on board his veſſels in the Thames, proceeded towards London, intending to renew the ſiege of that city.

Edric apprehending that if Canute ſhould be vanquiſhed, he could expect little favour from the conqueror, repaired to the camp of Edmund, whoſe mercy he implored under the appearance of the moſt ſincere contrition; binding himſelf by the moſt ſolemn oaths, to the obſervance of every duty of a faithful ſubject towards his king; and by his artful conduct this hypocritical traitor ſo worked upon the liberal mind of his prince, that he granted him an unconditional pardon, expecting that his own party would be ſtrengthened in the acquiſition of a man, whoſe loſs might at the ſame time tend to diſtreſs his enemy.

The Engliſh monarch having now formed a reſolution of bringing the Danes to a deciſive battle, led his forces to Aſhdown in Eſſex, where a deſperate engagement enſued. The Engliſh forces had every reaſon to expect a complete victory, when the inſidious Edric interrupted the glorious ſucceſs that was juſtly due to the brave Edmund. The traitor obſerving that the Danes were ſtruck with diſmay, made a ſignal for the diviſion under his command to retreat, thus opening a paſſage for the enemy, who threw the Engliſh into ſuch conſternation and diſorder, that the utmoſt efforts of Edmund to rally his forces proved ineffectual; and in a ſhort time his army was entirely defeated. This overthrow was the more fatal by the loſs of Elfric, the courageous Ulfkettle, and a great number of other nobility. However Edmund was ſoon capable of again diſputing the field, having with the utmoſt alacrity recruited his forces at Glouceſter. Canute was aſtoniſhed to ſee this brave prince appearing in the face of his army with undaunted intrepidity, and knowing his laſt triumph was owing chiefly to treachery, he was alarmed for the conſequences. Indeed both armies ſeemed unwilling to engage. The two kings ſtood oppoſite each other, but neither gave the ſignal to engage. In the interval of this ſolemn and momentous pauſe, the nobility of both parties interpoſed, and obliged their kings to compromiſe the diſpute by agreeing to a partition of the kingdom. A treaty was in conſequence concluded, wherein it was ſtipulated by mutual agreement, that all the country ſouthward of the Thames, with London and part of Eſſex, ſhould continue under the regal authority of Edmund, and that the northern diviſions of Mercia, Eaſt Anglia, and Northumberland, with all thoſe places which he had entirely ſubdued, ſhould be ceded to Canute. About a month after this remarkable event, another happened of a nature almoſt too ſhocking for the tender feelings of humanity to hear related. Alas! the tender plant of Engliſh liberty was in a moment blaſted by the malignant breath of treachery. Edmund, the gallant, active, generous and brave Edmund, was murdered by Edric, his brother-in-law. This vile traitor, this complete villain, corrupted two of the king's chamberlains, and employed them to commit the barbarous, horrid deed; and immediately upon the commiſſion of the fact, carried the news himſelf to the Daniſh monarch, with every expreſſion of joy on his countenance. Canute, though ſhocked exceedingly, thought it prudent to diſſemble his ſentiments; he even promiſed to exalt him above all other lords in his kingdom; a promiſe which the king afterwards punctually performed; for he cauſed the head of that infamous ruffian to be publickly cut off; and to be fixed upon one of the higheſt gates of London.

A. D. 1017. Edmund was aſſaſſinated at Oxford, after a reign of leſs than a year, and his death made way for the ſucceſſion of Canute to the government of the whole kingdom. By his wife Algitha, he had two ſons, Edmund and Edward; and a natural ſon whoſe name was Edwy.

CHAP. III.

DANISH KINGS.

CANUTE, HAROLD, AND HARDICANUTE.

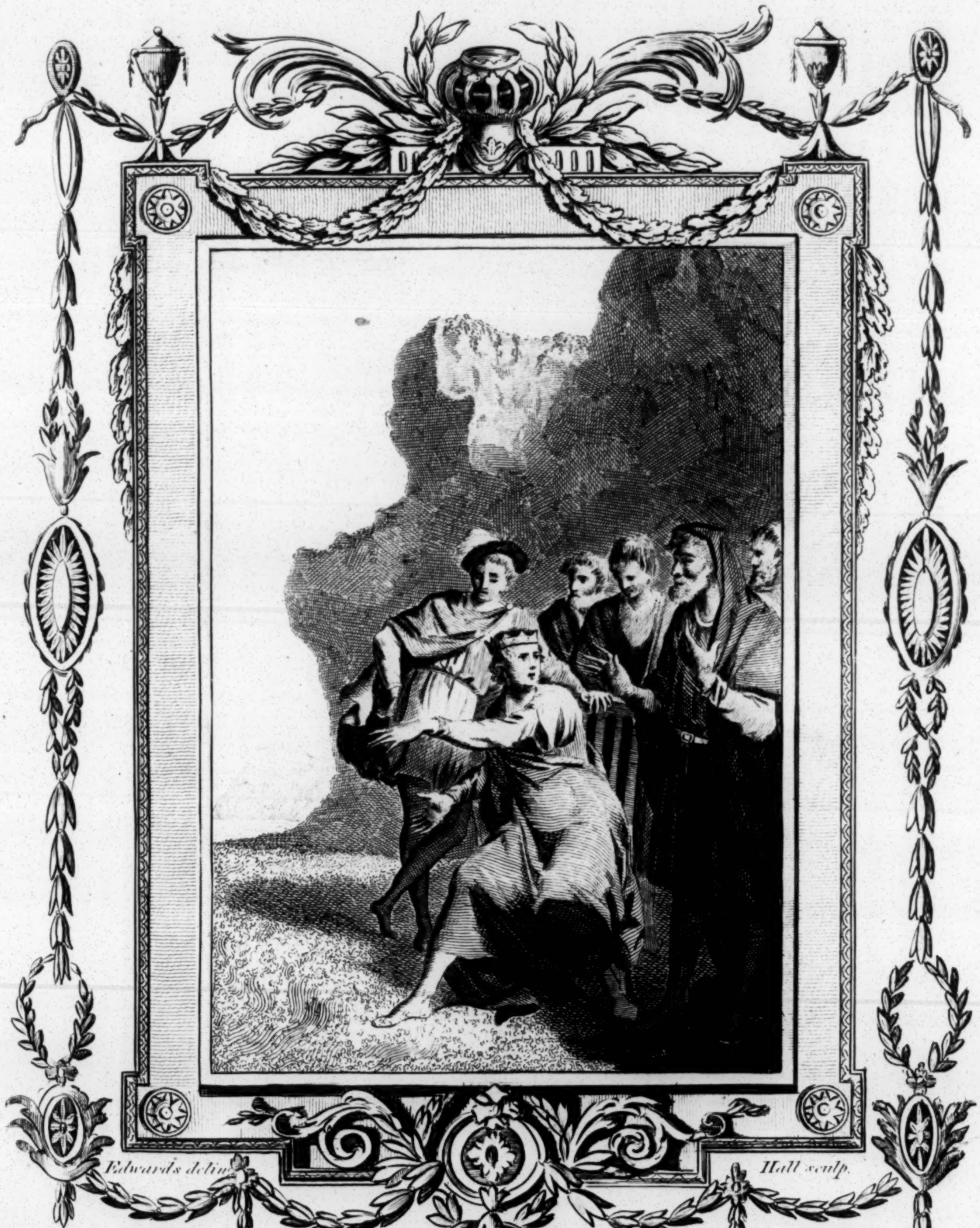
Canute's pretended claim to the crown, and his attempt upon the lives of the two ſons of Edmund Ironſide—His employment in times of tranquillity—His journey to Rome, death, and character—Is ſucceeded by his ſon Harold, ſurnamed Harefoot—The murder of prince Alfred, the moſt memorable tranſaction in this king's reign—Hardicanute ſucceeds him—Prince Edward lays an accuſation againſt earl Godwin, who prevents the conſequences by a magnificent preſent to the king—Inſtances of Hardicanute's cruelty—Dies of a ſurfeit, in the third year of his reign, 1041.

CANUTE.

A. D. 1017. IN order to cover his uſurpation with plauſible pretences, he ſummoned a general aſſembly of the nobility and clergy, before whom he claimed the ſucceſſion, in violation of the right of the two minors, Edwin and Edward, by virtue of the late treaty, which he pretended to interpret in ſuch a manner as implied, that the ſurvivor ſhould inherit the dominions of the deceaſed, without any regard to the children of either. The nobles looked on each other with evident ſigns of aſtoniſhment, and in reply told him, that they would willingly conſent to his reigning over them as guardian to Edmund's eldeſt ſon. But Canute refuſed the crown upon ſuch a conditional and precarious tenure, inſiſting on a full confirmation of his claim. *Sic volo, ſic jubeo, et ſtat pro ratione voluntas,* "his will was law." Nor had any one honeſty or courage enough to oppoſe it. Hereupon all with one voice acknowledged his title, and having ſworn allegiance to him, he was proclaimed ſovereign of the whole kingdom of England, and afterwards crowned with great ſolemnity.

But though in this Canute had ſucceeded to his wiſhes, he was perſuaded the Engliſh would embrace the firſt favourable opportunity of placing a deſcendant of Edmund on the throne of his anceſtors. He therefore had the young princes conveyed to the court of Sweden, with private letters intimating his intention of having them aſſaſſinated. But the Swediſh monarch, ſhocked at the thought of committing ſo horrid a crime, and willing to avoid the reſentment of Canute, ſent the young princes ſecretly to Solomon, king of Hungary, who received the intended victims kindly, and gave them an education ſuitable to their birth. Edwin the eldeſt died ſoon after; but his brother Edward married Agatha daughter of the emperor Henry II.

But the ſons of Edmund were not the only perſons Canute thought proper to remove for his own ſecurity. Several among the principal nobility of whom he had entertained a jealouſy, were ſacrificed to his ſafety. With theſe the traitor Edric ſuffered



Edwards delin. Hall sculp.

CANUTE *the* Great, *at the request of his* Sycophants *and* Flatterers, *ridiculously* Commanding *the* Sea *to retire.*

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the juſt puniſhment due to his enormous crimes. Having deprived the Engliſh of thoſe leaders who were attached to their antient kings, he reſolved by the impartiality of his adminiſtration to reconcile them to his government. To this end he ſent back to Denmark all his followers whom he could ſafely ſpare, reſtored the Saxon cuſtoms, and in the diſtribution of juſtice, made no diſtinction between Danes and Engliſh.

An obſtacle now preſented itſelf which required policy rather than force to remove. Richard duke of Normandy, who had given protection to Alfred and Edward, two ſons of Ethelred, was diſpoſed to ſupport their claim to the crown of England, and fitted out a great armament in order to place them on the throne; but his fleet having been diſperſed by a ſtorm, Canute politically took that opportunity to ſend an embaſſy to Richard, demanding his ſiſter Emma in marriage, widow of Ethelred II. and offering his own ſiſter Heſtritha to the Norman prince. The propoſals were accepted, and the double marriage cemented their friendſhip. Such meaſures conciliated the affections of the Engliſh. Canute was no longer conſidered as an uſurper. The two nations became one people, and tranquil happineſs ſucceeded a long ſeries of calamitous troubles. A war having broke out between the Danes and Swedes, Canute found it neceſſary to viſit his hereditary dominions that were threatened with deſtruction. A body of Engliſh troops where ſhipped for this expedition under the command of earl Godwin; who performed a ſignal action, by which he gained the friendſhip of his ſovereign, and laid the foundation of the immenſe fortune he afterwards acquired. Being ſtationed near the Swediſh camp, and obſerving a favourable opportunity, he attacked the enemy in the night, threw them into diſorder, and purſuing his advantage, obtained a complete victory. In the morning Canute perceiving one part of the Engliſh camp deſerted, thought thoſe diſaffected troops had gone over to the enemy, but was agreeably ſurprized to find they were in purſuit of the Swedes, whom they had defeated. Charmed with this important piece of ſervice, he loaded the Engliſh with favours, and beſtowed his ſiſter in marriage upon earl Godwin, whom he ever after treated with the greateſt regard.

A. D. 1028. He landed in Norway at the head of a powerful army, and expelling Olaus, kept poſſeſſion of that kingdom. Thus being king of England, Denmark, and Norway, he may be conſidered the greateſt monarch of his time. On his return into England he was received by the people with every demonſtration of joy; and his courtiers carried their adulation to an extravagant height, of which the following inſtance has been recorded by moſt hiſtorians. One day as he was walking on the ſea ſhore at Southampton, his flatterers took occaſion to compare his power with that of the Deity; upon which he ordered a chair to be placed on the beach near the tide, which was then flowing apace; and ſitting down with a commanding tone of voice he thus addreſſed the ocean: “ Thou, O ſea, art a part of my dominions, and the land whereon I ſit is mine: my orders were never broke with impunity. I therefore command thee not to come any further, nor preſume to wet the feet of thy ſovereign.” But regardleſs of the royal mandate, the ſea continued its uſual courſe, and waſhed him with its waves. Upon which he aroſe from his ſeat, and turning to his courtiers, “ Behold,” ſaid he, “the narrow limits of human power! The ſceptered hand of regal authority exerts its force in vain. The ſea rolls on in contempt of his will; the elements make no diſtinction between the monarch and his ſlaves. Learn then from this example to ſet proper bounds to odious flattery: and remember that he only deſerves unlimited praiſes, who holds in his hands the powers of nature, and whoſe voice both the winds and the ſea obey.”

The laſt military expedition Canute undertook, was againſt Malcolm king of Scotland, who refuſed homage for Cumberland, as a fief of England, alledging it was due only to ſuch princes who inherited that kingdom by right of blood. Provoked at this inſult, Canute appeared on the frontiers of Scotland with a formidable army, which ſo alarmed the king, that he agreed, Duncan his heir, who was in poſſeſſion of Cumberland, ſhould make the required ſubmiſſions; and that the heirs of Scotland ſhould ever after, acknowledge themſelves vaſſals to England for that province.

From this time Canute met with little oppoſition from any quarter, and he filled up the few remaining years of his life after his uſual manner, when not at war, in regulating the civil adminiſtration of juſtice, and in founding churches, or endowing monaſteries, which in his days were conſidered as the nobleſt and moſt acceptable acts of piety. He granted a charter to the famous monaſtery of St. Edmund's-bury, whereby all its lands and privileges were confirmed; he gave the profits of the port of Sandwich to Chriſt's church in Canterbury; he founded a monaſtery of Benedictine monks in the county of Norfolk; but his journey to Rome eſtabliſhed his character as a godly and pious king beyond diſpute. During his abode there he laviſhed away prodigious ſums of money, more acceptable to his holineſs than devotions; for which he obtained ſome conſiderable privileges in favour of the Engliſh ſchool eſtabliſhed in that city; and an exemption for Engliſh pilgrims and merchants from all tolls and duties. On his return, all the laws paſſed by former kings of England, particularly thoſe of Ethelred, were enforced; ſeveral new ones, adapted to the times were added; and the moſt prudent meaſures adopted to make his people happy. He continued in this laudable diſpoſition to the end of his life; which was cloſed at Shaftsbury, after a reign of eighteen years. A. D. 1035. By his firſt wife Alfwen, daughter of the earl of Hampſhire, he had two ſons, Sweyn and Harold; and by his ſecond wife Emma of Normandy, ſiſter to Richard, he had a ſon named Hardicanute, and a daughter called Gunilda, who was married to the emperor Henry III. To Sweyn he gave Norway; to Hardicanute, Denmark; and Harold ſucceeded him on the throne of England.

The character of Canute was ſo various in different periods of his life, that it is impoſſible almoſt to bring it under one general deſcription. In making his way to the throne of England, he had violated every law human and divine; yet he had no ſooner attained the ſummit of his wiſhes, than he ſeemed to have changed his nature, and continued during the beſt part of his reign to govern the kingdom with ſuch juſtice, equity, and prudence, as ſecured him the affection of his own ſubjects, and commanded the eſteem of all other nations. The acts of devotion and ſuperſtition which he practiſed at the cloſe of his reign, could not obliterate his flagrant vices at the beginning; yet they ſhewed he was not unacquainted with the temper of his own heart, and the diſpoſitions of his ſubjects. Upon the whole, we will venture to ſay of this Daniſh monarch, that he was a wiſe legiſlator, a brave general, and a conſummate ſtateſman.

HAROLD.

Harold, ſurnamed Harefoot, on account of his ſwiftneſs in running, A. D. 1036. ſucceeded to the crown, by the will of Canute in his favour; though by the treaty with Richard duke of Normandy, Hardicanute, Emma's ſon, had an equal right of pre-eminence. A civil war now ſeemed inevitable. The Engliſh eſpouſed the cauſe of Hardicanute, who was a native; the Danes that of Harold. The latter had the advantage by being on the ſpot. He ſeized the riches his father had treaſured up at Wincheſter, and his party was eſpouſed by earl Godwin, who had the greateſt power of any nobleman in the kingdom. Nevertheleſs diſputes ran high, and might have terminated in fatal diſſentions, had not the two brothers, by the advice of the nobility, agreed to make a diviſion of the kingdom; in conſequence of which London, with all the country on the north ſide of the Thames, were allotted to Harold, and the reſt of the kingdom to Hardicanute: whereupon Emma fixed her reſidence at Wincheſter, and eſtabliſhed her authority over her ſon's ſhare of the partition till that prince ſhould take poſſeſſion of it.

The ambition of Harold was however far from being ſatisfied with part of the kingdom; it graſped at the whole. About this time the two princes, Alfred and Edward, arrived from Normandy on a viſit to their mother Emma, who ſeemed to be placed in a ſtate of great power and ſplendor at Wincheſter. But the face of affairs ſoon wore a more melancholy aſpect. Godwin had been gained by the arts of Harold that he would eſpouſe his daughter; and while the treaty was yet a ſecret, theſe two tyrants laid a plan for the deſtruction of the Engliſh princes. Harold took an opportunity to invite both the princes to ſpend ſome days at his court. This was a very diſagreeable circumſtance to the queen, who apprehenſive of ſome evil, never ſuffered both her ſons to leave her at the ſame time. She therefore found an excuſe for keeping Edward with her, and ſent Alfred only, properly attended. Godwin met the young prince and his train on the road to London, and paid him ſuch reſpect, that the Normans in his ſuit ſeemed highly delighted with the honour ſhewn him; but near Guildford caſtle they were attacked by the vaſſals of Godwin. Six hundred of them were butchered, and Alfred being taken priſoner, had his eyes put out; after which he was carried to the monaſtery of Ely, where he ſoon died, but whether from grief, or additional violence from the hand of barbarity, is unknown. News of this ſhocking murder reaching the ears of Edward and Emma, the former fled back into Normandy, and the latter into Flanders; while the monſter Harold met with no oppoſition in taking poſſeſſion of his brother Hardicanute's dominions.

To prevent him from attempting any enterprize to his prejudice, he fitted out a powerful fleet. The taxes levied upon the people to ſupport it occaſioned great uneaſineſs. The Welſh broke out into open rebellion. An Engliſh army reduced the inſurgents, and to prevent like diſturbances, a law was paſſed, by which every Welſhman who croſſed Offa's dyke without permiſſion, was condemned to loſe his right hand.

However, notwithſtanding the naval armament of Harold, his brother Hardicanute was at Bruges with a powerful ſquadron, under a pretence of paying a viſit to his mother; but all hoſtilities were prevented by the death of the king, who departed this life on the fourteenth of April, 1039, in the fourth year of his reign, and was buried at Wincheſter, leaving no favourable impreſſion of his character as a monarch or a man. His violence and cruelties had procured him the hatred of his ſubjects. His vices have been painted in moſt odious colours, for he was free from the ſuperſtition of the age, he built no churches, nor repaired any monaſteries; and his virtues, if he poſſeſſed any, are buried in oblivion.

HARDICANUTE.

A. D. 1039. Hardicanute, or Canute the Hardy, who intended to make a deſcent on England to recover by force of arms his ſhare in the diviſion of the kingdom, receiving intelligence at Bruges of his brother's death, ſailed immediately to London, where he arrived with a fleet of forty Daniſh ſhips, and was crowned without the leaſt oppoſition.

The firſt material act of his reign diſcovered a meanneſs of mind, and an impotent deſire of revenge; while, at the ſame time, it held forth to the nation a ſtriking ſpecimen of his future conduct. He cauſed the body of Harold to be taken from its grave, the head to be cut off, and both to be thrown into the Thames. The body having been found by a fiſherman, the king gave orders that it ſhould be thrown a ſecond time into the ſame river; but being again fiſhed up, it was given to the Danes of London, who buried it privately in a church-yard, now known by the name of St. Clement's Danes.

The next tranſaction that diſplayed the ill qualities of Canute the Cruel, was a heavy tax on his ſubjects for defraying the expence of his navy which he ſent back to Denmark. This unreaſonable impoſition, at a time too when the kingdom was threatened with a famine, produced univerſal diſcontent. Two collectors were killed in doing their duty by the inhabitants of Worceſter; which ſo exaſperated the king, that he commanded Godwin and ſome other noblemen to plunder that city and ſet it on fire, which orders were executed in the moſt wanton manner by their brutal ſoldiers.

The king now invited young Edward to his court, and treated him with great hoſpitality. When arrived from Normandy, Edward accuſed Godwin with being the murderer of his brother Alfred, and demanded juſtice againſt him. Hardicanute was diſpoſed to bring the offender to trial; but earl Godwin, who well knew his avaricious temper, was not at a loſs for means to divert the courſe of juſtice. When cited by the archbiſhop of York, to anſwer the charge, he made the king a preſent of a ſuperb galley, richly carved and gilt, and rowed by eighty men, each of whom wore a golden bracelet on his arm of the weight of ſixteen ounces. This ſplendid bribe anſwered his purpoſe; for the earl was permitted to exculpate himſelf by oath, which he readily took as a proof of his innocence, and was acquitted.

It has been obſerved, by ſeveral writers of repute, that Daniſh inſolence was ſo exceſſive throughout this reign, that if an Engliſhman met a Dane in a narrow paſs, the former was obliged to ſtop, in a ſubmiſſive attitude, till the latter had gone by. To which is added, that the cuſtom of pledging each other when we drink had its riſe at this period, becauſe the Danes would frequently ſtab Engliſhmen while drinking; ſo that no one ventured to drink in the preſence of a Dane, without another perſon pledging himſelf for his perſonal ſecurity.

Hardicanute's partiality to the Danes, his cruelties, and ſevere extortions, rendered him univerſally hated by the Engliſh. But the government of this tyrant was happily of ſhort duration; for being not leſs addicted to drunkenneſs and gluttony than to other vices, he fell a ſacrifice to his intemperance, dying in conſequence of a ſurfeit, after an inglorious reign of near three years. The Engliſh were ſo little affected with his death, that they made it a ſubject of mirth, and for many years celebrated it by an anniverſary, under the name of Flock-holiday.

With Hardicanute terminated the tyranny of the Danes, glutted with an effuſion of human gore, and diſtinguiſhed chiefly by the moſt barbarous cruelties, after it had ſubſiſted about twenty-ſix years, and near two hundred and forty from their firſt deſcent on the iſland.

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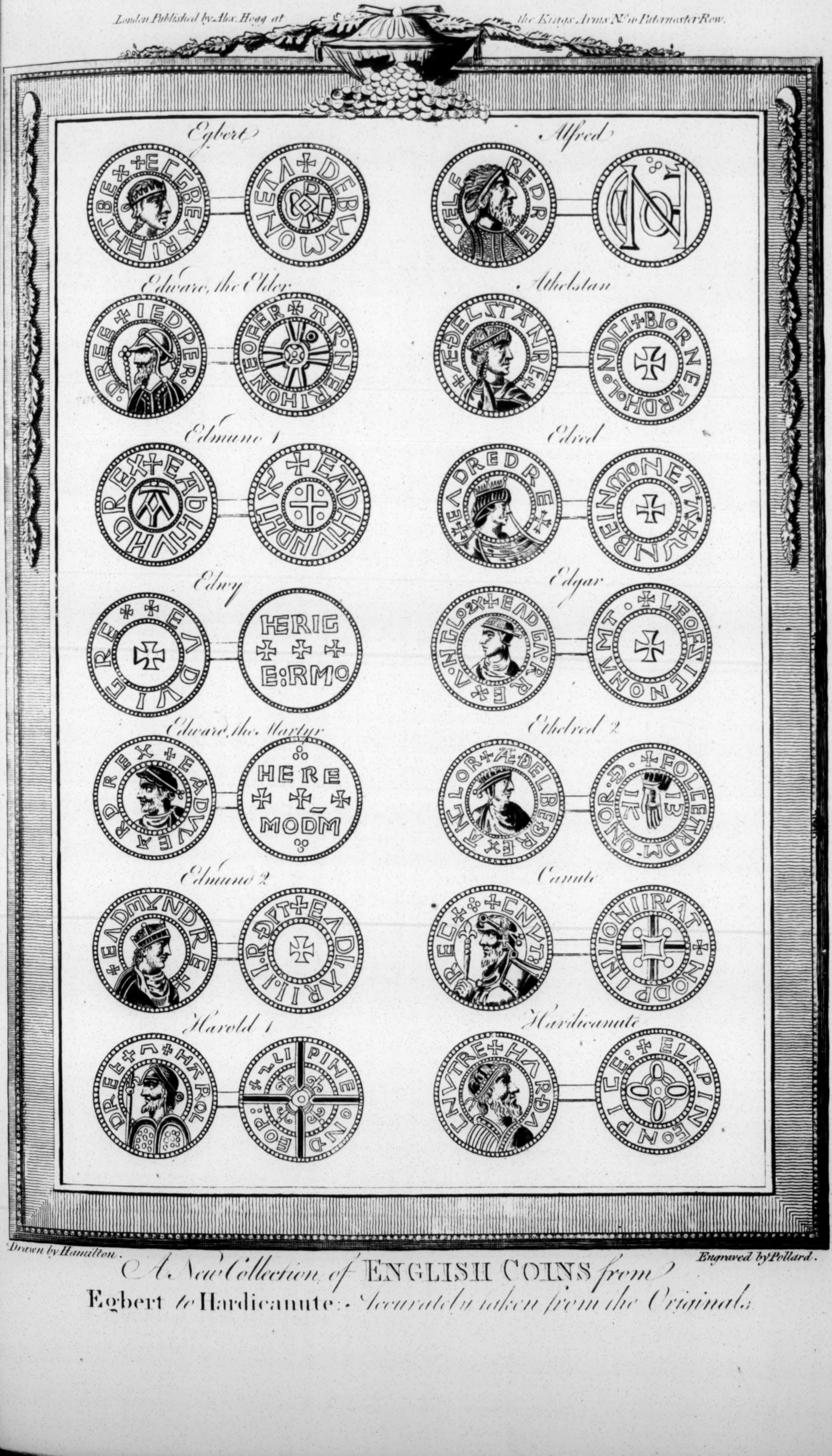

Egbert
Alfred
Edward, the Elder
Athelstan
Edmund 1
Edred
Edwy
Edgar
Edward, the Martyr
Ethelred 2
Edmund 2
Canute
Harold 1
Hardicanute

Drawn by Hamilton.
Engraved by Pollard.

A New Collection of ENGLISH COINS *from*
Egbert *to* **Hardicanute**: *Accurately taken from the Originals.*

29OC62

CHAP. IV.

SAXON KINGS.

EDWARD AND HAROLD II.

Saxon line reſtored—Edward, by the intereſt of Godwin, who obliges him, as a condition, to marry his daughter Edgitha, aſcends the throne, though not the true heir to the crown—Earl Godwin and his ſons are driven into baniſhment, but afterwards reſtored to the king's favour—Edward treats his mother Emma with ſeverity—His military tranſactions, civil adminiſtration, public acts of beneficence, death, and character—Is ſucceeded by Harold, the ſon of earl Godwin, who had not the ſmalleſt pretenſion to the crown—William duke of Normandy aſſerts his right, and to ſupport it invades England with a powerful army—The battle of Haſtings between him and Harold particularly deſcribed, in which the latter loſes his life and crown.

EDWARD the CONFESSOR.

A. D. 1041. THIS king is ſaid to have acquired his ſurname by his exemplary piety; but his canonization did not take place till two hundred years after his death, when pope Alexander the Third gave him the diſtinguiſhed title of Confeſſor.

On the death of Hardicanute, a favourable opportunity preſented itſelf to the Engliſh for ſhaking off the Daniſh yoke. Sweyn, the only ſurviving ſon of Canute the Great, was in Norway; the deſcendants of Edmund Ironſide were at the court of Hungary, and almoſt forgotten by their countrymen; ſo that earl Godwin alone was capable of oppoſing, with any chance of ſucceſs, the acceſſion of Edward to the throne. The intereſt of this enterprizing nobleman was therefore ſecured by Edward's friends, upon condition that the king ſhould marry Godwin's daughter Edgitha, as a pledge of reconciliation for the ſuppoſed murder of Alfred. This hard condition being aſſented to on the part of Edward, an aſſembly of the nobles was ſummoned at Gillingham, where the earl, in a long ſpeech, pointed out the advantages that would accrue to the nation by placing Edward on the throne of his anceſtors, and the miſeries that would probably overwhelm their country, ſhould Sweyne be permitted to aſcend the throne. At the concluſion of his harangue, he raiſed Edward in the midſt of the aſſembly, and cried out, "Behold your king." Loud ſhouts of applauſe enſued; Edward was elected by the unanimous reſolutions of the whole aſſembly, and ſome time after crowned at Wincheſter with great demonſtrations of duty and affection from his people. This ceremony was attended with ſome inſults on the Danes; but the king by his lenity ſoon reconciled them to his government, and the diſtinction of Danes and Engliſh in a ſhort time vaniſhed.

Edward began his reign by reſuming all the grants of his immediate predeceſſors. The poverty of the crown convinced the nation that this was abſolutely neceſſary; and as the burden was laid chiefly on the Danes, the nation was pleaſed to ſee them reduced to an equality with their neighbours. His ſeverity to the queen dowager his mother, though it expoſed him to more cenſure, was not univerſally diſapproved; and the nation in general was not diſpleaſed, at ſeeing Emma ſtripped of the treaſures ſhe had amaſſed, and confined, during the remainder of her life, in a monaſtery at Wincheſter.

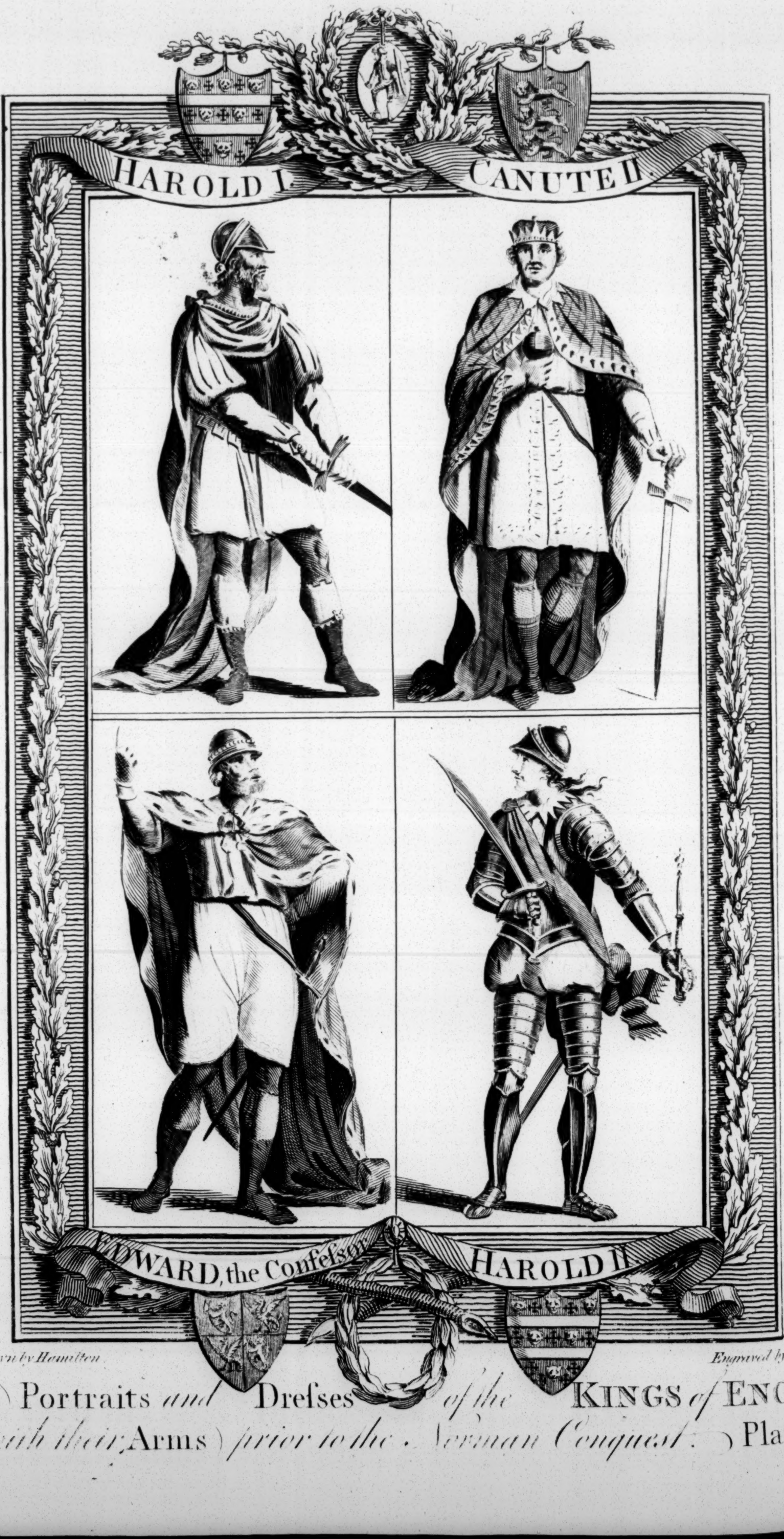
The Engliſh had indulged the flattering hopes, that by Edward's acceſſion they ſhould for ever be delivered from the dominion of foreigners; but diſappointment followed their ſanguine expectations; for the king having been educated among the Normans, had imbibed ſtrong prejudices in favour of their manners. His attachment to them leſſened gradually the affections of his ſubjects, eſpecially when the court become filled with them, and the principal dignities of the church were conferred on thoſe ſtrangers. Their intereſt was ſo great that no favours were to be obtained but by their interpoſition. Their language, cuſtoms, and laws, became faſhionable in England. The people ſtudied the French tongue, while the courtiers imitated that nation in their dreſs, equipage, and entertainments. Their influence gave great offence to the pride of Godwin. He made frequent remonſtrances to the king, but in vain. He complained to the people. They agreed with him in ſentiments; and the earl perceiving he ſhould be ſupported by his countrymen, determined to take the firſt opportunity of making Edward's foreign favourites feel the weight of his reſentment. An event ſoon happened which enabled him to put his intentions in execution.

A. D. 1048. Euſtace, count of Bologne, had paid a viſit to the king, and paſſing through Dover, on his return, one of his train, ſent before to provide lodgings, behaving in a very inſolent manner, loſt his life in the quarrel he had occaſioned. On which Euſtace and his ſervants when arrived renewed the conteſt, and killed the maſter of the houſe, who had been before wounded in the fray. This violence the inhabitants reſented. A tumult followed, in which near twenty perſons were killed on each ſide; and the count being overpowered by numbers, was obliged to eſcape from the fury of the populace by flight. Euſtace returned to Edward, and made moſt grievous complaints. The king, without enquiring into the affair, ordered Godwin, in whoſe government Dover lay, to march immediately with a body of troops, and put the town under military execution. Godwin refuſed peremptorily to obey, obſerving juſtly, that the Engliſh were not uſed to be condemned unheard; that the ſuppoſed guilty ought to have a fair trial by law; and that the riot in Dover was occaſioned by an inſolent foreigner, who ſhould be ſurrendered to juſtice, and ſuffer for the miſchief he had done; and that to inflict puniſhment before the accuſed were convicted, would be an infringement of every law, either human or divine. The free manner in which theſe ſentiments were delivered, provoked Edward; he conſtrued them as an inſult, and reſolved to make the earl feel the effects of his reſentment. An occaſion for ſo doing very ſoon offered. The Welch had made inroads into the territories of the Engliſh. Edward ſummoned a general aſſembly of the kingdom at Glouceſter, to enquire into the cauſes of thoſe diſturbances. The Welch accuſed Godwin and his ſon, in their abſence, as the aggreſſors. They were therefore cited before the council, and, on refuſing to obey the ſummons, were baniſhed the kingdom. Godwin retired to the court of Baldwin, earl of Flanders, and Harold his ſon to Ireland, where they found ſhelter from the frowns of incenſed majeſty. But the avenging ſpirit of the king was not yet ſatisfied; it fell upon Edgitha, the accompliſhed daughter of Godwin, Edward's conſort. It is ſaid, he had never cohabited with this amiable lady ſince their nuptials; and now, after having confiſcated the eſtates of the father and his ſons, he ſtripped the daughter of every thing valuable, and confined her in a monaſtery at Warewel. To prevent the murmurs of his people, which he imagined this proceeding might excite, he aboliſhed the odious tax of Danegelt. The reaſons which originally rendered it neceſſary had long ceaſed, but the burdenſome impoſt was ſtill continued. This action, exceedingly acceptable to the Engliſh, anſwered the king's intention; it endeared him to his ſubjects, and they became more ſtrongly than ever attached to his perſon. About this time William, duke of Normandy, arrived in England, and met with a grateful return for the kindneſs he had ſhewn Edward in his exile. This viſit, exceeding pleaſing to the nobles, was attended with conſequences they could not poſſibly foreſee; for William alledged as one reaſon for his invaſion, that, during his ſtay, Edward had made a will in his favour, and therein conſtituted him heir of his dominions. The duke was highly ſatisfied with his reception, and returned to Normandy loaded with preſents. Soon after his departure, Emma, the queen dowager, paid the debt of nature, and was brought down with ſorrow to her grave.

A. D. 1052. Godwin, with the aſſiſtance of the earl of Flanders, had now raiſed a powerful ſquadron; and being joined by his ſon Harold from Ireland, he entered every harbour on the ſouthern coaſt, ſeized all the ſhips, and exhorted his adherents, who reſorted to him from all quarters, to aſſiſt him in procuring juſtice againſt the tyranny of inſolent foreigners. He now proceeded without delay to the mouth of the Thames. The city of London was thrown into the utmoſt confuſion, and the king marched at the head of his forces to oppoſe the landing of the inſurgents. But, by the interpoſition of his nobility, Edward was prevailed upon to liſten to propoſals for an accommodation, to which he was induced by Godwin's diſclaiming all intentions of violence againſt the perſon of his ſovereign, and deſiring only to juſtify himſelf by a fair and open trial. Convinced that it would be ineffectual to oppoſe the powerful interceſſion of his nobles, Edward agreed to pardon Godwin, and a convention was concluded, wherein it was ſtipulated, that the earl ſhould give hoſtages for his good behaviour, and that all the Normans ſhould be expelled the kingdom. To this laſt article the king conſented with great reluctance; and not having power ſufficient to ſecure the hoſtages, he ſent them to the court of Normandy. Soon after this event, Godwin was ſtruck with an apoplectic fit while ſitting at the king's table, and died three days after. His power did not end with his death, being transferred to his ſon Harold, who ſucceeded him in the government of Eſſex, Kent, Suſſex, and Weſſex, and in the office of ſteward of the king's houſhold. By his great affability and addreſs, Harold gained the friendſhip of Edward, and both the nobles and people were ſtrongly attached to his intereſt. He ſurpaſſed his father in abilities, and ſo conducted the affairs of the kingdom, that the Engliſh were ſupported againſt the Norman intereſt, and the olive-branch, in the hand of liberty, flouriſhed unaffected by the calamities of war.

A. D. 1054. The principal military enterprize undertaken in this reign, was on the borders of the kingdom. Macbeth, a Scottiſh nobleman, having murdered Duncan his lawful ſovereign, and baniſhed his ſon Malcolm Kenmure, uſurped the throne of that kingdom; upon which Siward, earl of Northumberland, whoſe daughter Duncan had married, marched with an army into Scotland againſt the bloody uſurper, whom he defeated and killed in a pitched battle, and eſtabliſhed Malcolm on the throne of his anceſtors. The Welch alſo, who had invaded the weſtern borders, were repulſed by Harold, who, purſuing them into their country, at laſt reduced them to ſuch extremity that they applied to Edward in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner for peace, which was granted them, upon their preſenting him with the head of Griffith their prince.

We have before obſerved, that when earl Godwin was reſtored to the king's favour, he gave hoſtages for his good behaviour, who were ſent to the court of Normandy. Among theſe were Ulnoth the brother, and Hacune the nephew of Harold. They ſtill continued in confinement, though the death of Godwin had releaſed them from their obligations. Harold was uneaſy at ſuch near relations being detained in a foreign country, and afraid leſt William ſhould take part with Edgar, and retain them as a check to his ambition. He therefore, by pleading before the king his entire ſubmiſſion, duty, and ſervices, obtained his permiſſion to releaſe them. For this purpoſe he ſet out with a numerous retinue; but a violent ſtorm overtook him in his paſſage, and drove him on the French coaſt, into the territory of Guy, count of Ponthieu, who detained him priſoner at his court, and demanded an exorbitant ſum for his ranſom. Harold acquainted the duke of Normandy with his ſituation, the nature of his commiſſion, and the intent of his journey; who immediately ordered Guy to ſet his priſoner at liberty. Harold immediately repaired to William's court, where he was received with every demonſtration of reſpect and friendſhip. William, who was no ſtranger to the power of Harold, after having expreſſed his willingneſs to deliver up the hoſtages, took that opportunity of diſcloſing to him the great ſecret of his pretenſions to the crown of England, from the will which he had been aſſured Edward intended to make in his favour; and at the ſame time ſolicited Harold's intereſt, making profeſſions of the utmoſt gratitude, in return for ſo great an obligation; and to attach him more firmly to his ſide, William offered him one of his daughters in marriage, provided he would ſwear ſolemnly to ſupport his pretenſions. Harold was greatly ſurprized; but being ſenſible he ſhould never recover his own liberty, nor that of the exiles, if he refuſed the offered terms, he profeſſed his reſolution of ſupporting Edward's pretended will, with all the aſſiſtance in his power. William loaded him with favours; but in order to render the oath more ſacred, he employed an artifice, well adapted to the ſuperſtition of the times, by conveying under the altar the relics of ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed martyrs. When Harold had taken the oath, he ſhewed him the relics, and admoniſhed him to obſerve, with the utmoſt reverence, an obligation that had been ratified with ſo tremendous a ſanction. Harold renewed his profeſſions, while he contemned the ſtratagem of William, and found caſuiſtry ſufficient, in his opinion, to juſtify the violation of an oath, extorted from fear. He returned to England with the hoſtages, and determined to oppoſe the duke of Normandy with his whole power. The eaſier to accompliſh this end, and to further his future deſigns, he continued to practiſe every art of popularity; and by his expedition againſt the Welch, but more eſpecially his generous treatment of Morcar and Edward, who had expelled Toſti his brother, duke of Northumberland from his government, ſecured to him, againſt all oppoſition, the public favour. Harold not only prevailed on the king to pardon the Northumbrians, and to confirm Morcar in the government, he even married Morcar's ſiſter, thereby breaking


HAROLD I.
CANUTE II.
EDWARD, the Confeſsor
HAROLD II.

Drawn by Hamilton. *Engraved by Grainge*

Portraits *and* Dreſses *of the* KINGS *of* ENGLA
(with their Arms*) prior to the Norman Conquest.* Plate 7.

breaking all meaſures with William, and procured for Edwin, the younger brother, the government of Mercia; on which Toſti, leaving the kingdom in a rage, repaired to earl Baldwin his father-in-law, in Flanders. Theſe, and other fortunate incidents gained him the affections of his countrymen, and all England was engaged in his intereſt.

A. D. 1065. Edward, now oppreſſed under the weight of age and infirmities, ſeems to have been irreſolute, even at this period, with reſpect to ſecuring the ſucceſſion; and in this uncertainty died, on the fifth of January, 1066, in the ſixty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign.

This prince had a fine and noble perſon, but not a genius anſwerable to it. He was moderate in all his appetites; not ſubject to violent paſſions, and equally free from pride and oſtentation. As to his piety, for which the monks have ſo highly extolled him, perhaps the beſt inſtance that can be produced of it was his converting a little monaſtery into a moſt beautiful cathedral, named Weſtminſter Abbey, which he endowed with rich revenues, and dedicated to St. Peter. Here he built his own ſepulchre, which has ſince been the common burying place of our Engliſh monarchs. His continence certainly proceeded not from religious motives, and his treatment of his mother is entirely inexcuſable. However, it is ſaid, he was punctual in the performance of his religious duties, and charitable to the poor. The moſt commendable and ſhining part of his character, which reflected a luſtre upon the reign of Edward, was his attention to the adminiſtration of juſtice. As a legiſlator, he deſerves the higheſt applauſe. He collected the laws of his predeceſſors, Ethelbert, Ina, and Alfred, and digeſted them into one body, which he called, The common law of England. This compilation, though now loſt, was long regarded by the people as a moſt precious treaſure. They were probably the foundation of the charters granted to Henry I. Henry III. and, above all, of the Great Charter, or Magna Charta, granted by king John, which is juſtly conſidered as containing the great outlines of the Engliſh conſtitution. To finiſh the picture of Edward's character in few words; he had not any active virtues, nor any atrocious vices.

HAROLD. II.

A. D. 1066. Harold II. had taken his meaſures ſo well before Edward's death, that he aſcended his vacant throne without oppoſition. Edgar Atheling, ſon of Edmund Ironſide, the undoubted heir to the crown was overlooked, and the claim of the duke of Normandy was not even mentioned. The citizens of London, the clergy, and the people in general were unanimous in their wiſhes. Harold was therefore crowned on the day after Edward's death, by Aldred, archbiſhop of York, and his election was confirmed by the aſſembly of the ſtates. The firſt acts of his reign were exceeding popular; ſuch as ſeemed to juſtify, in the fulleſt manner, the favourable opinion that had been entertained of him. He eaſed his ſubjects of ſeveral taxes, liſtened to their complaints, and diſpenſed juſtice with an impartial hand. He knew that Edgar Atheling was beloved by the people, as being the only remaining heir of their antient kings; he therefore, to make the friends of that prince eaſy, created him earl of Oxford, gave him a liberal education, and treated him with the utmoſt reſpect. By theſe prudent meaſures the voice of faction was no longer heard; and yet notwithſtanding Harold had no competitor at home, he had many difficulties to encounter. The duke of Normandy was making preparations to wreſt the ſceptre from his hand; in the mean time, Toſti, his brother, having been furniſhed with ſhips and troops by the earl of Flanders, plundered the Iſle of Wight, and then ſailed to Sandwich; from thence he proceeded northward, entered the Humber, and made a deſcent in Yorkſhire. Soon after, having been joined by Harfagar, king of Norway, who came attended by three hundred ſail, the united fleets began to ravage the country on all ſides, when Morcar earl of Northumberland, and Edwin earl of Mercia, having haſtily collected ſome forces, ventured to give them battle, but were defeated and unfortunately ſlain. Harold was no ſooner informed of this defeat, than he haſted with an army to the protection of his people, who flocked from all quarters to join his ſtandard. Marching with great expedition, he came up with the enemy at Standford-bridge, on the river Derwent. A general and bloody engagement enſued. The armies are ſaid to have conſiſted each of ſixty thouſand men, and the battle continued from ſeven in the morning till three in the afternoon. At laſt victory declared in favour of Harold; Toſti and Harfagar were ſlain; and their fleet fell into the hands of the conqueror; who generouſly gave the ſon of Harfagar his liberty, and allowed him to depart with twenty veſſels.

The king had ſcarcely received the congratulations of his friends, when news was brought him, that William, duke of Normandy, was landed in the ſouth of England with a great army. A large fleet which Harold had aſſembled, and which had cruized all ſummer off the Iſle of Wight, had been diſmiſſed, on a falſe report having been circulated, that William, diſcouraged by contrary winds, had laid aſide his intended expedition. Hence the Norman fleet proceeded without interruption, and arrived at Pevenſey in Suſſex, where the army quietly diſembarked. The duke, as he leaped on ſhore, happened to ſtumble and fall, but had the preſence of mind to turn the omen to his advantage, by ſaying aloud, that he had taken poſſeſſion of the country.

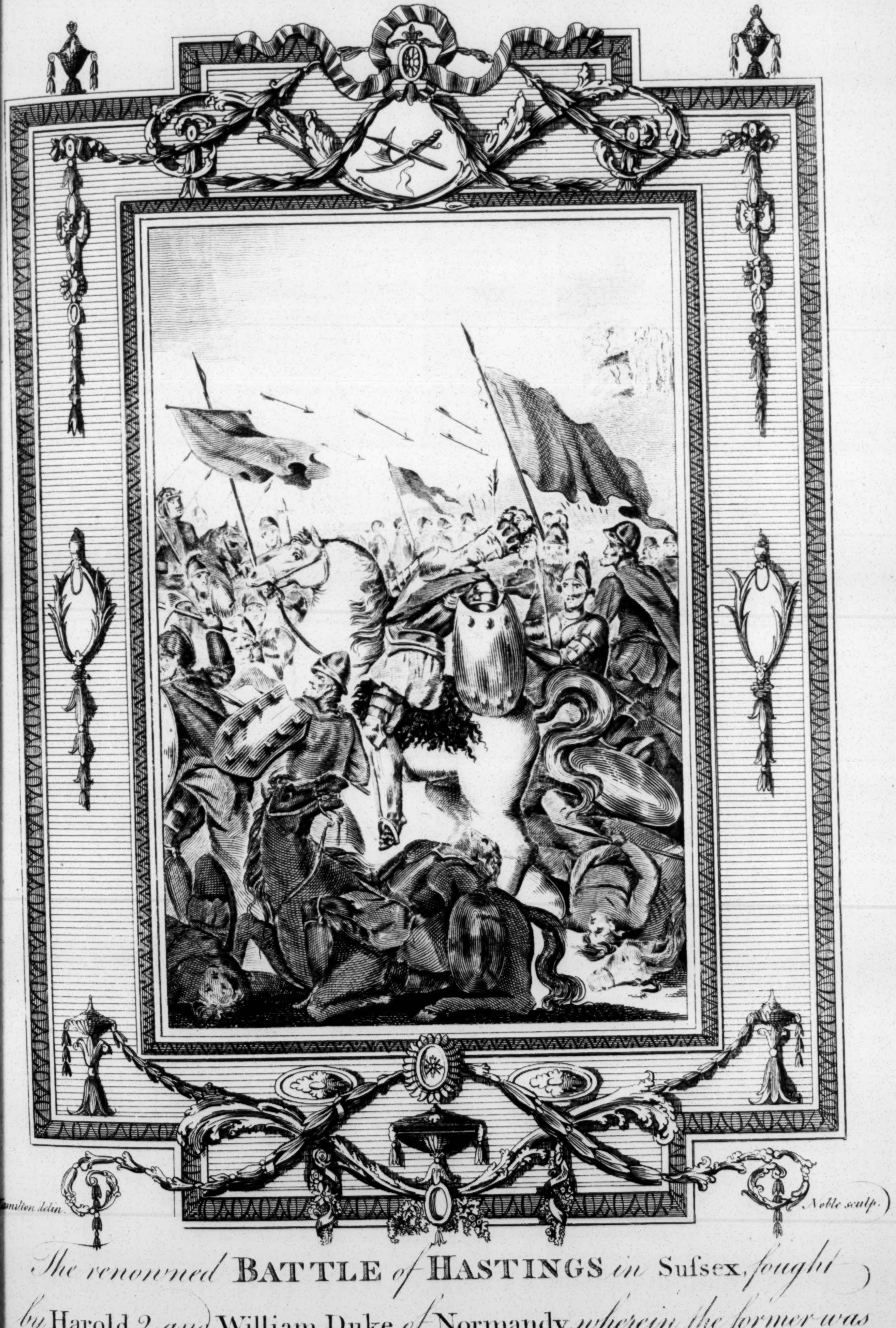
For ſome time the Normans had been diſtinguiſhed for their valour; and the proſpect of glory and advantage which preſented themſelves, engaged a vaſt number of volunteers to join in the expedition againſt England. The fame of the intended invaſion ſpread abroad, and multitudes crouded to tender their ſervices, with their vaſſals and retainers. The Norman found leſs difficulty in compleating his levies, than in chooſing the moſt hardy veterans, and in rejecting the offers of thoſe who were impatient to acquire fame under ſo renowned a leader. William therefore ſoon found himſelf at the head of a numerous army and a powerful fleet, whereby he was enabled to contend for a crown, which the people had unanimouſly placed on the head of Harold. William could plead neither right of election, nor that of inheritance; not even a party in England was formed in his favour. But impelled by ambition and revenge, he reſolved to purſue the plan he had adopted, and ground on conqueſt a right he could not ſupport by any legal claim. He ſent ambaſſadors to Harold, upbraiding him with breach of faith, and ſummoning him to reſign the poſſeſſion of the crown. Harold was not to be intimidated with threats; he anſwered, that he was able to defend his right againſt any one who ſhould dare to diſpute it. By this ſpirited reply William was convinced that he had nothing to expect from negotiation. An invaſion of England was therefore reſolved on. Many circumſtances concurred to favour an enterprize, which otherwiſe muſt have appeared romantic. William was celebrated for his valour: he had triumphed over the joint efforts of France and the neighbouring princes. The Normans were a brave and warlike people; all the warriors of Europe were deſirous of ſerving under his ſtandard, and of ſharing in the ſpoils of a flouriſhing people. The emperor declared in his favour, and iſſued a proclamation, permitting all his vaſſals to ſerve under him. The count of Anjou aſſiſted him with a conſiderable body of forces; the count of Ponthieu followed his example. Euſtace count of Bologne joined him in perſon. The count of Bretagne ſent him a body of five thouſand men, under the command of his eldeſt ſon. But what eſpecially tended to render William's expedition ſucceſsful, was the pope's declaration in his favour. He ſent him a conſecrated banner, and by publiſhing a bull, declaring the juſtice of William's cauſe, animated all the Chriſtian powers to aſſiſt him in his enterprize. Harold was declared a perjured uſurper, and every perſon excommunicated, who dared to call in queſtion the validity of William's pretenſions.

The ſtate of England at this time alſo increaſed his hope of ſucceſs. A peace of fifty years had ſoftened the diſpoſitions of the Engliſh. Their love of their country was exchanged for effeminate luxury. And when the armament of William had now ſecured a landing, Harold had loſt many brave men in the late action. He likewiſe found himſelf weakened by the deſertion of his old ſoldiers, who, overpowered with fatigue, ſecretly withdrew from their colours. Happy might it have been, if this brave prince had coolly weighed theſe alarming circumſtances in the ſcale of calm deliberation. Gurth, his brother, beginning to be apprehenſive of the event, adviſed the king to protract the war. He obſerved, that it was for the intereſt of the duke of Normandy to attempt a ſpeedy deciſion, and to put his whole fortune upon the iſſue of a ſingle battle; but that the king of England had more certain and leſs dangerous means of inſuring ſucceſs. That the enemy, having no reſources, in caſe they were defeated, would fight to the laſt extremity; but if they were harraſſed by ſmall ſkirmiſhes, diſtreſſed by want of proviſions, and drawn into the country, fatigued by the bad weather, deep roads, and the diſtreſsful circumſtances of approaching winter, they muſt of courſe fall an eaſy prey, without the hazard of a battle; that if he acted only upon the defenſive, the Engliſh, ſeeing their property and liberty in danger, would fly to his army for ſhelter; and that, at leaſt, if he thought it neceſſary to hazard a general engagement, he ought not to expoſe his own valuable life, on which depended the ſafety and independence of the kingdom.

Harold, whoſe martial ſpirit was not to be controlled by the cautious maxims of deliberate prudence, rejected this wholeſome advice; and ſo confident was he of ſucceſs, that he offered William a ſum of money, if he would prevent the effuſion of blood and depart the kingdom, the conqueſt of which was a mere romantic attempt; but the duke, in return, required Harold, either to reſign the kingdom, to hold it of him in fealty, to ſubmit to the arbitration of the pope, or to fight him in ſingle combat. To which Harold replied, that the God of battles would ſoon be the arbitrator of their differences. The two armies were now encamped very near each other. Having, in company with his brother Gurth, reconnoitred the enemy, when Harold ſaw them in force, he was convinced that he had been too precipitate in his reſolve, and on his return, propoſed retreating to London in order to augment his army. Gurth oppoſed the meaſure with ſome warmth, obſerving to the king, that he had now proceeded too far to retreat; that his honour was engaged; and that to retire a ſingle ſtep might be attended with fatal conſequences; that he ſhould have maturely conſidered his advice before he had advanced in the face of the enemy; at preſent he had only the alternative to chooſe, either to conquer, or periſh.

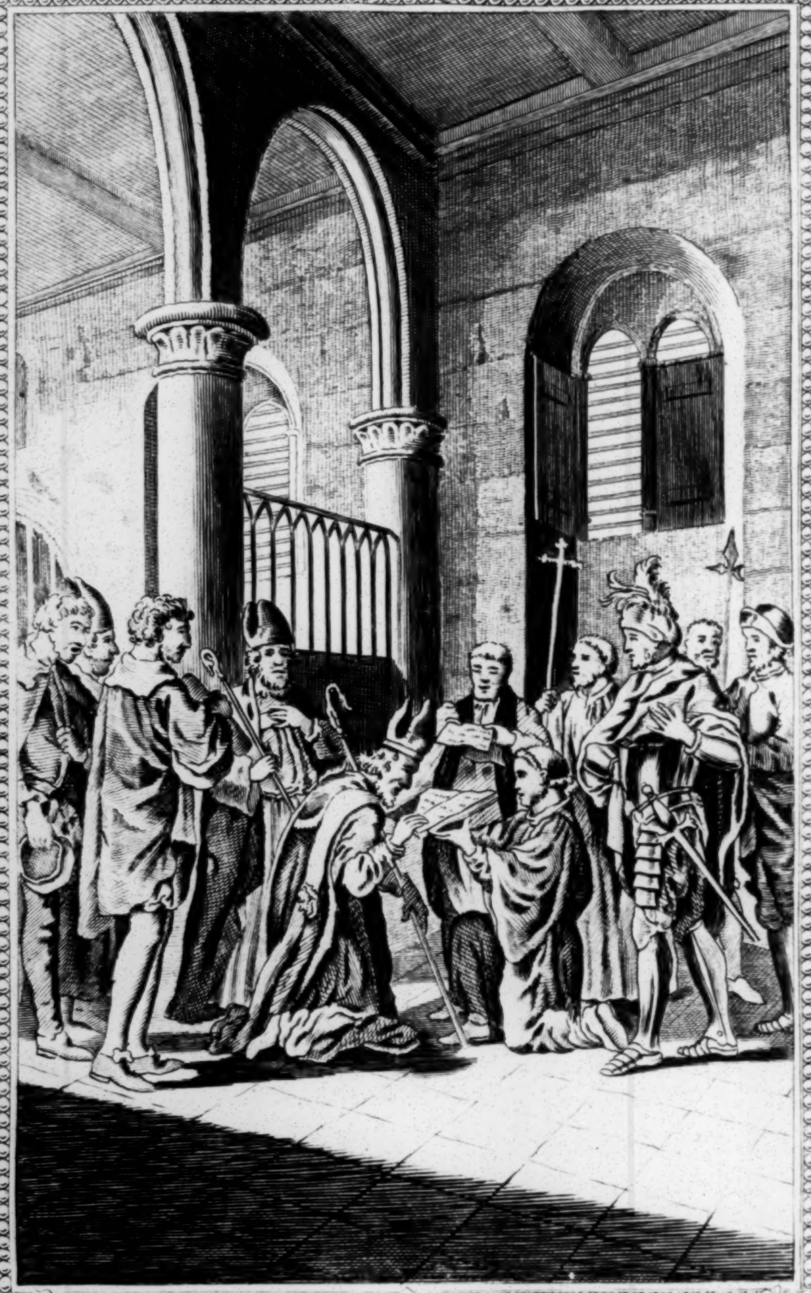
The Engliſh had taken poſt on the declivity of a hill, and were greatly inferior to the Normans in number. Harold had loſt many of his men in the engagement at Standford-bridge, and others ſince had deſerted from his banner; yet ſtill he entertained ſuch preſumptuous hopes of victory, that he ſuffered his ſoldiers to ſpend the night before the battle in jollity and riot; whereas the Normans paſſed the night in acts of devotion. At break of day the duke himſelf heard maſs in public, and received the communion. While arming he happened to place his breaſt-plate upſide down, which he conſtrued into a lucky omen, ſaying, ſmiling, it only ſignified that the ſtrength of his dukedom ſhould on that day be converted into the ſtrength of a kingdom. He hung about his neck the relics of ſaints, on which Harold had ſworn to aſſiſt him; and then gave orders for a conſecrated banner, which he had received from the pope, to be carried in front of the army. Having thus drawn all the aid he could from ſuperſtition to encourage his men, he ſummoned his officers together, and made them a ſpeech ſuitable to the occaſion. He obſerved that a reſolute courage would be required in the approaching hour of combat, the prize of victory being exceeding valuable, and the deſtruction attending a defeat, inevitable; that if their martial ſpirit could conquer a kingdom, they would be juſtly entitled to its poſſeſſions as a reward of their valour; but that if, by a remiſſion of their known courage, they loſt the day, an enraged enemy would hang upon their rear, the ſea would meet them to oppoſe their retreat, and an ignominious death be the certain puniſhment of negligence or timidity; that the enemy was enervated by luxury, and a neglect of military diſcipline, having had a peace of fifty years; that the army of the uſurper had conceived a reſentment againſt him, on account of his having reſerved to himſelf the whole plunder in the late engagement at Standford-bridge; that Harold, conſcious of his own breach of faith, anathematized by the pope, and forſaken of heaven for his crimes, would either dread to face them in the field, or be overtaken there by the fate he juſtly merited; that he doubted not but they would behave conſiſtent with their wonted bravery, maintain their character like men accuſtomed to conquer, and, with him, leave the event to the Lord God of hoſts.

The awful moment now drawing near, which was to determine the fate of Harold and England, William drew up his army in three lines. The firſt conſiſted of light armed infantry; the ſecond was compoſed of heavy armed battalions; and the third of cavalry, at whoſe head he placed himſelf; theſe were ſo diſpoſed, that ſtretching beyond the infantry they flanked each wing of the army. Harold, not having cavalry able to cope with that of the enemy, which made five parts in ſix of their whole force, commanded all his horſemen to diſmount, and formed his army into one deep Roman phalanx, defended in their rear by woods, and in front by a deep ditch and a line of hurdles. The ground towards the enemy was the declivity of a hill, on the top of which he placed his men in ſuch a compact body, that their ſhields joined together, not having any opening between them. They were armed only with Daniſh battle axes, javelins or darts, not making uſe of either long or croſs bows, both of which were employed by the Normans with great ſkill and ſucceſs. The Kentiſh men formed the van of the army, a poſt they always claimed as their due; while the brave citizens of London guarded the ſtandard. The king placed himſelf at the head of the infantry, expreſſing in his countenance a determined bravery, and in his addreſs to his ſoldiers, a fixed reſolution to conquer or die.



Hamilton delin. Noble sculp.

The renowned **BATTLE** of **HASTINGS** in Suſsex, fought by Harold 2 and William, Duke of Normandy, wherein the former was killed, and the latter became Conqueror.



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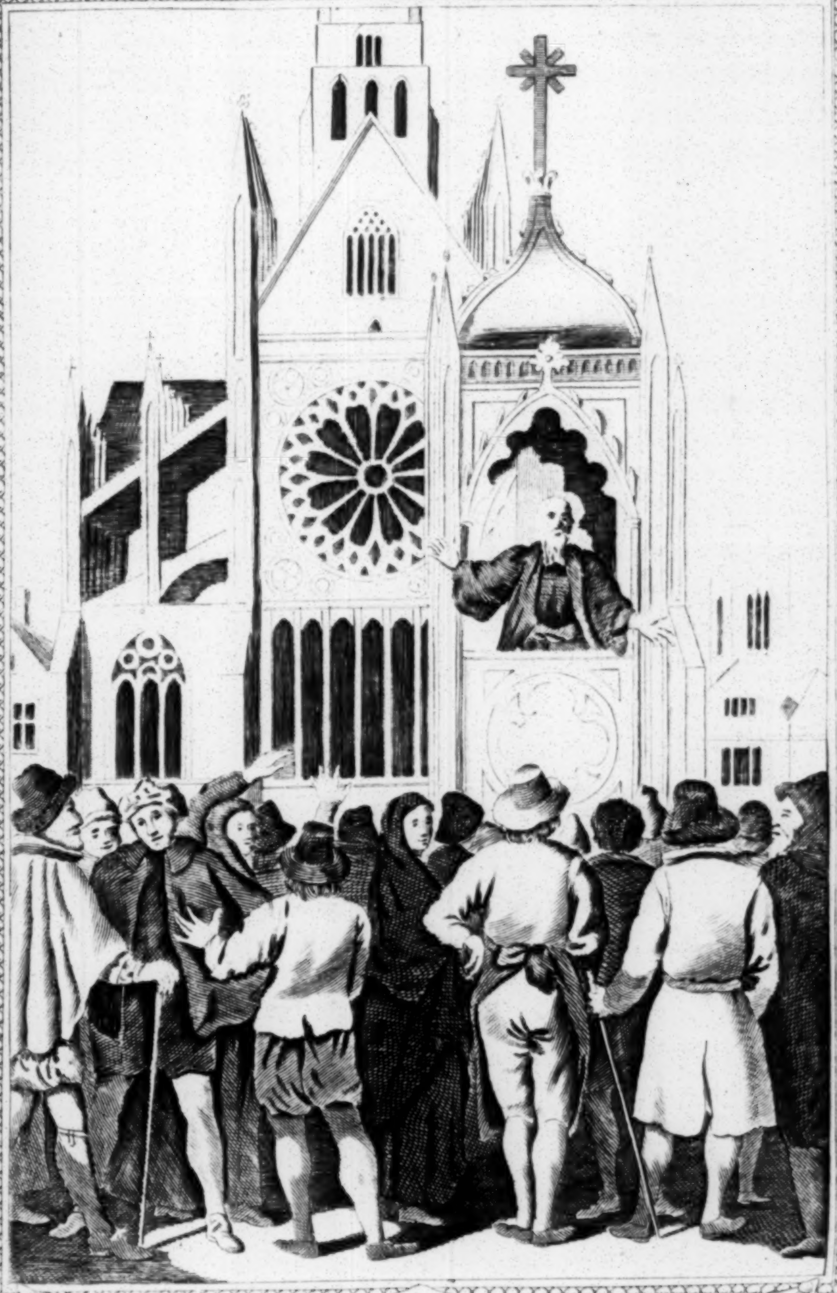
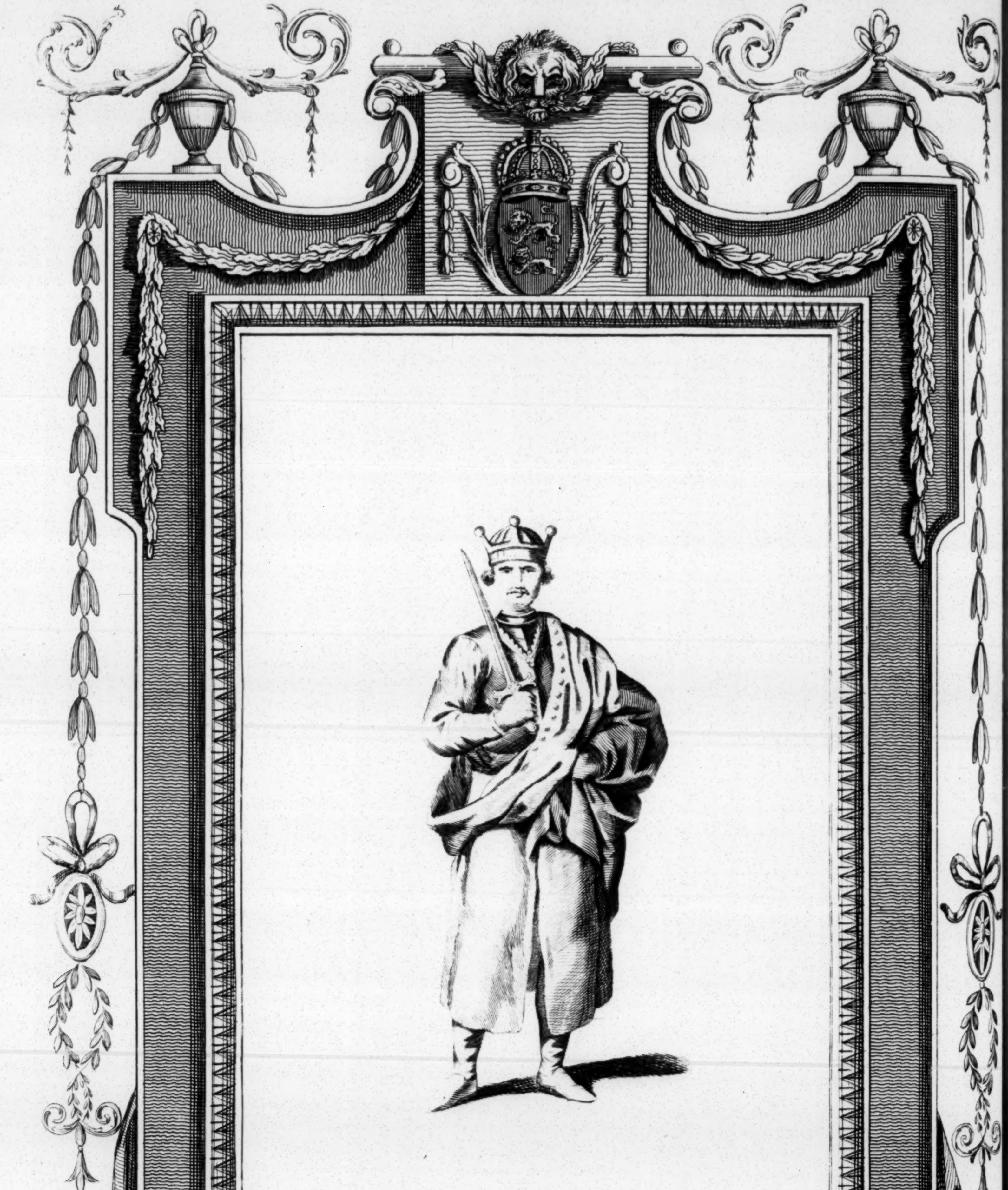


The Rev.d Dr. SHAW Preaching *at*



WILLIAM I.
called the Conqueror.

Wale delin. Noble sculp.

Crowned at London, Dec.r 25. 1066.

The attack was begun by the Normans, moving in regular order of battle, and ſinging as they advanced the ſong of Reland, one of their diſtinguiſhed warriors. Their firſt charge was made with the utmoſt fury, which the Engliſh received with equal valour. Liberty inſpired the Engliſh; glory, blended with deſpair, the Normans. The former knew that every thing they held dear depended upon their valour; the latter, that a retreat was impoſſible. The ſword of Harold performed wonders; death followed each fatal blow; the Normans were aſtoniſhed at the power of his arm. William flew from rank to rank, from ſquadron to ſquadron, animating by words, encouraging by example; yet Engliſh valour obliged the Normans to retire in ſome diſorder; they returned to the charge; were again driven back; and victory ſeemed to declare in favour of Harold. But recovering their ranks, they ſurrounded ſome thouſands of the Engliſh who were cut in pieces. William having rallied his left wing which had fled, led his troops to aſſault the main body of the Engliſh which remained on the hill, commanding his archers to ſhoot their arrows high up into the air, and at the ſame time his cavalry preſſing forwards, aſſaulted their front with furious intrepidity; yet ſuch was the impenetrable firmneſs of the order in which they were drawn up, that all attempts to break them failed.

William perceiving how much his forces were diſcouraged by a fruitleſs attempt, had recourſe to artifice. He ordered his troops to make a retreat in a haſty manner, that ſeemed to indicate a flight. The courage of the Engliſh, heated by action, drew them from the hill. They purſued the Normans, whom they conſidered as a flying enemy, into the plain. Whereupon the duke facing about with his troops, repulſed his purſuers with great ſlaughter. Harold and his two brothers, with part of his army remained the whole time upon the ſummit of the hill, aware probably of the feint by which his incautious ſoldiers were deceived, and which their ardour rendered it impoſſible for him to prevent. The remainder of his ſcattered forces regained their poſt, and now a ſmall body of brave warriors, animated by the example of their king, who fought on foot the whole day, and ſlew many of the enemy with his own hand, kept their ranks unbroken; nor could William with all the efforts he cauſed his troops to make, diſſolve this determined phalanx; ſo that the fate of the day remained undecided from nine in the morning till the cloſe of day, when Harold was killed by the random ſhot of an arrow, which entering at the ball of his eye penetrated into his brain. His two brothers were alſo numbered among the ſlain. The courage or rather hopes of the Engliſh fell with theſe undaunted leaders. They immediately gave way in ſeveral places, and fled from the field of battle, leaving their ſtandard and victory with the Norman conqueror. In this deciſive battle of Haſtings, William had three horſes killed under him, and loſt near fifteen thouſand men; but the loſs of the Engliſh was ſtill more conſiderable: it continued from ſun-riſing to ſun-ſet. The body of king Harold was found beſmeared with blood, which William reſtored to his mother, who buried it in Waltham Abbey. By his firſt wife, whoſe name is unknown, he had three ſons, Godwin, Edmund, and Magnus. By his ſecond, named Algitha, he had one ſon, called Wolf, who was knighted by William Rufus, and two daughters; the firſt of whom ſpent her days in a convent, and the ſecond married Waldemar, king of Ruſſia, by whom ſhe had a daughter, eſpouſed to Waldemar, king of Denmark.

Harold, a prince who merited a better fate, was the laſt in the line of Anglo-Saxon kings; and with him fell for a time the ſtandard of Engliſh liberty. His perſon was adorned with graceſulneſs, dignity, and ſtrength. His temper was humane; his manners affable and exceeding popular. He had reſolution and courage which no dangers could intimidate. In his political and military talents he had no equal among his countrymen. He loved his friends, he loved his ſubjects, he was a champion for freedom, and fell in its defence. His wiſh was that of every true Engliſhman, not to ſurvive the conſtitution, nor be enſlaved by a foreign enemy.

The Norman writers have traduced the character of this king, with a view to exalt that of the conqueror, but the bravery of Harold was only one of many virtues by which he was diſtinguiſhed. Upon the whole he was worthy of that crown, which the free ſuffrages of the people had placed on his head; and upon a comparative view of the two famous heroes, we may give it as our opinion, that Harold the unfortunate, loſt his life in defence of that liberty, which William the conqueror, and his ſucceſſors, laboured to deſtroy.

BOOK IV.

The Norman line. From the reign of William the Conqueror to the death of King Stephen, containing the ſpace of about eighty-eight years.

CHAP. I.

WILLIAM the CONQUEROR.

Of whom deſcended—Conſequences of the battle of Haſtings—His dominions diſturbed by foreign invaſions, and domeſtic inſurrections—Rebellion of his ſon Robert—His government of the Engliſh, and its effects—Inſtances of his tyranny—A war with France—A general ſurvey taken of all the lands in England, entered in a book, called Domeſday book—William's death, character, and family.

A. D. 1066. WILLIAM was the natural ſon of Robert duke of Normandy, by one of his miſtreſſes, named Harlotte, a ſkinner's daughter of Falaiſe; whence he was at firſt diſtinguiſhed by the ſurname of The Baſtard, but this he afterwards changed into that of Conqueror. Robert having no legitimate iſſue, upon ſetting out a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, appointed William heir to his dominions, in caſe he ſhould die in his journey; and this event actually happening, William ſucceeded to the dukedom of Normandy, being only nine years of age. During his minority, Henry I. king of France, attacked his dominions, and the barons of Normandy, in their contention for power, raiſed ſeveral diſturbances; but William having arrived at years of maturity, repulſed the former, reduced the latter, and effectually eſtabliſhed the tranquillity of his dukedom.

Conſternation prevailed throughout England when the news was circulated of the unfortunate battle of Haſtings, of the death of the king, and the entire defeat of his army. However Morcar and Edwin, two powerful earls, retreated to London, with the remnants of their vanquiſhed forces, and in conjunction with Stigand, archbiſhop of Canterbury, proclaimed Edgar Atheling king.

In the mean time William directed his vengeance againſt the inhabitants of Romney, whom he puniſhed with ſeverity, for their cruel treatment of ſome Norman ſeamen and ſoldiers who had landed there; immediately after which he made himſelf maſter of Dover without any oppoſition. Here he placed a ſtrong garriſon, knowing that this fortreſs would ſecure him a retreat in caſe of a repulſe, and be a moſt convenient port for the debarkation of neceſſary ſupplies. Dividing his army now into three bodies, he marched directly to London. The only one who endeavoured to impede his progreſs was Fretheric, abbot of St. Albans, who, to this end, cauſed a conſiderable number of trees to be felled and laid acroſs the roads. William ſummoned the abbot to appear before him, promiſing, in caſe of a ready compliance, no harm ſhould happen to his perſon. The abbot obeyed; and being aſked why he had endeavoured to ſtop the paſſage of his army, nobly replied, "I have done no more than my duty; and had others of my rank equally exerted themſelves, you had never penetrated ſo far into this country, nor ſummoned me to give an account of my conduct." Struck with the boldneſs of the abbot, and the juſtneſs of his ſentiment, William diſmiſſed him without paſſing the leaſt cenſure.

As the conqueror drew nearer towards London, the ſpirits of the people ſunk in proportion as he advanced. A troop of five hundred Norman cavalry having repulſed a body of Londoners, the inhabitants of Kent having ſubmitted to William, and the Borough of Southwark having been ſet fire to and deſtroyed, were circumſtances that, in the higheſt degree, contributed to create a general confuſion. The earls Edwin and Morcar obſerving that irreſolution, diſcontent, and timidity prevailed in the Engliſh council, and that every proſpect of maintaining a ſucceſsful oppoſition was diſſipated, marched with their forces to the north; and no ſooner had the conqueror paſſed the Thames at Wallingford, and arrived at Berkhamſtead, than Stigand, the primate, ſubmitted to his authority; and ſhortly afterwards the moſt conſiderable of the nobility, the citizens of London, and even Edgar Atheling, avowed allegiance to the Norman, and put themſelves under his protection.

William received Edgar with the appearance of great regard and affection; and was ſo far from founding his title to the crown on a ſuppoſed right of conqueſt, that he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to eſtabliſh the notion of his being heir to king Edward, from the appointment of that monarch. William looked upon Stigand with a jealous eye; and urging that he had obtruded himſelf into the ſee, under the uſurpation of pope Benedict IX. he refuſed to be crowned by him, and conferred that honour on Aldred, archbiſhop of York. The ceremony of his coronation was performed with great
A. D. 1066. magnificence in Weſtminſter-Abbey, on Chriſtmas-day, in the preſence of the moſt conſiderable of the Engliſh and Norman nobility. Aldred, having adminiſtered the coronation oath to the king, anointed him, and placed the crown upon his head. The ſpectators expreſſed their aſſent by the loudeſt acclamations. Theſe ſo alarmed the Norman ſoldiers without, that they imagined the Engliſh were offering violence to their ſovereign. In revenge for the ſuppoſed affront, they aſſaulted the populace, and ſet fire to ſeveral habitations. As ſoon as the king was able to paſs through the croud, he appeared among his ſoldiers, and with difficulty ſuppreſſed the tumult.

William, to ingratiate himſelf with his new ſubjects, diſſembled his ſentiments, beginning his reign with diſpenſing impartial juſtice, and he conferred many favours upon them; yet thinking it impolitic to repoſe an entire confidence in their profeſſions, he ordered fortreſſes to be erected in different parts of the kingdom, and removing to Barking in Eſſex, where he eſtabliſhed his head-quarters, he received the ſubmiſſion of ſuch of the nobility who had not attended his coronation. Among theſe came Edric, nephew of Edric the traitor, the earls Edwin and Morcar, and other conſiderable noblemen.

William having ſeized the treaſure of his predeceſſor, which was depoſited at Wincheſter, and receiving rich preſents from the opulent in all parts of England, he was hereby the better enabled to reward his followers. He therefore diſtributed large ſums among his troops; and to teſtify his gratitude to the monks, who had forwarded his ſucceſs, he built a new monaſtery near Haſtings, called Battle-Abbey, to pray for his own ſoul and that of Harold. But, amidſt the pretended expreſſions of regard for the Engliſh, he took care to place all real power in the hands of his Normans; for, though he confirmed the liberties and immunities of London and other cities, he diſarmed the inhabitants, and quartered upon them Norman ſoldiers, leaving in no place of ſtrength any power able to reſiſt him. Thus, while his civil adminiſtration wore the appearance of legal juſtice, his military inſtitutions reſembled thoſe of a tyrant.

Having thus, by a mixture of lenity and ſeverity, eſtabliſhed his ſovereignty, he determined to gratify his vanity by a viſit to his native country, where, in the congratulations of his antient ſubjects, he intended to diſplay the marks of his own trinmph in his ſignal ſucceſs. Leaving, therefore, the adminiſtration of affairs during his abſence in the hands of Odo, biſhop of Bayeux, and his couſin William Fitzoſborne, whom he had created earl of Hertford, the king ſailed for Normandy, accompanied by his principal nobles. Among theſe were Edgar Atheling, Stigand, the two earls Edwin and Morcar, Waltheof, the ſon of the brave Siward, who, at the ſame time that they ſerved to grace his court, were real hoſtages for the fidelity of the nation. The Engliſh nobility in his train, willing to ingratiate themſelves with their new ſovereign, endeavoured to excel each other in ſumptuous equipages and entertainments. A Norman writer, who was preſent, ſpeaks with admiration of the beauty of their perſons, the workmanſhip of their plate, and the coſtlineſs of their embroideries.

But after the king's departure from England, diſcontents multiplied every where, occaſioned by the intolerable oppreſſions of Odo and Fitzoſborne, which provoked a general indignation among the people, and urged them to take up arms in vindication of their violated rights. The inhabitants of Kent were the firſt who attempted to throw off the Norman yoke. They applied for aid to Euſtace, count of Bologne, who landed a body of forces in the neighbourhood of Dover, which effecting a junction with the Kentiſhmen, made an attack upon the garriſon of that place; but the Normans being timely apprized of the intended aſſault, the fort was put into a ſtate of defence, and the aſſailants were repulſed with great ſlaughter, the count of Bologne being made a priſoner of war. Herefordſhire and Shropſhire exhibited the next ſcenes of confuſion. Edric, the foreſter, was proprietor of great part of theſe counties, into which the Normans made frequent incurſions, committing outrageous acts of violence; on which Edric, by the aſſiſtance of the Welch, retorted the inſult, and treated thoſe he made priſoners with the utmoſt ſeverity.

Theſe commotions haſtened the return of the king, who, on his arrival in England, ſoon diſconcerted all the ſchemes of the conſpirators. Thoſe who had been moſt forward in a mutiny, either fled, or concealed themſelves; and the confiſcation of their eſtates enabled the conqueror farther to gratify the rapacity of his Norman captains; and inſtead of puniſhing the two regents for their enormous exactions, he ſeemed rather to approve what they had done, which became another ſource of diſcontent to his ſubjects.

A. D. 1068. William now began to loſe all confidence in his people, and determined to reduce them to the moſt abject ſlavery. His armaments having involved him in debt, he revived the odious tax, called formerly Dane-gelt, which Edward the Confeſſor had aboliſhed. The conſequences of this arbitrary meaſure were inſurrections and revolts. The inhabitants of Exeter refuſed to admit a Norman garriſon; and, taking arms, were joined by thoſe of Devonſhire and Cornwal. William haſtened with his forces to chaſtiſe the inſurgents. On his approach, the wiſer citizens prevailed on the people to ſubmit, and deliver hoſtages for their obedience; but the agreement having been broken by a ſudden mutiny of the populace, William ordered the eyes of one of the hoſtages to be put out, intimating hereby to the rebels what they were to expect, if they perſiſted in their revolt. The inhabitants, ſeized with terror, threw themſelves on the king's mercy, and ſurrendered at diſcretion.

But much more alarming diſturbances broke out in the north, where a general confederacy was formed by Edwin and Morcar, combined with Sweyn king of Denmark, Malcolm king of Scotland, and Blethwin prince of North Wales, who all concurred to make one vigorous effort for the recovery of Engliſh liberty. William, knowing the neceſſity of expedition, in order to quell an inſurrection of this dangerous nature, advanced by long marches to the north, and reached York before the rebels were prepared to oppoſe him, they not having been joined by any of the ſuccours they expected, except a ſmall reinforcement from Wales. The two earls now found they had no other means of ſafety but ſubmiſſion; and the reſt of the confederates followed their example. Whereupon the people, being thus deſerted by their leaders, were unable to make any farther reſiſtance. The vengeance of the conqueror fell chiefly upon thoſe who were leaſt guilty. They felt ſeverely the rigour of confiſcation, and he beſtowed their lands on his foreign favourites; who being thus diſperſed throughout the whole country, left Edwin and Morcar, whom he pretended to ſpare, deſtitute of all ſupport, and eaſy victims whenever he ſhould demand their ruin. Theſe proceedings ſpread over the nation a general alarm, which was increaſed by the king's ordering caſtles to be built in different places, which were evidently intended to awe the diſcontented into ſubmiſſion. The Engliſh became now ſenſible that they had tamely ſubmitted themſelves to a tyrant. Many of them therefore fled into foreign countries, in order to live free from new forfeitures, attainders, and continual acts of violence. Edgar himſelf dreading the inſidious careſſes of William, eſcaped with Coſpatric, a powerful Northumbrian, into Scotland, taking with him his two ſiſters, Margaret and Chriſtina. King Malcolm gave them a favourable reception, and married Margaret, the eldeſt ſiſter; and as he gave great countenance to all the Engliſh exiles, many of them ſettled there. Great animoſities now aroſe between the Normans and Engliſh, who mutually inſulted each other; hence murders were frequent, ſcarce a day paſſing but ſome dead bodies were found in the woods and highways.

A general inſurrection now ſeemed about to take place throughout the whole iſland. A. D. 1069. Godwin, Edmund, and Magnus, Harold's three ſons, after the battle of Haſtings having retired to Ireland, projected an invaſion of England, and hoped that all the exiles from Denmark, Scotland, and Wales, aſſiſted by forces from thoſe countries, would join them. Upon which preſumption they landed in Devonſhire, but found Brian, ſon of the count of Britanny, ready to oppoſe them, at the head of ſome foreign troops; and, being defeated in ſeveral actions, they were obliged to retreat to their ſhips, and to return with great loſs to Ireland. The attention of the Normans was now demanded in the north, where the Northumbrians had attacked Robert de Comyn, governor of Durham, and put him to death with ſeven hundred of his followers. This ſucceſs animated the inhabitants of York to revolt, who ſlew Fitz-Richard, their governor, and beſieged the caſtle. Soon after the Daniſh troops landed from three hundred veſſels. The command of theſe forces was intruſted with Oſborne, brother to king Sweyn, and he was accompanied by Harold and Canute, two ſons of that monarch. Edgar Atheling marched from Scotland, bringing with him Coſpatric, Waltheof, Siward, Adelin, and other noble adherents, who, by the hopes they gave of foreign ſuccours, and from their authority, eaſily perſuaded the Northumbrians to join them. Mallet, the Norman governor of York Caſtle, in order to provide for its defence, ſet fire to ſome houſes that were contiguous thereto, and which he imagined might afford a cover to the enemy; when the flames, ſpreading into the neighbouring ſtreets, reduced the whole city to aſhes; which ſo enraged the inhabitants, that, joining the Danes, they attacked the caſtle with the utmoſt fury, took it by ſtorm, and put the garriſon to the ſword, conſiſting of three thouſand men.

This ſucceſs became a ſignal to many other parts of England to riſe in arms. Hereward, an Eaſt-Anglian nobleman, aſſembled his vaſſals in the Iſle of Ely, and made inroads into all the adjacent country. The Engliſh, in the counties of Dorſet and Somerſet, attacked Montacute, the Norman governor, while the inhabitants of Devon and Cornwal inveſted Exeter. Edric, the Foreſter, aſſiſted by the Welch, laid ſiege to Shrewſbury. The Engliſh every where ſeemed reſolved to make in concert one great effort to recover their liberty, and to expel their tyrannical maſters.

Amidſt this ſcene of confuſion William appeared undiſmayed; he had got poſſeſſion of a crown by his ſword, nor doubted of being able to defend it by the ſame means. Aſſembling therefore his forces, he marched againſt the rebels in the north, who were the moſt formidable, and whoſe defeat he knew would fill all the other malecontents with terror. Before his approach, he prevailed upon Oſborne and his Danes to retire into Denmark, without committing farther hoſtilities. Coſpatric deſpairing of ſucceſs, made his ſubmiſſion to the king, and, upon paying a ſum of money, was inveſted with the earldom of Northumberland. Waltheof, who had long defended York with great bravery, was won over by the king's ſhew of clemency. Even Edric, now compelled by neceſſity, ſubmitted to the conqueror, and obtained forgiveneſs, which was followed by ſome degree of royal favour. As Malcolm came too late to ſupport the confederates, he was forced to retire, and returned with Edgar Atheling into Scotland, while all the inſurgents in other parts, except Hereward who lay ſecure in his faſtneſſes, diſperſed, leaving the conqueror undiſputed maſter of the kingdom; who now gave evident proofs that his aſſumed lenity to the leading men, was the effects only of artful policy; for he ſcrupled no meaſures, however marked with cruelty, that had a tendency to excite terror, and to ſupport his plan of arbitrary government. He deprived the wealthy of their eſtates, and exerciſed the moſt wanton ſeverities upon thoſe who had engaged in conſpiracies or rebellions. He put out the eyes of ſome; cut off the hands and feet of others; and condemned many either to death or to perpetual baniſhment. He ſeized the treaſures belonging to the monaſteries, upon a pretence that the rebels had concealed their valuable effects in thoſe places. He impoſed the tenure of knights ſervice upon all lands held of the crown. He excluded the Engliſh from all places of truſt and profit, depriving them as far as he could of all their antient privileges, aboliſhing their laws and ſubſtituting thoſe of Normandy in their room. He introduced the feudal law, by dividing the kingdom into about ſeven hundred baronies and ſixty thouſand two hundred and fifteen knights fees; beſtowing all the former either upon Normans or other foreign adventurers; and ſuch of the Engliſh who retained their poſſeſſions, were only admitted into the ſecond claſs. He laid waſte the county of Hampſhire, for the extent of thirty miles, and converted it into a habitation for wild beaſts, which he called the New Foreſt.

At the ſame time he denounced the moſt ſevere penalties againſt thoſe who ſhould preſume to hunt in any of the royal domains; and while the killing of a man might be atoned for by a moderate fine; the killing of a wild boar or deer was puniſhed with the loſs of the delinquent's eyes. He commanded his ſubjects to uſe the Norman or French tongue, only, and cauſed the law of the land to be tranſlated into that language; but with regard to the corfieu, or obliging the inhabitants to put out their fires and lights on the ſounding of a certain bell, this was a law which William had previouſly eſtabliſhed in Normandy, and the ſame cuſtom prevailed in Scotland; in a word, this mercileſs Norman not only governed England as a conquered country, but equalled in his devaſtations the greateſt ſcourge of God, that had ever been permitted to enſlave or deſtroy nations.

A. D. 1071. Earls Morcar and Edwin, touched with the loſs of their dignity, and knowing they could not hope to remain long in ſafety, reſolved to ſhare the ſame fate with their countrymen, whether it might be maiming, impriſonment, or death. Edwin retired to his eſtate in the north, in order to form an inſurrection; and Morcar took ſhelter in the Iſle of Ely, with the brave Hereward, who, ſecured by the ſituation of the place, ſtill defended himſelf againſt the Normans; but theſe ſteps only accelerated the ruin of thoſe few Engliſh who had not yet been plundered of their fortunes; for William having ſurrounded the Iſle of Ely with flat-bottomed boats, and made a cauſeway through the moraſſes two miles in length, obliged the revolters to ſurrender at diſcretion. Hereward alone forced his way ſword in hand through the enemy, and afterwards continued his hoſtilities by ſea, till William charmed with his bravery reſtored to him his eſtate. Earl Morcar, and Egelwin biſhop of Durham, were caſt into priſon, in which the latter ſoon after died. Edwin attempting to eſcape into Scotland, was betrayed by ſome of his followers, and killed by a party of Normans, to the great affliction of the Engliſh; even William is ſaid to have ſhed tears to the memory of that beautiful and gallant youth. The king of Scotland in hopes of obtaining advantages from theſe convulſions, had attacked the northern counties; but on the king's entering Scotland, was glad to pay the uſual homage to the Engliſh crown. To complete William's triumph over his ſubjects, Edgar Atheling ſubmitted and humbly implored his pardon, which was granted, and a penſion allowed him for his ſubſiſtence. From this time he remained in England, probably more happy than his aſpiring wiſhes could have made him.

A. D. 1073. The inhabitants of the province of Maine in France, diſſatiſfied, and inſtigated by the count of Anjou, who had ſome pretenſion to the ſucceſſion, roſe in rebellion, and expelled their magiſtrates. William, to whom this province belonged by the will of Hebert the laſt count, to puniſh this inſult on his authority, ſailed to the continent with a large army, compoſed chiefly of Engliſh; and was ſo ſucceſsful in his operations, that he overcame all oppoſition, and the revolters were glad to conclude a peace with him.

During his ſtay in Normandy the pope ſent an embaſſy, requiring him to do homage for his kingdom to the ſee of Rome; but William with a becoming ſpirit told the nuncio, that he was indebted for his crown to God alone, and under him to his ſword; and on his return to England he publiſhed an edict, forbidding his ſubjects to acknowledge the authority of any pope whom he had not previouſly approved; or to receive any commands from Rome without his permiſſion.

At the ſame time the government of England was diſturbed by the Norman barons, who diſguſted at William's imperious conduct, determined not to ſubmit their civil rights to the will of any man. Wherefore now he was abſent they concerted a ſcheme for depoſing him. It was at the wedding feaſt of William Guader, earl of Norfolk, that their plan was firſt propoſed to earl Waltheof, when the arbitrary conduct of the king underwent a ſtrict ſcrutiny. Among other particulars were mentioned, the tyranny he exerciſed over the Engliſh whom they affected to pity; his haughty behaviour to his barons, and his plain deſign of reducing both the victors and the vanquiſhed to the ſame ignominious ſubjection; the indignity of ſubmitting to a baſtard was not forgot; nor the certainty of ſucceſs in a revolt, by the aſſiſtance of the Danes; and the whole company, heated with liquor, entered by a ſolemn engagement into the deſign of ſhaking off the royal authority; even Waltheof, though he had been pardoned for a former inſurrection, expreſſed his approbation of, and joined in the conſpiracy. But when in the hour of calm reflection he thought ſeriouſly on his engagement, he became extremely uneaſy for the conſequences. He had married the niece of the king, and reſolved to truſt his wife with the important ſecret; but ſhe having an attachment to another man, rejoiced ſecretly at an event that ſeemed to promiſe the deſtruction of her huſband. She therefore loſt no time in ſending to Normandy, and apprizing the king of the part her huſband had taken in the conſpiracy. In the interim Waltheof finding no reſt from the inward agitations of his mind, made a confident of Lanfranc, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who adviſed him to acquaint the king with the whole affair, which the earl conſented to do.

The conſpirators were no ſooner informed that Waltheof was gone to Normandy, than they concluded the plot they had laid was diſcovered, on which, though their plan was not ripe for execution, they had immediate recourſe to arms; but Odo, the king's brother, headed the royal forces, to whom the inſurgents were compelled to ſubmit; ſo that on William's return to England, he found the inſurrection cruſhed, and nothing remained but to inflict puniſhment, which according to the conqueror's uſual policy, was extended principally to the inferior offenders, with a degree of rigour repugnant to equity and the dictates of humanity. But the unhappy Waltheof experienced now no mercy. William ordered him to be tried, when he was condemned and executed on the twenty-ninth of April, 1075, and his body buried under the ſcaffold on which he was beheaded. His wife, the infamous Judith, falling under the king's diſpleaſure, was abandoned by every one, and the contempt with which ſhe was treated aggravated the compunctions of a guilty conſcience. Waltheof, and another nobleman, named Fitz-Aubert, are ſaid to be the only perſons of diſtinguiſhed rank who were executed during his reign.

A. D. 1077.

William, after a long ſeries of national tumults, quelled by his own undaunted bravery, might reaſonably expect they would be ſucceeded by a calm of tranquillity; but he was now to be tried with a calamity, which ariſing from his own family, muſt greatly affect him. Robert, his eldeſt ſon, inſtigated by the French king, endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of the dutchy of Normandy, pretending his father had promiſed it him, in caſe he ſhould ſucceed in his expedition againſt England; but having demanded of his father a performance of his engagement, he peremptorily refuſed to comply with his requeſt, telling him, "he never intended to throw off his cloaths till he went to bed." Upon which Robert for a time openly proclaimed his diſcontent, and then, being in Normandy, had recourſe to arms in ſupport of his imaginary right. William hereupon raiſed an Engliſh army, which after ſeveral ſharp ſkirmiſhes, compelled Robert and his followers to take refuge in the caſtle of Gerberoy, appointed by the French king for their reception in caſe of neceſſity. In this place the king beſieged them, but for ſome time in vain, as the garriſon being ſtrong made an obſtinate defence. Under the walls there paſſed many combats, which reſembled more thoſe of chivalry than the military actions of armies. In one of theſe it happened that Robert engaged the king, who was concealed by his helmet; and this young prince after wounding his father in the arm, unhorſed him. William called out for aſſiſtance; his ſon knew his voice; and ſtruck with terror inſtantly threw himſelf at his father's feet, begged his pardon, and offered to purchaſe it by any atonement in his power. The king implacable in his reſentments paid no regard to this dutiful ſubmiſſion; however raiſing the ſiege, he marched his army to Normandy, where by the interceſſion of the queen he became reconciled with his ſon whom he took with him to England, and intruſted him with an army againſt Malcolm king of Scotland. The young prince obliged Malcolm to make his ſubmiſſion. About this time William built the Tower of London, to keep in awe the citizens, of whom he entertained a conſtant jealouſy.

A. D. 1081. The tumults of war now at length ſubſided, and the whole iſland enjoyed the ſweets of peace. William had a large revenue, and his avarice induced him to inveſtigate every method moſt likely to augment it. For this purpoſe he cauſed a general ſurvey to be taken of all the lands in the kingdom, their extent in each diſtrict, their proprietors, tenures and value; the quantity of meadow, paſture, wood, and arable land which they contained; and in ſome counties the number of tenants, cottagers and ſlaves of all denominations who lived upon them. He appointed commiſſioners, who entered every particular in a regiſter by the verdict of juries; and at the expiration of ſix years they brought him an exact account of all the landed property in the kingdom. This valuable monument of antiquity, called Domeſday book, is ſtill preſerved in the Exchequer. The king was as careful to keep as to accumulate money: He retained fourteen hundred manors in his own poſſeſſion, after gratifying his followers for their ſervices. He had more places to beſtow than any king of England, and his partiality in beſtowing them, cauſed him to be implicitly obeyed by foreigners, but hated by his Engliſh ſubjects. It is ſaid he was the richeſt of all our monarchs, than any one who reigned before or ſince.

A. D. 1083.

At this time Matilda, William's conſort, died, whom he tenderly loved. Three years after he paſſed into Normandy, taking with him Edgar Atheling, who with his permiſſion ſet out on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. While on the continent he was detained by a miſunderſtanding between him and the king of France, occaſioned by ſome inroads made by French barons on the frontiers of his dutchy. The princes in thoſe times were little able to reſtrain their licentious nobility; but William thought they would not have dared to provoke his reſentment, had they not been aſſured of the French monarch's protection. His diſpleaſure was increaſed by hearing of ſome ralleries that Philip had thrown out againſt him. William, who was very corpulent, had been confined to his bed by ſickneſs; upon hearing of which Philip expreſſed his ſurprize, that his brother of England ſhould be ſo long in being delivered of his big belly. The king ſent him word, that as ſoon as he was up, he would preſent ſo many lights at Notre Dame as would afford him cauſe for much greater ſurprize, alluding to the uſual practice at that time, of women after lying-in preſenting wax tapers at the altar, upon their being churched. Immediately on his recovery he entered France at the head of a numerous army. Having taken Mantes, he firſt plundered it and then ſet it on fire. Here the progreſs of his arms was ſtopped by an accident which put a period to his life. Entering the town before the flames were extinguiſhed, his horſe happened to tread on ſome hot aſhes, which made him plunge with ſuch violence, that William was thrown forward, and bruiſed upon the ſaddle to ſuch a degree, that he was ſoon after ſeized with a fever. Senſible of his approaching diſſolution, he exhibited a ſtriking example of the vanity of human greatneſs. Struck with remorſe for the horrible cruelties he had committed, he offered rich preſents to churches and monaſteries, in the way of atonement, forgetting that mercy is more acceptable to the judge of the whole earth than ſacrifice. Upon the ſame falſe principle earl Morcar and other Engliſh priſoners were releaſed. He died on the 9th of September, 1087, in the ſixty-firſt year of his age, the twenty-firſt of his reign over England, and the fifty-ſecond over Normandy. By his wife Matilda, daughter to Baldwin V. earl of Flanders, he had four ſons, namely, Robert, Richard, William and Henry; and five daughters, namely, Cicely, abbeſs of a Monaſtery in Caen; Conſtantia, married to Fergant duke of Brittany; Alice, who was contracted to Harold, but died in her infancy; Adela, married to Stephen earl of Blois, whoſe ſon of the ſame name afterwards aſcended the throne of England; and Agatha, who was betrothed to the king of Galicia, but died in her journey to that country. To Robert, his eldeſt ſon, he left Normandy and Maine; Richard was killed by a deer in the New Foreſt; to Henry he bequeathed only his mother's poſſeſſions; but upon this prince's complaining to him of the ſmallneſs of his patrimony, William is ſaid to have comforted him with the hopes, that the dominions of his brother would be one day united to his perſon, an event which in proceſs of time really happened.

William in his ſtature was tall and portly. His bones and muſcles were ſo uncommonly ſtrong, that ſcarcely a man of that age was to be found who could bend his bow, or handle his arms. In his carriage, he was ſtern and haughty; in his temper, jealous and reſerved. His capacity not to be doubted; his ambition unqueſtionable. To the laſt he ſacrificed all the laws of juſtice, and the feelings of humanity. With ſtrict juſtice he may be ranked among the greateſt generals any age has produced. Having been from his childhood at the head of armies, he joined to a great military genius all the knowledge and ſkill that experience could teach. His courage was heroic, and he poſſeſſed it not only in the field but in the cabinet; attempting great things with means, that to other men appeared totally unequal to ſuch undertakings, and ſteadily proſecuting what he boldly reſolved; being never diſturbed or diſheartened with difficulties in the courſe of his enterprizes; but having that noble vigour of mind, which inſtead of bending to oppoſition riſes againſt it, and ſeems to have a power of commanding and controlling fortune herſelf. His majeſty was never lowered by incontinence, or indecent exceſs. His temperance and chaſtity were his conſtant guards. Through his whole life he had no partner of his bed but his queen. Had he kept his engagements to his people as well as he did his marriage contract, he would have been the beſt of kings; but he indulged other paſſions of a worſe nature, and infinitely more detrimental to the public than thoſe he reſtrained. A luſt of power, which no regard to juſtice could limit, the moſt unrelenting cruelty, and the moſt inſatiable avarice poſſeſſed his ſoul. It is true, among many acts of extreme inhumanity, ſome of great clemency were interwoven; but theſe laſt were either the effects of policy, or of magnanimity, which made him ſlight his ſubmiſſive enemies. But where he had no pride or intereſt in forgiving, his genuine ſavage diſpoſition appeared in its proper colours; and ſome inſtances of his barbarity exceeded the bounds that even the worſt of tyrants and conquerors have preſcribed themſelves. His religion was after the faſhion of the age in which he lived, belief without examination, and devotion without piety. It was a kind of ſtate policy which prompted him to endow monaſteries, and at the ſame time allowed him to pillage kingdoms; that brought him on his knees before a relic or a croſs, but ſuffered him without controul to trample upon the liberties and rights of mankind. As to the wiſdom of his government, he was indeed ſo far wiſe, that through a long and unquiet reign he knew how to ſupport oppreſſion by terror, by which he carried on with impunity, a very iniquitous and violent adminiſtration. But that wiſdom which founds national happineſs upon the principle of virtue, with all his abilities he does not appear to have poſſeſſed. Nor did he excel in thoſe popular arts of government, which ſometimes change the complection of tyranny, and give it a fallacious form of freedom. Yet ſo far he performed the duty of a ſovereign, in that he took care to maintain a good police in his realm, by curbing licentiouſneſs with a ſtrong military force, diſperſed throughout the kingdom. But it was a poor compenſation that the highways were ſafe, when the courts of juſtice were dens of thieves, when his Normans in office employed their power to pillage the people, and when the king himſelf had a large ſhare of their extortions. He drew into his treaſury too great a proportion of the wealth of the kingdom, by authorizing the collectors of his revenues, to practice the moſt grievous abuſes for raiſing them higher; by a perpetual auction of the crown lands; by various iniquities in the court of Exchequer; by forfeitures wrongfully taken; and by vexatious arbitrary and illegal taxations.

However it muſt be confeſſed, that notwithſtanding his rapacious avarice was inſatiable, it was not meanly parſimonious; for he ſupported the dignity of his crown with a decent magnificence; and though never laviſh, yet he was at times liberal, eſpecially to his officers of the army, and the church. In ſhort, he laid up wealth in his coffers as he did arms in his magazines, to be drawn out, when occaſion required, either for the defence or extenſion of his tyrannical ſway.

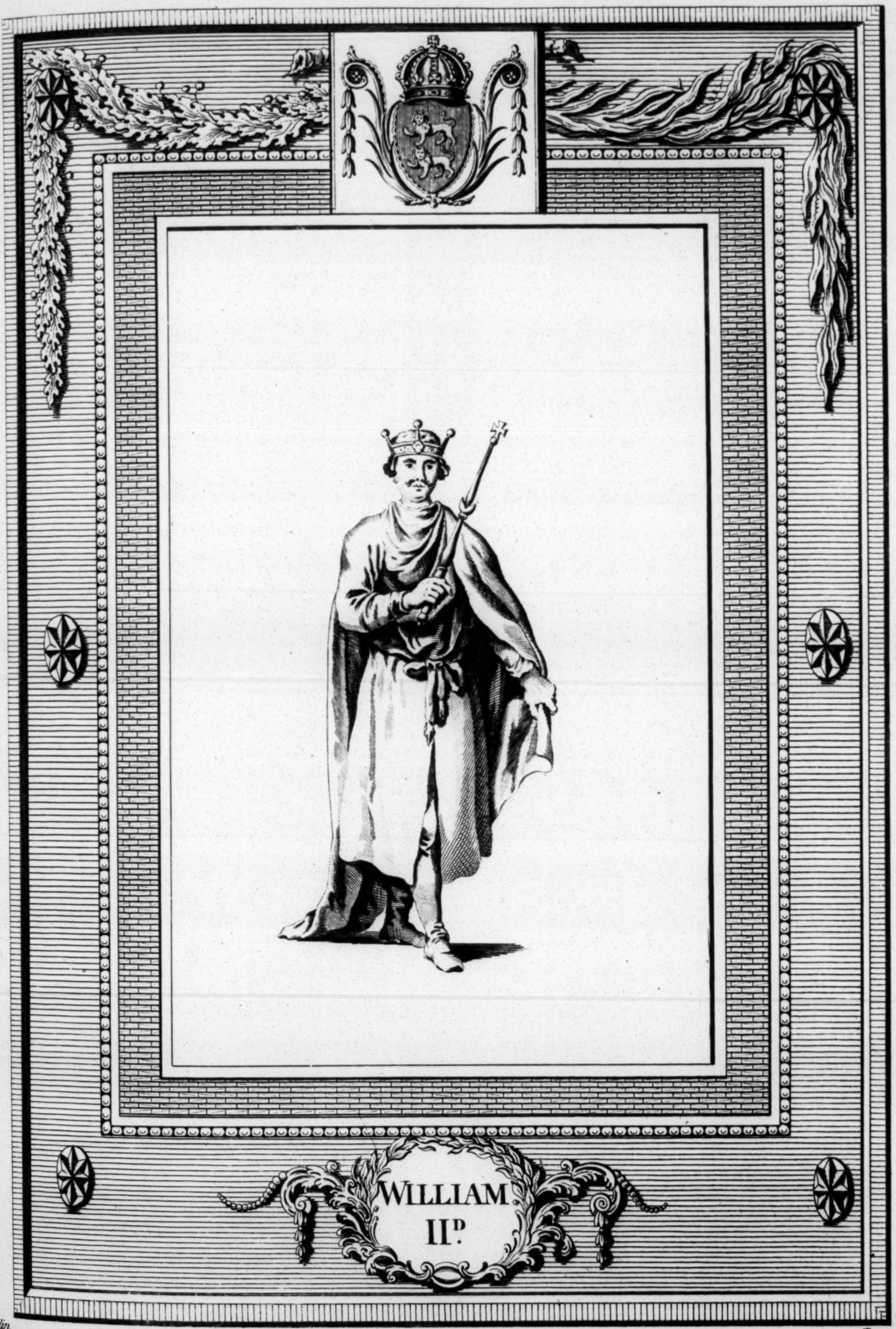
To finiſh the character of this ambitious conqueror in few words, upon an impartial view of his reign, we ſhall find many ſhining actions to admire, many more to deteſt; and that if, as a king, he had many great qualities, as a man, he had but few virtues.

CHAP. II.

WILLIAM II.

William, ſurnamed Rufus, or red, from the colour of his hair, the ſecond ſon of William the Conqueror, aſcends the throne by the intereſt of Lanfranc, archbiſhop of Canterbury, in violation of his brother Robert's right of primogeniture—A conſpiracy in favour of Robert, defeated through his inactivity—William's wars in Normandy, Scotland, and Wales—The cruſades in which Robert engages—The king quarrels with Anſelm, whom he had forced into the ſee of Canterbury—A conſpiracy among his barons—The manner of his death and character.

A. D. 1087. WILLIAM, ſurnamed Rufus, from the colour of his hair, knowing that his right of ſucceſſion was founded only on a letter the late king had written to Lanfranc, archbiſhop of Canterbury, in his favour, haſtened to England before any intelligence of the death of his father could reach that kingdom, in order, if poſſible, to ſecure the intereſt of that popular prelate, and the poſſeſſion of a throne, which of right belonged to his brother Robert. Lanfranc was in great repute with the people, on account of his amiable character. The Engliſh in particular thought him their friend, for his humanity made him one to all in diſtreſs; and the Normans were ſenſible that he had employed the king's favour, to moderate the violence of his temper, and to ſoften the effects of his tyranny. He had a paternal regard for William Rufus, whom he himſelf had educated; yet he refuſed to exert his influence, unleſs his pupil would promiſe in the moſt ſolemn manner, to govern with equity and moderation, to maintain the liberties of the people, and to behave like a dutiful and obedient ſon to the church. William, who feared the leaſt delay might fruſtrate his intentions, readily conſented, and the archbiſhop applied himſelf aſſiduouſly to remove the prejudices of the people. To this end reports were propagated, that William had imbibed an affectionate regard for the Engliſh; that he had ſeen with grief their oppreſſions; that he conſidered the foreſt laws



delin. Rennoldson sculp.

He was **Born** *1057—* **Crowned** *Sepr. 27. 1087—* **Invaded Normandy** *with succeſs 1090—* **Killed** *by* **Accident** *as he was* **Hunting** *in the* **New Foreſt, Hampſhire,** *by* **Sir Walter Tyrrel,** *August 1100—* *and was* **Buried** *at* **Wincheſter.**

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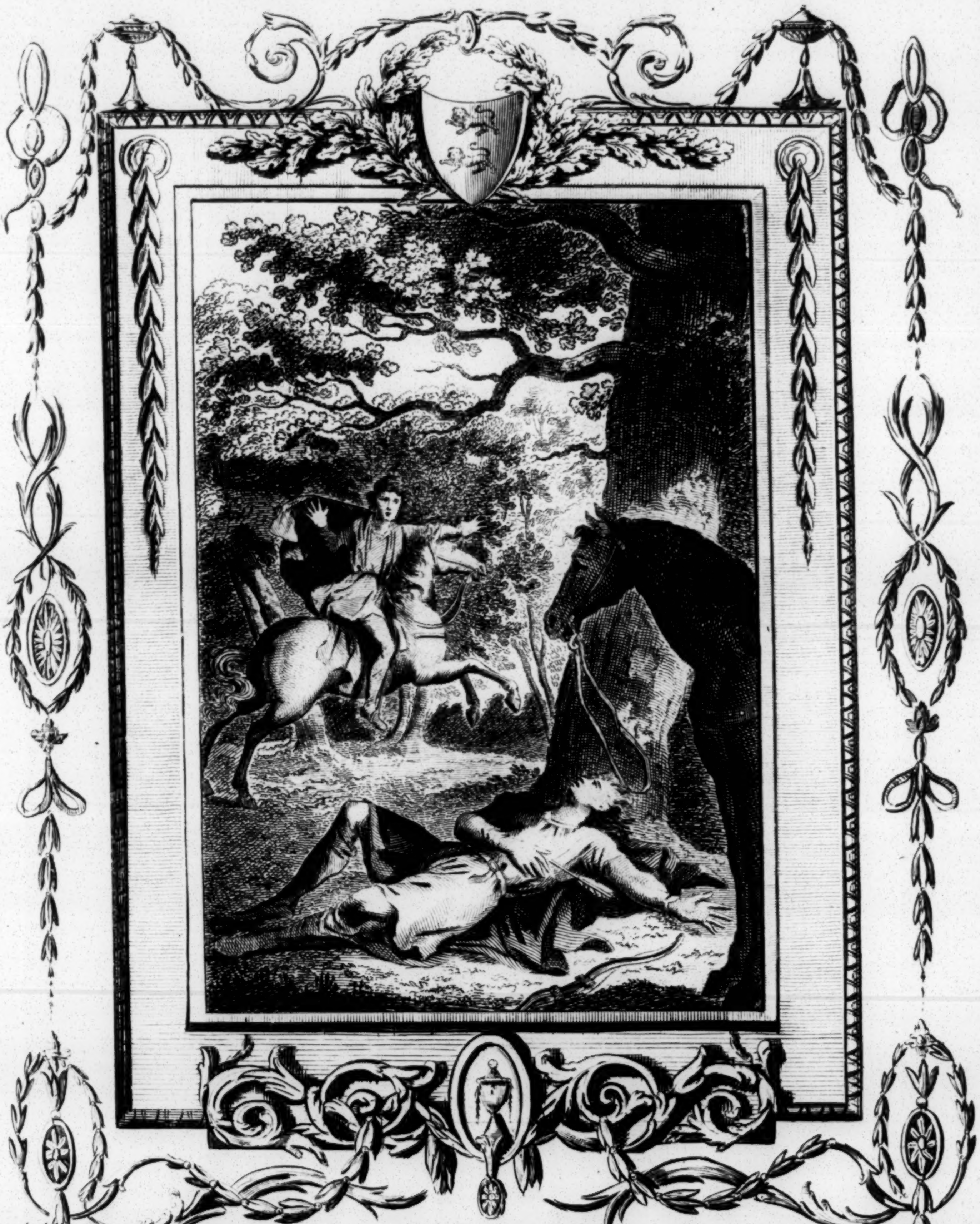

Edwards delin. Hall sculp.

The Accidental DEATH *of* WILLIAM II.
Surnamed Rufus, *in the New Forest, Hampshire.*

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as fit only for a nation of ſlaves; that he ſhould eſteem the Normans and Engliſh equally his ſubjects; that he intended to reſtore the nation to its former liberty, and govern only by the laws of Edward the Confeſſor. Theſe reports had the deſired effect with reſpect to the Engliſh, who wiſhed to ſee a king in the ſeat of power, who would reſtore domeſtic tranquillity and redreſs their grievances.

But the taſk was more difficult to gain over the Norman barons, who on many accounts were diſpoſed to favour the claim of Robert. Recourſe was therefore had to the arts of perſuaſion. They were taught to believe, that if Robert obtained the throne, there could be no hopes of holding their eſtates, with which his Norman friends would be gratified; and that their intereſts were cloſely connected with thoſe of William, to whom the Conqueror, their great benefactor, with his dying breath had bequeathed the crown of England. But William made uſe of a more powerful argument to ſupport his pretenſions, for he got poſſeſſion of the royal treaſure, laid up in the palace of Wincheſter, amounting to fifty thouſand pounds weight of ſilver coin, beſides gold, jewels, plate, and a rich wardrobe belonging to the royal family.

Theſe previous ſteps to the ſummit of power, were ſtrengthened by the indolence and inactivity of Robert; who when his friends adviſed him not to truſt his intereſt to precarious hope, but to croſs over immediately into England, and take poſſeſſion of his crown, he anſwered with haughtineſs; "That precipitation was unneceſſary. The ſceptre was his undoubted right. That the Engliſh were his friends, and would never preſume to appoint a ſucceſſor to the throne in his abſence." He was however for once miſtaken. The archbiſhop having aſſembled the principal clergy and nobility, they, from a reſpect to his father's appointment, readily concurred in opinion with Lanfranc, by whom William was crowned, on the twenty-ſeventh of September at Weſtminſter. The Engliſh were more inclined to bring about this event, becauſe he won their affections by the moſt conciliating meaſures; and the biſhops were induced to favour his pretenſions by the lenient perſuaſions of Lanfranc, ſo that thus powerfully ſupported, all the vaſſals of the crown, before the end of the year, ſwore fealty to him, and did homage without one diſſenting voice. In the mean time Robert took quiet poſſeſſion of Normandy, where he was highly eſteemed on account of his open, humane and generous diſpoſition.

But not many months had elapſed, before the throne of William was ſhaken by a ſudden and almoſt general conſpiracy of the Norman barons, at the head of which was Odo, biſhop of Bayeaux, the king's uncle, to whom William had reſtored his earldom and lands; but not having been inveſted with power alſo, and jealous of Lanfranc's abilities and high ſtation, he employed all his talents in endeavouring to transfer the crown to Robert. The conſpirators, retiring to their caſtles, put themſelves in a poſture of defence, and expecting to be ſupported with a powerful army from Normandy, haſtily broke out into open rebellion. Several parts of the kingdom were thrown into the utmoſt confuſion, and ſome of the counties again laid waſte by the ſword of deſolation. William, whoſe preſence of mind never forſook him, in this extremity had recourſe to the Engliſh, and he ſoon found himſelf at the head of thirty thouſand men. With theſe forces he took the field, and ſuddenly marched into Kent, where Odo, and Robert, earl of Montague, had ſeized the fortreſſes of Rocheſter and Pevenſey. Theſe he reduced by famine. He now, by the prudent advice of Lanfranc, endeavoured to win over the northern nobility by the gentle arts of perſuaſion, telling them, "that they ought to take care how they impeached his right to the crown, ſince the ſame monarch who had made them earls, had made him king;" at the ſame time he offered them privately any money or lands they deſired. Theſe conciliating meaſures were attended with the deſired ſucceſs. The chief of the conſpirators abandoned the cauſe of Robert, and returned to their allegiance. Odo eſcaped to Normandy, and his large poſſeſſions were diſtributed among thoſe who had ſerved their ſovereign faithfully, in this alarming criſis of danger. To give the finiſhing ſtroke to the deſigns of his enemies, a large body of troops, ſent from Normandy, were deſtroyed in the channel by the fleet which guarded the coaſt, whereby Robert loſt all his remaining intereſt in England, and the whole nation ſubmitted to him quietly, under the hope and aſſurance of a good government.

A. D. 1088.

William no ſooner ſaw all his enemies at his feet, and himſelf firmly fixed in the ſeat of power, than he forgot all his promiſes, and treated his preſervers with the cruelty of his predeceſſor. Proſperity unfolded thoſe corrupt diſpoſitions, which policy and fear had made him conceal. He increaſed, inſtead of mitigating the ſeverity of the foreſt laws. The complaints of the Engliſh were urged in vain. He was deaf to their petitions, and beheld their miſeries without redreſs. Even Lanfranc remonſtrated in vain. He urged his ſolemn promiſes when a candidate for the crown; he pleaded the generous conduct of the Engliſh, when it was endangered by the late rebellion; but all his pleas, all his remonſtrances, all his efforts, ſerved only to make Rufus more cautious in his proceedings. The revered character of the archbiſhop kept the king within the bounds of decency. But this check was, unhappily for the Engliſh, ſoon removed: Lanfranc departed this life, and left Rufus to purſue his full career of vice and tyranny. The death of this worthy prelate was juſtly regretted by all the virtuous part of the nation, Normans and Engliſh. He made no diſtinction between them; every good man was ſure of his favour and protection. He gained the love of all parties; and was juſtly conſidered as a faithful biſhop, and an upright ſtateſman.

After this prelate's death, the king grew impatient of controul. An immenſe prodigality, ſupported by extortion, with the inſtigations of a miniſter worſe than himſelf, made the latter years of his reign a continued ſeries of grievous oppreſſions. The whole nation now felt what heavy burdens the feudal laws could, by arbitrary conſtructions, impoſe on the ſubjects. They firſt fell upon the great Norman lords; but the evil did not ſtop there. Whatever demands the king made on his vaſſals, they made on theirs. Whatever power he exerciſed, they likewiſe exerciſed. Thus the feudal ſyſtem became a heavy weight of oppreſſion, under which all ſuffered, but the middling claſs of people moſt. The Engliſh groaned under the moſt grievous oppreſſions. Every thing was ſold by the king and his miniſters; even the privileges of the church proved a feeble rampart againſt their uſurpations. Mitres and croſiers were put up to ſale, and the higheſt bidder was ſure to be the purchaſer. Benefices, biſhopricks, juſtice itſelf, were ſacrificed to his avarice; and when all other means were exhauſted, confiſcations, the laſt and worſt reſource of a prodigal tyrant, were adopted under various pretences.

A. D. 1090.

Rufus, at the inſtigation of his brother Henry, paſſed over to Normandy at the head of a powerful army. Robert was in no condition to oppoſe his brother. He beheld, with aſtoniſhment, his towns ſucceſſively taken, and even his capital on the point of falling into the hands of the invader, by the treachery of the governor. He applied in vain to the king of

France for aſſiſtance, that monarch being in the intereſt of William. Henry now ſaw his error, and trembled for his own dominions. He therefore changing ſides, joined Robert with an excellent body of forces. William, not thinking it prudent to oppoſe the combined armies of his two brothers, laid aſide his deſign of making himſelf maſter of Normandy, and returned to England. A peace was ſoon after concluded between Robert and William, by which it was ſtipulated, that on the death of either without iſſue, the ſurvivor ſhould ſucceed to his dominions.

Alarmed and exaſperated at this contemptuous treatment, Henry, whoſe name had not been mentioned in the treaty, reſolved to avenge the inſult upon Robert; and accordingly made himſelf maſter of St. Michael's Mount, on the coaſt of Normandy, whence he infeſted the neighbourhood with his incurſions. Robert and William beſieged him with their joint forces. The place was ſtrongly fortified by art and nature. It was ſituated on a rock, one ſide of which was waſhed by the ſea, and wholly ſurrounded by the tide at high-water. Inſtead therefore of attempting to reduce it by ſtorm, the two brothers turned the ſiege into a blockade; and determined to continue before the place, till famine ſhould force the beſieged to ſurrender. Henry being at one time diſtreſſed for want of water, Robert gave him an opportunity of ſupplying the garriſon, and even ſent him ſome pipes of wine for his own uſe. William, reproving him for his ill-timed fraternal affection, Robert with quickneſs replied, " What, ſhall I ſuffer my brother to die of thirſt? Where ſhall we find ſuch another when he is gone?" During this ſiege, William uſed frequently to ride round the camp, to ſee that a proper diſcipline was obſerved among the ſoldiers. One day, as he was thus employed, he obſerved two men advancing full ſpeed from the caſtle. William, who was a ſtranger to fear, inſtead of retreating, rode up to them, thinking he ſhould be able to take one, if not both of them priſoners. They met, on the firſt onſet, with equal fury; but the lance of one of his antagoniſts piercing the cheſt of William's horſe, he fell, and was thrown violently to the ground. The ſoldier diſmounted; and raiſing his arm to diſpatch his adverſary, William exclaimed, " Hold fellow, I am the king of England." Struck with aſtoniſhment, the ſoldier ſheathed his ſword, and raiſed him from the ground with the higheſt expreſſions of reſpect. At this inſtant, William, perceiving a body of his troops haſtening to his aſſiſtance, vaulted into his ſaddle, and caſting his eyes, that ſparkled with fire, around, aſking who it was that had unhorſed him. He that did it anſwered boldly, " It was I, who took you for an ordinary knight." " By the face of our Lord," replied William with a ſmile, " thou ſhalt henceforth be my ſoldier, and receive from me the recompence thy valour deſerves." This perhaps is the only commendable action in his whole reign. Prince Henry was ſoon after obliged to ſurrender the fortreſs to his brother Robert, and, being ſtripped of his patrimony, wandered about for ſome time from place to place in extreme poverty and diſtreſs, with few attendants.

This war in Normandy was ſucceeded by another with Scotland. Malcolm made frequent incurſions into England. After ravaging Northumberland he laid ſiege to Alnwick, where a party of earl Mowbray's troops, commanded by a knight named Morel, attacking him by ſurprize, a ſharp action enſued, in which both Malcolm and his ſon were ſlain. His death, for ſome years, interrupted the regular ſucceſſion to the Scottiſh crown; for, though he left legitimate ſons, his brother Donald, they being minors, was raiſed to the throne; but ſoon after Duncan, Malcolm's natural ſon, formed a conſpiracy againſt him, and being aſſiſted by William with a ſmall force, obtained poſſeſſion of the kingdom.

Malcolm, among other public and private virtues, was poſſeſſed of an extraordinary greatneſs of mind, of which the following fact is an evident proof. Having received information that one of his nobles had a deſign to aſſaſſinate him, he enjoined the informer ſtrict ſilence. The next morning he went to hunt with his train of courtiers; and when arrived in the middle of a foreſt, he drew the intended murderer away from the reſt of the company, and thus addreſſed him: " Behold, we are here alone, armed and mounted alike. No one ſees, or hears us, or can give either of us aid againſt each other. If then you have courage and ſpirit, effect upon this ſpot your purpoſe. Accompliſh, this favourable inſtant, your promiſe to my enemies. If you think I ought to be killed by you, where can you perpetrate the brave deed better? When more opportunely? When more manfully? Have you prepared poiſon for me? that is a womaniſh treaſon. Or would you murder me in my bed? an adultereſs could do that. Or have you hid a dagger to ſtab me ſecretly? that is the act of a ruffian.—Rather behave like a brave man and fight me hand to hand, that your treaſon may, at leaſt, be free from baſeneſs." At theſe words the traitor, ſtruck as if it had been with a thunderbolt, fell at his feet, and implored his pardon. " Fear nothing, you ſhall not ſuffer any evil from me," replied the king; and he kept his word.

A. D. 1094.

William ſtill entertained deſigns upon Normandy. He had concluded a peace with Robert, but treaties were feeble bars to his ambition. This impelled him to make a ſecond invaſion of Normandy, and, in a ſhort time he ſubdued ſeveral important places. But the king of France, alarmed at his progreſs, brought a numerous army into the field to the aſſiſtance of Robert. The face of affairs was now ſuddenly changed. The towns and caſtles William had taken were ſucceſſively recovered, and he was, to his mortification, reduced to the neceſſity of acting upon the defenſive. In this critical conjuncture, he diſpatched orders to England for a reinforcement of troops; and till they arrived, he threw up ſtrong intrenchments round his camp, to render any deſigns Robert might form to the prejudice of his army, abortive. The levies were immediately raiſed in England, in number about twenty thouſand. It was an eſtabliſhed cuſtom with the barons or knights, under whom forces were raiſed for foreign ſervice, to furniſh each man with ten ſhillings, towards defraying neceſſary expences. William wanted money more than men; therefore, when the ſoldiers were drawn up, Ralph Flambard, the king's infamous miniſter, told them that they might be diſmiſſed from the ſervice, on paying him, to the king's uſe, the bounty money they had received. The offer was readily embraced, they paid each man his ten ſhillings, and were immediately diſcharged. This money was ſo advantageouſly employed by William, that he reaped greater advantage from it, than he could have expected from the army. He corrupted many of Robert's vaſſals, and detached the king of France from his intereſt. But he was prevented from purſuing his advantages by an invaſion of the Welch, which obliged him to return to England, when he eaſily repelled the enemy, but was unable to make any conſiderable impreſſion on a country guarded by its mountainous ſituation. The Welch, not thinking themſelves able to meet him in the open field, wiſely retreated to their mountains; whence they continually detached flying parties, who harraſſed the rear of William's army with perpetual ſkirmiſhes, and cut off his convoys; ſo that he was obliged to return, without any laurels to adorn this expedition.

A. D. 1095. At this time an affair of more ſerious concern engroſſed his whole attention. A conſpiracy was formed againſt his life by ſome of the principal barons. Robert Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, was at its head, and he engaged the count d'Eu, Richard de Tunbridge, Roger de Lacy, and many others of the nobility to join his party, which now became very numerous. William took the moſt prudent meaſures, without a moment's delay, to diſconcert the ſchemes of the conſpirators. With this view he ſummoned Mowbray to attend him at Wincheſter, to anſwer for his plundering four merchant ſhips that had put into a port under his juriſdiction. The Earl, conſcious of his treaſonable practices, refuſed to obey the ſummons. The king therefore marched againſt him; and Mowbray being in no condition to oppoſe his forces, ſhut himſelf up in Bamborough caſtle, from whence, upon its being inveſted, he found means to eſcape. Repairing to Tinmouth, he endeavoured to corrupt the governor; but before he could effect his purpoſe, a detachment of William's army followed him, and took him priſoner. The caſtle of Bamborough ſurrendered, and the governor impeached all the conſpirators. Mowbray was ſentenced to be confined for life in Windſor caſtle. Several were executed; and the eſtates of the greater part of them were confiſcated. Geoffrey, count d'Eu, was impeached of high treaſon, in being privy to the conſpiracy. He denied the charge, and was allowed to vindicate himſelf by ſingle combat; but being defeated, he was condemned to be caſtrated, and to loſe both his eyes. His couſin, William d'Alderic, was ſentenced to be publickly whipped, and hanged afterwards on a gallows thirty feet high. He ſuffered the whole of this ignominious puniſhment with remarkable intrepidity, and, with his dying breath, declared himſelf innocent of the crime laid to his charge.

A. D. 1096. William, after the death of Lanfranc, retained, for ſeveral years, the revenues of Canterbury, and other vacant biſhopricks in his own hands; but being attacked with a dangerous illneſs, his clergy repreſented to him that he muſt expect eternal perdition, if he did not atone for his numerous impieties and ſacrileges. The king, to ſtifle a remorſe of conſcience, or, which is moſt probable, to ſilence the clamours of the church, reſolved to fill up the vacancy of Canterbury; and, to this end ſent for Anſelm, abbot of Bec, in Normandy. The abbot ſteadily refuſed the dignity, and the king as obſtinately perſiſted in his accepting the paſtoral ſtaff; which being tendered to him, Anſelm kept his fiſt ſo faſt clenched, that it required the utmoſt ſtrength of the courtiers preſent to open it, and force that enſign of ſpiritual dignity into his hands. However, when he had accepted of it, he endeavoured to correct all abuſes, even thoſe in dreſs, with great zeal; and, though forced into the ſee of Canterbury, met with a continual oppoſition from the king. It was cuſtomary for perſons raiſed to any place of dignity, or poſt of honour, to make preſents to the king; and William expected from the new archbiſhop a conſiderable ſum; but, to his aſtoniſhment, the prelate's offering amounted to no more than five hundred pounds. Enraged at this parſimonious gift, the king treated Anſelm with great indignity. The archbiſhop left the preſence, carrying the money with him; nor could he be prevailed upon, when emergencies required aſſiſtance from the church, to furniſh any aid towards the expences of government. Anſelm was as tenacious of the rights of the church, as William was of the prerogatives of the crown. About this time two prelates, Urban and Clement, laid claim to the papal dignity. Anſelm had acknowledged the former, and perſiſted in ſo doing, though William had prohibited his ſubjects from recognizing any pope which he himſelf had not received. Great diſputes alſo aroſe upon the archbiſhop requeſting to go to Rome, to receive the pall from pope Urban, the king abſolutely refuſing to let him leave the kingdom. When William returned from his expedition againſt the Welch, he complained that the quota of men, provided by the archbiſhop, were neither ſo fit for ſervice, nor ſo well accoutered as they ought to have been; and he now ſummoned him to anſwer that charge in his court. The prelate, diſdaining to ſubmit to temporal authority, determined not to obey the royal mandate; but fearing compulſive meaſures might be employed to force obedience, he applied to ſome of the nobles, and by them acquainted the king, that he deſired to go to Rome upon very urgent buſineſs. The king ſent back a poſitive denial. The prelate became importunate. He renewed his requeſt again and again, though the charge was dropped, till William at laſt, growing impatient, ſent him word, that if he did go to Rome, he would ſeize upon his temporalities, and acknowledge him no longer for his archbiſhop. Notwithſtanding this threat, the prelate ſet out upon his journey with the badges of a pilgrim; and William, on hearing that he had landed on the continent, ordered all his goods and revenues to be brought into the Exchequer; nor could he, during the remainder of his reign, ever be perſuaded to reſtore them to the church. In this conteſt between Rufus and Anſelm, it appears evidently, and will hereafter be more fully ſeen, how detrimental it is to a nation, when ſacerdotal and regal power are unlimited, or not reſtrained by the conſtitution.

Theſe petty diſputes, internal commotions, and even the enterpriſes of ambition, now gave way to the noiſe of the cruſades, which engroſſed wholly the attention of Europe. Superſtition and enthuſiaſm, which compoſed the principal features of thoſe times, produced ſuch effects, as have aſtoniſhed people of more enlightened ages. After Mahomet had united the diſperſed Arabs under one head, they ſubdued a great part of the eaſtern empire, and conquered Jeruſalem. The Chriſtians now with grief beheld thoſe places that had been conſecrated by the preſence of the Deity, in the hands of infidels. However, the Arabs, or Saracens, gave little diſturbance to thoſe zealots who went to perform in the Holy Land, what they eſteemed religious duties; but the Turcomans, or Turks, who were a tribe of Tartars, having taken Syria and Jeruſalem from the Saracens, rendered the devotions of the Chriſtians in the holy city much more dangerous, the pilgrims being expoſed to inſults, extortions, and robberies. A monk of Picardy, known by the name of Peter the Hermit, having made a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, repreſented at his return, in ſuch ſtrong colours, the outrages and oppreſſions exerciſed by the Turks on the pilgrims, that Urban II. conſidered him as a proper inſtrument to exhort the ſovereigns of Europe to make the conqueſt of the Holy Land. Peter was accordingly ſent from province to province, in order to blow up the ſparks of enthuſiaſm into a flame, and to rouſe the people to action. He executed his commiſſion fully to the ſatisfaction of the pope; who perceiving the exclamations of Peter to have produced the deſired effect, he held a council in the open fields of Placentia, at which above thirty thouſand ſeculars, and four thouſand eccleſiaſtics were preſent. The project of invading Paleſtine was unanimouſly applauded, but none enliſted under the banner of his holineſs. He therefore held a ſecond council at Clermont in Auvergne, where he made a ſpeech in the market-place, expatiating on the miſeries ſuffered by the Chriſtians in the Holy Land. Urban's oration, and Peter's pathetic exhortations had ſuch an effect, that the whole multitude declared with one voice for war againſt the infidels, and ſolemnly devoted themſelves to the performance of a ſervice, which they were taught to believe meritorious in the ſight of God, and for engaging in which the pope promiſed them the remiſſion of all their ſins; and, in caſe they fell in the glorious cauſe, paſſports under his own ſeal into the other world. No wonder that ſuch terms ſhould operate upon thoſe, moſt of whom were plunged in crimes, the natural attendants of debauchery, and in groſs ignorance, equal to their guilt. No wonder that princes, prelates, and nobles, ſhould exclaim at the concluſion of the pope's ſpeech, "It is the will of God; it is the will of God:" words which were ſo firmly believed to flow from a divine inſpiration, that in all the exploits of thoſe adventurers, they were uſed for the ſignal of battle. An infinite number of perſons, men of all ranks, now took the croſs, which, when enliſted, they affixed to their right ſhoulders. All orders of men flocked to the ſacred banners: nobles, partizans, peaſants, and prieſts, enrolled their names. Even women, concealing their ſex under the diſguiſe of armour, attended the camp, and frequently, abandoning all ſenſe of decency, proſtituted themſelves without reſerve to the army. The greateſt criminals were forward in a ſervice, they conſidered as an atonement for their crimes; and during the courſe of theſe romantic expeditions, the moſt enormous diſorders were committed by men inured to wickedneſs, encouraged by example, and impelled by neceſſity. The hoſt of adventurers was now ſo great, that their wiſeſt leaders, Hugh, count of Vermandois, brother to the king of France, Stephen, count of Blois, Godfrey of Bouillon, prince of Brabant, and Raymond, count of Thoulouſe, began to fear, leſt the greatneſs of the armament ſhould defeat its propoſed end. They therefore ſuffered an undiſciplined multitude, computed at three hundred thouſand men to go before them, under the command of Peter the Hermit, and Walter the Money-leſs. Theſe took the road through Hungary and Bulgaria, toward Conſtantinople; and truſting that heaven would ſupply all their wants by ſupernatural means, they made no proviſion for ſubſiſtence on their march. Hence they ſoon found a neceſſity of obtaining by plunder, what they had in vain expected from miracles; whereupon the enraged inhabitants of thoſe countries through which they paſſed, aſſembling in arms, ſlaughtered them with very little reſiſtance. After theſe followed the more diſciplined armies, who paſſed the ſtreights of Conſtantinople, and moſt of them periſhed in the plains of Aſia. The whole number amounted to ſeven hundred thouſand men.

Yet this fanatical fury, though it deprived Europe of millions of inhabitants, had its advantages, which redounded to thoſe, who, free from the prevalent infatuation, did not entirely loſe ſight of their preſent intereſt. The churches and cloiſters purchaſed, at very low rates, the eſtates of many barons, who imagined, that a little money and their arms were ſufficient for them to obtain kingdoms in Aſia. Thoſe wiſer princes who ſtaid at home, got rid of their moſt turbulent ſubjects, and at the ſame time took the opportunity of annexing to the crown many conſiderable fiefs, either by purchaſe or the want of heirs. Nobles ſold their antient caſtles and eſtates, which in their eyes had loſt their value. The French monarchy recovered its luſtre by this enthuſiaſtic inſanity. But no prince gained more, or deſerved it leſs, than the king of England. Robert, ſeized with the epidemic frenzy of enthuſiaſm, took the croſs, and made preparations for a cruſade. But finding it would be impracticable for him to appear at the head of his vaſſals in a manner ſuitable to his rank without a ſupply of money, he had recourſe to his brother William Rufus, to whom he mortgaged his dutchy for the ſum of ten thouſand marks. The bargain was ſoon concluded, and William raiſed the money by contributions on his ſubjects of all ranks; even the convents were obliged to melt down their plate, to furniſh the quota demanded of them. William was immediately, upon advancing the loan, put in poſſeſſion of Normandy and Maine; while Robert ſet out with a ſplendid retinue for Paleſtine, filled with an aſſurance of gaining either glory or eternal happineſs.

A. D. 1090.

Thus the ceſſion of Normandy and Maine brought the king an increaſe of power; and he was conſidered as one of the greateſt princes of his time. And yet a ſingle baron preſumed to ſet that power at defiance. Helic, lord of la Fleche, a ſmall town in Anjou, made ſo many inroads into William's dominions, that he was obliged to croſs the ſea ſeveral times, in order to drive him out of his territories. But Helic embraced the firſt opportunity of the king's abſence to renew his incurſions, and this year laid ſiege to the city of Mans. William was hunting in the New Foreſt, when he received the news of this tranſaction; when, turning to his attendants, he aſked them, in what direction the city of Mans lay from them? He was no ſooner informed, than, turning his horſe's head, he rode full ſpeed toward the ſea ſide, calling to thoſe that were about him, "Let him who loves me, follow." Dartmouth was the neareſt ſea port town; and there they found only an old crazy veſſel, which William entered, notwithſtanding all the perſuaſions of his attendants to the contrary. The maſter of the veſſel declared, that to put to ſea was nothing leſs than running into unavoidable deſtruction. But the dauntleſs ſpirit of William was not to be terrified at danger. "What!" ſaid he, "didſt thou ever hear of a king that was drowned?" Silenced by this reproof, the maſter ſailed immediately out of the harbour, and the next morning reached Barfleur in ſafety. Surprized at the diſpatch of William, Helic, after a few ſkirmiſhes raiſed the ſiege, and retreated with the utmoſt precipitation. William purſued the flying enemy, attacked their rear, and took Helic himſelf priſoner. The captive was treated with inſult; which ſo incenſed that intrepid nobleman, that he told Rufus, "He had little cauſe for triumph, as his ſucceſs was owing rather to ſurprize than valour;" adding, "that if he was again at liberty, he would not find it eaſy to defeat him in a fair encounter." This ſpeech awakened all the ſentiments of valour in the breaſt of William. He immediately ordered the count to be ſet at liberty. "Be gone," ſaid he, fiercely, "do thy worſt; and, by the face of St. Luke, if thou haſt the good fortune to conquer me, I will not aſk the ſmalleſt return for the freedom I now give thee." But no more engagements happened between them.

A. D. 1100.

About this period the duke of Aquitaine offered to mortgage his dominions to William, upon the ſame conditions as his brother Robert had parted with his; namely, for a ſum ſufficient to defray his expences to the Holy Land. William, who ridiculed both the motives that gave riſe to the cruſades, and the madneſs of thoſe who engaged in ſuch chimerical undertakings, agreed to pay down the ſum wanted, and would have been in poſſeſſion of the dutchy of Aquitaine, if in the midſt of his projects, and while his heart ſwelled with arrogance and preſumption, a ſudden

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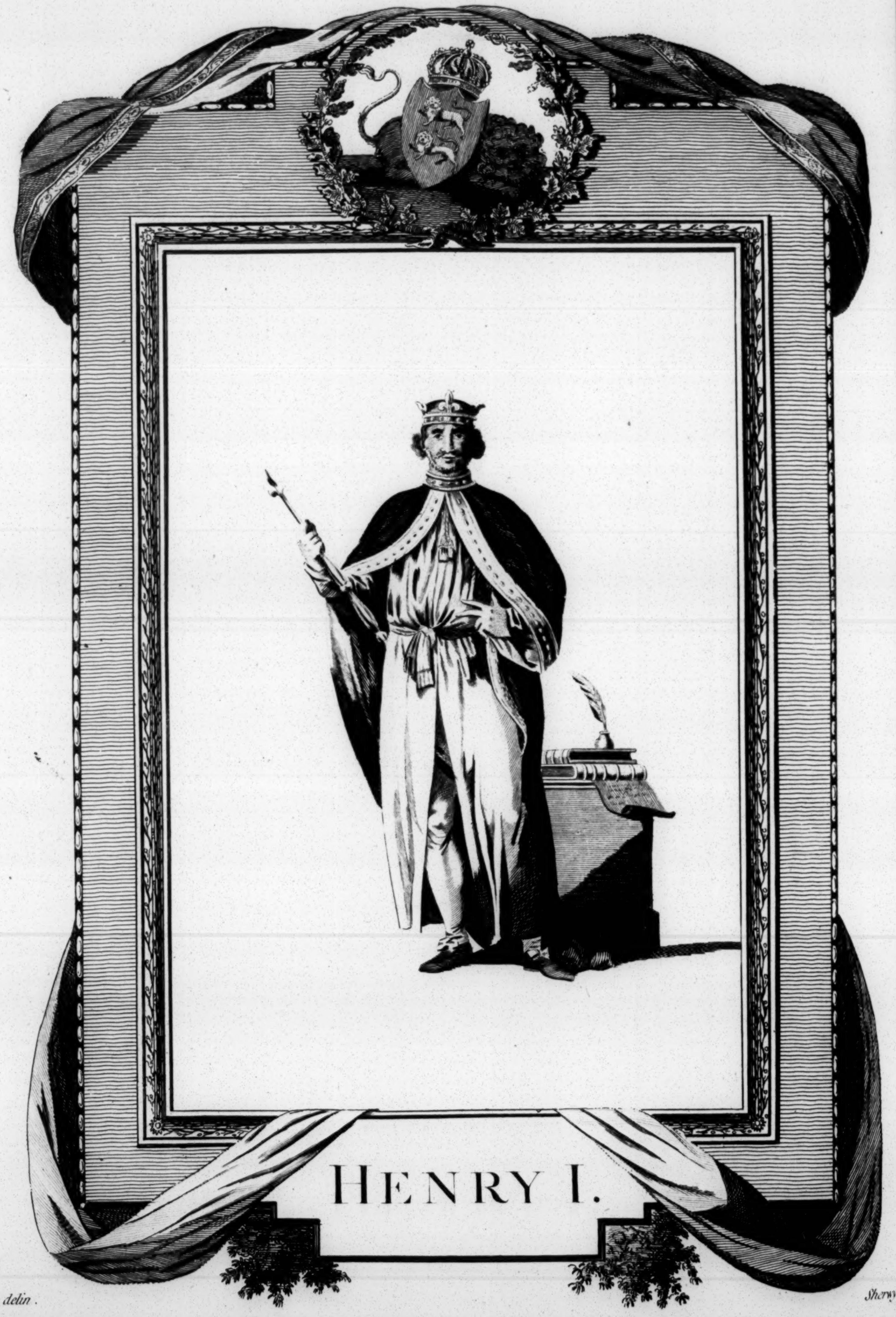


HENRY I.

Wale delin. Sherwyn sc

He was Born *in the Year 1068* — Crowned *Aug. 5. 1100* — Surfeited himſelf *with* Eating Lampreys, *at* Lyons, *near* Rouen *in* Normandy — Died *Dec. 1. 1135.* *His* Body *was brought over to* England, *and* Buried *at* Reading.

death had not ſnatched him to the bar of infinite juſtice, and ſaid to him as to the proud fool in the goſpel, 'this night, vain ambitious monarch, ſhall thy ſoul be required of thee; and whoſe will thy mortgages, and that great wealth, acquired by injuſtice, rapine and extortion, be.'

As he was hunting in the New Foreſt with Sir Walter Tyrrel, a French knight, remarkable for his ſkill in archery, a ſtag ruſhing from the thicket paſſed near the king, Sir Walter Tyrrel let fly an arrow, which glancing accidentally either from a tree, or from the horns of a ſtag, pierced the king through the heart, and he inſtantly expired. Tyrrel, who had been the innocent cauſe of this fatal accident, fled immediately to the ſea ſide, where he embarked in a veſſel for France, and joined the cruſade, which was then ſetting out for Jeruſalem. The royal corpſe was treated with the utmoſt neglect. Thoſe who feared his power when living, and had followed his fortunes, paid no regard to his remains. A peaſant, paſſing through the foreſt with his cart, put the body of the king therein, and in that ignominious manner it was conveyed to Wincheſter, where it was interred on the day following without ceremony. The Engliſh conſidered this melancholy cataſtrophe as one of the moſt fortunate events that could poſſibly have happened; and obſerved, that as the Conqueror had expelled, with the moſt ſhocking circumſtances of cruelty, the inhabitants of Hampſhire, in order to form the New Foreſt; ſo providence, by a juſt retribution, had rendered that place fatal to ſeveral of his poſterity; for beſides William, his elder ſon Richard, and his grandſon of the ſame name, were killed by accident in the New Foreſt. The death of William Rufus happened on the ſecond of Auguſt, in the fortieth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign. It does not appear he was ever married, and therefore could not have any legitimate children.

The character of this king is ſtamped with many vices, but we do not find any monuments of his virtues, unleſs we reckon among the number, his rebuilding London bridge, ſurrounding the tower of London with a ſtrong rampart, and erecting Weſtminſter hall; a ſmall quantum of national good, over-ballanced by a corrupt heart, a boundleſs ambition, a violent temper bordering on ferocity, a libidinous inſtinct, addicted to what nature abhors, a contempt even of the forms of religion, and a rapacity of an unbounded extent. He was ungrateful, perfidious, cruel, avaricious and diſſolute. A violent and tyrannical prince; a perfidious encroaching neighbour; and an ungracious, ungenerous relation. As to his magnanimity it was little more than a conſtitutional quality; a courage, whereby he only enſlaved his own ſubjects, and diſturbed the tranquillity of thoſe, whom by the ties of blood he was bound to defend. It is paying him no great compliment to ſay he reſembled Cæſar; for though he might poſſeſs his virtue, which conſiſted alone of magnanimity, he poſſeſſed alſo his boundleſs ambition, which centered only in ſelf-gratification. To ſupport this, all his valour, all his military talents were exerciſed. To the ſame point his liberality, or rather political profuſeneſs tended, which ought to be accounted rather a vice than a virtue. If he had lived long, his expences would have undone him; for he had not, as Cæſar had, the treaſures of Rome to ſupport his extravagance; and it had brought him ſome years before his death into ſuch difficulties, that even if his temper had not been deſpotic his neceſſities would have made him a tyrant. He purſued pleaſure with as much ardour as buſineſs, but never ſacrificed buſineſs to pleaſure. He was addicted to women, yet without any tenderneſs or fixed attachment. He had many concubines, but no miſtreſs; and never would marry for fear of ſubjecting himſelf to any reſtraint. His judgment was ſolid, yet, as in the caſe of Anſelm, it was often bore down by the violence of his uncontrouled paſſions. He paid ſo little reſpect to oaths, that he ſeemed to conſider them as mere forms of ſtate, or acts which policy might employ and diſpenſe with at pleaſure. In ſhort, the miſery of the Engliſh was complete in this reign; for the nation was as much a prey to licentiouſneſs as to tyranny, ſuffering at once the diſorders of anarchy, and the oppreſſions of arbitrary power.

CHAP. III.

HENRY I.

His ſituation, and unhappy circumſtances before the death of William—Cauſes of his acceſſion to the throne, in preference to the right of his brother Robert—Grants his ſubjects a very advantageous charter—Reforms many abuſes that had crept into his court—Robert's invaſion, and accommodation with the king—The ſecond enterprize of that prince, and the conſequences attending it—A war with France and England, and how terminated—Henry engages in a diſpute with his clergy, and the iſſue of it—Death of prince William, and the effect it had on the king—Henry ſettles the ſucceſſion—his death and character.

A. D. 1100. HENRY I. ſurnamed Beauclerc, or the Scholar, ſo called from his great learning, had been treated ill after his father's death by both his brothers, who had deprived him of his patrimony, and yet ſometimes made uſe of his aſſiſtance, which he gave freely. After the ſiege of St. Michael, where he had made a brave reſiſtance, and which was ſurrendered on no better condition than freedom to himſelf and garriſon, he took refuge in Brittany, and then in the French Vexin, from whence, after having remained about a year, he again changed his ſituation, and wandered over the provinces of France, with no other attendants than one knight, a chaplain, and three eſquires, expoſed to all the hardſhips of want, and in the ſchool of adverſity learned patience and fortitude; virtues he could not have acquired had he been always nurſed in the lap of proſperity. But while thus in a ſtate far below his birth and merit, the citizens of Dumfront, incenſed againſt their lord, Robert de Beleſme, earl of Shrewſbury, from whom they could not obtain the leaſt redreſs of their grievances, expelled him, and offered their town, one of the ſtrongeſt in Normandy, to the exiled prince. He accepted their offer, and made for ſome time a ſucceſsful war againſt both his brothers; but when Robert entered upon the cruſade, a reconciliation took place between William and Henry. The laſt was in another part of the New Foreſt when the news was brought him of his brother's death. Senſible that not a moment was to be loſt in this critical conjuncture, he galloped to Wincheſter caſtle, in order to ſecure the royal treaſure. He demanded the keys where the regalia and money was kept, of William de Breteuil; who oppoſed his will, telling him that Robert was his elder brother, and that though abſent it was his duty to preſerve his allegiance to him, the undoubted heir to the Engliſh throne. But Henry drawing his ſword threatened him with inſtant death if he dared to diſobey his commands. At this critical moment the earl of Warwick and Robert de Mellant arriving, with a number of the late king's attendants, they all declared in favour of Henry's pretenſions. Upon which Breteuil ſubmitted, and Henry gained poſſeſſion of the regalia, and his brother's treaſure.

Having thus ſucceeded in a main point, and his brother's corpſe being interred the next day, Henry haſtened to London, where he was elected king of England by the great council; and three days after his acceſſion, was crowned in Weſtminſter Abbey, on the fifteenth of Auguſt, by the biſhop of London. At this time Robert was in Italy, where having, in his return from Paleſtine, married Sibylla, daughter of the count of Converſana, he had lingered for a twelvemonth, and this imprudent delay gave Henry an opportunity of ſeizing the crown, to which Robert was entitled, as well by the right of primogeniture, as by virtue of the laſt treaty concluded between him and William. Thus a revolution in the affairs of the nation was effected by ſeveral accidental events. A king in the prime of life, and in the zenith of power, was cut off by ſudden death; the true ſucceſſion was ſet aſide; the treaſures of the kingdom were ſeized by a perſon who had not the leaſt legal claim to them; and the throne was filled by a young prince who was little better than a bold uſurper. But they who had warmly ſupported William Rufus againſt Robert in England, had reaſon to apprehend the reſentment of the latter; and the manner in which he had governed Normandy, was a ſtrong preſumption of his unfitneſs to govern England. On the other hand, Henry had ſhewn great talents for governing, and ſome ſtreſs was laid upon his being born an Engliſhman.

But having obtained a crown, Henry knew well the beſt methods of keeping it. He knew that the ſureſt way of obtaining the favour of the Engliſh, would be to grant them ſuch national benefits as would make his intereſt that of the public. Their ſubmiſſion to the tyranny of the two firſt Norman kings, had been owing to circumſtances of a tranſient nature; but they ſtill retained a paſſion for liberty, equally natural to the Normans and Engliſh. On the preſent occaſion their diſtruſt and fear of each other, which had prevented their uniting in defence of their privileges, gave way to a ſtrong and equal deſire in both, of reducing the regal authority to ſuch limitations, as, without deſtroying the feudal ſyſtem, might alleviate the heavy burdens with which it was loaded. So ſtrong was this deſire, that neither the eldership of the duke of Normandy, which though it did not in thoſe days convey an abſolute right to the crown, was yet a powerful recommendation; nor a ſolemn treaty made with him, and confirmed by the barons, who had ſettled the crown upon him, could ſtand in competition with Henry's offering to aboliſh all the evil cuſtoms that had prevailed in the late reign, and to eſtabliſh the beſt laws that had ever been given under any of the kings, his predeceſſors. Hence the nation reſolved to give the crown to a prince, who ſhould acquire and hold it under no other claim than a compact with his people. Agreeable therefore to the demands of his ſubjects, Henry, as ſoon as the ceremony of the coronation was over, granted them a charter under the great ſeal of England. A tranſlation of this charter, which has been the foundation of many others, we here inſert for the entertainment of our readers, always having in view our promiſe, to furniſh them, as far as our abilities will permit, with a Complete Hiſtory of England.

I. *Henry's Charter to all his faithful ſubjects.*

Henry, by the grace of God, king of the Engliſh, to all his barons and faithful ſubjects, both French and Engliſh, greeting.

" Know ye, that by the mercy of God, and by the common council (with the aſſent) of the barons of the kingdom of England, I am crowned king of the ſaid kingdom; and becauſe the kingdom has been oppreſſed with unjuſt exactions, I from the love of God, and the regard I bear you all, in the firſt place free the holy church, ſo as that I will neither ſell nor farm it out; nor upon the death of any archbiſhop, biſhop, or abbot, will I accept of any of the property of the church, nor ought from any of its tenants, until a ſucceſſor enters upon the ſame. And I baniſh all the evil uſages, with which the kingdom of England has been unjuſtly oppreſſed, part of which evil uſages I here ſet down.

If any of my barons, earls, or my tenants, holding of me, ſhall die, his heirs ſhall not redeem his land, as was the cuſtom in the days of my brother; but ſhall relieve the ſame by a juſt and lawful relief. In like manner ſhall the tenants of my barons relieve their lands by a lawful (certain) and juſt relief. And if any of my barons, or other of my ſubjects, have a mind to give a daughter, or ſiſter, or niece in marriage, let him treat me with; but I will neither accept any part of his fortune for ſuch licence, nor will I prohibit his diſpoſal of her, unleſs it be to my enemy. And if any one of my barons or ſubjects ſhould, at his death, leave a daughter, his heir, I will diſpoſe of her, with the advice of my barons, together with her lands. And if upon the death of a huſband, a wife ſhall ſurvive without children, ſhe ſhall have her own dowry and marriage portion; nor will I give her to a huſband but with her own conſent, provided the wife keep her body in chaſtity: and either the wife or ſome other relation, who is to deal juſtly, ſhall be guardian of the children and the eſtate, and I command my barons, that they act conformably hereunto, towards the ſons, daughters and wives of their tenants.

The common mintage of money, which was taken throughout cities and counties, and was not in uſe under king Edward, I abſolutely forbid to be taken for the future. If any minter or other perſon be taken with falſe money, let right juſtice be done upon him.

All fines and debts due to my brother, I forgive; except my juſt farms, and thoſe of bargains which concerned the inheritance of others, or for thoſe effects which juſtly concerned other perſons; and I forgive all bargains which any man has made with regard to his right of inheritance.

And if any of my barons or tenants ſhall be ſick, ſo as that he ſhall diſpoſe of his money, I will that ſuch diſpoſition ſhall ſtand good; but if he be prevented by ſickneſs or war, ſhall not give or diſpoſe of his effects, let his wife, children, or parents, or his lawful tenants, divide it among themſelves as ſhall ſeem beſt to them.

If any of my barons or tenants forfeit, he ſhall not give a pledge for favour of the whole fine, as he did in the time of my father and brother; but according to the meaſure of the forfeit ſo ſhall he be fined, in ſuch manner as fines were laid on under thoſe, my predeceſſors, who reigned before my father and brother: but if he ſhall be convicted of treaſon, or wickedneſs, let him make ſatisfaction as ſhall ſeem juſt.

II. *Concerning the confirmation of king Edward's laws.*

I pardon all murders committed before my coronation, and thoſe which ſhall be hereafter committed ſhall be ſatisfied for according to the laws of king Edward.

I have, by the common conſent of my barons, retained to myſelf the foreſts, in like manner as my father held them.

I grant of my own free gift, to my knights (i. e. tenants by knights ſervice) who defend their lands by their habergeons (or arms) that their demeſne lands and goods ſhall be free from all unjuſt guilds and taxes, and all labours, that their fidelity may be in proportion to my kindneſs; that ſince they are eaſed of ſo great a burden, they may the better provide themſelves with horſes and arms, and ſo be made fitter and more ready for my ſervice and the defence of the kingdom.

I reſtore to you the laws of king Edward, together with thoſe amendments which my father made by the advice of his barons.

If any one has taken any thing from me, or from any other perſon, he ſhall forthwith reſtore the ſame without making ſatisfaction; and he on whom any ſuch thing is found ſhall make ſure ſatisfaction to the owner.

Given in preſence of the archbiſhops, biſhops, barons, earls, ſheriffs, and nobles of all the kingdom of England, on the day of my coronation."

From the obtaining this charter we may date the union of the Normans with the Engliſh, whoſe intereſts were blended, and inſeparably united under one common claim of national rights. Henry's conduct in this inſtance correſponded with his engagements. He freed his ſubjects from all the burdens that had been illegally impoſed upon them; he remitted all the debts that were due to the crown, and puniſhed thoſe who had made themſelves odious by an abuſe of power, particularly Ralph Flambard, juſticiary of England, and biſhop of Durham; and at the ſame time by the advice of his parliament, he recalled Anſelm, and placed him at the head of the adminiſtration.

However, far from intending to purchaſe the archbiſhop's friendſhip by giving up the rights of his crown, Henry exerted his authority on many occaſions with great firmneſs, and was conſtantly ſupported even with the concurrence of the Engliſh biſhops. He alſo granted a charter to the city of London, whereby he confirmed the privileges beſtowed by his father, with ſome conſiderable additional favours. To ſtrengthen his intereſt and power with all parties ſtill more, he married Matilda, a lady accompliſhed with every thing that could render a woman deſirable, the daughter of Malcolm, king of Scotland, by the ſiſter of Edgar Atheling: a match that reſtored the crown to the Saxon royal blood, and united the king and his family after him to the people of England, by the moſt natural and endearing connection.

About this time Robert returned from the Holy Land, and took poſſeſſion of his dutchy of Normandy without oppoſition. His return revived the hopes and fears of the Normans in England, who had poſſeſſions on the continent; and being very powerful, they prevailed on moſt of their countrymen to take part with Robert. But the Engliſh, who were attached ſtrongly to Henry, having no eſtates abroad to forfeit, adhered to him firmly; and the whole clergy remained united to his intereſt, by the mediation of Anſelm. That prelate ſerved the king with a zeal that bore down all oppoſition. He even rode through the ranks of the army, recommending to the ſoldiers the defence of their prince, and denouncing the heavieſt cenſures of the church, againſt any who ſhould continue to oppoſe him. Thus was the army fixed in the intereſt of their ſovereign, and marched with ardour to oppoſe Robert, who had landed with his forces at Portſmouth.

Every appearance now of the two armies, who lay for ſome days in ſight of each other, ſeemed to prognoſticate a deciſive action. But both parties had powerful reaſons for not proceeding to extremities. The connections of blood, intereſt, friendſhip, and alliances, rendered an engagement very diſagreeable to the officers and ſoldiers on both ſides. They could not, without horror, think of drawing their ſwords againſt their parents, brothers, friends, relations, and countrymen. Robert had been diſappointed in his expectations; he hoped his partizans would have joined him with a much greater number of forces; he had experienced his brother's abilities in the art of war; he knew in caſe of a defeat, he had no reſource, and he ſhould loſe with the crown of England, his dutchy of Normandy. Henry on the other hand was no leſs ſenſible of the riſk he muſt run in the uncertain chance of war. He had much to loſe, and could gain little more than the ſhadow of honour, ſhould victory be on his ſide; and if in the day of battle his ſoldiers proved unfaithful, he might loſe both his life and kingdom. Each contending party was therefore deſirous of putting a period to their diſputes in an amicable manner; and to this end many meſſages paſſed every day between the two camps. At length a negociation produced the following articles of agreement; That Robert ſhould for ever relinquiſh his pretenſions to the crown of England; in conſideration whereof he ſhould receive an annual penſion of three thouſand marks; that if either of the princes died without iſſue, the ſurvivor ſhould ſucceed to his dominions; that the adherents to each ſhould be pardoned, and reſtored to their poſſeſſions in Normandy or England; and that neither Henry nor Robert, ſhould, from that time, encourage, receive, or protect the enemies of the other. This convention was ſworn to by twelve of the principal barons on both ſides. But Henry was the firſt who violated the articles, by puniſhing with fines, confiſcations or baniſhment, all the moſt active and powerful nobles, who had engaged in Robert's invaſion. This he did at different periods, and under various pretences, that he might not appear to infringe the indemnity he had granted. His true motives were however well underſtood, and the terror his conduct produced towards the objects of his reſentment, prevented his ſubjects from conſpiring any more in favour of his brother. Almoſt all the barons Henry thus puniſhed were of the firſt rank in wealth and power, whoſe eſtates he divided among perſons of lower birth, who had zealouſly attached themſelves to his ſervice, hereby balancing the greatneſs of the nobility eſtabliſhed by his father, which cauſed perpetual uneaſineſs to the crown.

A. D. 1102.

Henry now ſaw himſelf abſolute maſter of England. He therefore reſolved to render himſelf independent of not only every foreign power, but every order among his own ſubjects. The moſt conſiderable power diſtinct from the crown, and which endeavoured to curb its prerogatives, was lodged in the biſhops and abbots. Henry could not ſit eaſy under this reſtraint from the church, particularly from Anſelm, whoſe behaviour during the late invaſion had highly incenſed the Norman faction. Senſible of this, and deſirous of humbling the arrogance of the primate, the king reſolved to make the reſentment of the Norman nobility ſubſervient to his own deſigns; but at the ſame time to proceed in ſuch a manner, as might carry the greateſt appearance of deference to the Roman pontiff. In purſuance of this policy, the archbiſhop was ſummoned before the king's court, where the prelate, upon his appearing, was required to do homage immediately; to conſecrate thoſe who had been appointed to fill the vacant ſees and abbeys; or to quit the kingdom without delay. Anſelm, unmoved at this peremptory requiſition, appealed to the pope's letters, adding, that he had himſelf been a member of a council held at Bari, in which it was reſolved to excommunicate all thoſe who ſhould admit the claim of lay-inveſtitures; and that, by admitting the validity of ſuch claim, he ſhould be ſelf-condemned and ſelf-excommunicated. "But what is all this to me," replied the king with great quickneſs, "I am reſolved not to depart from my reſolution, nor ſuffer any one to reſide within my dominions, who ſhall refuſe to pay me the allegiance due to a ſovereign." Anſelm with equal ſpirit replied, "That he was reſolved to repair to Canterbury, where he would wait the event with patience and reſignation." Henry, unwilling to come to any dangerous extremity with the church, told the primate, that he would ſend a new deputation to Rome, in order to lay before Paſcal, who then filled the papal chair, the alternative, of either departing from his declaration reſpecting inveſtitures, or of agreeing with his determination that Anſelm ſhould quit the kingdom. Accordingly a deputation was appointed, conſiſting of Gerard, archbiſhop of York, Herbert, biſhop of Thetford, and Robert, biſhop of Cheſter. Anſelm, afraid of the influence thoſe prelates might have over the pope's deciſions, nominated two monks as deputies of his own, namely, Baldwin of the abbey of Bec, and Alexander, of the abbey of Canterbury, with inſtructions to repreſent the danger that threatened the papal authority, ſhould the aſpiring power of the king in this inſtance triumph over the church. The pope having, in a full conſiſtory, examined into the merit of the caſe, declared in favour of the primate; and Anſelm, who was acquainted with every thing that had paſſed in Rome, ſupported his opinion with firmneſs and reſolution. He not only refuſed to conſecrate ſome new biſhops, who had received inveſtiture from the king, but alſo to communicate with them. Henry was irritated to the higheſt degree, and the primate, to avoid the ſtorm, retired to Rome. The people were alarmed at the departure of the archbiſhop; and the king feared leſt England ſhould be put under an interdict, and not chuſing to ſee his kingdom waſted by the hand of religious bigotry, wiſely gave up the claim of inveſtitures, and the pope conſented to his exacting from biſhops the homage they owed him as temporal peers. An accommodation having thus taken place between Henry and the church, Anſelm returned to England, and was reinſtated in his temporal and ſpiritual privileges.

A. D. 1103.

This eccleſiaſtical diſpute did not divert Henry's attention to his intereſt in other particulars. He had already greatly reduced the exorbitant power of the nobility, and reſolved to purſue that attention ſtill farther. William de Warrance, earl of Surry, had been deprived of his eſtate in England, and therefore continually importuned the duke of Normandy to uſe his good offices with Henry, in order to his being reinſtated in his poſſeſſions; and the duke was determined to ſolicit his brother for this favour in perſon. Henry apprized of this intended viſit, pretended to be highly diſpleaſed with his brother, for having entered his kingdom without permiſſion, eſpecially with bringing over with him perſons whom he knew to be enemies to his perſon and government. He even charged him with a breach of the late treaty, by affording refuge to the rebellious earl of Shrewſbury, and putting him in poſſeſſion of his father's eſtates in Normandy. Robert perceived he had taken a wrong ſtep, and apprehending his liberty in danger, was glad to purchaſe an eſcape by reſigning his penſion.

This prince in his government was in every reſpect the reverſe of his brother. Abandoned alternately to diſſolute pleaſure and ſuperſtition, he became ſo remiſs in the care of his treaſures, and the exerciſe of his authority, that his ſervants pillaged him with impunity, and proceeded to practiſe every ſpecies of extortion on his defenceleſs ſubjects. His indolence, his being perpetually immerſed in ſloth or riot, the factions his weakneſs encouraged, and the inſolence of thoſe who even treated him with contempt when they approached his perſon, induced many of the nobles and the body of the clergy, to apply to the king of England for protection. It may ſeem unnatural that a younger brother, to whom Robert had ceded the crown of England, ſhould now, upon any pretence whatever, deprive him of his patrimony; but Henry, beſides having the barons, his parliament, and the pope on his ſide, to quiet his ſcruples, might recollect how ill he had been uſed by his brother in former times. His impriſonment, his exile, the indignities he had ſuffered, might ſteel his heart againſt any impreſſions of fraternal affection. This is certain, the application of the Norman nobility afforded him a plauſible pretence for interfering in their affairs.

A. D. 1105.

He therefore paſſed over into Normandy in a grand fleet, and accompanied with a powerful army. The firſt place that felt the force of his arms was Bayeux, which, after an obſtinate defence, he took by ſtorm. He next became maſter of Caen, by the voluntary ſubmiſſion of its inhabitants; but being repulſed at Farlaiſe, and obliged by the winter ſeaſon to raiſe the ſiege, he returned to England, after aſſuring the Norman nobles, that he would perſevere in labouring for their deliverance.

The next year, agreeable to his promiſe, he returned, and began the campaign with the ſiege of Trenchebray. Robert now perceiving his intentions were to ſtrip him of his dominions, was at laſt rouſed from his lethargy, and being joined by the earl of Mortaigne, and Robert de Belleſme, earl of Shrewſbury, the king's inveterate enemies, he raiſed a conſiderable army, and appeared before his brother's camp, intending to finiſh by one deciſive battle the quarrel between them. By his preſence he ſo animated his troops, that at the commencement of the action, they made a great impreſſion on the Engliſh, who were thrown into ſuch confuſion as offered Robert a fair opportunity of obtaining a complete victory, but which was loſt by the flight of Robert de Belleſme, earl of Shrewſbury, whereby the whole army was thrown into confuſion, and occaſioned their being entirely defeated. Henry made a great ſlaughter among the enemy, and, what gave much more real glory to his arms, he took near ten thouſand priſoners, with whom were numbered his brother, duke Robert, together with the moſt conſiderable barons who adhered to his intereſt. This victory was followed by the reduction of Normandy. Rouen inſtantly ſubmitted to the conqueror; Farlaiſe threw open her gates; and by the ſurrender of this laſt fortreſs, prince William, Robert's only ſon, fell into his hands. Henry aſſembled the ſtates of Normandy, received homage from its vaſſals, ſettled the adminiſtration of public affairs, and diſmantled the caſtles that had lately been built. He now returned to England, taking with him Robert, his unfortunate brother. This prince was detained in cuſtody during the remainder of his life, which was no leſs than twenty-ſeven years, when he died in the caſtle of Cardiff, in Glamorganſhire. Prince William, his ſon, was committed to the care of Helie de St. Saen, who had married Robert's natural daughter, and who being a man of ſtrict probity, executed the truſt with tenderneſs and fidelity. To Edgar Atheling, another illuſtrious priſoner, Henry gave liberty, and ſettled on him a ſmall penſion, on which he lived in England totally neglected and forgotten. This prince was diſtinguiſhed by perſonal bravery, but what can be a ſtronger proof of the mediocrity of his talents, than, notwithſtanding he enjoyed the only legal right to the crown, his being permitted during the reigns of ſo many tyrannical uſurpers, to live unmoleſted, and deſcend to his grave in peace.

By this revolution the inhabitants of Normandy received many advantages; for Henry, with the concurrence of the Norman nobility, confirmed his father's laws, reſumed all his brother's extravagant grants, and promiſed to ſuppreſs, among all orders of his ſubjects, that rapine and violence which had involved the ſtate in want, and which the relaxation of the reins of government, in the hands of Robert, had produced. Theſe engagements were ſtrictly fulfilled. The very dread of Henry's juſtice induced many of them to ſeek refuge in exile, from whence they never returned; and ſome of thoſe who were his priſoners he confined for their lives; though large ſums were offered to purchaſe their freedom.

But though by the acquiſition of his brother's territories, the ambition of Henry was gratified, yet he found it difficult to maintain and defend them. He was frequently involved in wars that rendered it often neceſſary to croſs the ſeas, in order to ſtop the inroads of neighbouring princes, and diſcontented barons. To defray the extraordinary expences attending this new government, he loaded his Engliſh ſubjects with continual taxes almoſt beyond what they could bear. He had however the wiſdom of accompanying demands of this nature with kind words and ſome popular acts. By theſe marks of paternal regard, as well as by the juſtice he did to the commons againſt their lords, whenever they applied to him for relief or redreſs, he turned the complaints of the ſeverity uſed in collecting the taxes, from himſelf to his miniſters, by whom they were raiſed. As the general tenor of his government was popular at home, and ſucceſsful abroad, the faults, which his prudence moderated, and his policy varniſhed, were never productive of any conſiderable diſcontent to the people. Whence from the ſecond year of his reign, in which he expelled the moſt turbulent of his barons, to the day of his death, that is, for the ſpace of above thirty-three years, there was not the leaſt commotion in England. A term of tranquillity, ſcarce to be paralleled in the hiſtory of this kingdom, and more extraordinary at that time, conſidering how very factious and prone to ſedition the temper of the barons appeared to be, in the beginning of this, and through all the following reigns.

A.D. 1108.

But while Henry was thus powerful and without inteſtine broils at home, a ſtorm was gathering which threatened to burſt upon his foreign dominions. Philip, king of France, being dead, was ſucceeded by Louis le Groſſe, or the Fat. This prince, jealous of the growing power of Henry, made preparations for invading his Norman dominions.

We have already obſerved that Henry had committed William Clito, alſo called William Longſword, Robert's only ſon, and his nephew, to the care of Helie. But the king ſoon repented of his choice; for when he would have ſecured William's perſon, Helie withdrew with his pupil to the count of Anjou, who gave him a kind reception, and aſſured him of his protection. In proportion as the young prince grew up to man's eſtate, he had diſcovered virtues that ornamented his birth; and wandering through the courts of Guienne, Burgundy and Brittany, excited the friendly compaſſion of ſeveral princes, and raiſed a general indignation againſt his uncle, who had ſo unjuſtly deprived him of his inheritance.

The king of England ſoon perceived the hoſtile intention of the French monarch, and was alarmed, leſt he ſhould gain over William to his intereſt, and prompt him to attempt a recovery of his juſt right. He therefore paſſed over into Normandy, and employed every ſtratagem to get the young prince once more into his power, but could not ſucceed.

A.D. 1110.

Having reſided two years in Normandy, during which period there only paſſed ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes on the frontiers, and having ſettled his affairs in the beſt manner he could, Henry returned to England. In order to break the confederacy that had been formed againſt him, between the counts of Anjou and Flanders, he contracted his eldeſt ſon William to the daughter of the former, by which means he detached that prince from the alliance, and obliged the confederates to ſign a treaty of peace.

But this peace was however of ſhort duration, for his nephew, William, had now attained to manhood, and ſhewed ſtrong indications of a great ſpirit, and an underſtanding fit to ſupport his high pretenſions. Henry had offered to beſtow upon him three earldoms in England, and to breed him up in his own court as his adopted ſon; but he diſdained theſe proffers, being afraid perhaps of putting himſelf in the power of a king, to whoſe crown he had a title. The young earl of Flanders now warmly eſpouſed the cauſe of William. But the moſt fortunate event in his favour, was the death of the earl of Evereaux: for Amauri de Montfort claiming the earldom as heir to the deceaſed, and it being refuſed him by Henry, he by his birth, alliances, riches, and perſonal talents, perſuaded almoſt all France, and Louis himſelf, to declare war againſt the king of England, in behalf of William. The Norman barons engaged likewiſe in the ſame cauſe. The defection among them was ſo general, that the king ſcarce knew in whom to place confidence. He was encompaſſed by treaſon; it was in his court, in his council, in his bedchamber itſelf; one of the gentlemen of which formed a plot againſt his life; and though diſcovered to him before execution, the puniſhment of the traitor did not quiet the king's fears, againſt thoſe who attacked openly. He took into his pay a ſtrong body of foreign troops; and he ſecured on his ſide, among his beſt friends and Engliſh ſubjects, the commons of England. This powerful aid, joined to that of his nephew, the earl of Blois, enabled him to oppoſe the revolt of the Normans, and the arms of all his other enemies, who had combined to deſtroy him.

A.D. 1118.

In the courſe of this Norman war, an event happened that deſerves particular notice. Euſtace, lord of Breteuil, who had married Juliana, a natural daughter of king Henry, and had by her two daughters, being connected in friendſhip with Amauri de Montfort, was perſuaded by him to demand a ſtrong caſtle, becauſe it had formerly been in the poſſeſſion of his anceſtors. Henry afraid at ſuch a time to refuſe almoſt any requeſt, and yet unwilling to truſt him with a fortreſs of ſuch importance, promiſed to deliver it to him after the concluſion of the war, when it could be done with more ſafety, and gave him the governor's ſon as a hoſtage for fulfilling his engagement, taking in return the two daughters of Euſtace, as hoſtages for his fidelity during the continuance of the war. But Euſtace, being perſuaded by Amauri to revolt, cruelly put out the boy's eyes, and in that miſerable condition ſent him back to his father. Henry, exaſperated at ſuch an inſolent act of barbarity, and not having the perpetrator of it in his power, delivered up to the injured governor his two daughters, whom Euſtace had delivered to him as hoſtages of his fidelity. The governor, in the heat of paſſion, and paying no regard to their innocence, or to their being of his maſter's blood, inhumanly cut off the ends of their noſes, and put out their eyes. Henry, inſtead of reſenting this cruel exceſs of his rage, loaded him with preſents and favours. One could wiſh for Henry's honour, that he had found a leſs horrid expedient, to appeaſe his injured ſervant, without having inflicted on innocence a puniſhment due only to guilt, and in the perſons of thoſe, whom the firſt and greateſt of all moral obligations, the law of nature, obliged him to ſave and protect.

Juliana, Henry's natural daughter, endeavoured to revenge the injuries her children had received, by an attempt to murder her father. Her huſband had left Breteuil in her cuſtody; but the inhabitants having delivered the town up to the king, Juliana retired into the caſtle; when finding herſelf unequal to the taſk of maintaining it againſt the bravery and experience of Henry, ſhe deſired a parley with him; to which he having conſented, this incenſed mother diſcharged an arrow at him out of a croſs bow, but fortunately for them both it ſpent its force in the air. Juliana was at length compelled to ſurrender the caſtle and herſelf at diſcretion. All eyes were now fixed upon Henry, to ſee in what manner a prince ſo rigorous in his juſtice, would puniſh a daughter, who had raſhly made an attempt on his life. But Henry imputing her intention to murder him to the violence of her grief, which he himſelf had occaſioned, would not let her ſuffer in life or limb, nor even deprive her of liberty; but he took a whimſical method of expoſing her to ſhame: for the drawbridge having been by his order broken down, on her leaving the caſtle ſhe was obliged, in the view of his gazing army, to get down from the rampart into the ditch, and to wade through the water of the mote; and with this brand of diſgrace he ſent her to her huſband.

The face of Henry's affairs wore now a more proſperous aſpect, and he was determined to proſecute the war in Normandy with the utmoſt vigour; which would ſoon have been concluded, had not Louis, attended by William, Robert's ſon, marched to ſuccour the rebels at the head of his army. Henry, upon the firſt notice of that monarch's approach, retired to Rouen, being willing to avoid any hoſtilities with the king of France; but the French having advanced within four miles of Rouen, and ravaged the adjacent country with fire and ſword, he reſolved to give them battle. The two armies met on the plain of Brenneville, where an engagement was begun by William Clito, who by the impetuoſity of his charge, broke the firſt line of the Engliſh; but was repulſed by the ſecond, compoſed of Henry's houſhold troops, and commanded by himſelf at their head. The king maintained his ground with ſurprizing preſence of mind; he rode from rank to rank, encouraging thoſe who ſtood firm, and rallying the ſquadrons which had been broken, by the intrepid attack of the young Norman prince. The engagement now became general; and while Henry led up his troops againſt the enemy, he was in the utmoſt danger of falling a victim to one of thoſe chances ſo frequent in war, by which the monarch and private ſoldier, the coward and the brave, are equally expoſed. William de Criſpin, a Norman knight, celebrated for his ſtrength and courage, cut his way to the ſpot where Henry, regardleſs of his own ſafety, fought in perſon. Fired with the thought of gaining the victory with a ſingle blow, Criſpin fell with the utmoſt fury on the king of England, and ſtruck him twice with ſuch violent force on the head, that the blood guſhed out from his mouth and ears, and he ſeemed, for a moment, to have loſt his ſenſes. Criſpin was juſt about to follow his advantage with a third ſtroke, when Henry, with ſurprizing reſolution, ſtruck his adverſary with ſo much fury, that he fell headlong from his horſe at the conqueror's feet, and was taken priſoner. This perſonal bravery of Henry had no other effect than defeating the intention of the Norman knight; the battle raged with redoubled fury, and fortune ſeemed inclined to beſtow the palm of victory on the French and Normans. Henry himſelf began to be apprehenſive of the conſequences; but in this critical moment the Engliſh, who formed the rear of the army, advanced, and charged the enemy with ſuch impetuoſity that they gave way on all ſides, and fled with the utmoſt precipitation. All attempts to rally them were fruitleſs. Louis himſelf having been diſmounted, was hurried away with the torrent, and eſcaped by the aſſiſtance of a peaſant, who conducted him out of the reach of his purſuers, through woods and byways, to the caſtle of Andeli.

Louis, notwithſtanding this defeat, ſoon took the field again, and a ſecond battle was fought, more furious than the firſt, at the cloſe of which both of the contending parties claimed the victory, and perhaps with equal reaſon. The French monarch however was made ſenſible, that it would be impoſſible to reſtore the young prince to the dominions of his father by force of arms; and therefore applied to the council of Rheims, aſſembled by pope Calixtus II. flattering himſelf with the thought of being able to turn his fulminations againſt the king of England. Aware of the danger, Henry took the moſt prudent meaſures to avert the ſtorm. With this view he ſent large preſents to his holineſs, and by this powerful argument brought him over to his intereſt. The pope declared he was ſatisfied with the reaſons alledged by Henry in juſtification of his conduct, and diſmiſſed the aſſembly.

A treaty was now ſet on foot, the greateſt difficulty in which was, a diſpute about the homage which the dukes of Normandy were bound to pay to the French crown. Louis could not give up this important point, which ſeemed an inſuperable bar in the way of an accommodation; when Henry found an expedient which ſaved his own dignity, and contented the French king, namely, that his ſon William ſhould be inveſted with the dutchy of Normandy in his ſtead, and do homage for it to Louis in the accuſtomed form. This being agreed to, with a reſtitution of places, and mutual exchange of priſoners on both ſides, the peace was concluded to the ſatisfaction of Henry, who without any loſs had ſuſtained all the efforts of a moſt formidable confederacy, and put an end to ſuch a dangerous war, whereby he became more powerful and reſpected than ever.

A. D. 1120. But this bright day of proſperity was overcaſt with a domeſtic calamity, that humbled his pride, and diſturbed the remainder of his life with ever-flowing ſorrow. William, his only ſon, was, on his return with him to England, but in another ſhip, drowned in his paſſage, together with his natural ſiſter Matilda, counteſs of Perche; for the crew of the ſhip, either through careleſſneſs, or being intoxicated with liquor, ſuffered her to run upon a rock not far from the Norman ſhore, where ſhe in a ſhort time foundered. The prince got into the boat, and, as the weather was calm, might, had his fate ſo ordered it, been eaſily ſaved; but, moved with the piercing cries of his ſiſter, he ordered it to be rowed back to the ſhip, when ſo many leaped therein that it immediately ſunk. Richard, one of Henry's natural ſons, the counteſs of Cheſter, the king's niece, her huſband, the earl of Cheſter, his brother, who was governor to the prince, a nephew of the emperor Henry V. and other noble perſons, foreigners as well as Engliſh, periſhed by this fatal accident. When the ſhip was ſinking, two perſons climbed to the top of the maſt, and kept their heads above the water. One of them was the young ſon of Gilbert de Aquila, the other a butcher of Rouen. In this ſituation they remained a great part of the night; but the tender youth being benumbed by the wet and cold, loſt his ſtrength, and, recommending his companion to the mercy of God, fell into the ſea, and roſe no more. The butcher held out till morning; and, being ſaved by ſome fiſhermen who came from Barfleur, related the circumſtances of this melancholy event. The dead body of the prince was ſought for in vain; his father was denied even the conſolation of burying him: he had no grave but the ocean. Henry, with all his magnanimity, could not reſiſt this dreadful ſhock. At hearing the news he fainted; and it was ſome time before he recovered that compoſure of mind, which had hitherto marked his character. Indeed, he had reaſon ſufficient to be grieved, both as a father and a king. The young prince is ſaid to have been of an amiable diſpoſition; and, as Henry had no other legitimate ſon, his death left the ſucceſſion to England and Normandy undetermined.

A. D. 1121. Deſirous, however, of having an heir to ſucceed him, he reſolved to marry again. His late wife Matilda had been dead two years, and now he made choice of Adelais, daughter to the duke of Louvain, a young lady of remarkable beauty and accompliſhments. But the hopes of both the king and the nation were diſappointed. Adelais brought Henry no child.

A. D. 1123. The nation now began to turn their eyes towards the ſon of duke Robert. The bravery that prince had diſcovered in the Norman war, in the opinion of the public, added weight to his pretenſions. It is true, England was too firmly attached to Henry, for his nephew's adherents to make any impreſſion on that nation while he was alive; however, in Normandy they were, at the inſtigation of a French cabal, ripe for another revolt: but Henry attacked the conſpirators before they were prepared, and took ſome of their caſtles. Not long after moſt of their leaders, being ſurpriſed on a march, were taken priſoners. By this ſtroke, all the hopes of William Clito were again diſappointed. Many who had deſigned to join him were ſtopped, and many who had declared for his party forſook it. Even the earl of Anjou renounced his friendſhip, and expelled him out of his dominions. Henry now remained maſter of Normandy, where he endeavoured to ſtrengthen his government by the rigorous puniſhments he inflicted on thoſe who had revolted againſt him.

A. D. 1125. While the king's thoughts were chiefly employed upon a ſucceſſor to his throne, the emperor, who had married his daughter Matilda, died without iſſue; upon which he immediately ſent for his daughter, and having ſummoned an aſſembly of the ſtates at Windſor, it was there unanimouſly agreed, to acknowledge the empreſs Maud, or Matilda, as queen of England, in caſe Henry died without iſſue. The Engliſh beheld that princeſs with affection, as ſhe was deſcended, on her mother's ſide, from the antient race of their Saxon kings, whoſe memories they ſtill revered. But Henry was not ſatisfied with this acquiſition; he was alſo deſirous of ſecuring to her the dutchy of Normandy. Accordingly he married her to Geoffrey Plantagenet, ſon of Fulk, earl of Anjou. By this policy he effectually detached Fulk from William, ſon to duke Robert, and all the allies of that unfortunate prince. But this ſtep, which was taken without the advice of his barons, was extremely diſagreeable to the Engliſh. William, whom Louis had put in poſſeſſion of Flanders, conceived this a favourable opportunity for recommencing the war; but before he could carry his deſign into execution, he was killed in a battle with the landgrave of Alſace. A. D. 1135. Thus did this brave prince periſh in the flower of his age, after a long contention with the malice of his ill-fortune. Had he ſurvived his uncle, he probably might have been earl of Flanders, duke of Normandy, and king of England; but he was cut off, and with him all the family of duke Robert, for he had no child. A little time before he expired, he ſent a ſon of Odo, biſhop of Bayeux, who had followed his fortunes, with a letter to Henry, written on his death-bed, in which he entreated him to forgive whatever he had done to offend him, and to receive his friends to mercy. Henry appeared touched by this affecting letter; and treated all who, in confidence of this recommendation, ſubmitted to him, with great kindneſs, advancing ſome of the moſt deſerving to the higheſt degree of his favour.

A. D. 1129. Henry remained undiſturbed by any war with France, without doing homage to that crown for Normandy, during the remainder of his life. He had indeed ſurmounted all oppoſition; and a calm of profound tranquillity ſucceeded the boiſterous ſeaſons of war and devaſtations. But the loſs of his ſon ſtill preyed upon his ſpirits, and tended to convince him of the vanity of human glory, and its inſufficiency in affording true content. The milder ſentiments of mercy ſucceeded thoſe of reſentment, which had ſo long filled his breaſt. He extended his pardon to all who implored it; and attached to his intereſt, by acts of kindneſs and generoſity, ſeveral perſons of great influence; but not a ſingle ray of pity was extended to his brother Robert, who ſtill conſumed an ignominious life in Cardiff caſtle.

A. D. 1133. Every thing in England continuing in a ſtate of tranquillity, Henry took this favourable opportunity of viſiting Normandy; to which he was led, as well by his affection for that country, as by his tenderneſs for his daughter the empreſs Maud. Some time after ſhe was delivered of a ſon, who was named Henry; and the better to enſure, as he imagined her ſucceſſion, he prevailed upon all the nobility of England and Normandy to renew the oath of fealty, which they had before ſworn to her.

A. D. 1134. While Henry was enjoying his eaſe in Normandy, his brother Robert, whom it muſt be confeſſed, numerous as his faults were, he had treated with great cruelty, was ſnatched from his follies and cares by the hand of death; and this unhappy priſoner was buried in the cathedral of Glouceſter.

A. D. 1135. The ſatisfaction Henry enjoyed in the company of his daughter, rendered his reſidence in Normandy very agreeable to him, and he ſeemed determined to ſpend the remainder of his days in that country; but receiving advice that the Welch had renewed their incurſions, he intended to chaſtiſe the inſolence of thoſe invaders. He was accordingly preparing for his journey, when his ſummons came for an unknown country, and death put a period to all his undertakings. He departed this life at the caſtle of Lyons, near Rouen, on the firſt of December, in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirty-ſixth of his reign. By his firſt wife, Matilda, daughter of Malcolm, king of Scotland, by the ſiſter of Edgar Atheling, he had William, duke of Normandy, who was drowned; and Matilda, the empreſs Maud, married to Geoffrey Plantagenet, count of Anjou.

When he found himſelf approaching near his end, he declared, in the preſence of Robert, earl of Glouceſter, his natural ſon, and a large aſſembly of nobles who came to know his laſt will, that he bequeathed both England and Normandy to his daughter Matilda, and to her poſterity, without taking any notice of her huſband the earl of Anjou.

Henry poſſeſſed all the qualities that could fit him for the high ſtation he filled. His perſon was manly; his countenance engaging; his eyes clear, ſerene, and penetrating. The affability of his addreſs encouraged thoſe who might be overawed by a ſenſe of his dignity or his wiſdom; and though he often indulged his facetious humour, he knew how to temper it with diſcretion, which always kept him at a diſtance from all indecent familiarities with his courtiers. He poſſeſſed many ſplendid qualities, ſhaded, as their contraſt, with ſome conſpicuous faults. He was brave, affable, ſagacious, and eloquent; temperate in his meals; vigilant and active in employing the beſt means conducive to the intereſts of his crown and people. Ambition was his ruling paſſion, which actuated moſt princes of the Norman race; for to this, as in the caſe of his brother, he certainly ſacrificed all the principles of juſtice, and all the dictates of humanity. He had the glory of reforming and amending the ſtate of the kingdom; and took care that the adminiſtration of juſtice, to all orders of men, ſhould be ſtrict and impartial. He enacted good laws, and by his firmneſs enforced a due obedience to them. In his reign ſtealing was firſt made capital, as was alſo falſe coining, by which the money had been extremely debaſed. The wiſdom and vigour of his adminiſtration, procured to the diſtreſſed Normans that tranquillity, ſafety, and happineſs, which they had long ſolicited in vain; yet, it muſt be confeſſed, in his unnatural conduct toward his brother and nephew, the bands of fraternal affection were ſeparated by the ſword of ambition, and the laws of nature and nations were ſacrificed on the altar of bold uſurpation. Like all his predeceſſors, he was jealous of every encroachment on his power; but he relieved his ſubjects from ſeveral oppreſſive grievances under which they had long laboured, and from which they had petitioned to be relieved. While he protected the prerogatives of his crown, he guarded, by refined policy, againſt the encroachments of the Roman pontiff. Among the laws made in his reign, a reunion of the civil and eccleſiaſtical courts, as in the Saxon times, was enacted.

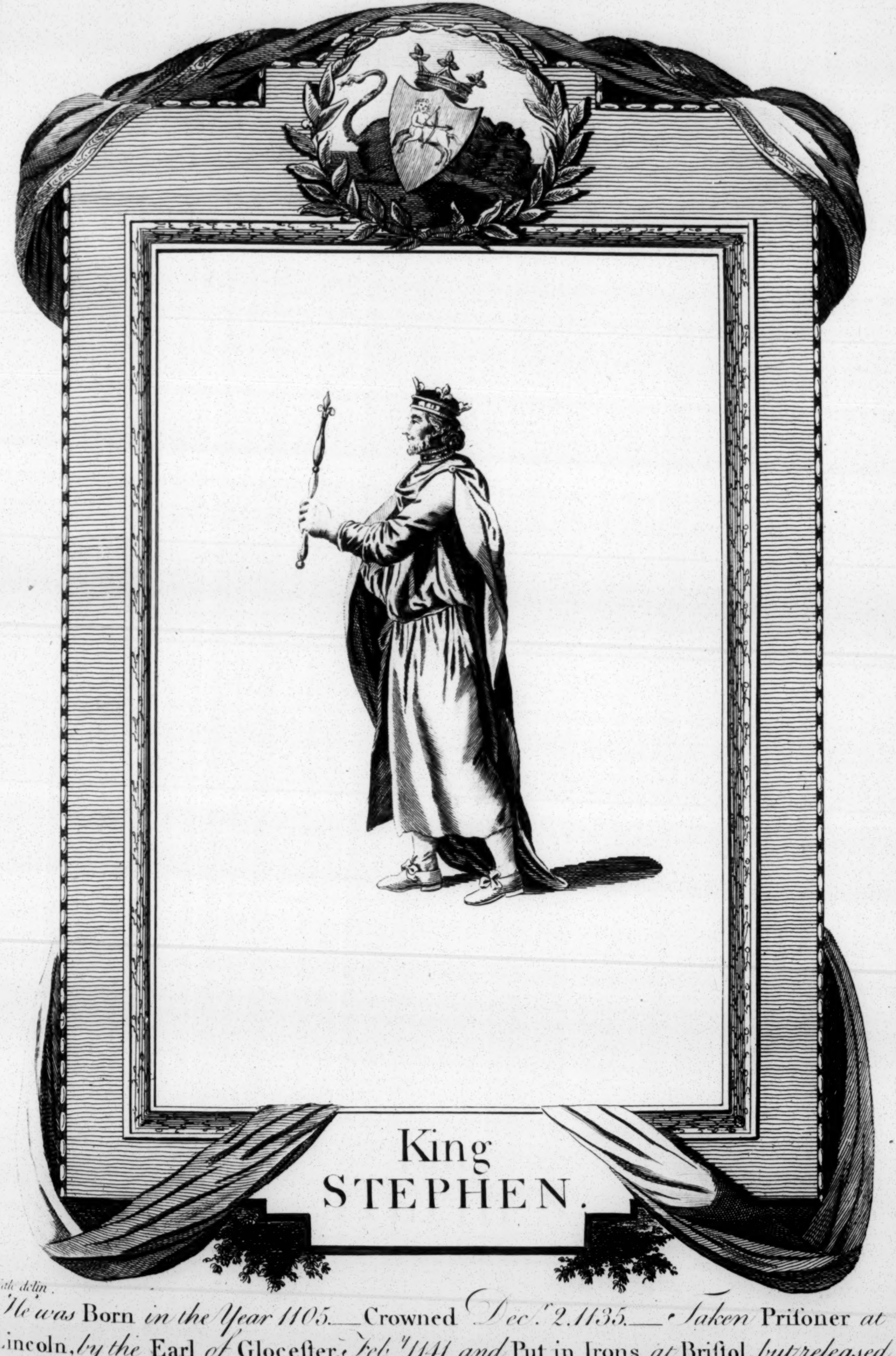
This prince is ſaid to have changed the rents of his patrimonial eſtates, which were formerly paid in kind, into money, which was more eaſily remitted into the Exchequer. He was an implacable enemy to extortion; that officer who dared to make uſe of oppreſſion, was ſure to feel the whole weight of his power. If he broke ſome of the articles of his charter, it ſhould be remembered, that he was the firſt of the Norman race that condeſcended to make a contract with his people. The charter of Henry I. was the foundation-ſtone of Engliſh liberty. He obtained the ſurname of Beauclerc, or, the fine ſcholar, from the progreſs he had made in the ſciences; which, conſidering the barbarity of the age, and that his chief employ was war, was no trifling embelliſhment in his character. It is reported of him that he was much addicted to women, having no leſs than ſeven illegitimate ſons, and ſix daughters. It is the lot of human kind to err. Let him who is faultleſs caſt the firſt ſtone. If ſome errors and crimes, common to all mankind, have ſtained the memory of this brave prince, this will ſurely be acknowledged, that his virtues were of ſignal ſervice to his country.

CHAP. IV.

STEPHEN.

His right and pretenſions to the throne of England, and by what means he aſcended to that ſeat of dignity—Is crowned by the archbiſhop of Canterbury on the twenty-ſecond of December, 1135—His conceſſions to his ſubjects, in order to fix the crown firmly on his head—The Scots commit the moſt dreadful ravages—A battle, in which they are defeated—A civil war in England—In an engagement between Stephen and the earl of Glouceſter, the former is taken priſoner—The earl of Glouceſter afterwards meets with the ſame fate, and is exchanged for Stephen, who is reſtored to his crown—A peace concluded between Stephen and Henry, by which it is ſtipulated, that Stephen ſhould enjoy the crown, during his life, and Henry ſucceed him as lawful heir—Stephen's death and character.

A. D. 1135. STEPHEN de Blois was the ſon of Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror, and of Stephen earl of Blois and Champagne. He was earl of Blois, Champagne, Mortaigne, and Bologne in France; and was poſſeſſed of very conſiderable property in England. This he had acquired by the generoſity of the late king, who had invited him and his brother Henry to court, and conferred upon them a great number of favours. To the former, Stephen, he had given a large eſtate in land, and married him to Matilda, daughter and heireſs of Euſtace, count de Bologne, and niece to the king's firſt wife. The latter he had created abbot of Glaſtonbury, and biſhop of Wincheſter, and procured him the high dignity of legate to the holy ſee. By theſe means the king intended to ſtrengthen the intereſt of his daughter, whoſe cauſe, he imagined, they would the more heartily eſpouſe; but the credit, obtained by his boundleſs generoſity, they employed, not in ſupporting the title of the empreſs, but in raiſing Stephen to the throne. Herein we ſee the vanity of human foreſight. Man may plan; but infinite wiſdom, united with unlimited power, can alone, when it pleaſes, accompliſh. Human prudence cannot command, nor regulate, the changeable courſe of events. No prince ever took more pains to ſecure the crown to his family than Henry had done, nor with leſs effect. All his chain of meaſures was broken by accidents, which his penetration could not foreſee; and by the perfidy of thoſe, upon whoſe faithful attachment to his family, he had the greateſt reaſon to believe he might ſafely depend. Stephen he placed among the number of his firm friends; but gratitude was not in the catalogue of Stephen's virtues. He had ſworn eventual fealty to the empreſs Maud; but the remembrance of his oath was buried in the grave with Henry; and perſuaded that his intereſt with his brother was ſufficient to overbalance the claim of that princeſs, he haſtened over to England to uſurp the crown which had adorned the brow of his



King
STEPHEN.

Wale delin.

He was Born *in the Year 1105.*—Crowned *Decr. 2.1135.*—*Taken* Priſoner *at* Lincoln, *by the* Earl *of* Glocester, *Feby. 1141, and* Put in Irons *at* Briſtol, *but released in exchange for the* Earl, *who was afterwards taken at* Winchester *by the* Kings Army—Died *Octr. 25th 1154, and was* Buried *at* Feverſham.—

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his patron. At the time of king Henry's death, his daughter, the empreſs, happened to be in Anjou with her huſband, where ſhe was employed in ſome important buſineſs relative to that province. Her natural brother, the earl of Glouceſter, who might have maintained her right, was detained in Normandy as executor to the will of his father, in his Norman affairs. Their abſence afforded Stephen a favourable opportunity to mount that throne, which his gracious benefactor had bequeathed to his beloved daughter.

The biſhop of Winchester, Stephen's younger brother, was of an active and turbulent diſpoſition, bold, diſſembling, and faithleſs. Even fraternal affection had little weight with this prelate, who was always ready to adapt himſelf to the circumſtances of the times. A fluency of ſpeech, accompanied with a pleaſing addreſs, had procured him an unbounded influence over both the populace and the clergy.

The biſhop of Saliſbury was likewiſe a perſon of great abilities, great riches, and great power. Theſe two dignified eccleſiaſtics were the principal ſupporters of Stephen's pretenſions. The chief obſtacles to theſe, which had great weight with the archbiſhop of Canterbury and ſome of the nobility, were the oaths they had taken in behalf of the empreſs Maud. Therefore to remove this difficulty, Hugh Bigot, earl of Norfolk, was prevailed upon to ſwear before the primate that Henry had, in his preſence, releaſed his ſubjects from thoſe oaths, though the king had really confirmed them by his laſt will and verbal declarations, in preſence of all the lords who were with him in Normandy; but theſe not having yet returned to England, the falſehood remained uncontradicted till Stephen was fixed on the throne.

What ſlender reaſons ſatisfy the conſcientious ſcruples of ambitious men! Oaths themſelves are not binding, notwithſtanding they cannot recede from them without incurring the crimſon guilt of perjury. But the biſhop of Saliſbury, in deſerting the empreſs, broke every bond of human ſociety; for not a man in the whole kingdom was more obliged to Henry, who took him into his ſervice during the reign of William Rufus, when he was only a curate in Normandy; and finding him expert in buſineſs, eſpecially in the management of the finances, put an unlimited confidence in his fidelity; ſo that when he came to the crown, he firſt made him chancellor, then a biſhop, and at laſt grand juſticiary; by which high dignity, at the king's deceaſe, he was conſtitutional guardian and regent of the kingdom. We are not told what induced him to betray the empreſs; but it is certain, that immediately after Stephen's coronation he obtained the town of Malmeſbury for himſelf, the office of chancellor for his natural ſon, and that of treaſurer for one of his nephews. Theſe were probably the terms upon which he ſold himſelf to Stephen; who was ſo ſenſible how neceſſary it was to corrupt him, that, in a converſation with ſome of his intimate friends, he thus expreſſed his ſentiments: "By the nativity of God, if he were to aſk of me one half of my kingdom, I would grant it him, till this ſeaſon is paſt. He ſhall be ſooner tired of aſking, than I will of giving." Theſe words are very expreſſive of the character of this king. In bargaining for a crown he thought no price too great, but when that ſeaſon was paſt, he meant to take other meaſures; and the biſhop of Saliſbury was one of the firſt who felt the effects of this intention.

When Stephen landed in England, the citizens of Dover, who were apprized of his purpoſe, ſhut their gates againſt him. However, he did not ſtop to revenge this inſult, but made the beſt of his way to London, where, on his arrival, he was received with cordial congratulations by the citizens, and was crowned at Weſtminſter by the archbiſhop of Canterbury with the uſual ceremonies. Having got thus far toward the accompliſhment of his deſigns, the next ſtep he took was to ſecure the late king's treaſures, which amounted to one hundred thouſand pounds, equivalent, in theſe times, to one million five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. By a proper diſtribution of this money, he gained over to his ſide many of the indigent nobility, whoſe ſcruples of conſcience, by the all-prevailing power of gold, were entirely removed.

Thus a number of circumſtances concurred to pave the way for Stephen's advancement to the throne. But they would have been inefficacious without the conſent of the nation. To obtain this, Stephen entered into an engagement with the people, by granting them a charter of privileges; in which he made many conceſſions demanded by the barons, and granted the clergy ſuch privileges, as they had in vain wiſhed to extort from his predeceſſors. Theſe he not only ratified by an extraordinary oath, which he took at his coronation, but, ſome time after, by another charter given at Oxford. In one clauſe he ſettled the bounds of his foreſts, and gave up all the additions that had been made to them; in another, he promiſed to redreſs all the abuſes, unlawful exactions, or other wrongs the people had ſuffered from the officers of the crown; to maintain peace and juſtice, and to confirm the antient cuſtoms of the realm in judicial proceedings. All the remaining articles regarded the clergy, to whom the king very amply confirmed the liberties, privileges, and dignities of the church. He concluded with declaring, that he granted the whole with a ſaving of his juſt and royal dignity. But as additional aids, and probably what Stephen chiefly depended on, he procured a bull from Rome, which ratified his title, and invited over from the continent a body of mercenary ſoldiers from Brittany and Flanders, who guarded his throne by the terrors of the ſword.

Stephen was not leſs ſucceſsful in Normandy than in England; for the nobility of that dutchy put him in poſſeſſion of the government. Alſo Louis the younger, king of France, not only accepted the homage of Euſtace, Stephen's eldeſt ſon, for the dukedom, but betrothed his ſiſter Conſtantia to the young prince. The count of Blois, likewiſe, reſigned all his pretenſions, and in lieu of them received an annual penſion of two thouſand marks. Even Geoffrey himſelf was forced to conclude a truce with the king of England for two years. The duke of Glouceſter was ſo embarraſſed, that, for ſome time, he knew not what meaſures to take. To ſwear allegiance to the uſurper, would be not only diſhonourable, but a breach of his oath to his ſiſter, whoſe cauſe he was determined to defend; and to refuſe it was to render himſelf incapable of ſerving her. He therefore offered Stephen to do him homage, with an expreſs condition that the king ſhould maintain all his ſtipulations, and never invade any of his rights and dignities. Stephen, though ſenſible that this reſerve, ſo inconſiſtent with the duty of a ſubject, was meant only to afford Robert a pretence for a revolt on the firſt favourable opportunity, was obliged, by the numerous friends of that nobleman, to receive him on thoſe terms.

A. D. 1113.

Notwithſtanding all theſe advantages in favour of Stephen, the people were diſſatisfied with his government, and a ſtorm of diſturbances was gathering around his throne. This being perceived by Robert, duke of Glouceſter, he raiſed upon the diſcontents of the people, the ſtandard of rebellion. His views were ſupported by David, king of Scotland, who entered England at the head of a powerful army, and penetrated as far as Northallerton in Yorkſhire. In his firſt expedition he had ravaged all the open country to the Tyne, his army committing the moſt horrid outrages. They firſt plundered the farms and villages, and then ſet them on fire. Even the churches did not eſcape their rage. They murdered the ſick and aged in their beds, infants at the breaſt, and prieſts at the altar. Women with child they alſo killed, with circumſtances of cruelty too ſhocking to be related; and carried into captivity harmleſs virgins, whom they drove before them in crouds bound with cords, and ſtripped naked; and when any of theſe were fainting with fatigue, the inhuman ſoldiers goaded them on with the points of their ſwords.

Theſe cruelties enraged the Engliſh to a degree of madneſs. Several of the barons, who continued firm in their allegiance, entered into an aſſociation, and reſolved to deliver their country from the dreadful ravages of the invaders, or to periſh in the attempt. They therefore made preparations to give them battle, and erected a ſtandard of a peculiar kind. It was the maſt of a ſhip fixed upon a wheel carriage, on the top of which was fixed a ſilver crucifix, incloſing a conſecrated wafer; under which were hung three banners, dedicated to St. Peter, St. John of Beverly, and St. Wilfrid of Rippon. Theſe decorations were adapted to ſtrike the imagination; and, in fighting under them, the ſoldiers believed themſelves to be the champions of Chriſt, and of thoſe ſaints whoſe enſigns were thus waving over their heads. When it was raiſed, Walter Eſpec, who had a flow of natural eloquence, mounted the carriage upon which the maſt was ſuſtained, and from thence harangued the army in a military oration well ſuited to the occaſion, and concluded with ſaying, that they muſt conquer or die; for who among them could ſurvive a defeat, that would give up his wife to be defiled by the brutal luſt of their enemies, and his children to be ſtuck upon the points of their lances. Then turning to the earl of Albemarle, he ſaid, "I pledge my faith to you, that I will this day either beat the Scots, or be killed by them." Upon which all the nobles cried out with one voice, that they alſo bound themſelves by the ſame oath, and would conquer or fall with him. The Engliſh immediately ſurrounded their enſign, and drew up in order of battle. Being greatly out-numbered by the enemy, they were formed into one phalanx, or compact body compoſed of foot, in the front of which were pikemen and archers intermixed, and a few horſe in their rear. While the two armies were ſtill at a diſtance, though in ſight of each other, Robert de Bruce went over to David, and put him in mind of the many ſervices the Engliſh and Normans had done to his family; that it was ſurprizing ſo wiſe a monarch ſhould fight againſt thoſe who were the principal ſupporters of his throne; and that he ought ſeriouſly to conſider, how far he might anſwer before God for the guilt of ſhedding ſo much innocent blood, and the inhuman barbarities that had been committed by his Galwegians, though againſt his orders and inclinations. He exaggerated the numbers of the Engliſh; reminded him of their well known intrepidity; and endeavoured to work upon his paſſions by the affection he expreſſed for his perſon. David now ſeemed inclined to a treaty. But his nephew's ſon, a young man of an imperious temper, anſwered his ſpeech, and concluded with obſerving, that David could not now go back with honour, either as a king or a ſoldier.

Bruce had but juſt time to rejoin his friends, before the Galloway men, who compoſed the van of the Scotiſh army, began to advance with all the fury natural to their character; whereupon the biſhop of Orkneys made a ſhort harangue to the Engliſh army, exhorting them to fight valiantly for the remiſſion of their ſins. At the concluſion of this ſpeech they ſtruck their breaſts, calling on God to aſſiſt their arms. The biſhop then gave them a general abſolution, and afterwards his bleſſing.

The Galwegians, after three ſhouts, or rather yells, fell upon the Engliſh with their uſual intrepidity. But all their exertions of ability and ſtrength were in vain; the Engliſh ſtood firm, and plied them ſo vigorouſly with their arrows and other miſſiles, that they were put to flight. The prince of Scotland, David's ſon, ſeeing this, advanced at the head of a choſen body of knights to their ſuccour. He broke through the ranks of the enemy, and even attacked a troop of horſe in their rear. Confuſion now appeared to pave the way for a defeat. The Engliſh began to quit their ground, when a ſoldier having cut off the head of one of the bodies ſlain near him, held it up, crying aloud, that it was the Scotch king's; upon this they again cloſed their ranks, charged the Galwegians, whom they ſoon put to flight, and then fell upon the third line of the Scots, who hardly ſtood the firſt onſet. The king, enraged at their cowardice, quitted his horſe, and commanding all the barons and knights who were with him to diſmount, advanced on foot at the head of his body reſerve. But even theſe, affected with the contagious panic, ſhamefully abandoned their ſovereign; David himſelf refuſed to fly, and his friends with great difficulty ſaved him from captivity, and fled with him to Carliſle. David was two days in great anxiety about the fate of his ſon. That prince returning from his too eager purſuit, found the Scots army defeated and driven from the field. Having his own body of cavalry with him, he commanded them to throw away all the marks that diſtinguiſhed them; by which means they paſſed the field of battle; but being obliged to leave the high road, they did not reach Carliſle till the third day after the king, though they had diſencumbered themſelves of all their heavy armour. In this engagement, called the Battle of the Standard, the number of the Scots was very great, who were ſlain. Several knights, with almoſt all their baggage, were taken; but the Engliſh loſt only one gentleman of diſtinction, and a few privates.

Upon receiving the news of this victory, Stephen rewarded the earl of Albemarle and Robert de Ferrers. Had he known alſo how to profit by it, the event might have been fatal to Maud and her brother. But flattering himſelf that he had now attained the ſummit of his hopes, he ſet no bounds to his ambitious projects. He engaged in a controverſy with his clergy, the moſt dangerous of all diſputes in thoſe times, to whoſe authority he could be no ſtranger, and to whom recollection would have informed him he was indebted for his crown. Stephen found he had committed an error in permitting the nobility to fortify their caſtles, and he was determined to correct it. The evil was every day increaſing; and the king perceived, but too late, that the kingdom was garriſoned againſt himſelf. The king therefore begun his intended plan of reformation, by levelling his authority againſt the ſtrong holds of the clergy. Accordingly he ſeized the biſhops of Saliſbury and Lincoln, and obliged them by menaces to deliver up their caſtles.

A. D. 1139.

Henry, biſhop of Wincheſter, exaſperated at the king's attempt to infringe the privileges of the church, convoked a ſynod, and ſummoned Stephen to appear in perſon. The king, who deſpiſed thoſe hypocritical pretences to ſanctity, whereby the eccleſiaſtics impoſed upon the credulity of the people, refuſed to obey the ſummons. He however ſent one Aubery de Vere, a learned lawyer, who juſtified the king's proceeding with great eloquence and force of argument. He obſerved that the followers of the meek and humble Jeſus, could not, conſiſtent with their functions, oppoſe their ſovereign with an arm of fleſh; that it was irreconcilable with their ſacred characters, as the preachers of peace, to engage in tumults of civil diſcord; and that the caſtles which were the ſubject of diſpute, could be conſidered no other than aſylums of rebellion. The legate, highly offended at this bold remonſtrance, threatened to pronounce an eccleſiaſtical anathema on the king and all his adherents, when Aubery gave the furious aſſembly to underſtand, that whoever was fool-hardy enough to pronounce a ſpiritual interdict againſt his and their ſovereign, ſhould never live to behold the effects of his daring inſolence. This ſpirited declaration made a deeper impreſſion on their minds, than all his reaſoning. The ſynod, aſtoniſhed at the boldneſs of the pleader, and dreading more the conſequences of Stephen's reſentment, diſſolved their aſſembly; and the two high-ſpirited biſhops were obliged to part with their caſtles.

Theſe differences between the king and church were conſidered by the empreſs Maud as fortunate circumſtances, that might be improved to her advantage. She therefore landed in England with Robert, earl of Glouceſter, and a retinue of one hundred and forty knights. She repaired on her arrival to Arundel caſtle, whoſe gates were opened to her by Adelais, the queen dowager, now married to William de Albiney, earl of Arundel and Suſſex. After making a ſhort ſtay in the caſtle, the earl of Glouceſter, attended only by twelve horſemen, went from thence in a dark night by unfrequented roads towards Briſtol, and was met by a party of horſe who eſcorted him ſafe to that city.

Stephen was alarmed at the arrival of the empreſs and her brother. He had reaſons ſufficient to fear the popularity of Glouceſter, and that the nation would join his ſtandard, in order to place his ſiſter on the throne of her father. Quitting therefore Marlborough, where he was at this time, he came before Arundel caſtle at the head of a conſiderable body of forces, in order to make himſelf maſter of that fortreſs. The queen dowager was terrified at the approach of Stephen, and by a meſſenger requeſted that he would not beſiege the empreſs in her palace, but give her liberty to retire to ſome other place; aſſuring him that ſhe had received her as a gueſt only, not as his competitor for the crown; and flattered herſelf that ſhe ſhould not be compelled by him to violate the rights of hoſpitality. The king was ſo weak as to comply with her requeſt. He gave his oath for her ſecurity, ſending her, under his own ſafe conduct to Briſtol, eſcorted by his brother, and the earl of Meulant his prime miniſter. On her arrival at Briſtol, the empreſs openly proclaimed her pretenſions to the throne. The people reſorted in great numbers to her ſtandard; and Miles, high-conſtable of England, recognized her title, and conducted her to the caſtle of Glouceſter, which he had prepared for her reception.

A. D. 1140. Stephen now exerted himſelf with great ſpirit. He drove the biſhop of Ely out of that iſland, and plundered all his wealth. His uncle, the biſhop of Saliſbury, had died a little before of grief for the loſs of his treaſures and caſtles; and had the mortification to ſee the poor remainder of his riches, which he had depoſited in his cathedral of Sarum, taken from that church, while he lay on his death-bed, and delivered up to the king by the canons themſelves.

There now followed a number of military tranſactions, ſo trifling in their nature, and ſo confuſed in the circumſtances of time and place, that a detail of them would afford the reader little inſtruction or entertainment. The whole kingdom was now become one ſcene of diſtreſsful anarchy; almoſt every individual ſiding with one or other of the contending parties; ſome ſwayed by affection, others by intereſt. The powerful barons attacked each others domains, with all the rage of inveterate enemies. Caſtles, churches, monaſteries, towns and villages, were every day levelled to the ground, or laid in aſhes, to gratify the private animoſities of contending nobles. The moſt inhuman cruelties were practiſed on the innocent inhabitants, whoſe only crime conſiſted in a compulſion, which obliged them to participate in the fortune of their lords. It muſt be acknowledged, however, that theſe diſorders of a lawleſs banditti received not the leaſt countenance, either from Stephen or the earl of Glouceſter; they ſaw with concern the natural conſequences of civil diſcord; and exerted all their power to heal the miſeries of the people, to terminate theſe ſcenes of deſtruction; and to bring the ferocious barons to a ſenſe of their ſhocking enormities.

A. D. 1141. To this end, with the moſt laudable intent, ſeveral negociations were begun, which produced no interruption in theſe deſtructive acts of hoſtility, or in their dreadful conſequences, as the importance of the diſpute, which was for a crown, ſoon rendered them abortive. All hopes of peace were now abandoned. But the ſiege of the caſtle of Lincoln, undertaken by Stephen, brought on a battle between the two contending powers much ſooner than was expected. That caſtle was conſidered as a place of the utmoſt importance, and Glouceſter determined, if poſſible, to relieve it. Accordingly he marched with the utmoſt expedition; and his troops, having forded the Trent, appeared in the vicinity of the caſtle, before Stephen had received any information of their approach. A battle was now unavoidable, and both armies prepared for a conteſt that was to decide the fate of the crown of England. The battle was begun by William de Ypres, the moſt experienced general of his time. He fell with the utmoſt fury on a body of Welch, poſted on the left wing of Glouceſter's army, and put them to flight; but purſuing the broken ſquadron too far, his diviſion was entirely broken. The earl of Glouceſter taking advantage of this ſucceſs, fell with amazing impetuoſity on the infantry, which compoſed the center of the royal army, where Stephen himſelf fought in perſon. The battle now raged with inexpreſſible fury. The field was covered with ſlain. Stephen's infantry being deſerted by the horſe, were obliged to retreat; but the king diſdaining to turn his back, diſputed every inch of ground againſt an amazing ſuperiority of the enemy. After an obſtinate conteſt, the king was at length ſurrounded. He fought with the utmoſt bravery, till his battle-axe and his ſword were broken, when he was taken priſoner by the earl of Glouceſter, who ordered that, in his confinement, he ſhould be treated with the utmoſt reſpect and humanity.

The king's friends, a common policy with time-ſerving courtiers, deſerted him on this reverſe of fortune. The city of London, ever faithful when treated with a reſpect due to their opulence, and the county of Kent, where his queen Matilda, his ſon Euſtace, and his friend William de Ypres, ſtill retained their authority, were the only places of conſequence that continued faithful to the impriſoned monarch. All claſſes of men now worſhipped the riſing ſun, and bowed the knee to the victor. Even the king's brother, the biſhop of Wincheſter, courted the favour of the empreſs: the attractions of power, with this proud prelate, were ſtronger than fraternal affection. Henry threw off the maſk, and declared openly for Maud, who, in return, promiſed him all the honours an ambitious churchman could requeſt or receive. Armed with the legatine power, and proud of diſplaying his authority, Henry ſummoned a ſynod; and after aſſerting, that the clergy were intruſted by heaven with the right of electing and ordaining kings, he declared that it was the will of the moſt High, that the empreſs Maud ſhould be placed on the throne of England. The only laymen ſummoned to this aſſembly were the deputies of London. Their preſence alarmed the legate; for they were ſo far from agreeing with the ſentiments of his declaration, that they peremptorily demanded the liberty of their king, in a tone that plainly indicated they had power ſufficient, in caſe of a refuſal, to procure it. The legate only anſwered, by recapitulating the errors of Stephen's adminiſtration. "He connived," ſaid the prelate, "at the licentious behaviour of all men; ſo that virtue and peace abandoned this country, and oppreſſion filled its ſeat. Biſhops have been impriſoned contrary to law; abbies have been put up to ſale; churches and convents have been plundered of their treaſures, though devoted to the ſacred purpoſes of religion. For theſe, and other offences, heaven itſelf has viſibly interpoſed, and wreſted the ſceptre from the hand of my brother; and this aſſembly have ſolemnly agreed, to preſent it to the empreſs Maud, to whom it of right belongs." Aſtoniſhed at the impudence and wickedneſs of the legate, the deputies proteſted againſt the proceedings of the ſynod and returned to London. Henry upon this declared the empreſs queen, and paſſed a general ſentence of excommunication againſt all the king's adherents.

The clergy having unanimouſly declared in her favour, the greateſt part of England were induced, by their powerful example, to acknowledge her ſovereignty. Near Midſummer, Maud entered London, with her uncle the king of Scotland, who came to aſſiſt at her coronation. Mean while the earl of Glouceſter negociated with the barons of the oppoſite faction. The haughty he allured with careſſes, the mercenary with promiſes; his deportment was full of courteſy, moderation, and humanity. Had the empreſs been guided by his prudent counſels, ſhe had enjoyed, during her life, the crown of her father; but her pride and inſolence, the ſtriking features of her character, which were ſtrongly expreſſed in her looks, her mien, her language, rendered all his meaſures abortive. She aſſumed a moſt imperious air, and behaved in the moſt deſpotic manner. Some of Stephen's party, who came to offer their allegiance, ſhe received with affected coolneſs; others ſhe drove from her preſence with upbraidings and threats. All the grants made by that prince, even thoſe to the church, ſhe revoked, to give them to her favourites. From thoſe who ſubmitted to her, ſhe often took a part of their lands as fines for their paſt conduct; and all the barons, who from a ſenſe of honour and fidelity delayed to abandon their late maſter, ſhe wholly deprived of their honours and eſtates, conferring them upon others. The citizens of London remonſtrating againſt the heavy impoſitions laid upon them, ſhe, with rage in her eyes, frowns on her brow, and ſuch a diſorder of paſſions, as equally deſtroyed the ſoftneſs of the woman, and the majeſty of the queen, told them that they had laviſhly granted their money to Stephen, and muſt not expect lenity from her, who would not remit the leaſt part of the ſum ſhe had demanded. Reſolving to ſhew her independence, ſhe determined to refuſe every petition. Neither the ſoft whiſpers of humanity, aſſiſted by the powerful interceſſions of Glouceſter, could prevail over her obſtinacy; ſhe looked upon all advice as an inſult upon her underſtanding, and perſevered in her haughty, contemptuous conduct, till ſhe loſt the affections of her people. One inſtance of extreme folly in her behaviour, and which indeed ſhewed a weakneſs of intellects, particularly contributed to this. Stephen's royal conſort, a queen, whoſe virtues even his enemies honoured, endeavoured to procure his liberty, upon the hard conditions of reſigning the crown, and entering a convent, or going to the Holy Land for the remainder of his life, which the chief lords of his party engaged he ſhould do, and offered their caſtles and many hoſtages, to ſecure the performance of this ſtipulation; all which advantageous terms Maud weakly rejected with a contemptuous air of diſdain.

Glouceſter ſaw with grief the inflexibility of this woman's temper, and feared the natural conſequences. The citizens were at once alarmed and incenſed. They complained loudly of her tyranny, and the people caught the infection from the capital. The Londoners entered into a conſpiracy to ſeize her perſon. The earl of Glouceſter, apprized of their intention, uſed every method in his power to ſooth the citizens; but his attempts were not attended with ſucceſs; they conceived ſo deep a deteſtation of her inſolent behaviour, that all the endeavours of that popular nobleman could not eraſe. He was greatly affected with this change of popular opinion. He perceived the gathering ſtorm, and prudently withdrew with Maud and her friends to Oxford. They had ſcarcely left the city, when the populace aſſaulted the palace, and ſtripped it of all its rich furniture.

Henry ſaw this reverſe of fortune, and again embraced the party of his brother. He abſolved thoſe he had before excommunicated; and by his emiſſaries, diſperſed throughout the whole kingdom, grievous complaints againſt the empreſs. The allegiance he had ſworn to her was forgotten; his oaths were not proof againſt intereſt. Maud was no ſtranger to the character of the legate. She knew nothing was to be expected from his diſſimulation; and therefore, advancing at the head of her troops, encamped in the neighbourhood of Wincheſter. Orders were immediately diſpatched to the biſhop, commanding his attendance at a council the empreſs had ſummoned to meet in her camp. The legate ſaw the ſnare, and eſcaped through a poſtern gate; but the caſtle fell into the hands of the empreſs. Henry fled to London, joined Euſtace and William de Ypres, and openly declared in favour of Stephen. A reſpectable body of forces were ſoon raiſed; and the legate, attended by his aſſociates, marched to Wincheſter with ſuch expedition that the empreſs and her friends had but juſt time to ſhut themſelves up in the caſtle, before it was inveſted by the enemy.

The biſhop had furniſhed the fortreſs with ſuch a ſtock of proviſions, that the beſieged held out ſeven weeks; and every attempt to take it by aſſault failed, by the valour and conduct of the duke of Glouceſter. But famine at length effected what force had attempted in vain. The garriſon had but this alternative, either to cut themſelves a paſſage through the legate's forces, or ſurrender at diſcretion. They choſe the former, and made the neceſſary preparations for the deſperate attempt. The care of the perſon of the empreſs was committed to the main body of their forces; while Glouceſter, at the head of two hundred followers, ſallied out of the caſtle, and attacked the beſiegers with the utmoſt bravery. Alarmed at the boldneſs of this party of the beſieged, the legate's army left their poſts to repulſe ſo formidable a band of aſſailants. The expected opportunity now offered; and the empreſs, attended by a great part of her forces, made her eſcape. She fled to the city of Glouceſter, where ſhe was joined by Miles, who had long ſerved her with unſhaken fidelity. But though the empreſs eſcaped by the noble efforts of the duke of Glouceſter, his courage proved fatal to his liberty. He was taken priſoner, and ſent to the caſtle of Rocheſter. The empreſs, ſenſible that every hope of ſucceſs depended on the valour and ability of her brother, conſented to exchange Stephen for him.

The biſhop of Wincheſter now ſummoned a ſynod of the clergy, and endeavoured to vindicate his conduct with regard to his brother; but even the clergy ſeemed not to be affected with his harangue. The legatine power, indeed, with which he was inveſted, commanded their ſilence; they feared the anger of the pope, more than the anger of heaven. But a lay deputy from the empreſs nobly undertook what a daſtardly clergy had refuſed. He entered a proteſt againſt the legate's proceedings; accuſed him of complicated perjury; affirmed, that the landing of the empreſs was owing to his repeated invitations; and the ſevere treatment his brother had experienced, was in conſequence of his pernicious advice. He concluded with charging him, on the faith he had ſworn to the empreſs as his ſovereign, not to do any thing in that aſſembly againſt her title and dignity. The legate kept a profound ſilence. Conſcious guilt, or rather prelatical policy, ſealed his lips. However, he recollected himſelf ſufficiently to pronounce the ſentence of excommunication againſt the empreſs and all her adherents. The whole aſſembly were ſtruck with ſurprize and indignation: they could not hear, without horror, eccleſiaſtical cenſures, ſo directly oppoſite in their tendency, pronounced, without any other reaſon than that of ſatisfying his own pride and malevolence. This was, however, the laſt time he exerted this authority. Pope Celiſtine II. on his acceſſion to the papal chair, deprived him of the legatine power, and beſtowed it on Theobald, archbiſhop of Canterbury.

A. D. 1142. The earl of Glouceſter now perceived the effects of his ſiſter's pride and obſtinacy. Her party was decreaſed in numbers, and even many of her powerful friends had forſook her ſtandard. He ſaw that ſhe could now never hope to aſcend the throne by the ſuffrages of the Engliſh; and feared it was too late to recover the popularity ſhe had loſt through her haughtineſs. He, however, determined to perſevere in the cauſe he had undertaken, till death, or a deciſive victory, might put an end to the conteſt. A council of Maud's principal friends was ſummoned at the Devizes, when it was reſolved to ſolicit a foreign aſſiſtance; and Glouceſter was appointed to go over to the continent, in order to perſuade Geoffrey of Anjou to land in England at the head of his forces.

Stephen exerted all his abilities, and the utmoſt activity, to profit by this defection of Maud's friends; and, which more ſtrengthened his intereſt, the abſence of the duke of Glouceſter. The empreſs had no army capable of meeting the enemy in the open field, and was obliged to elude the vigilance of Stephen, by retreating from one poſt to another. Her friends now became cool in her ſervice; and ſhe found herſelf, by her own imprudent conduct, deſerted by the brave citizens of London, who of themſelves could have effectually given ſucceſs to her operations. At laſt ſhe retired to Oxford, then one of the ſtrongeſt fortifications in the kingdoms, and determined there to wait the arrival of ſuccours from her huſband. Stephen immediately made himſelf maſter of the city, and then laid cloſe ſiege to the caſtle.

The earl of Glouceſter, though maſter of the moſt engaging arts of perſuaſion, could not prevail on Geoffrey Plantagenet to paſs with him over into England at the head of his forces; all he could obtain was a reinforcement of four hundred knights, under the command of Henry his eldeſt ſon. With this ſmall body of men the earl of Glouceſter landed in Dorſetſhire, and took Wareham, the garriſon of which ſurrendered to him. He then made himſelf maſter of the Iſle of Portland, which Stephen had fortified. By theſe diverſions he intended to induce the king to abandon Oxford; but he was not to be allured to abandon the object he had in view. The arrival of Glouceſter and prince Henry greatly leſſened his army; his ſoldiers deſerted in ſuch numbers, that ſome of the avenues to the caſtle were left unguarded. Maud did not neglect ſo favourable an opportunity for making her eſcape. It was now the middle of winter; the ground was covered with ſnow, and the waters of the rivers entirely frozen. Encouraged by theſe favourable circumſtances, ſhe dreſſed herſelf and her attendants in white, in order to prevent their being ſeen by the centinels. They then croſſed the river on the ice, and walked on foot above ſix miles to Abingdon. The caſtle of Oxford ſurrendered the next morning to Stephen, who was ſufficiently mortified upon finding all the fruits of his labours ſnatched from him at the very time when he thought himſelf ſure of his prey. During the ſiege, Glouceſter, finding that by all his ſtratagems he could not force the king to leave Oxford, and knowing the dangerous ſituation of the empreſs became every day more alarming, ſent to all her adherents to meet him at Cirenceſter, declaring his intention of leading them directly to the relief of the empreſs. They came, and were on their march thither, when, to their inexpreſſible joy, they heard ſhe was ſafe in Wallingford. Here they joined her, with the young prince her ſon. The ſight of this object of her affections, excited the full force of parental tenderneſs. While ſtraining him to her boſom, ſhe forgot, for a moment, all her afflictions, and all her fears. The empreſs had often been ſaved, when juſt on the very brink of deſtruction. She had a mind that could not bear proſperity; but that ſpirit, which power rendered haughty and inſolent, was great in misfortune, and intrepid in danger. Henry, her ſon, after having devoted ſome time to filial duty, was ſent to Briſtol, where he continued four years under the care of his uncle, who trained him in ſuch exerciſes as were moſt proper to fit his body for war, and in thoſe ſtudies which might embelliſh and ſtrengthen his mind. From this time when Maud made her eſcape, nothing material happened between the two contending parties, except a few ſkirmiſhes, and the taking a few caſtles.

A. D. 1147. This year was marked with an event that blaſted the hopes of Maud, and ſtruck at the very root of her intereſt. The earl of Glouceſter, whoſe loſs no reſource could ſupply, died of a fever, and was buried at Briſtol. He had lately unwillingly been ſeparated from prince Henry, whoſe father, the earl of Anjou, had requeſted, from apprehenſions of danger, to return into Normandy. Glouceſter, juſt before his death, had parted with the prince at Wareham, never to ſee him more. In this accompliſhed nobleman, the empreſs loſt the only perſon that deſerved her entire confidence, he being, unqueſtionably, the wiſeſt man of thoſe times; and, which more juſtly embalms his memory, his virtues were ſuch, that even thoſe times could not corrupt. Perhaps he was the only partizan in her cauſe, who ſerved the empreſs without views of intereſt. He was brave, prudent, generous and ſincere; an enemy to tyranny, an enemy to injuſtice, an enemy to deceit. He was beloved by his ſoldiers, by his friends, by his country. The virtuous part of it lamented his death, and even Stephen himſelf dropped a tear in reſpect to his memory. Thus deprived of her guide, the empreſs ſoon found it impoſſible for her to maintain any longer the conteſt for the crown. In leſs than four months after the death of her brother, ſhe was conſtrained, in order to preſerve her liberty, to paſs over into Normandy, there to reſide again with a huſband whom ſhe never loved, and who did not love her; but who was generous or prudent enough to receive her with kindneſs in this ſad reverſe of fortune, when her pride was ſufficiently humbled by ſufferings.

Henry was now ſixteen years old; and beginning to diſcover a manly vigour of body and mind, his friends earneſtly deſired his preſence in England. The king of Scotland had taken poſſeſſion of the three counties adjacent to his kingdom, nor could Stephen drive him out of them. David was now willing to engage heartily in Henry's cauſe, on condition of his yielding thoſe three counties free to him and his heirs, without doing homage for them to the crown of England. He therefore invited him over with a promiſe of aid; upon which the earl of Anjou ſent him into England, with a good body of choſen troops, both of horſe and foot. He landed ſafely, and marched into ſome of the weſtern counties; where, being joined by ſeveral barons of note, they proceeded to the king of Scotland, who was then at Carliſle, at the head of an army. David received Henry with a tender affection; and during Whitſuntide feſtival, which was kept there with extraordinary pomp, that monarch conferred on Henry the honour of knighthood, which in thoſe days was eſteemed neceſſary for princes as ſoon as they were capable of bearing arms. But, previous to this ceremony, David required of Henry to take an oath never to reſume from him or his heirs, any part of the three counties of which he had obtained poſſeſſion. Henry took the oath preſcribed, and yielded thoſe provinces, in hopes of recovering the reſt of the kingdom by the aſſiſtance of the Scots.

A. D. 1151. At this period Geoffrey Plantagenet, count of Anjou, and Maud's conſort, perceiving his end approaching, and deſirous of ſettling the ſucceſſion of his dominions on the ſureſt foundation, inveſted young Henry with his dutchy. The king of France, incenſed at this deſignation, without his conſent having firſt been obtained as ſovereign lord of the fief, invaded Normandy, and laid ſiege to Arques. He ſuſpected that Henry was too young to give him any great oppoſition, but he was miſtaken; for he made ſo powerful a diverſion in France, that Louis was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and march to the defence of his own dominions. The conſequence was, that a peace was concluded, by which Louis inveſted Henry with the dutchy of Normandy. Geoffrey now dying, Henry was left in poſſeſſion of Normandy, Main, and Anjou. Soon after Henry concluded a marriage, which brought him an additional acceſſion of power. Eleanor, the daughter and heireſs of William, duke of Guienne, and earl of Poictou, had been married ſixteen years to Louis VII. king of France, and had attended him in a cruſade. But having loſt the affections of her huſband, who ſuſpected her of having had an intrigue with a handſome Saracen, and being of quite oppoſite diſpoſitions, he procured a divorce from her under the pretence of conſanguinity, and reſtored the rich provinces of Guienne, Poictou, and Xaintonge, which, by her marriage, were annexed to the crown of France. Young Henry paid a ſucceſsful courtſhip; and marrying her ſix weeks after her divorce, obtained the poſſeſſion of all her dominions as her dowry. About this time Stephen involved himſelf in a quarrel with the pope. His holineſs had ſummoned a council to meet at Rheims; but inſtead of permitting Stephen to elect five deputies required, the pope nominated them himſelf. Stephen complained loudly of this breach of national privilege; but Eugenius, who then filled the papal chair, regarded not his remonſtrances. Enraged at this inſult, the king refuſed them permiſſion to attend; and the holy father, in revenge, laid the kingdom under an interdict, or ſentence of excommunication. By this, all the offices of religion were ſuſpended; the churches ſhut up, and the dead were not permitted to be depoſited in conſecrated ground. An univerſal terror ſpread through the nation; and the king found it neceſſary to make ſubmiſſions to the pope, in order to procure a reverſion of the ſentence. This quarrel with the holy ſee being concluded, Stephen, in order to fix the Engliſh ſceptre in his family, attempted to procure the coronation of his ſon Euſtace with the uſual ſolemnities. Theobald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, whoſe power was increaſed by the legatine authority, abſolutely refuſed to aſſiſt at the ceremony. Incenſed at this peremptory denial, Stephen committed the archbiſhop a cloſe priſoner. But he found means to corrupt his guards, and paſſed over to the continent. This eſcape rendered the king's attempt to ſecure the ſucceſſion abortive; it being then conſidered, that the archbiſhop of Canterbury poſſeſſed an unalienable right to crown the kings of England.

A. D. 1153. Henry landed an army in England on the ſixth of January, which was ſoon increaſed by the moſt reſpectable part of the nobility in the kingdom. Stephen ſaw the gathering ſtorm, and laboured with aſſiduity to break its force. The ſeverity of the ſeaſon had no effect upon his ardour. He marched, at the head of his forces, to meet the duke of Normandy; but the badneſs of the roads ſo greatly retarded his progreſs, that Henry made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſtrong caſtles before Stephen could come to their relief. At laſt the two armies met in the neighbourhood of Wallingford, each determined to decide, by a general action, the great conteſt for the Engliſh crown. But while Stephen was preparing for the battle, the earl of Arundel, who was engaged in his cauſe, having aſſembled the principal nobility and officers, made an animated ſpeech, in which he propoſed to put an end to the war, by an agreement that Stephen ſhauld enjoy the crown during his life, and that Henry ſhould ſucceed him as king of England. This ſpeech, the tenor of which correſponded with the ſentiments and wiſhes of the whole nation, was received with great applauſe. The impreſſion it made on the nobles was ſoon communicated to the ſoldiers; whereupon they inſtantly, as if animated with one ſoul, grounded their arms, and loudly declared they wiſhed for peace. The earl then communicated their ſentiments to the king. Aſtoniſhment, rage, and indignation, choaked up the ſpeech of Euſtace his ſon. Stephen was amazed, confounded, and intimidated. But after the conflict of contending paſſions had ſubſided, he yielded to a ceſſation of arms, and to a conference with the young prince. The ſame propoſal was now laid before Henry, who at firſt refuſed his aſſent, imagining that Stephen might live many years, and that neither a ſincere nor laſting peace could be effected upon ſuch terms; however, he conſented to an interview with the king, and they met on the bank of the Thames, where, after a conference, they parted, without coming to any deciſive concluſion. The greateſt obſtacle in the way was Euſtace, who, at his father's return, upbraided him bitterly for having the abject compliance to treat with his enemy; and told him, that by liſtening to ſuch terms, he would ſacrifice not only his ſon, but his own dignity to a vain ſhadow of peace, and to the mere

name of royalty. But the nobles, unwilling to ſheath the ſword in the bowels of their countrymen, interpoſed their authority, and a ceſſation of arms took place. When this was expired, and both parties were preparing for renewing hoſtilities, Euſtace died of a fever; which ſudden event occaſioned a parliament to be aſſembled at Wincheſter, by whom it was reſolved, that Stephen ſhould enjoy his crown unmoleſted during life, and that on his deceaſe Henry ſhould ſucceed to the kingdom. After this act had paſſed, Henry returned to Normandy, and Stephen made a progreſs through ſeveral counties of England. In his circuit he reformed many abuſes; iſſued ſeveral ſalutary edicts; and employed his time to heal the wounds of his bleeding country. Indeed, by his conduct, one might conclude, that he determined to devote the remainder of his days in promoting the happineſs of his ſubjects. But while he was thus endeavouring to diffuſe univerſal harmony through the whole kingdom, death put a period to his life at Dover, on the twenty-fifth of October, in the
A.D. 1154. fiftieth year of his age, and the nineteenth of his reign. He was buried in the abbey of Feverſham, which he himſelf had founded. Beſides Euſtace, he had another ſon named William, who was earl of Bologne, in right of his mother the queen. He had likewiſe a daughter, named Mary, eſpouſed to Philip of Alſatia; alſo two natural ſons, William and Gervaſe, the laſt of whom was abbot of Weſtminſter.

The hiſtory of learning, during this period, is very defective. The numerous civil wars and rebellions that deſolated the kingdom, diſturbed the progreſs of literature, and prevented the muſes from taking up their abode in Britain. Eccleſiaſtical controverſies indeed abounded, that had no other tendency than that of fomenting civil diſcord, and exalting the power of the mitre, and making it independent of the crown; or of placing the obſervance of ſuperſtitious rites above the practice of pure, undefiled religion. A few, it is true, like beacons on the ſummit of diſtant hills, have thrown a glimmering light over this night of Romiſh ignorance, and faintly irradiated the gloom of Gothic barbarity.

Florence, a monk of Worceſter, often called Florentius Baronius, compoſed a chronicle of the world from the creation to 1118. He was conſidered as a careful and indefatigable hiſtorian. He died in 1119.

Alfred, or Alured, a prieſt and treaſurer of the college of Beverly, appears to have been a writer of genius and abilities; but his hiſtory has ſuffered greatly by the hands of ignorant tranſcribers. He died in 1136.

Eadermus was cotemporary with Alfred, and an intimate with Anſelm, archbiſhop of Canterbury. He wrote the hiſtories of William I. William II. and Henry I. and if we make allowances for his prejudices in favour of the papal authority, his works may be conſidered as impartial. The time of his death is uncertain.

William of Malmſbury is deſervedly placed at the head of all the Engliſh hiſtorians of his time. His ſentiments are bold and manly; his ſtile nervous and elegant, far ſuperior to what might be expected from the barbarous age in which he lived. He was a monk and librarian of the college of Malmſbury, and his principal work is, de Geſtis Anglorum, with an appendix, entitled, Hiſtoriarum Novellæ. He died in 1142.

Simeon of Durham wrote a hiſtory of the Engliſh tranſactions till the year 1129. He was both a monk and preceptor in the convent of Durham. Leland tells us, that he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his indefatigable aſſiduity in collecting the monuments of Engliſh learning that had eſcaped the ravages of the Danes. The time of his death is unknown.

Henry of Huntingdon compoſed a hiſtory of England in ten books, ending with the death of Stephen. This work is very defective in method, and abounds with a number of fabulous legends, tranſcribed from Geoffrey of Monmouth's hiſtory. He alſo wrote a continuation of Bede's eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, and a chronological table of the kings of England. The time of his death is uncertain.

But the moſt eminent monument of learning of thoſe times is the Saxon Chronicle, which begins with the birth of Chriſt, and ends with the death of Stephen. It is evident from the difference of ſtile, and other characteriſtic marks, that theſe annals were wrote by ſeveral authors, and at various periods of time. But their authenticity is unqueſtionable, eſpecially with regard to the wars between the Anglo-Saxons and Britons; and they have been the foundation of all our hiſtories to the Norman conqueſt. Dr. Gibſon, afterwards biſhop of London, publiſhed at Oxford, 1692, an accurate edition of this celebrated Chronicle, with an elegant tranſlation.

Character of king Stephen.

Ambition was his predominant paſſion; to gratify which he added perjury to ingratitude, trampled on the juſt rights of others, and involved an innocent people in all the horrors of civil diſcord. His induſtry, activity, and courage, are not to be diſputed; nor did he want the ſofter virtues of affability, clemency, and generoſity, which, had they been under the guidance of wiſdom and juſtice, would have placed him among the beſt of our kings. We do not find, notwithſtanding his precarious ſituation, he ever indulged himſelf in the exerciſe of any cruelty or revenge. But the extent of his genius was not proportioned to the great plan of action upon which his talents, not of the ſuperior kind, were employed; ever puſhing on to bold undertakings, yet ſeldom ſucceſsful. For ſetting out wrong, and having left the ſtraight path of virtue, he got into a labyrinth of perplexed meaſures, out of which he could never extricate himſelf either with reputation or ſafety. In his attachments he was too warm; in his reſentments, particularly toward the biſhops, too impetuous; thus, not conforming to the times and circumſtances in which he was placed, that required a ſteady, calm, and regular prudence. His black ingratitude in running counter to the obligations he lay under to his uncle king Henry, is a ſtain on his character which even the merit of good government could not have effaced. He forgot his obligations to the clergy; and that reſource he might have found in the affection of his people. Bribes, and a ſtanding army of odious foreign mercenaries, were the wretched ſupports whereon he leaned, to ſecure a precarious and unnatural power. His conceſſions to the biſhops weakened the regal prerogative; and when he ventured to oppoſe them, he did it in a manner which hurt the privileges of his temporal barons no leſs than theirs, and made civil liberty appear to be intereſted in their defence. His private life was far better than his public conduct. He was a good huſband, a kind father. To his children he was too kind, becauſe he took no care to reſtrain the vices of their youth. Having gained a crown by uſurpation, he governed by a foreign miniſter, and foreign arms; yet, at the ſame time, gave way to innovations, which rendered his ſubjects formidable to him; then, by all the means of abſolute deſpotiſm, without regard to law or juſtice, endeavoured to ſubdue the power he had raiſed; and after having made his reign a long civil war, purchaſed at laſt a diſhonourable peace, by excluding his ſon from the ſucceſſion, adopting his enemy, and leaving himſelf little more than the empty name of a king. No great idea can be formed of a monarch, whoſe whole conduct in government broke every rule of good and true policy. If he might have been permitted to continue only earl of Montagne, he would, perhaps, have ſupported that rank with a fair reputation. But, conſidering him in the moſt favourable light, we ſhall find him unfit for a throne. Had he aſcended this ſeat of power by right of inheritance, and lived in leſs troubleſome times, he would, in all probability, have been tranſmitted to poſterity with applauſe, and recorded as one of the moſt illuſtrious princes of the Norman race.

BOOK V.

From the reſtoration of the Saxon line under Henry II. in the houſe of Plantagenet, or Anjou, to the death of Henry III.

CHAP. I.

HENRY II.

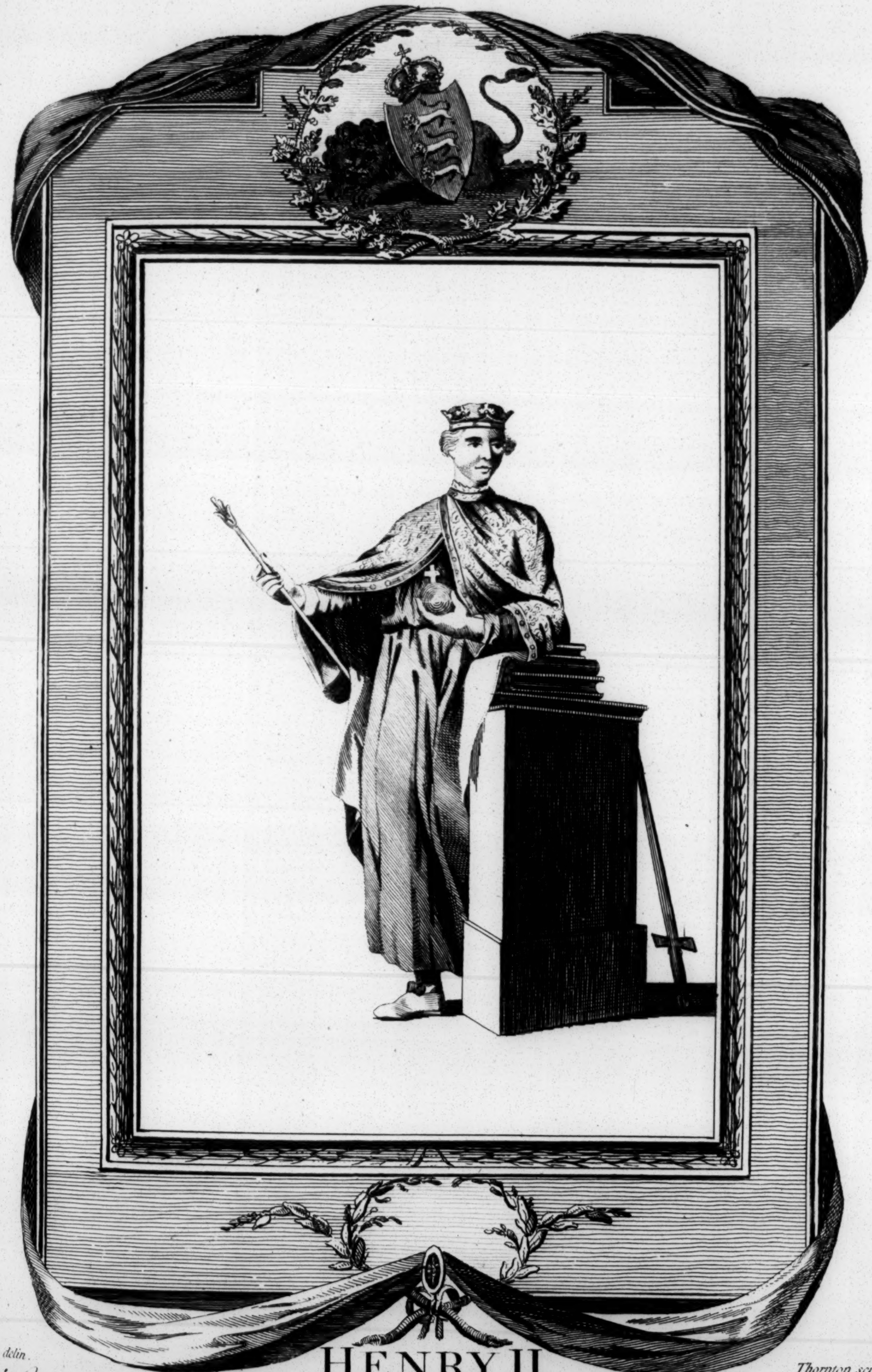
His title to the crown—On his arrival in England is received by the people with every demonſtration of joy—The firſt popular acts of his reign——Is in danger of being cut off with his army in Wales—Becket made archbiſhop of Canterbury—The life and character of that prelate—His baniſhment, return, and murder—Henry juſtifies himſelf to the pope, and performs penance at the tomb of Becket—The conqueſt of Ireland—A rebellion of Henry's ſons (in the courſe of which he takes William, king of Scotland, priſoner) terminated at length by an accommodation—Richard, his eldeſt ſon, again revolts, and reduces him to great extremity—The death and character of Henry II.

A. D. 1155. HENRY II. ſon of the empreſs Matilda, by her ſecond huſband Geoffrey Plantagenet, count of Anjou, aſcended the throne of England by an hereditary right derived from his grandfather Henry I. as alſo by virtue of the late treaty he had concluded with Stephen. He was maſter, in right of his father, of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine; in that of his mother of Normandy; and in that of Eleanor, his conſort, of Guienne, Poictou, Xaintogne, Auvergne, Perigord, Amgoumois, and Limoſin. Theſe provinces compoſed near a third of the whole monarchy of France, and were even ſuperior in extent and opulence, to thoſe territories which were ſubjugated to the immediate juriſdiction of that king. Henry, on the death of Stephen, was beſieging a caſtle in Normandy. His council adviſed him to haſten to England, leſt his enemies ſhould take advantage of his abſence to excite diſturbances; but he could not be perſuaded to raiſe the ſiege, till the caſtle had been forced to ſurrender at diſcretion. He then went to Rouen to conſer with his mother, who prudently determined not to go with him to England, where ſhe was not beloved.

After this he repaired with Eleanor his queen, and a ſplendid train of nobility to Barfleur, and as ſoon as the wind was favourable he put to ſea, when he was in danger of being ſhip-wrecked; but the ſtorm abating, he landed near Hurſt Caſtle on the ſeventh of December, about ſix weeks after Stephen's death.

Upon his arrival at Wincheſter, the clergy, nobility, and gentry, came from all parts to meet him, and with the loudeſt acclamations teſtified their willingneſs to obey him, not only as their ſovereign, but as their deliverer. His journey from thence to London appeared a continual proceſſion, and that city received him with the higheſt marks of diſtinction. On the nineteenth of December he and his queen were crowned in Weſtminſter Abbey, by Theobald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, with no other compact with his people, than the uſual oaths required of the antient kings of England. Indeed, they had imbibed a very flattering idea of the virtues and abilities of their new king; and the firſt acts of his government fully juſtified the good opinion they had entertained of him. Having adviſed with his parliament concerning the ſtate of the kingdom, he exerted himſelf agreeable to their reſolutions to remove the complaints of his ſubjects. He began with diſmiſſing all thoſe foreign mercenaries who had long fattened on the ſpoils of the nation. Theſe, with their leader William de Ypres, he commanded to leave the realm on pain of death. He deſtroyed the caſtles which Stephen, againſt the faith he had given, reſerved undemoliſhed, except a few, that from their ſituation were thought neceſſary for the defence of the kingdom. He revoked all the grants made by his predeceſſors, and even thoſe which the empreſs his mother had laviſhed on her favourites. He repaired the coin, which had been ſhamefully debaſed during the late confuſions, and took proper meaſures for preventing a return of the like abuſes. He was rigorous in the execution of juſtice; while, at the ſame time, the powerful were reſtrained from acts of tyranny, and the licentious from diſturbing the repoſe of the innocent. A few turbulent barons, at firſt oppoſed the deſtruction of their caſtles. The earl of Albemarle, Hugh Mortimer, and the ſon of Miles, earl of Hertford, were inclined to make reſiſtance to this ſalutary meaſure; but the king calling a general council of the nation, all their ſchemes were diſconcerted, and they were obliged to ſubmit. To endear himſelf ſtill more to his ſubjects, he granted them a charter of liberties, in which that of his grandfather, Henry I. was confirmed. Thus was his kingdom, which had ſuffered equally by tyranny and faction, re-eſtabliſhed in thoſe legal rights, which were the proper fences to guard it from both theſe evils.

A. D. 1156. Henry embarked for Normandy, in order to oppoſe the deſigns of his brother Geoffrey, who ſince his departure, had made an incurſion into Anjou and Maine, and took poſſeſſion of a conſiderable part of thoſe provinces,



Wale delin.

Thornton sculp.

HENRY II.

He was Born *in the Year 1133.*_ Arrived *in* England *Dec.r 8.1154,*_ *was with his* Queen Eleanor, Crowned *the 19 of the same Month*_Impriſoned *his* Queen *on account of* Roſomond *his* Concubine, *1173*_Died *with* Grief *at the* Altar, curſing *his* Sons, *July. 6. 1189.*_ *And* Buried *at* Fonteverand *in* France.

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provinces, to which he avowed a pretended right. On the king's appearance the people returned to their allegiance; and Geoffrey, finding it would be in vain to contend with the ſuperior power of his brother, reſigned his claim for an annual penſion of a thouſand pounds ſterling money. Henry took poſſeſſion of the lands and caſtles, together with the earldom of Nantz, which the inhabitants, who had expelled count Hoel, put into his hands. On his return to England in 1157, Cadwaller, brother to Owen, a prince of Wales, applied to Henry for protection, and encouraged himto revenge the inſults of the Welch, who had, during his abſence, committed great outrages by invading their country. Henry therefore marched at the head of a powerful army to Wincheſter, where he received advice, that Owen had advanced as far as Baſingwerk in Flintſhire to meet him. But this was only an artifice, to draw the Engliſh into a narrow and difficult paſs between too ranges of hills, where Owen had placed a numerous ambuſcade under the command of his ſons. Henry confiding too much in the ſtrength of his army, and not ſufficiently conſulting thoſe who had a more perfect knowledge of the country, fell into the ſnare, and paid dearly for his raſhneſs. When he had advanced into the middle of theſe ſtraits with his vanguard, the Welch riſing at once with the moſt horrible outcries, from under the cover of the woods that hung over the ſteep and rocky ſides of the paſs, aſſaulted them with ſtones, arrows, and other miſſile weapons. The confuſion they were thrown into, and the ſituation of the place, quite diſabled them from reſiſting this unexpected attack. Euſtace Fitz-John, and Robert de Courſey, two barons, being ſlain, and Henry finding it impoſſible to proceed farther, endeavoured to retire back to the entrance of the ſtraits, which with much difficulty he performed; but moſt of his troops were miſerably deſtroyed, before he could extricate them or himſelf from their unhappy ſituation. Henry de Eſſex, hereditary ſtandard-bearer, being ſeized with a panic, letting the royal ſtandard drop from his hands, betook himſelf to flight; and meeting the reſt of the army, cried aloud, "The king is ſlain!" The conſternation became general. The Welch perceiving their diſmay, attacked them with great fury. They would have been ſhamefully routed, if, at that inſtant, Henry had not ſhewn himſelf, and with a countenance full of alacrity, encouraged, rallied, and led them on to the charge; when, animated with the joy of ſeeing him ſafe, they quickly drove the enemy back into the wood.

The king now drew off his forces, and calling a council of war, it was reſolved to leave the woody hills between which they had ſo unhappily attempted to paſs, and march along the ſea-ſhore, till they ſhould get beyond Baſingwerk, to the back of the poſt the Welch had taken; at the ſame time the fleet was ordered to ſail along the coaſt, and make deſcents upon the more open parts of the country.

Owen having been informed of this plan, retired to a ſtrong poſition in the mountains of Snowden. Henry immediately ſubdued all Flintſhire; and, to ſecure his poſſeſſions, made roads for an army to paſs without difficulty through the whole province; cut down the woods; rebuilt the caſtles of Ruthland and Baſingwerk; began that of Flint; and founded a houſe for the knights Templars, which was a new kind of garriſon, before unknown in that country. While thus employed, Owen, dreading the conſequences ſhould they be completed, came down from the mountains, and advanced to the borders of Flintſhire. Several ſkirmiſhes afterwards happened between the two armies, but no general action; Owen being not diſpoſed to venture a battle in an open country, and Henry, inſtructed by the loſs he had ſuſtained, as carefully avoided expoſing himſelf or his army to any more ambuſcades. In the mean time, having aſſembled a fleet at Cheſter, by his orders they ſailed from thence, and aſſiſted his operations in Flintſhire; after which he ſent it to harraſs the coaſts of North Wales, under the command of Madoc ap Meredith. Some of the forces of that prince, in conjunction with the Engliſh made a deſcent on the Iſle of Angleſey, where they ravaged the country without reſiſtance; but as they were returning to their ſhips, encumbered with ſpoils, the whole ſtrength of the iſle ſuddenly attacked and cut them to pieces. Owen, notwithſtanding this ſucceſs in his favour, on finding himſelf unable to hinder the Engliſh from deſolating the moſt fertile parts of his maritime provinces, became very uneaſy from the apprehenſions of wanting proviſions, ſhould he either remain long in the poſt he had taken, or ſhut himſelf up with his army in the deſarts of Snowden. He therefore adopted the moſt prudent ſtep of ſuing for peace, which Henry granted him, on condition of his rendering him homage, yielding up all the diſtricts and caſtles in North Wales which had been taken from the Engliſh during the reign of king Stephen, and delivering two of his ſons as hoſtages for his future fidelity. He alſo obliged him to reſtore the lands he had taken from his brother Cadwaller. Having obtained theſe great points, and put ſtrong garriſons in the caſtles of Ruthland and Baſingwerk, he left the war to be finiſhed by the lords of the Marches, ſuppoſing that the inferior Welch princes would not continue long in arms after Owen had ſubmitted. Now was he miſtaken; for at the commencement of the year following, all the princes of South Wales, except Rhees ap Griffyth, and all the leſſer chieftains of that country, came to the king in England, and made a peace with him on the above conditions. However, no perfect ſettlement of South Wales could be effected, while Rhees ap Griffyth remained unconquered. That prince commanded his people to remove their flocks, herds, and other effects, to the deſart of Tywy; and, though deſerted by all his confederates, continued the war with the king of England. Henry who had an eſteem for him on account of his magnanimity, ſent him a friendly invitation to come to his court, with an aſſurance that he ſhould be kindly received; but added, if he refuſed that favour, the whole power of England ſhould be ſent to bring him thither. That prince having conſulted his friends, who perſuaded him to go, he followed their advice. Henry having received his homage, gave him the patrimonial eſtates of his anceſtors; but not without receiving from him in return two of his ſons, as hoſtages for his future fidelity. Thus Henry had the honour of concluding this troubleſome and dangerous war, and of recovering all the Engliſh poſſeſſions which Stephen had loſt within the confines of Wales, and likewiſe of reſtoring to England its ſovereignty over the whole nation, by forcing its princes to hold their territories as vaſſals under homage and fealty.

A. D. 1158.

Geoffrey, the king's brother, dying ſoon after he had acquired poſſeſſion of Nantz, Henry laid claim to his territories; and having a competitor in Conan, duke of Brittany, who took poſſeſſion of the ſame, he was reſolved to ſupport his more juſt pretenſions by force of arms. In order to prevent Louis, the French king, from interpoſing in this controverſy, Henry paid him a viſit, and ſo influenced him by civilities and careſſes, that an alliance was contracted between the two kings; and it was agreed that young Henry, heir-apparent to the Engliſh crown, ſhould be betrothed to Margaret of France, though the former was only five years of age, and the latter ſtill in her cradle. Secure now of not being moleſted in his operations on the ſide of France, Henry advanced at the head of his army into Brittany; and Conan, deſpairing of ſucceſs againſt ſo powerful an enemy, delivered up the county of Nantz to the Engliſh monarch. And in order to ſecure his friendſhip and ſupport, as a counterbalance to the turbulent diſpoſition of his ſubjects, Conan betrothed his daughter, and only child, and yet an infant, to Geoffrey, the king's third ſon, who was alſo of the ſame tender years. Henry, by his political alliance with Louis, hoped to recover the Norman Vexin, which had been ceded by his father to Louis le Groſſe. This territory was of great importance, containing a chain of forts, which if united to the dutchy of Normandy, would form a good barrier for the defence of that country; but remaining under the juriſdiction of France, would expoſe it to continual danger. Henry therefore propoſed, that theſe places ſhould be given by the French king as a dowry with his daughter. This negociation was carried on and ſucceſsfully concluded. After which Louis, to expreſs the ſatiſfaction he felt in the union of the two families, invited Henry to come to Paris, and receive the princeſs himſelf. Henry accepted the invitation, and was received with all the honours that the civility of thoſe times could deviſe; he accepted them with an amiable and graceful politeneſs; but as much as poſſible avoided all pompous forms and ceremonies, his mind being too great, his underſtanding too ſolid, to be fond of ſuch pageantry.

A. D. 1159.

Philippa, mother of queen Eleanor, was the only iſſue of William IV. count of Tholouſe; and ſhould have inherited his dominions, had not that prince, deſirous of preſerving the ſucceſſion in the male line, conveyed the principality to his brother, Raymond de St. Giles, by an illuſory contract of ſale. By this fictitious bargain, the county of Tholouſe cauſed a diſpute between the male and female heirs, which in turns, as opportunity favoured their pretenſions, had obtained poſſeſſion. Alphonſo, the ſon of Raymond, was now the reigning ſovereign; and Henry avowed his reſolution of ſupporting his queen's right to that earldom, which Louis himſelf, when huſband to Eleanor, thought well founded; but his ſentiments changing with his intereſt, which might be affected by any farther addition of territory to the Engliſh monarch, he now determined to defend by his whole force the title of Alphonſo. The ſword therefore was drawn to decide the controverſy. Henry knew that the reduction of Tholouſe, a city remarkable for its ſtrength, would require a powerful body of troops; and being ſenſible at the ſame time, that the uſual cuſtom of raiſing an army in England would not anſwer his purpoſe, he had recourſe to a ſcheme which he flattered himſelf would not be diſagreeable to his people.

According to the feudal ſyſtem, the king iſſued out his orders, for all his military tenants to take the field, at the head of a certain number of their vaſſals, in proportion to the number of their fiefs. But the delays occaſioned by the ſlowneſs with which the military tenants came into the field, the ſpirit they poſſeſſed when there, and the ſhortneſs of the time they were obliged to ſerve, being only forty days, rendered them not only of little uſe, but even dangerous. Nor was this method of raiſing troops leſs inconvenient to the ſubject. When a war was to be carried on without the kingdom, the expences going to and returning from the army, which they were obliged to bear themſelves, became an intolerable burden; their domeſtic affairs, while in ſervice, ſuffered greatly; the tillage of their lands was neglected, and a famine was ſometimes the conſequence. Henry therefore excuſed the perſonal attendance of his military tenants for a ſum of money. The people were delighted with this exchange; it being much more agreeable to them to advance a ſtipulated ſum than to furniſh troops, and to head them in perſon. The king was pleaſed to find he had united his ſentiments with thoſe of his ſubjects. They chearfully paid the ſums levied upon them, and Henry with the money hired foreign mercenaries, over whom he had a more certain authority, and whoſe time of ſervice was unlimited. The barons of England engaged readily to ſupport the king's pretenſions: all his ſubjects had ſuch a regard for him, that they thought his intereſt their own; and all his nobility followed him in this expedition with incredible ardour.

Henry began his military operations againſt Cahors, the capital of the generality of Quercy, and was ſoon maſter of that place; but the city of Tholouſe made a noble defence, baffling all the exertions of the Engliſh monarch to take it. Louis was alarmed. He feared that if Henry ſhould make himſelf maſter of the principal palaces in the heart of France, his ambition might tempt him to advance even to the gates of Paris. He therefore with a ſmall body of forces, threw himſelf into Tholouſe, before Henry could completely inveſt that city. Upon this, military operations immediately ceaſed. The king of England declaring, influenced by a nice punctilio of honour, that he owed ſo much reſpect to his ſuperior lord, that he would not attack a place defended by him in perſon. In conſequence of this declaration he raiſed the ſiege, and a peace was ſoon after concluded between the two monarchs. However Henry made war on all the other territories of earl Raymond, and in leſs than three months conquered the greateſt part of the earldom of Tholouſe.

Becket performed ſignal ſervices in this war; for he brought with him into the field ſeven hundred knights, all of his own houſehold, each of whom was attended by a ſquire; and theſe were eſteemed the braveſt ſoldiers in the king's army, charging firſt, and behaving with the greateſt intrepidity in every action. Nor was the chancellor leſs active. He took by ſtorm three caſtles which were thought impregnable, and on that account left unattempted by Henry. And when the king was in Normandy he joined him, bringing with him twelve hundred knights, and four thouſand ſtipendaries of an inferior degree, which he hired at his own expence. During his ſervice he engaged in a ſingle combat Engelran de Frie, a French knight of diſtinguiſhed valour; diſmounted him with his lance, and gained his horſe which he led off in triumph.

A. D. 1160.

The peace between the two kings of England and France was of ſhort continuance. Henry's eldeſt ſon had for ſome time been betrothed to Margaret, the daughter of Louis, and it was agreed by the marriage treaty that the princes ſhould have Giſors, with part of the Norman Vexin, for her portion, which places were to remain in the poſſeſſion of the knights Templars, till the marriage ſhould be conſummated. Deſirous of getting into his hands theſe valuable acquiſitions, Henry prevailed upon the cardinals Piſa and Pavia, to grant him a ſynodical decree, diſpenſing with the nonage of the parties. The nuptials were immediately celebrated, though the prince was but ſeven, and the princeſs only three years of age; and the Templars conſidering themſelves as free from their engagements, delivered up the caſtle of Giſors, and the other places aſſigned as Margaret's dowry. Louis was not a little offended at this ſtratagem of the Engliſh monarch. And a war between them ſeemed inevitable. But Alexander III. brought about a reconciliation. Alexander, who the preceding year was driven from Rome by Victor IV. had retired into France. Louis and Henry acknowledged him for the true ſucceſſor of St. Peter, and the pontiff in return endeavoured to bring about a peace between the two kings, who were equally his friends. They both met his holineſs at the caſtle of Torci, on the banks of the Loire. The two monarchs diſmounted to receive him, and each of them holding one of his ſtirrups, walked on foot by his ſide, and in this manner conducted him into the caſtle. Can we wonder at the inſolence of the Roman pontiff in the affair of Becket, when two of the moſt powerful princes in Europe were guilty of ſuch an unpardonable weakneſs.

A.D. 1162. Henry had been detained ſo long in Normandy, that his affairs in England required his preſence. He therefore embarked, and landed at Southampton, where he was received by all his nobility both ſpiritual and temporal with great demonſtrations of joy. He now began an undertaking, which, had it ſucceeded, would have completed his glory. The clergy had for ſeveral years been making gradual encroachments on the prerogative of the crown, ſo that it was a queſtion at this time whether the king or the biſhops might be conſidered as the head of the kingdom. Henry for ſome time had it in contemplation to ſtop the rapid progreſs of eccleſiaſtical ambition; but the mild behaviour and advanced age of Theobald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, together with his merit in refuſing to place the crown on the head of Euſtace, Stephen's ſon, prevented Henry, during the life of that prelate, taking thoſe meaſures which he now adopted, and was reſolutely bent to purſue. After the death of Theobald, the king promoted Becket to the vacant ſee, and he was now become his chief favourite. From him therefore he not only thought himſelf ſecure againſt oppoſition to his intended reform, but fully expected a ready compliance with all his intentions. Never did a prince of ſuch penetration appear, in the iſſue, to have been ſo miſtaken in the genius and character of a prime miniſter.

Becket had been raiſed by Theobald to conſiderable preferments in the church, and on Henry's acceſſion to the crown, was recommended to him by that primate as a perſon worthy of his confidence and favour. Henry accordingly promoted him to ſeveral places of truſt, and ſoon after to that of chancellor, one of the firſt civil offices in the kingdom. He was put in poſſeſſion of Eye and Berkham, two baronies that had been forfeited to the crown. He was made provoſt of Beverly, dean of Haſtings, and conſtable of the Tower; and to complete his grandeur, he was appointed tutor to prince Henry, the king's eldeſt ſon.

Thomas *à* Becket was the ſon of a reputable tradeſman in London, bred to the law, in the practice of which he had acquired great reputation. His perſon was graceful; his countenance pleaſing; his wit lively; his judgment ſolid; his eloquence powerful; his addreſs ſweetly engaging; and his memory ready on all occaſions. Employments and truſts of all kinds were heaped upon this favourite without meaſure. He had a ſcandalous number of eccleſiaſtical benefices; he had the temporalities of vacant prelacies, the revenues of which he uſed with the ſame freedom as if they had been his own rents, without keeping any regular account, and with the appearance of the moſt extravagant prodigality. The ſplendor of his furniture, which was profuſely ornamented; the luxuries with which his table was conſtantly provided; the pomp of his retinue, and the value of his donations, were correſpondent to his immenſe revenues, exceeding in oſtentation and profuſeneſs any thing before ſeen in a ſubject. He retained a great number of knights in his ſervice; and ſo high was he in public eſteem, that even the moſt haughty among the barons conſidered themſelves as honoured by being admitted to his table. The ſons of the principal nobility received their education in his houſe, where the king himſelf frequently accepted of entertainments. His amuſements tallied with the ſplendid manner of his life. Tilting, hawking, hunting, and the game of cheſs, employed his hours of relaxation, with other ſports of a more gay kind; which, as he had only taken deacon's orders, he did not think unſuitable to his character. He expoſed his perſon in ſeveral military exploits; and being ſent on an embaſſy to France, he aſtoniſhed that court with the number and magnificence of his retinue.

Theobald, the late archbiſhop of Canterbury, a ſtranger to ambition, had lived in a good correſpondence with the ſtate. All the great points of controverſy between the royal and eccleſiaſtical powers, had, during his mild adminiſtration, lain dormant. Becket at this time behaved ſo little like a high-churchman, that Henry could not imagine he would revive thoſe diſputes, eſpecially as he was well acquainted with the king's intention of retrenching, or rather confining within their old boundaries all eccleſiaſtical privileges, and had always ſhewed a ready diſpoſition to comply with the monarch's inclinations in this and all other particulars; on account of which he lived on terms of unreſtrained familiarity with his maſter, who when he was inclined to retire from the fatigues of buſineſs, admitted this compliant time-ſerver to be a partner in his convivial ſports.

But the high-prieſt was no ſooner inveſted with that dignity, which rendered him, during life, the ſecond perſon in the kingdom, than he entirely changed both his demeanor and conduct; ſtriving to acquire that character for ſanctity, of which he had ſhewed no ſigns, when in his buſy and ſplendid courſe of oſtentatious vanity. Though he ſtill retained the neceſſary food for his pride, a pompous retinue, in his own perſon he affected the greateſt auſterity, and the moſt rigid mortification. Under his canonical habit he wore the frock of a monk, and under that a haircloth next his ſkin, which, by his affected care to conceal, was neceſſarily the more remarked by all his devotees. His uſual diet was bread, which he rendered unpalatable by an infuſion of bitter herbs. He daily, on his knees, waſhed the feet of thirteen poor perſons, whom he afterwards diſmiſſed with preſents. He gained the affection of the monks by his frequent charities to their convents. He ſeemed to be perpetually employed in reciting prayers and pious lectures, or in peruſing religious books. His countenance exhibited a picture of ſorrowful contrition, and he converſed freely with perſons of all ranks who profeſſed a ſanctity of manners. The hoſpitality of the favourite was kept up by the primate; but the mode of it was changed. He dined in public every day, with profuſion and ſplendour; but the noblemen and others who dined with him were placed at another table, none being permitted to ſit at his, except the monks of the convent of Canterbury, and a ſelect ſet of clergymen eminent for their learning, whom he had particularly attached to his perſon. Inſtead of the uſual entertainment of muſic, ſome Latin book was read to him during the time of dinner, after which he retired to a private apartment with ſuch friends in whom he could confide.

Theſe pious frauds raiſed the reputation of Thomas *à* Becket high in the eſtimation of popular opinion, which was ſtill more exalted by his ſending the great ſeal to Henry in Normandy, with this laconic meſſage, "that he deſired him to provide himſelf with another chancellor; for he was hardly ſufficient for one office, much leſs for two." However, notwithſtanding this outward ſhew of humility, the diſcerning few perceived the wolf in ſheep's clothing, and were convinced that Becket was meditating ſome great deſign, and that he had only changed the object of his ambition. Indeed, the reaſon he himſelf aſſigns for reſigning the ſeals, is not ſtamped with the mark of a genuine contrite ſpirit. Henry, who was beſt acquainted with his temper, found it very difficult to impute his giving up an office, uſually held by a churchman, to a ſcruple of conſcience, or a diſlike of temporal power: he conſidered it as a certain indication of a more dangerous kind of ambition; and believed, that the archbiſhop would have continued his miniſter, if he had not aſpired to become his rival, by exalting the mitre above the crown. The ſequel proved plainly the truth of this conjecture; for St. Thomas having ſecured the affection of all the bigots in the kingdom, did not wait for Henry's commencing thoſe projects, which he well knew that prince had formed againſt eccleſiaſtical innovations and abuſes: he became himſelf the aggreſſor, and endeavoured to intimidate the king by his bold proceedings. He ſummoned the earl of Clare, a nobleman of great intereſt and reputation, to ſurrender the barony of Tunbridge, which had formerly belonged to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, but had been in the poſſeſſion of the family of that nobleman ever ſince the Conqueſt. Becket alledged, that it was not in the power of any of his predeceſſors to alienate lands in prejudice of the church. But the earl having received his honours and eſtate from the crown, diſregarded the ſummons. The primate next took a bolder ſtep, claiming from the king himſelf, upon the ſame ground, the cuſtody of the caſtle and tower of Rocheſter.

William de Eynesford, a military tenant of the crown, was the patron of a living belonging to a manor, that held of the archbiſhop of Canterbury. Becket, who now pretended a right to all ſuch vacant churches, preſented one Lawrence, a prieſt, to that of Eynesford; but the incumbent was violently expelled by William, patron of the living in queſtion. The primate, who acted both as judge and party in ſpiritual courts, iſſued out a ſentence of excommunication againſt Eynesford, who complained to the king of the injury he had received, in being expoſed to the penalties contained in that terrible ſentence, without the conſent of his ſovereign. Henry, who had now broken off all perſonal intercourſe with Becket, ſent a meſſenger to him with orders to abſolve Eynesford without delay; but was anſwered by this meek prelate, that the king had no right to inform him whom he ſhould excommunicate, or whom abſolve. However, after many remonſtrances and menaces, St. Thomas condeſcended, though with a very ill grace, to comply with the royal mandate.

Notwithſtanding this oppoſition from the archbiſhop, Henry maintained his reſolution of rectifying the diſorders of the clergy, who were very licentious in their manners, under pretence that they were not ſubordinate to the civil power, and that ſpiritual penalties alone could be inflicted for their enormous offences. The late times of national confuſion had demoliſhed all diſtinctions; clerks and prieſts were as notorious for wickedneſs as the laity. Holy orders were become a full protection for crimes of the deepeſt dye. Robberies, murders, rapes, and adulteries, were daily committed by eccleſiaſtics with impunity. Many perſons, during the former reign, who were by no means qualified either by their learning or virtues, had taken orders, that they might indulge themſelves in their irregularities without fear of cenſure. Theſe perſons held not any eccleſiaſtical preferment, nor did they belong to any dioceſe; ſo that not being under controul, their behaviour was flagitious in a very high degree. The prieſts of this age, among other modes of deluding the people, had introduced the practice of ſelling pardons, which at length became a very gainful trade, and enriched the clergy in proportion as it impoveriſhed the laity; who were taught, that an implicit obedience to the will of the prieſt, was a principal part of their duty. Henry was determined, by a rigorous puniſhment of theſe offenders, to free his people from their oppreſſions; nor was it long before an opportunity offered, which afforded him a plauſible allegation for carrying his juſt deſign into execution. The daughter of a man of fortune in Worceſterſhire had been debauched by a prieſt, who had murdered her father, to avoid the effects which he apprehended might attend the commiſſion of ſuch a crime. The murmurs of the people ran high, and the king inſiſted that the culprit ſhould be delivered up to the civil magiſtrate. Becket pleaded the privilege of the church; and gave orders that the delinquent ſhould be confined in the biſhop's priſon, to prevent his being taken into cuſtody by the king's officers. Hereupon Henry demanded, that he ſhould be firſt tried by the ſpiritual court, and then given up to the ſecular power: but this was oppoſed by the archbiſhop, who alledged the injuſtice of trying a man twice for the ſame crime, and maintained, no greater puniſhment than degradation could be inflicted on him, though he himſelf had, but a few months before, branded a prieſt in the face with a red-hot iron, for ſtealing a chalice out of a church. Henry immediately convened a general aſſembly of the biſhops, of whom he demanded that the murderer ſhould be delivered into the hands of juſtice, and that a law might be enacted for the more effectual puniſhment of ſuch offenders for the future. Becket retired with the biſhops to conſider of the propoſition made by the king; but they being guided by his will, it was determined that the culprit ſhould not be delivered into the hands of the ſecular power. The king demanded, whether they would obſerve the laws and cuſtoms of this kingdom; to which the biſhops, after conſulting with the primate, replied, that they were ready to ſubmit in all things, "ſaving the rights and privileges of the church." Henry was provoked to the higheſt degree at an anſwer ſo palpably evaſive, and left the aſſembly with viſible marks of diſpleaſure in his countenance.

The biſhops now reflected coolly on the part they had acted, in contempt of royal prerogative. They knew the power of Becket at Rome, and weighed it with that of Henry on the throne of England. They concluded it was the ſafeſt ſtep, to make their intereſt as barons the meaſure of their obedience as churchmen. Accordingly they made ſubmiſſion to the king at Oxford, and there retracted their reſervation. Becket, however, continued inflexible; and nothing but the interpoſition of the pope's legate Philip, who dreaded the reſentment of ſo powerful a prince, could have prevailed with him to retract his opinion, and give an expreſs promiſe of obſerving the antient uſages of the realm.

Henry, however, could not reſt contented with a declaration in general terms. He was determined to define expreſsly, and fix the limits of the civil power; and to form into ſtanding laws thoſe cuſtoms with which he required a compliance, in order to put a ſtop to the uſurpations of the church, before they were too firmly eſtabliſhed by time.

A. D. 1164.

With this intent, he ſummoned a general council of the prelates and nobility at Clarendon, where he ſubmitted the ſubject of diſpute to their diſcuſſion, deſiring, at the ſame time, their concurrence to his plan of proceeding. The biſhops in general complied through fear; and in this aſſembly a number of articles were paſſed into laws, with little oppoſition, which were afterwards diſtinguiſhed by the title of the Conſtitutions of Clarendon; a recital of which we here inſert, for the peruſal, if agreeable, of our more curious, indulgent, and numerous readers.

Conſtitutions of Clarendon.

I. All ſuits about the preſentation and advowſon of churches, between either laity or clergy, ſhall be tried and determined in the king's courts.

II. Churches belonging to the king's fee, cannot be granted in perpetuity, without his conſent.

III. Clergymen accuſed of any crime whatever, and ſummoned by the king's juſtices, ſhall appear in his court, and plead to ſuch articles as the civil magiſtrate ſhall require; and in the eccleſiaſtical court to ſuch as are cognizable therein, provided the king's juſtices ſend an officer to inſpect the proceedings of the ſpiritual court; and in caſe a clerk is convicted, or pleads guilty, he is to loſe his privilege, and be protected by the court no longer.

IV. No archbiſhops, biſhops, or prieſts, may go out of the kingdom, without leave firſt obtained from the king; and, on obtaining a licence, they ſhall give ſecurity not to aſk or obtain any thing either in their paſſage, ſtay, or return, to the prejudice of the king, or his kingdom.

V. Excommunicated perſons ſhall not be obliged to make oath, or give ſecurity, to continue in the place where they live; but only to conform to the judgment of the church in order to their abſolution.

VI. Laymen ſhall not be accuſed in the ſpiritual courts but by legal, reputable, promoters and witneſſes, in the preſence of a biſhop; yet ſo as the archdeacon loſe not his right nor any of his dues; and if the offenders are ſuch that no one will or dare accuſe them, then the ſheriff, at the biſhop's requeſt, ſhall cauſe twelve legal men of the town or vicinage, to make oath before the biſhop that they will declare the truth of the matter according to the beſt of their knowledge.

VII. None, either of the king's tenants, or of his miniſterial officers, ſhall be excommunicated, nor any of their lands put under an interdict, unleſs application be firſt made to the king, if he be in England; or, in caſe he be out of the realm, to his juſticiary, that he may ſee juſtice done in their caſe; ſo that what is cognizable in the king's court may be there determined, and what pertaineth to the eccleſiaſtical may be remitted thither.

VIII. All appeals, in ſpiritual cauſes, ſhall be made from the archdeacon to the biſhop; from the biſhop to the primate; and from the primate, in failure of juſtice, to the king; nor ſhall it be lawful to proceed farther without the king's conſent.

IX. If a ſuit ariſe between a clergyman and a layman, which the firſt pretends to be held by frank almoine, (a tenure of lands or tenements beſtowed for perpetual alms,) and the latter maintains it to be a lay-fee, the tenure ſhall be tried before the king's juſticiary by the verdict of twelve lawful men, ſummoned according to the cuſtom of the courts, by order of the king's chief-juſtice; and if the tenement is found to be held in frank almoine, the ſuit ſhall be tried in the ſpiritual court; but if the verdict brings it in a lay-fee, the ſuit ſhall be carried on in the king's court, unleſs they both hold of the ſame lord, either ſpiritual or temporal, in which caſe it ſhall be tried in his court; provided, however, that the perſon, ſeiſed of the tenement in queſtion, be not, on account of ſuch verdict, diſſeiſed till the ſuit is determined.

X. If any inhabitant of a city, caſtle, borough, or demeſne manor of the king be cited for any time by the archdeacon or biſhop, and will not make ſatisfaction upon their ſummons, they may interdict him from divine ſervice; but they ought not to excommunicate him, till the king's principal officer of the place be made acquainted therewith, that he may oblige the perſon to make ſatisfaction to the church; and ſhould ſuch officer fail in ſo doing, he ſhall be finable at the king's pleaſure; and the biſhop may then exert his eccleſiaſtical authority upon the accuſed perſon.

XI. All archbiſhops, biſhops, and others of the clergy, poſſeſſed of eccleſiaſtical dignities or benefices, who hold of the king *in capite*, are to look upon their eſtates as baronies, and ſhall appear before the king's juſtices and officers to anſwer the duties of their tenures; they ſhall alſo perform and obſerve all the royal cuſtoms, rights, and ſervices, and ſhall hold themſelves as other barons, obliged to be preſent at judicial proceedings in the king's court, till ſentence comes to be given againſt life or limb.

XII. When any archbiſhopric, biſhopric, abbey, or priory, of royal foundation or patronage becomes vacant, the king ſhall enter thereon, and receive all the iſſues and profits thereof as of his own eſtates; and when he ſhall think fit that the vacancy of ſuch church be filled up, the king ſhall ſend his mandate to the chapter or convent, and the election ſhall be made in the king's chapel, with his conſent, and by the advice of ſuch dignitaries of the realm as he ſhall call together for that purpoſe; and the perſon ſo elected ſhall there, before his conſecration, do homage and fealty to the king, as to his liege lord, for life, limb, and earthly honour, ſaving his order.

XIII. If any of the nobility ſhould violently oppoſe the biſhop or archbiſhop, or archdeacon, in doing juſtice on themſelves to their tenants, the king ſhall take cognizance of the matter, and oblige them to ſubmit to juſtice. And if any deny the king his rights, and decline ſtanding to the judgment of the court, then the archbiſhop, biſhop, and archdeacons, ſhall employ their cenſures and authority to oblige them to make the king ſatiſfaction.

XIV. Goods or chattels, forfeited to the king, ſhall not be protected in any church or church-yard, to ſecure them from being ſeized according to law, becauſe they belong to the king whereever they may be found, either in the precincts of the church, or elſewhere.

XV. The clergy ſhall no longer pretend to the right of enforcing the payment of debts contracted by oath or promiſe. All actions and ſuits for debts, however contracted, ſhall be tried in the civil courts.

XVI. The ſons of tenants, holding in villainage, ſhall not be ordained, without conſent firſt obtained of the lord of the manor, on whoſe lands they were known to be born.

Theſe conſtitutions being reduced to writing, it was reſolved that every member preſent ſhould ſubſcribe their names, and take an oath to obſerve them. All the prelates readily obeyed except Becket, who objected to ſetting his name, alledging, that it would be a contradiction to the general promiſe he had given, and which he thought quite ſufficient. The king and the temporal lords were highly offended at this oppoſition, which amounted to a confeſſion that he meant to impoſe on his ſovereign, and fraudulently evade the obedience he had promiſed. The grand prior of the Templars threw himſelf upon his knees, and with many tears intreated Becket, if he paid any regard to his own ſafety, or that of the church, not to provoke with a fruitleſs oppoſition the indignation of a powerful monarch, who was abſolutely determined on his purpoſe, and had ſworn to take ample revenge on every perſon who ſhould in this matter dare to oppoſe him. Becket finding himſelf deſerted by his own party, and thus preſſed by Richard de Haſtings, he gave his aſſent in theſe remarkable words; "It is my maſter's pleaſure that I ſhould forſwear myſelf, and at preſent I ſubmit to it, reſolving to incur a perjury, and to repent afterwards as I may." The biſhops heard him with a marked aſtoniſhment, and were not a little abaſhed at what he had ſaid. Yet he declared his aſſent to the conſtitutions, and promiſed "legally, with good faith, and without reſerve and fraud," to obey them, and even took an oath to ratify his ſolemn promiſe. They then ſigned the articles and ſet their ſeals to them; but this Becket peremptorily refuſed; a reſerve which is not to his honour; for after his formal declarations that he would obſerve the conſtitutions, it was trifling and inconſiſtent to ſcruple the ſigning them: for beſides his verbal engagement, the conſent he had given to the articles is expreſsly declared in the preamble of the act, which is as ſtrong a teſtimony againſt him as his ſubſcription or ſignature could be; and moſt authors agree that he received one authentic copy of it, another being delivered to the archbiſhop of York, and a third to the king himſelf, to be enrolled among the royal charters.

Henry having thus far obtained the completion of his deſires, tranſmitted the conſtitutions of Clarendon to Rome, in order to their being ratified by Alexander III. who was ſovereign pontiff; but when they came to be examined in the ſacred college, the pope condemned and annulled moſt of the articles, judging them to be ſubverſive of the papal power in England, by rendering it dependant on the ſtate. Becket, pleaſed at this determination, forgot in an inſtant of time his ſolemn engagements; and expecting now to be ſupported in oppoſition to the will of his maſter, he expreſſed the deepeſt ſorrow (what a precious ſaint this!) for his conceſſions, labouring inceſſantly to engage all the biſhops to perjure themſelves, for the honour of God, in ſupport of their eccleſiaſtical privileges. To inforce his arguments St. Thomas had recourſe to his former artifice of ſelf-mortification. He redoubled his auſterities, in order, as he ſaid, to puniſh himſelf for his ſinful compliance with the king's pleaſure: he even refuſed to exerciſe any part of his epiſcopal function, till he had received abſolution from the pope, which he well knew could be eaſily obtained; and there is now extant a letter from that pontiff to him, which abſolves him from his ſin, and enjoins this pious ſon of the church to return to the ſervice of the altar, leſt his abſence from it ſhould occaſion a public ſcandal. The primate finding himſelf ſtill expoſed to the king's reſentment, endeavoured twice to eſcape out of the kingdom without the king's knowledge, which was expreſsly forbidden by thoſe conſtitutions he had ſwore to obſerve without fraud or deceit; but he was often detained by contrary winds.

In proportion as the primate ſubmitted to apparent mortification, Henry deemed that he intended an inſult to himſelf, ſo that his former partiality to this favourite was converted to hatred, and the breach between them grew daily more wide. At length the king requeſted of his holineſs, that he would appoint a legate in England, whoſe ſuperior power might curb the violent conduct of Becket. The pope readily conſented to ſend a legate, but inſerted a clauſe in his commiſſion, by which he was enjoined not to do any thing to the prejudice of the archbiſhop; a circumſtance that defeated the end which Henry had in view; whereupon he ſent back the commiſſion with the utmoſt diſdain, and determined to ſeek another mode of revenge on the haughty prelate. An opportunity of executing this reſolution in a legal manner ſoon offered.

An order having been ſent from the king's court, requiring him to do juſtice to a great officer of the houſhold, in relation to an eſtate which he claimed from the church of Canterbury, that nobleman complained to the king by an appeal, declaring that juſtice was denied him by the archbiſhop. Upon which the king ſent a citation to Becket, by which he was ordered to appear before his ſovereign lord, upon an appointed day. But the primate's anſwer was an expreſs declaration, that he would not obey the ſummons. This refuſal being an evident infringement of the king's right, as well as an inſult offered to his dignity, it was reſolved unanimouſly in council, to bring Thomas *à* Becket before the high court of parliament, to anſwer for this and many other offences. A great council of the nation was accordingly ſummoned at Northampton, which being aſſembled, Henry complained in very moderate terms of the contempt the archbiſhop had ſhewn to his mandate. Becket, on being called, confeſſed the fact, and being condemned guilty of contumacy againſt the king's majeſty, his goods and chattels were confiſcated. The biſhops unanimouſly concurred with the temporal barons in this ſentence; and it being underſtood that a fine of five hundred pounds would be accepted by Henry, the primate found ſecurities for the payment of that ſum.

The day following Henry made a demand of five hundred pounds which he ſaid he had lent the archbiſhop when chancellor. Becket affirmed it was a gift; but not being able to bring proof, he was condemned to repay the money. On the third day the king brought a higher charge againſt him, namely, that while chancellor, he had many years in his poſſeſſion the profits of ſeveral vacant biſhoprics and abbies, and he was now required to account for the rents, and alſo for the expenditure of other caſual ſums that had paſſed through his hands. Becket, in reply, ſaid, that not having before been cited on this matter, he was not prepared to anſwer the charge, but in due time and place he would not fail to do the king right. Henry did not object to allow him time, but demanded ſufficient bail for his appearance. Upon which he deſired leave to conſult with the biſhops, and the king permitted him to retire apart with them into an adjoining room.

Becket was now greatly perplexed; but he reſolved neither to reſign his archbiſhopric, which ſome of the prelates adviſed him to do, nor to ſubmit to an examination. After continuing ſilent ſome time, he deſired to ſpeak with the earls of Leiceſter and Cornwall, who were then with the king. Theſe lords being ſent for, he told them, that the perſons to whom his cauſe was beſt known not being there, he deſired a reſpite till the next day, when he would anſwer "as God ſhould inſpire him." This being reported to the king by the biſhops of London and Rocheſter, as purporting that he would then deliver in his accounts, Henry ſent back the two earls with his aſſent to the required delay, if he would then perform what the two prelates had promiſed in his name; but the arch-defaulter denied that he had authorized them to carry ſuch a meſſage. However the king permitted him to depart, and the next day being Sunday, adjourned the council till Monday, that he might have no reaſon to complain of the proceedings againſt him being carried on with too great precipitation.

On his return home, finding himſelf forſaken by the great train of knights who had attended him to the parliament, the agitation of his ſpirits was ſo violent, that it brought upon him a fit of the cholic, which ſeized him on Sunday night, and rendered him incapable of attending the council the next day. All the members imagined his illneſs to be feigned; but to be certain they deputed ſome of the principal nobility to cite him to the court. They ſaw his illneſs was real, and he aſſured them, that with the aſſiſtance of God, he would not fail to appear before them the next day, though he ſhould be carried in his litter.

Early in the morning he was viſited by many of the biſhops, who perſuaded him, for the ſake of peace, to ſubmit intirely to the king's pleaſure, and becauſe if he did not, he would be impeached by parliament of perjury and treaſon. This advice St. Thomas rejected, ſaying, "he appealed to the church of Rome;" and added, "If the ſecular power ſhould preſume to lay hands on me, I command you, in behalf of your father and metropolitan, to thunder out the proper eccleſiaſtical cenſures."

After the biſhops were departed, he ſaid maſs at an altar dedicated to St. Stephen, ordering it to begin, as on the feſtival of the martyr, with theſe words of ſcripture, "Princes ſat and ſpake againſt me." Having thus fortified his mind with the artifices of ſelf deception, to which was added a concealed conſecrated hoſt, he proceeded to the parliament. When he arrived at the outer door, he took the croſs from the perſon who bore it before him, and holding it up, entered alone into the room where the barons were aſſembled, expecting his coming. The whole aſſembly was aſtoniſhed at ſeeing him appear before them in ſo extraordinary a manner. The biſhop of Hereford offered to carry the croſs, being his chaplain, but he refuſed to deliver it, intimating that he bore it as his protection, and that by this enſign it would be evident under what prince he fought. Upon this the archbiſhop of York reprehended him ſeverely, for thus entering the ſupreme court of his ſovereign in the way of defiance, accompanied with a premeditated inſult; and he was told, both by that prelate and the biſhop of London, that he would find the king's weapon of greater force than his; to which he replied, that the king's weapon indeed could kill the body, but that in his hand could kill the ſoul, and ſend it to hell. He then again appealed to the pope, and prohibited them from aſſiſting in any other judgment reſpecting him.

The king, having received information of the inſolent manner of his coming, had retired to an inner apartment of the caſtle, where he ordered all the other ſpiritual and temporal lords to attend him. He now complained of Becket's contemptuous behaviour, in attempting to appear before him in an unheard of manner that was a reproach to him, as if ſome treachery had been intended againſt the primate's perſon. It was anſwered, that Becket had always in his deportment diſplayed vanity, ſelf-conceit, and arrogance; that this inſtance was indeed a groſs affront, not only to his ſovereign, but to all the peers aſſembled in parliament, and that for his ingratitude, perfidy, and violation of his oath, he ought to be impeached of high-treaſon. This appeared to be the unanimous opinion of all preſent, yet the king, from an ill-timed lenity, would not allow them to proceed on this ground, but only ſent ſome lords to demand of the archbiſhop, whether he was prepared to do the king right, reſpecting the debt he claimed, according to his promiſe. Becket's anſwer amounted to an abſolute refuſal, which, with his appeal to the pope, appeared to all the temporal barons ſuch an act of deliberate diſobedience, that they adhered to their former reſolution of an attainder againſt him for perjury and high treaſon. The biſhops, who found themſelves under great difficulties how to act in this critical moment, after a conſultation, implored the king's permiſſion to appeal to the ſee of Rome againſt their metropolitan, on account of his perjury; ſolemnly promiſing to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to prevail on pope Alexander to degrade him, if the king would excuſe them joining with the temporal lords in the ſentence they ſeemed determined to pronounce. To this requeſt Henry yielded with more complaiſance than diſcretion. The biſhops then went to Becket, and told him, that putting themſelves under the protection of the pope, they cited him to anſwer their accuſations; all which was no more than a refined ſtratagem of arrant prieſt-craft, in order to gain time, and avoid the ſtorm which was ready to be diſcharged on their heads.

In the mean while the king demanded juſtice againſt Becket from the temporal barons, and they unanimouſly found him guilty of perjury and treaſon. Becket, to prevent hearing his ſentence pronounced againſt him in due form, roſe up haſtily and departed. As he was paſſing along, many called him a perjured traitor; whereupon looking back with a ſtern countenance, St. Thomas ſaid aloud, that did not his holy orders forbid it, he would by arms defend himſelf againſt any one who ſhould charge him with the crimes of perjury and treaſon. Henry, fearing leſt his inſolent language and behaviour, might be productive of ſome act of illegal violence to his perſon, prudently iſſued out a proclamation, forbidding all perſons on pain of death, to do the archbiſhop or his people any harm. Soon after the king received a meſſage from him, requeſting permiſſion to leave the kingdom. Anſwer was returned by Henry, that he would adviſe with his council upon the ſubject of his petition the next day. The archbiſhop however apprehending his liberty might be in danger, but without any uneaſy apprehenſion from having violated his oath and good faith, departed privately from the convent at midnight, attended only by two friends, and rode towards Lincoln, in order to elude any purſuit; after ſtaying ſome time with the ſame intent at different places, he ſet ſail from Sandwich in a ſmall fiſhing ſmack, and arrived ſafe at Gravelins, on the tenth of November, though ſtrict orders had been ſent to the ſea ports to prevent his leaving the kingdom. He was received by Lewis and the pope, who was ſtill at the court of France, with every mark of reſpect; by the munificence of the former, he lived with a degree of ſplendor in the monaſtery of Pontigni, and the latter prepared to iſſue bulls to revenge his diſgrace. All the thunder of the Vatican was intended to be launched againſt the head of the Engliſh monarch and his miniſters. Henry was no ſooner informed of Becket's eſcape, than he immediately diſpatched a reſpectable embaſſy to the pope, to ſolicit the depoſition of that prelate, offering to double the revenue of Peter's pence; but the pope was inflexible; he received his ambaſſadors very coolly, and they immediately returned to their maſter. On their arrival the king ſummoned an aſſembly of his nobles, by whom it was determined to ſequeſter all the poſſeſſions of the ſee of Canterbury, together with all the revenues of the churches, chapels, and rents of the clergy, who adhered to Becket; at the ſame time all the primate's relations and domeſtics, both of the clergy and laity, were baniſhed the kingdom.

In the management of this diſpute, the greateſt error committed by Henry, was allowing the biſhops to appeal to Alexander: as it acknowledged a right of judicature belonging to the pope, in a matter of which he had no proper cognizance; and gave him an authority to revive, and re-judge what ought to have been finally determined in England, by the law of the land and the judgment of the barons, in whoſe ſentence againſt the primate Henry ſhould, in good policy and for his own ſafety, have joined; but he might probably have adopted his own meaſures with a view of keeping the biſhops on his ſide, and by thinking, that they would eaſily perſuade the pope to conſider the diſpute between him and his late chancellor, as a cauſe in which the church had no concern; not conſidering, that pride, hypocriſy and duplicity, were the characteriſtics of churchmen in thoſe times.

The honour with which Becket was treated abroad, could not fail of exciting the indignation of Henry, who ſeemed at this time to ſet his face againſt the pope's ſupremacy, and to have formed a reſolution of delivering his ſubjects from the burden of eccleſiaſtical tyranny; for he iſſued orders to his juſticiaries, that no appeals ſhould be made to the pope or archbiſhop, and forbad the receiving any mandates from them, or applying to their authority in any inſtance whatever. He declared, that they who ſhould preſume to bring an interdict on the kingdom, he would puniſh with loſs of limb or death, whether laymen or clergymen. The pope and Becket on the contrary, formed a reſolution of proceeding to violent meaſures with the king. The modeſt primate drew a compariſon between himſelf and Chriſt, and ſaid, he underwent a ſecond crucifixion from the preſent oppreſſions on the church. He excommunicated thoſe who had been concerned in ſequeſtering the revenues of the archiepiſcopal ſee, and all who paid obedience to the conſtitutions of Clarendon. He proceeded even to threaten his ſovereign with excommunication, unleſs he repented of what he had done; and his influence procured the pope's ratification of his cenſures.

A. D. 1165. The troubles which at this time were excited in Italy by the thunder of the Vatican, alarmed Henry. He therefore paſſed over to the continent, in order, if poſſible, to prevent an interdict being laid on the kingdom, by a perſonal conference with his holineſs. But he was diſappointed. The proud prelate remained inflexible, and Henry returned to England. It is ſurprizing, and difficult to be accounted for, unleſs the king was in his heart a ſlave to the church of Rome, that he who entertained a proper regard for the dignity of his crown, ſhould afterwards ſtoop to ſuch mean conceſſions as he is known to have done. At this time he employed againſt his opponents every weapon of temporal power remaining in his hands, he ſuſpended the payment of Peter's pence, made advances towards an alliance with the emperor Barbaroſſa, the empire being then under an interdict, and diſcovering ſome intentions of acknowledging Paſcal III. hoping by theſe expedients to terrify the crafty pontiff, and prevent his proceeding to extremities againſt him and his kingdom. During theſe tranſactions the pope and Henry began to perceive, that in the preſent ſituation of affairs, nothing farther could be done with ſafety, than to bring the diſpute to an amicable deciſion. A meeting was therefore appointed at a village in the neighbourhood of Paris, where Henry, Lewis and the archbiſhop were preſent. The laſt offered to ſubmit, with the clauſe, "ſaving the honour of God," which Henry wiſely remarked was an evaſion, that would, whenever he pleaſed, ſerve his turn, and give riſe hereafter to freſh diſputes; concluding with this remarkable propoſal which he addreſſed to the king of France; "Sir, there have been many kings of England of leſs power than I poſſeſs; there have been many former archbiſhops of Canterbury much better and holier men than Thomas *à* Becket; yet I will be ſatisfied, if he will conſent to make the ſame conceſſions to me, which the wiſeſt and moſt holy of his predeceſſors have made to the weakeſt and leaſt powerful of mine." This frank declaration had a great effect on moſt preſent; but Becket refuſed to ſubmit, Lewis appeared to be diſguſted, and the two kings parted without taking leave of the archbiſhop: yet the friendſhip between Lewis and Becket was ſoon after renewed, and the latter became more than ever a favourite with the courts of France and Rome.

A. D. 1169. Excommunications, iſſued by Becket, now ſucceeded each other with ſuch amazing rapidity, that the king had ſcarcely a ſervant about him who was not under an interdict. The fortitude of his miniſters ſeemed to ſhake, and ſeveral councils were held in order to terminate the diſpute. At length, in the year following, matters were brought toward a peaceable concluſion; and the primate was permitted to return to his ſee on the following conditions: He was not required to give up any of the rights of the church, or reſign any of thoſe pretenſions which had been the ground of the controverſy; but, without making any conceſſions, ſhould be, with all his adherents, reſtored to their livings; and that even the incumbents of ſuch as depended upon the ſee of Canterbury, and had been filled during the primate's abſence, ſhould be expelled, and Becket have full liberty to ſupply the vacancies. In return for theſe conceſſions, which ſtruck at the dignity of the crown, Henry reaped only the advantage of ſeeing his miniſters abſolved from the ſentence of excommunication, and of preventing the interdict taking place, which was ready to be laid upon all his dominions.

This grand diſpute being ſettled, not much to the king's credit, he held a great council at Windſor. In this aſſembly the kingdom was divided into circuits, and certain commiſſioners appointed to make a progreſs through them, in order to take cognizance of all abuſes committed by the ſheriffs, bailiffs, and other inferior officers. This inquiſition produced the moſt ſalutary effects. But the main buſineſs Henry had in view, and which he now brought forward, was the coronation of his eldeſt ſon, who had been knighted by his father. No objection was made to the propoſal of the king; the only difficulty ſtarted was with regard to the prelate who was to perform the ceremony. It was generally underſtood to be the prerogative of the archbiſhop of Canterbury; but on this occaſion it was performed by the archbiſhop of York; who, aſſiſted by the biſhops of London and Durham, placed the crown on the head of young Henry. This prince was a ſtranger to generous paſſions; gratitude was not in the catalogue of his virtues. His father, deſirous of teſtifying every mark of paternal love for his favourite ſon, ſerved the firſt diſh at his table with his own hands, ſaying at the ſame time, "You may now boaſt, my ſon, of being as honourably ſerved as any monarch upon earth." But the haughty ſoul of Harry knew not how to make a proper return to this engaging condeſcenſion in an indulgent parent. Turning to the archbiſhop of York, he whiſpered, with a contemptuous ſneer, "That he thought it no mighty degradation, for the ſon of a petty count to ſerve the heir of a great king." Henry heard not this ungracious reflection, and was yet a ſtranger to his imperious diſpoſition.

This coronation gave offence to the king of France, becauſe his daughter Margaret, wife to the young king, was not crowned with her huſband. Henry therefore promiſed Lewis, that the ceremony ſhould be repeated, and his daughter receive both the crown and the royal unction with her huſband. The breaſt of Becket was alſo filled with the ſpirit of malevolence. He threatened vengeance againſt thoſe prelates who had performed the ceremony; but its fury ſpent itſelf in vain. The pope ſuſpended the effects of his anathemas till a proper enquiry could be made.

Henry was now returned to Normandy, and St. Thomas was preparing for his journey to England, in order to take poſſeſſion of his dioceſe, and light up afreſh the torch of civil diſſention. He had but juſt landed in England, when he made a progreſs through Kent with a pomp and oſtentation ill becoming a man who had ſo lately received the royal pardon. He paraded through the towns and villages, exhibiting himſelf as a martyr to the cauſe of the church, while the credulous multitude hailed his appearance with hymns of congratulation and thankſgiving. Becket had brought to England three fine horſes, which he intended for a preſent to the young prince, who hearing that he had advanced to Southwark, in the ridiculous parade above mentioned, ſent him word, that he might diſpenſe with his viſit, and that his preſent would not be accepted. In this oſtentatious perambulation Becket had been attended by a number of knights, and other perſons in arms, and finding that the hearts of the people were devoted to him, he began to exerciſe his eccleſiaſtical power in a manner that ſufficiently teſtified the pride and rancour of his heart. He ſuſpended the archbiſhop of York, who had crowned the king's eldeſt ſon: he excommunicated the biſhops of Saliſbury and London, and treated other dignified clergymen with equal rigour; but the moſt ſingular proofs of his low pride and folly were, his excommunicating a man for ſpeaking diſreſpectfully of him, and another for cutting off the tail of one of his horſes.

Meanwhile the archbiſhop of York, with the biſhops of London and Saliſbury, had gone over to Normandy, and at the feet of the king implored his juſtice for themſelves, his whole clergy, and for the nation in general. The archbiſhop remarked, that while Becket lived, the king could never hope to be in ſafety. Upon this, Henry gave a looſe to the violent commotions of his mind, excited by their moving complaints, and exclaimed in all the anguiſh of affronted majeſty "that the man whom he had raiſed from the duſt, had trampled upon the whole kingdom; had driven him and his children from the throne, and triumphed there unreſiſted; that he was very unfortunate to have maintained ſo many ungrateful cowards in his court, none of whom would vindicate his honour, and revenge him of one inſolent, turbulent prieſt." Theſe paſſionate expreſſions excited the attention of the whole court; but were particularly noticed by four knights of the houſehold, who conſidered them as a hint for Becket's death; and, having communicated their thoughts to each other, bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath, to revenge the inſults that had been offered to their ſovereign. Reginald Fitz-Urſe, William de Tracy, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Brito, were the four gentlemen of the bed-chamber, who imagined they ſhould oblige their maſter by murdering Becket. With this view they ſecretly retired from court, and embarked for England in different ſhips. Some menacing expreſſions they had dropped gave ſuſpicion of their deſign; of which, when Henry was informed, he diſpatched a meſſenger after them with expreſs orders, not to attempt any thing againſt the perſon of the primate. Theſe orders, however, were too late, to prevent the execution of their fatal purpoſe; for the conſpirators being aſſembled at the caſtle of Saltwood, they were joined there by twelve other perſons, with whom they haſtened to Canterbury. The twelve aſſiſtants took their ſtations in different parts of the town, and the four principals repaired to the houſe of the archbiſhop. Having ſecured two or three of his domeſtics, they entered his apartment, and reproached him in bitter terms for the ſupercilious arrogance of his conduct. Becket did not ſeem in the leaſt daunted at this unexpected charge; but what he ſaid, in reply, tended only to confirm the aſſaſſins in the reſolution they had taken to deſtroy him. The hour of veſpers now approached, and the archbiſhop repaired to the church of St. Benedict. He was followed by the conſpirators; and he had no ſooner reached the altar than they ſplit his ſkull, and the blood and brains were ſprinkled upon the pavement. Thus was the nation delivered from the tyranny of an imperious prelate, who endeavoured to eſtabliſh the authority of the church on the ruins of the civil eſtabliſhment. We may conclude he was not a man of real piety, ſeeing he was deficient in one of its moſt eſſential requiſites, humility. A proud, contentious Chriſtian, is a contradiction in terms.

A. D. 1171. Thus was Thomas à Becket murdered in the fifty-third year of his age, yet no tumult enſued in any part of the kingdom; no man ſought to take vengeance on his murderers, or even to bring them to juſtice; but when his death was known, multitudes of people flocked to the church, lamenting over the body, and croſſing their foreheads with his blood. After his burial, many ridiculous ſtories were propagated and believed, of miracles wrought at his tomb. Men, nay horſes, dogs, and cows, were ſaid to have been reſtored to life. It was aſſerted and credited that the archbiſhop, a little while before his interment, quitted his coffin to light the candles of his own funeral; and that, after the ceremonial, he ſtretched out his hands, as if beſtowing his bleſſing upon the ſurrounding multitude.

Pope Alexander taking advantage of the credulity of the people, canonized Becket by the name of St. Thomas of Canterbury; and his body was removed to a magnificent ſhrine, enriched with preſents from all parts of Chriſtendom. Pilgrimages were performed to obtain his interceſſion; and it was computed, that in one year above one hundred thouſand pilgrims arrived in Canterbury, to pay their devotions at his ſhrine. However, even in thoſe times of dark ignorance, men of ſuperior diſcernment were ſo far from acknowledging Becket for a ſaint, that they would not allow he had a claim to the character of an honeſt man; and about fifty years after his death it was publicly diſputed at Paris, whether his ſoul was in heaven or in hell.

When the news of his murder reached the ears of Henry, it filled him with unaffected concern. He ſhut himſelf up from the light of day, and from all commerce with his ſervants; he even refuſed, during three days, food and ſuſtenance. The courtiers in waiting, apprehending that his grief would be attended with fatal conſequences, broke in upon his ſolitude, and by making uſe of every argument of conſolation, at length prevailed upon him to accept of nouriſhment; at the ſame time intreated him to avert the anger of the pontiff, whoſe reſentment he might juſtly apprehend on account of the primate's murder. In purſuance of this ſalutary advice, a ſplendid embaſſy was ſent to Rome, in order to ſtay, if poſſible, the thunders of the Vatican. Alexander at firſt refuſed an audience to Henry's ambaſſadors; but by a proper diſtribution of large ſums of money his intention was fully anſwered; and his holineſs contented himſelf with iſſuing general denunciations againſt the principals and accomplices of Becket's murder. The archbiſhop of Sens, who had always been an implacable enemy to the Engliſh monarch, laid an interdict upon all the French provinces ſubject to Henry; but the pope prevented the conſequences that might have reſulted from that ſentence. Two cardinals were ſent with legatine powers into Normandy, to examine into the king's conduct reſpecting the murder of Becket; and a conference was opened at Avaranches, where Henry and his eldeſt ſon, together with all the clergy of Normandy, were preſent. After long debates, the whole affair was ſettled, and all differences between Henry and the pope were terminated on the following conditions: The king declared upon oath in the church of St. Andrew, that he had neither deſired, nor commanded the murder of Becket; but as ſome words had eſcaped him, in the agony of grief, which might have given occaſion to it, he was deſirous of atoning for that offence, by ſtipulating to pay a ſum of money ſufficient to maintain two hundred knights for one year in the Holy Land, and to ſerve himſelf three years againſt the infidels, ſhould his holineſs require it. He farther engaged, not to inſiſt on any cuſtoms derogatory to eccleſiaſtical privileges, that had been introduced in the courſe of his reign, nor to hinder appeals to the pope; but content himſelf with exacting ſufficient ſecurity from thoſe who left his dominions, that they ſhould attempt nothing againſt the rights of his crown and kingdom. Thus Henry extricated himſelf from a very alarming ſituation, upon very eaſy terms.

A. D. 1172. Henry embarked for England, where affairs of conſequence demanded his preſence; and having now nothing to fear from the ſpiritual ſword, he reſumed, probably to divert the attention of the people from Becket's death, the deſign he had ſome years before formed, of making a conqueſt of Ireland. Adrian IV. who at that time filled the papal chair, deſirous of augmenting the revenues of the holy ſee, encouraged Henry to purſue the plan he had formed, and granted him a bull with ample privileges. The reader will not, perhaps, be diſpleaſed to ſee this curious inſtrument at large, as it affords a convincing proof that the popes of Rome, even in thoſe early times, uſurped the power of conferring kingdoms and ſtates on whom they pleaſed.

POPE ADRIAN's BULL.

" *Adrian, ſervant of the ſervants of God, to his ſon in Chriſt Jeſus, Henry, king of England, ſends greeting, an apoſtolical benediction.*

" THE deſire your highneſs expreſſed to advance the glory of your name on earth, and to obtain in heaven the prize of eternal happineſs, deſerves commendation. As a good catholic prince you are very careful to enlarge the borders of the church; to ſpread the knowledge of the truth among the barbarous and the ignorant; and to extirpate the weeds of vice in the garden of the Lord, for which you apply to us for countenance and direction. We are confident that your enterprize will be crowned with ſucceſs, becauſe you have undertaken it from the nobleſt motives; for whatever is taken in hand from a principle of faith and religion, is always ſure to ſucceed. It is certain, as you yourſelf acknowledge, that Ireland, as well as all other iſlands that have the happineſs of being enlightened by the ſun of righteouſneſs, and have embraced the doctrines of chriſtianity, are undoubtedly St. Peter's right, and belong to the juriſdiction of the Roman ſee. We therefore think, after mature deliberation, that to ſettle in that iſland colonies of the faithful, will be well-pleaſing to God.

" You have informed us, that you intend to make an expedition into Ireland, to ſubject the iſland to juſt laws, and to extirpate vice, which has long prevailed in that country. You promiſe to pay us out of every houſe a yearly acknowledgment of one penny, and to maintain the rights of the church without the leaſt infringement or diminution. Upon theſe conditions we conſent and allow that you make deſcent upon that iſland, to enlarge the bounds of the church; to check the progreſs of immorality; to reform the manners of the inhabitants; and to promote the growth of virtue and the Chriſtian religion. We exhort you to do whatever you ſhall judge neceſſary to advance the honour of God, and the ſalvation of the people, whom we charge you to ſubmit to your juriſdiction, and own you for their ſovereign lord; provided always that the rights of the church be inviolably obſerved, and Peter-pence duly paid. If, therefore, you think proper to carry your deſign into execution, labour, above all things, to improve the inhabitants in virtue. Uſe both your own endeavours, and the endeavours of ſuch as you ſhall judge worthy of being employed in this work, that the church of God be more and more enriched; that religion flouriſh in the country; and that the things tending to the honour of God, and the ſalvation of ſouls, be diſpoſed of in ſuch a manner as may entitle you to an immortal fame upon earth, and an eternal reward in heaven."

Upon this bull Henry ſet up a pretended claim to Ireland; and an opportunity about this time offered for his interference in the affairs of that iſland. Dermot Macmorrogh, a petty king of Leinſter, had baſely ſeized Omack, wife of Ororic, king of Meath, during the abſence of her huſband; who, provoked by this outrage, collected forces, and aſſiſted by Roderic, king of Connaught, drove the tyrant from his dominions. The exiled prince had recourſe to Henry, who was in Guienne, imploring his aſſiſtance, and offered, in caſe he reſtored him to his throne, to hold his dominions in vaſſalage under the crown of England. Henry readily accepted the propoſal; but being embarraſſed by the rebellion of his French ſubjects, he gave Dermot no other aſſiſtance than his letters patent, by which all his ſubjects were permitted to aid the prince in perſon, yet he himſelf declined to embark in the enterprize. Supported by this authority, Dermot went to Briſtol, where he concluded a treaty with Richard, ſurnamed Strongbow, earl of Strigul, who having impaired his fortune by expenſive pleaſures, was ready for any deſperate undertaking; and promiſed Dermot his ſervices, on condition of marrying Eva, Dermot's daughter, and being declared heir to all his territories. A treaty upon theſe terms being concluded between them, while Strongbow was aſſembling forces, Dermot went into Wales, where he engaged for his expedition Robert Fitz-Stephens, and Maurice Fitz-Gerald. Being now aſſured of ſufficient ſuccour, he repaired privately to Ireland, and reſided in the monaſtery of Fernes, where he made preparations for the reception of his Engliſh allies.

Fitz-Stephens being firſt ready, landed in Ireland with one hundred and thirty knights, ſixty eſquires, and three hundred archers. This ſmall body, being brave men, and completely armed, a ſight almoſt unknown in Ireland, filled the inhabitants with terror; and Fitz-Stephens, being ſoon after joined by Maurice de Prendergaſt, with ten knights and ſixty archers, he was enabled to attempt the ſiege of Wexford, where, after gaining a battle, he took the town. Fitz-Gerald arrived ſoon after with ten knights, thirty eſquires, and one hundred archers, and joining the other adventurers, formed a force which carried all before it. Roderic, the chief king of the iſland, was defeated in an engagement; and the prince of Oſſory, being compelled to ſubmit, gave hoſtages for his peaceable behaviour.

Dermot, not contented with the reſtoration of his dominions, projected now the dethroning of Roderic, and aſpired even to the ſole ſovereignty of Ireland. With this view he diſpatched a meſſenger to Strongbow, claiming the performance of his promiſe; diſplaying, at the ſame time, the great advantages that might now be reaped, by a ſmall a ſmall reinforcement of troops from England. Strongbow ſent over Raymond, one of his retinue, with ten knights and ſeventy archers, who landing near Waterford, are ſaid to have defeated three thouſand Iriſh; and he himſelf, a few days after, brought over above two hundred horſe, and a hundred archers, with whom, joining his fellow-adventurers, they made themſelves maſters of Waterford, and took Dublin by aſſault. Roderic, in revenge, cut off the head of Dermot's ſon, who had been left in his hands as an hoſtage; and Richard Strongbow having married Eva, ſoon after became, by the death of Dermot, king of Leinſter, and prepared for conquering the whole iſland; of which, beſides many ſmall tribes, there were five principal ſovereignties, Munſter, Leinſter, Meath, Ulſter, and Connaught. There is the greateſt reaſon to believe, that Ireland was originally peopled from England; and at this period they remained in a ſtate of barbariſm, without even agriculture, without arts, deſtitute of laws, manners, and of learning. Ferocious by nature, and fond of liberty, they oppoſed every attempt to civilize them; and, like antient Britons, when attacked by a ſuperior force, fled to their foreſts, mountains, and caverns for ſafety. Roderic, and the other Iriſh princes, alarmed at the danger which now threatened the whole iſland, entered into a confederacy, and, uniting their forces, beſieged Dublin with an army of thirty thouſand men; but Strongbow, at the head of ninety knights, with their followers, attacking them in the night, routed this body of forces, and in the purſuit made a prodigious ſlaughter.

Such was the ſtate of affairs in Ireland when Henry landed from the continent. Diſpleaſed at the manner his ſubjects went on, conquering kingdoms for themſelves, and probably touched with a fit of jealouſy for his own dignity in not being a ſharer in their glory, he ſent letters to Strongbow, charging him upon his allegiance to repair to him immediately, and give an account of his conduct in Ireland. The earl, who knew he was not in a condition to diſpute the king's orders, repaired to him at Glouceſter, where he found means to appeaſe his anger by making him the moſt humble ſubmiſſions, and offers of holding ſuch parts of his conqueſts as he ſhould approve, under vaſſalage to his crown. The king now having determined to invade the iſland in perſon, after taking proper precautions for the peace of Wales, embarked at Milford, and landed about eight miles from Waterford, at the head of five hundred knights, beſides other ſoldiers. The Iriſh, diſpirited by their late defeats, had laid aſide all thoughts of reſiſtance; ſo that in the progreſs Henry made through the iſland, he had little more to do than to appear the protector, and receive the homage of his new ſubjects, whom he treated with remarkable lenity and kindneſs. He kept his Chriſtmas feſtival in Dublin, the metropolis of his new-acquired kingdom, where he convened a national ſynod; committed to moſt of the Iriſh princes the government of their own territories; beſtowed on Strongbow the commiſſion of ſeneſchal of Ireland; and, after a ſtay of a few months, having been ſummoned by the pope to appear in Normandy, returned in triumph to England.

From thence he paſſed over to the continent, and on his arrival at Savigny, the two legates Albert and Theodine, to whom the trial of his conduct, with regard to the murder of Becket, had been committed, opened their commiſſion. At firſt, their demands were ſo exorbitant that Henry broke off the negotiation, and threatened to return to Ireland. The cardinals, ſenſible that the ſeaſon for taking advantage of that tragical incident was now paſt, were obliged to lower their tone, and the king of England had the good fortune to conclude an accommodation with them on eaſy terms.

The conceſſions having been ſigned, Henry received abſolution from the legates, and was confirmed in the grant pope Adrian had made him of Ireland.

Henry had now reached the ſummit of human glory, and flattered himſelf with enjoying a ſeries of undiſturbed tranquillity. He was deceived in theſe pleaſing expectations. His children proved a ſource of the moſt ſevere diſquietude. Henry, his eldeſt ſon, was weary of bearing the royal title without authority. He had married Margaret, daughter to Lewis king of France, and the ceremony of his coronation had been repeated, in order that his conſort might be included in the ſolemnity. He had alſo been permitted to pay a viſit to his father-in-law, and continued ſome time at the court of France. Lewis, ever attentive to excite commotions in England, embraced this opportunity of kindling the flames of domeſtic diſcord in the family of Henry. He perſuaded the young prince, that in conſequence of the ceremony of the coronation, he was entitled to an immediate poſſeſſion of a part of the dominions of his father. Imperious by nature, and full of this extravagant idea, young Henry returned to England, and demanded of his father, either his kingdom, or the duchy of Normandy. The king was aſtoniſhed at this unexpected demand, and began to fear that his hopes of happineſs were built on a chimerical foundation. He endeavoured to convince his ſon of the unreaſonableneſs of his deſire; and painted in proper colours the folly of a requeſt, which could only tend to weaken the power of his family, and, ultimately, his own authority. But his endeavours were in vain: the prince diſcovered the higheſt diſcontent, blended with inſolence, at his father's refuſal; and, retiring to France, put himſelf under the protection of Lewis, whoſe deſire of leſſening the power of Henry had given riſe to this domeſtic diſcord. But the diſobedience of his eldeſt ſon was not the only misfortune that diſturbed the tranquillity of Henry. Queen Eleanor was jealous of her huſband, and communicating her diſcontent to her two younger ſons Geoffrey and Richard, perſuaded them that they alſo were entitled to the preſent poſſeſſion of the territories aſſigned them: ſhe likewiſe prevailed upon them to fly ſecretly to the court of France, and had alſo put on man's clothes in order to eſcape to the ſame court, when ſhe was ſeized by Henry's orders, and confined. Thus Europe beheld with aſtoniſhment the moſt indulgent of parents at war with his own children, three boys, ſcarcely arrived at the age of manhood, requiring a great monarch in the full vigour of life, and in the height of reputation, to quit the throne, and place them on it; and, at the ſame time, ſeveral princes, who were not aſhamed to ſupport them in their abſurd and unnatural pretenſions.

A. D. 1173.

Lewis was not the ſole monarch who began now to be jealous of Henry's growing power. William, king of Scotland, had long beheld it with terror, and trembled for the conſequences. He followed young Henry to France, under pretence of renewing the league that had long continued between the Scottiſh and French nations; but in reality to concert proper meaſures for diſtreſſing the king of England. Nothing leſs than the amazing abilities of the Engliſh monarch, could have extricated him out of the innumerable difficulties with which he was now ſurrounded. The deſertion of many of his powerful barons, particularly in Normandy, gave him reaſon to fear that his own ſubjects would deſert him in the day of battle; he therefore took twenty thouſand Brabanders, all veteran troops, into his pay, and by his liberality attached them firmly to his perſon. He alſo applied to pope Alexander, who, in compliance with his requeſt, promulgated anathemas againſt young Henry and all his adherents: but the papal thunder, whoſe effect was irreſiſtible in eccleſiaſtical cauſes, loſt its power when employed in a diſpute merely temporal: the flaming bolts of the Vatican fell harmleſs to the ground. Indeed, the clergy were very remiſs in ſupporting a ſentence, that was not in the leaſt connected with the intereſt of their order. The king was therefore obliged to have recourſe to arms; and his virtues never ſhone with ſo much luſtre as in this alarming criſis. The ſight of impending dangers animated him with freſh courage. Bleſt with the moſt aſtoniſhing preſence of mind, he viewed with the moſt intrepid coolneſs the approaching ſtorm, and planned the moſt prudent meaſures to break its force. Lewis, on this occaſion, ſummoned an aſſembly of the chief vaſſals of his crown to meet at Paris, and engaged them by oath to adhere to young Henry's cauſe. In return, that prince ſwore never to deſert his French allies; and having cauſed a new great ſeal to be made, laviſhly diſtributed among them conſiderable parts of thoſe territories which he propoſed to conquer from his father. The counts of Flanders, Bologne, Blois, and Eu, jealous of Henry's power, and allured by the proſpect of advantages they hoped to obtain from the young unnatural prince, declared openly in his favour. William of Scotland entered into the ſame confederacy; and a plan was formed for a general invaſion of the different parts of the king of England's extenſive dominions.

Hoſtilities were begun by Richard, who repaired into Guienne, and excited the greater part of the inhabitants to take up arms againſt his father. Geoffrey ſtirred up a rebellion in Brittany, and put himſelf at the head of the inſurgents. Normandy was invaded by the king of France, aſſiſted by the earls of Flanders, Bologne, and Blois. The Scottiſh monarch led an army into the northern parts of England; and the earl of Leiceſter landed in Eſſex at the head of a large body of Flemiſh troops, to excite an inſurrection among the Engliſh. The active genius of Henry now towered above misfortunes. He ſaw his dangers, but was not intimidated. He had taken ſuch precautions in providing for the defence of his frontiers, that Lewis, after loſing the greater part of his army, was obliged to abandon the enterprize. Ten thouſand Brabanders, ſent by Henry into Brittany, defeated the rebels, and obliged them to return to their duty. The army of Leiceſter was routed at St. Edmonſbury in Suffolk, and above ten thouſand Flemings ſlain on the ſpot. Henry advanced at the head of his army againſt the inſurgents in Guienne, retook the places they had ſeized, and obliged them to lay down their arms, and ſubmit to his authority.

A. D. 1174. Henry, who had defeated the deſigns of his enemies in France, and put his frontiers out of danger from any attempts of his enemies, landed at Southampton; and in order to gain the affections of his people, before he proceeded againſt the Scottiſh army, ſubmitted to an act of humiliation, which all the power of the church could not have impoſed on him. He knew that the ridiculous ſtories of Becket's miracles were firmly believed by a weak and bigotted people, and that he himſelf lay under ſtrong ſuſpicions of being acceſſary to his death. He determined, therefore, to remove every ſhadow of complaint, by joining in the reigning devotions of the times. He ſet out for Canterbury in order to make an atonement for his offences at Becket's tomb. As ſoon as he came within ſight of the cathedral, at the diſtance of three miles, he diſmounted, and walked barefoot over a road that was full of rough and ſharp ſtones, which ſo wounded his feet, that, in many places, they were ſtained with his blood. When he got to the tomb, he threw himſelf proſtrate before it, and remained ſome time in fervent prayer; during which the biſhop of London, in his name, declared to the people, that he had neither commanded, nor adviſed, nor by any artifice contrived, the death of Becket; for the truth of which he appealed, in the moſt ſolemn manner, to the teſtimony of God. Not content with this, he ſubmitted to a penance ſtill more ſingular and humbling. He aſſembled a chapter of the monks, diſrobed himſelf before them, ordered a ſcourge of diſcipline to be put into the hands of each, and preſented his bare ſhoulders to the laſhes, which ſeveral biſhops and abbots inflicted on him. This ſharp penance being over, he returned to his prayers before the tomb, which he continued all that day and the next night; not even ſuffering a carpet to be ſpread under him, but kneeling on the hard pavement. Early in the morning he made a ſolemn proceſſion round the altars of the church, and paid his devotions to the ſaints interred there; then returning to the ſhrine of the canonized prelate, he made an offering of forty pounds per annum, to ſupport a number of lamps, to be kept continually burning before his tomb. True devotion is more decent, and leſs oſtentatious.

Henry had ſcarcely recovered from a fever, occaſioned by his ſevere penance, when his ſleep was diſturbed in the middle of the night by a meſſenger, who inſiſted upon being admitted to his preſence at that unſeaſonable hour. Being introduced by a gentleman of the bed-chamber, he told the king he was ſent with good tidings from Ranulph de Glanville. Henry enquired kindly after his health. He is well, anſwered the meſſenger, and holds your enemy, the king of Scotland, a captive at Richmond caſtle in Yorkſhire. Henry, aſtoniſhed, ordered him to repeat what he had ſaid. After doing ſo, he produced a letter, which contained the particulars of this great event. The king had no ſooner read it, than leaping out of his bed, and ſhedding tears of gratitude, he with eyes and hands raiſed to heaven gave God thanks. He then ſent for his friends, to partake with him of the pleaſure he felt at this unexpected news; the particulars of which were theſe.

The king of Scotland, blocking up the caſtle of Alnwick with his regular forces, ſent all his irregulars to ravage the country. A troop of theſe, under the command of Duncan, earl of Fife, entered Warkworth, which they burned to the ground, and maſſacred all the inhabitants, men, women, and children. This act of cruelty raiſed the ſtrongeſt reſentments in the people of all the northern counties. The Yorkſhire barons aſſembled under Ranulph de Glanville, ſheriff, forming a body of horſe, in which were about four hundred knights, and after a long forced march, they entered Newcaſtle on the fourth of July. They there learned in what manner the forces of the enemy were ſcattered; which giving them a reaſonable hope of finding the king weakly guarded, they reſolved to ſet out the next morning, in order to ſurprize that part of the army which lay before Alnwick caſtle. As they proceeded on their march, ſo thick a fog aroſe that they could with difficulty find their way; upon which ſome adviſed returning back to Nawcaſtle; but Bernard de Baliol, one of the principal barons, declaring, that rather than ſtain his character with the infamy of ſuch a retreat, he would go forwards alone, they all reſolved to proceed. While advancing, the miſt which had covered and concealed their march, ſuddenly diſperſing, they had a near view of Alnwick caſtle, and ſoon diſcerned the Scotch king, amidſt a troop of between ſixty and ſeventy horſemen, diverting himſelf with the exerciſes of chivalry in an open plain. He at firſt took them for the detachment commanded by Duncan, returning from Warkworth; but on their nearer approach, diſcovering by their banners that they were Engliſh, he was amazed, yet not daunted; for ſuppoſing ſome bands of his forces which were on every ſide ſcouring the country, would come to his aid, or perhaps from the mere impulſe of a raſh unthinking courage, he fiercely ſhook his ſpear, ſaying to his men, that "now it would be ſeen who was a good knight;" having thus ſpoke, he led his men immediately to the attack, charging foremoſt himſelf; but his horſe being killed under him in the firſt ſhock, he was taken priſoner, and with him moſt of his knights. Some nobles who were not engaged in the action, hearing what had happened, threw themſelves into the hands of the Engliſh, that they might be partakers in the ill fortune of their ſovereign. The victorious party, without encountering any other detachment of the enemy, returned that evening to Newcaſtle, and the next day they conducted their royal priſoner to the caſtle of Richmond. All his army, on the firſt account they received of this misfortune, retired precipitately into Scotland. Such remarkable ſucceſs was attributed to the protection of St. Thomas, and this opinion, ſpreading through the whole kingdom, tended greatly to depreſs the ſpirits of the Engliſh rebels; but many barons being ſtill in arms, Henry marched without delay to chaſtiſe them. He firſt inveſted the caſtle of Framlingham, belonging to Hugh Bigod, who was too well acquainted with the martial diſpoſition of Henry to attempt defending his fortreſs. The biſhop of Durham, who had effected an entire independance, delivered up the caſtles of Norham and Alverton. The officers of the earl of Leiceſter followed the biſhop's example and gave up the caſtles of Montſorrel, Groby, and Leiceſter. Mowbray delivered up the caſtle of Thirſk, and the earl of Ferrers, Stotville, and Dufelde. Such was the iſſue of this unnatural rebellion in England; and this prodigious career of ſucceſs, rendered it impracticable to purſue the intended invaſion from Graveline, where the younger Henry was ready to embark with a powerful army.

Lewis, therefore, in conjunction with the earl of Flanders, laid ſiege to Rouen. The combined army puſhed the ſiege with great vigour, and the French king flattered himſelf with being able to make himſelf maſter of the place before the arrival of Henry. He was however miſtaken. The garriſon made a noble defence, and Henry landed before Lewis could ſubdue even the outworks. The preſence of the Engliſh monarch ſtruck the enemy with terror; and the combined forces retired from the ſiege with the utmoſt precipitation, leaving all their baggage behind them.

All the confederates now deſired a concluſion of the war. Every enterprize they had formed with confident hopes of ſucceſs, from their great ſuperiority of ſtrength, having been ſtrangely defeated by ſuch a ſeries of accidents in Henry's favour, that the immediate hand of God ſeemed to appear in ſupporting and maintaining his cauſe. The only doubt was, whether the king of England would conſent to a peace, when revenge and glory ſeemed equally to demand a continuance of the war againſt enemies diſappointed in all their undertakings. But no advantage he could gain over them appeared of ſuch importance to the happineſs of his life, or the welfare of his people, as recovering his children out of their hands, and reclaiming them from thoſe errors into which their inexperienced youth had drawn them. Lewis having demanded a conference, Henry appeared at it, with the moſt moderate and pacific diſpoſition. A truce was agreed to, and Henry was ſuffered to make war on his ſon Richard, who having gained the poſſeſſion of ſome caſtles in Poictou, ſingly refuſed to accept the propoſed conditions. None of the other confederates would now aſſiſt him, ſo that helpleſs, and flying with a few of his barons, from one retreat to another, as Henry purſued him, he was at laſt conſtrained, notwithſtanding the ſtubborn pride of his heart, to ſubmit without reſerve to the king's mercy; who took the rebel to his boſom with the kindeſt marks of parental affection. They went together to another conference, appointed by the king of France, at which were likewiſe preſent the two other brothers, Henry and Geoffrey Plantagenet; with all the greater vaſſals of the French crown, except the earl of Flanders. Henry now granted his ſons leſs advantageous terms than he had before offered. The principal were conſiderable penſions, and ſome caſtles which he granted them for their reſidence, with an indemnity of all their adherents, who were reſtored to their honours and eſtates.

William, king of Scotland, was the only conſiderable loſer of all thoſe who had embraced the cauſe of the young princes. Henry reſtored to liberty without any ranſom, about nine hundred knights, whom he had taken priſoners; but William paid for his freedom the antient independency of his crown. He agreed to do homage to Henry for Scotland, and all his other poſſeſſions; that his barons and nobility ſhould do the ſame; that the biſhops ſhould take an oath of fealty; that both ſhould ſwear to adhere to the king of England, if William ſhould break his engagements; and that the fortreſſes of Edinburgh, Roxborough, Sterling, Jedborough, and Berwick, ſhould be delivered into Henry's hands, till the performance of the articles. Accordingly William, after his being releaſed, brought up all his barons, prelates, and abbots, who did homage to Henry in York cathedral. He alſo engaged the king and ſtates of Scotland, to make a perpetual ceſſion of the fortreſſes of Roxborough and Berwick. Few princes were ever ſo happy to gain ſuch conſiderable advantages of their weaker neighbours with ſuch juſtice, as Henry gained from the king of Scotland, who had wantonly waged againſt him an unjuſt war, in which all the neighbouring princes, and even his own unnatural ſons, were, without provocation, combined againſt him.

Before Henry left Normandy, his eldeſt ſon ſtaid at Rouen, while he went into Anjou, in which time ſeveral meſſengers were ſent from Lewis, to perſuade the young prince not to venture to go into England with the king, his father, who it was inſinuated, as ſoon as he ſhould have him in his power there, would confine him in priſon; which artful repreſentations ſo terrified the young prince, that when his father ordered him to come to Caen, from whence they were to take ſhipping, he refuſed to obey. Henry having been informed of the reaſons which produced this reluctance, aſſured him by ſeveral gracious meſſages that he had nothing to fear. Thus encouraged, he threw himſelf at his father's feet, in the preſence of many nobles, and with a great effuſion of tears, implored his forgiveneſs of all he had done to offend him; and moſt earneſtly begged, that as his father and lord, he would receive from him homage, and an oath of allegiance; adding, that till he permitted him, as he had done his two brothers, to give him theſe pledges of future loyalty, he ſhould never believe his indignation againſt him entirely removed. Henry, touched with this mark of filial contrition, conſented; upon which he not only took the oath of allegiance, but voluntarily ſwore, that he would be guided in the whole ordering of his houſhold, and all his other affairs, by his father's advice; and as long as he lived, would do no harm to thoſe vaſſals who had ſerved his father in this war, on account of that ſervice; but would honour and promote them as men who had been faithful both to their king and to him. Theſe matters being adjuſted between the father and ſon, they went to Barfleur, and embarking there landed at Portſmouth, to the inexpreſſible joy of all Henry's faithful ſubjects. Thus ended this rebellion, the firſt and laſt ever raiſed in England, without ſome diſpute on the title of the king to the crown, ſome difference on the ſcore of religion, or the pretence of ſome grievances injurious to the public. Yet, ill-founded as it was, it ſhook the throne; but divine providence ſo aſſiſted the juſt cauſe of the king, that his combined enemies fell before him, and their malice ſerved only to make his virtues more conſpicuous, and his power more extenſive.

A. D. 1176. Peace having now extended her benign influence over every part of his dominions, Henry applied himſelf to the adminiſtration of juſtice, and to render permanent the affection of his Engliſh ſubjects. With theſe views he ſummoned a general council of the barons and prelates at Northampton. In this aſſembly the laws of Edward the Confeſſor, were revived to the entire ſatisfaction of the people. And in order to carry thoſe laws into execution, he cauſed the kingdom to be divided into ſix parts, and aſſigned to each three itinerant juſtices. Thoſe diviſions differ very little from the circuits of the judges in theſe days. He reſtored the barons, who had joined his rebellious ſons, to their eſtates. But having learned from experience the danger of ſuffering ſo many caſtles to exiſt in the very heart of his kingdom, he ſeized many of them, and demoliſhed others. He cauſed ſevere penalties to be inflicted for the crimes of murder, robbery, and coining. He demoliſhed in a great meaſure the ſuperſtitious trial by ordeal, by ordaining, that any perſon accuſed of murder or heinous felony, ſhould, though acquitted by the ordeal, be obliged to abjure the realm. He was alſo deſirous of aboliſhing that abſurd cuſtom of appealing to ſingle combat; but this had taken too firm root among the nobility and gentry; he therefore contented himſelf with admitting either of the parties to challenge a trial by jury of twelve freeholders: this method of trial was very antient in England, having been eſtabliſhed by the laws of Alfred the Great; but the barbarous taſte of the age had of late given more credit to the trial by ſingle combat, which had for ſome time been the method of deciding all important controverſies of a perſonal nature. By theſe and other wiſe regulations, Henry became the delight of his people. All Europe from hating and dreading, now began to admire and revere him. His abilities were ſuperior to any, his power was guarded beyond inſult, and his clemency now made more conqueſts in peace, than his arms had ever done in war. A ſettled tranquillity in his kingdom, afforded him that ſatisfaction he had ſought in vain from power and grandeur. England knew what it was to be governed by Engliſh councils; her laws were acquiring a new degree of duration; and the people were contented, protected, and happy.

A. D. 1179. Lewis, king of France, now worn out with years, was deſirous of reſigning his crown to Philip his ſon; but that young prince falling ill, on the day appointed for his coronation, his father, contrary to the advice of his council, reſolved to make a pilgrimage to Becket's ſhrine, in order to obtain the interceſſion of that ſaint for his recovery. Henry met the French monarch at Dover, and conducted him to Canterbury, where they both paid their devotions at the altar of St. Thomas; and Lewis offered at his tomb a maſſy cup of pure gold, and beſtowed beſides upon the monks a grant of two hundred gallons of wine annually. The monks, ſenſible that the honour of their ſaint was concerned, did not fail to publiſh, that the prayers of Lewis were anſwered, and that the young prince was by the prevalent interceſſion of Becket, reſtored to health. Lewis died ſoon after his return, and was ſucceeded by Philip, an ambitious, politic prince, who took every occaſion to depreſs the power of the Engliſh monarch.

A. D. 1183. Great as the abilities of Henry were, he found them inadequate to the arduous taſk of reforming his rebellious ſons. Young Henry again renewed his pretenſions to Normandy, again unſheathed the ſword againſt his father, and was protected by Philip, who favoured his unnatural deſigns. But while the young ingrate was buſily employed at Martel, a caſtle near Turrene, in digeſting the plan of his intended conſpiracy, he was ſeized with a violent fever. Alarmed at the approach of death, who, at the inſtant he gives the fatal ſtroke, takes off the vail of ſelf-deception, young Henry began a ſerious review of his paſt conduct, which now, ſtripped of all falſe diſguiſes, appeared to him what it really was, a monſter of deformity. Terrified at the ſight, and penetrated deeply with contrition for his filial ingratitude, he diſpatched a meſſage to the king, expreſſive of his ſincere repentance; earneſtly ſoliciting the honour of a viſit, that he might not die without the conſolation of having obtained his father's forgiveneſs. After ſuch repeated inſtances the king had experienced of his ſon's treachery, it was natural for him to ſuſpect, that he only feigned indiſpoſition, for the purpoſe of accompliſhing a deſign againſt his crown or life; he therefore paid no regard to his requeſt. But receiving ſoon after an account of his ſon's death, the tenderneſs of the father ſubdued all his philoſophy and fortitude. He fainted thrice, and when nature found utterance, burſt forth in exceſſive lamentations of grief and ſorrow. He upbraided himſelf ſeverely for having refuſed the requeſt of a dying, repentant, though undutiful ſon; and regretted that groundleſs ſuſpicion, which had deprived the youth of the laſt opportunity of making atonement for the errors of his life. Prince Henry died on the eleventh of June, in the twenty-eighth year of his age.

A. D. 1187. It was now hoped that the two ſons of Henry, Richard and Geoffrey, had laid aſide their rebellious intentions; but the former, diſguſted at a deſign formed by his father of ſettling Guienne as an appendage upon John, his youngeſt brother, departed the kingdom, and prepared to ſeize by force what he was only intitled to by birth; while Geoffrey repaired to the court of France, to ſolicit aſſiſtance againſt his father, becauſe he had refuſed compliance with an inſolent demand, that Anjou ſhould be annexed to his dutchy of Brittany. But the king was ſoon after relieved from all future intrigues of this unprincipled ſon, having received intelligence that Geoffrey had been killed in a tournament at Paris. Notwithſtanding the vicious diſpoſition of this prince, which he had manifeſted in numberleſs inſtances, the news of his untimely end proved the ſource of deep affliction to Henry; but his death was regretted by few of his ſubjects; for Geoffrey was a prince in whom pride, diſſimulation, and perfidy, were equally blended. Neither principles of honour, nor thoſe of religion, had the leaſt influence over, or could reſtrain his headſtrong refractory temper. He was acquainted with every vice, held in univerſal deteſtation, and therefore diſtinguiſhed by the opprobrious epithet of the child of perdition.

Soon after the death of this prince, the melancholy news arrived, that the holy city Jeruſalem was taken by Saladin, ſultan of Egypt, and that Guy de Luſignan was in the hands of the infidels. This diſmal intelligence aſtoniſhed all the Chriſtians of the weſtern parts. Pope Urban III. is ſaid to have died of grief; and his ſucceſſor, Gregory VIII. employed his whole time in calling to arms all thoſe who acknowledged his authority. Philip and Henry for a time ſuſpended their quarrels, and vied with each other in their readineſs to ſuccour Paleſtine. They both took the croſs; and both ordered, that ſuch of their ſubjects as did not chuſe to engage in the cruſade, ſhould pay the tenth part of their revenues and moveables to defray the expence of the armament. Moſt of the regular clergy were exempted from this impoſt, called Saladin's tax; and the ſeculars required the ſame privilege, notwithſtanding they were the chief inſtigators of theſe romantic enterprizes.

A.D. 1188. About two months after theſe tranſactions, the greater part of the inhabitants of Poictou roſe up in arms againſt Richard, upon a very frivolous occaſion. The chief of the confederacy was Geoffrey of Luſignan; who made ſo vigorous a reſiſtance, that Richard, ſummoning all his ſtrength, entered his country, and that of the earl of Tholouſe, who had alſo joined the inſurgents, with fire and ſword. The earls immediately applied to the king of France for protection. Philip, who had ſo lately entered into a ſacred engagement with Henry, ſent an ambaſſador to England, to know whether Richard had acted by his authority. He was told, that Richard had informed the archbiſhop of Dublin, that thoſe hoſtilities were commenced by the approbation and authority of Philip himſelf. The king of France, inſtead of being covered with ſhame and confuſion at this detection, entered the county of Berry, taking a great number of its principal places, with ſome caſtles which belonged to Henry.

Alarmed at ſuch proceedings, Henry immediately paſſed into Normandy, where he put himſelf at the head of a powerful army, and a ſharp conteſt was for ſome time maintained between theſe two monarchs. It was now the common cauſe of Henry and his ſon Richard to check the progreſs of the French arms. The former therefore advanced againſt Mante, where Philip had then taken up his quarters; while the latter fell into that part of Berry which belonged to the crown of France, laying waſte, and plundering the whole country through which he paſſed. As this war deſtroyed the hopes of ſucceſs in the propoſed cruſade, it gave great ſcandal; which obliged Philip to hold a conference with Henry at the uſual place, between Trie and Guiſons, in order to accommodate their differences; but the two kings, neither of whom perhaps were under the guidance of ſincerity, ſeparated with greater animoſity than they had met; and Philip, in a rage, ordered the beautiful elm, under which their conferences were held, to be cut down, ſwearing, that no more interviews ſhould honour that ſpot for the future. The confederate earls were now convinced, that the two kings purſued only their own intereſt, and therefore refuſed to ſerve either of them any longer in ſo bad a cauſe. Upon which the crafty French monarch again attempted a reconciliation with Henry; but, in the mean time, ſecretly brought over young Richard to his ſide. He artfully repreſented to this headſtrong prince the wrong done him by his father, in detaining from him his bride, together with her fortune, and ſuggeſted, that Henry's not putting him in the rank as heir-apparent to the crown of England, and the dutchy of Normandy, was owing to a ſecret deſign he had formed of ſettling the ſucceſſion upon John, his youngeſt brother. Richard behaved on this occaſion with a caution uncommon to his impetuous ſpirit: he declined entering into any engagement with Philip; but as the cauſe of the differences between his father and the French king regarded his conduct, he expreſſed his readineſs to juſtify himſelf before the court of France. For this purpoſe another conference was held, at which Philip, who well knew the inflexibility of Henry, offered to reſtore all things to the ſtate they were in previous to the rupture, provided the princeſs Alice was immediately given in marriage to Richard, who ſhould be declared heir-apparent of Henry's dominions, and receive in due form the homage of his ſubjects. Henry had experienced already ſuch fatal effects from the crowning of his eldeſt ſon, that he rejected theſe conditions; upon which Richard, furious with paſſion, did homage to the king of France, for the dominions his father held of that crown without his knowledge or conſent, and was inveſted with them as if he had already been the lawful proprietor.

A.D. 1189. Theſe increaſing difficulties in the way of the cruſade diſpleaſing cardinal Albano, the pope's legate, he excommunicated Richard as the chief ſource of diſcord; but this ſentence produced no effects; for the chief barons of Normandy, Anjou, Poictou, and Guienne, being attached to the young prince, declared for him, and ravaged ſuch of the territories as ſtill adhered to the king. Anagni, ſucceſſor of Albano in the legateſhip, now threatened the French king with laying an interdict on all his dominions; but Philip reproached him for his partiality in taking bribes from the king of England. He valued not his excommunications; telling him, at the ſame time, that the pope had no right to interpoſe in the temporal diſputes of princes; while Richard, ſtill more outrageous, attempted to draw his ſword on the legate, but was prevented from committing ſuch a raſh action by the company preſent.

Henry was now obliged to enter upon a war with France, and his eldeſt ſon, now Philip's ally. Hoſtilities were renewed with more fury than ever. Philip took Ferte-bernard, Montford, Beaumont, and ſeveral other places. Nantz was taken by aſſault; and Henry, who had thrown himſelf into it, eſcaped with ſome difficulty, who on this occaſion ſeems to have loſt all his ſpirit, with his uſual good fortune. Amboiſe, Chaumont, and Chateau de Loire, on the appearance of Philip and Richard, opened their gates: Tours was inveſted; and the king, who retired to Saumuz, had reaſon to dread the moſt fatal conſequences from this war. He had not, for ſome time, known where to apply for mercenaries, having offended the Brabanders. A late defeat had coſt him the flower of his army. He ſent therefore over to Ralph de Glanville, to raiſe all the militia of England. But Henry's late tax for the cruſade had greatly alienated the affections of his ſubjects. They had ſeen their money extorted from them for ridiculous purpoſes, and now ſaw it laviſhly expended in meaſures unintereſting to them as a people. Thus we ſee one oppreſſive ſtep in government, too often cancels the merits of a whole reign of beneficial actions.

Henry's warlike genius was now checked by that of Richard and Philip. It is probable his perſon might have fallen into their hands, had not the neutral princes thought it high time to interpoſe their good offices. The duke of Burgundy, the count of Flanders, and the archbiſhop of Rheims, applied to Henry, and after making him ſenſible of the deſperate ſituation of his affairs, prevailed on him to conſent to an accommodation. The place appointed for holding a conference, lay between Tours and Araſie. Several pretenſions and claims were here ſettled. Henry had undertaken the cruſade. The diſappointment in his not fulfilling

filling this engagement had irritated the court of Rome, and was, probably, one of the principal cauſes of his calamity. But he was now too old, and too diſpirited, to undertake that expedition in perſon. It was therefore concluded, that Richard ſhould perform in perſon the vows of his father. By the other articles of this treaty it was agreed, that Richard ſhould martyr the princeſs Alice, and receive the homage and fealty of all his ſubjects, both in England and on the continent; that Henry ſhould pay twenty thouſand marks to the king of France to defray the charges of the war; that his own barons ſhould engage to make him obſerve this treaty by force; and in caſe of his violating it, ſhould promiſe to join Philip and Richard againſt him; and that all who had entered into confederacy with Richard, ſhould be indemnified.

Henry, who in moſt treaties had been accuſtomed to give law, had now the mortification of ſubmitting to the moſt humiliating terms; the agitations of his mind were beyond deſcription. But how were they increaſed, when he, demanding a liſt of the barons to whom pardon was to be extended for their connexions with Richard, found at the head of them the name of his ſon John, who had always been his favourite, whoſe intereſt he had ever anxiouſly at heart, and who had, by his aſcendency over him, often excited the jealouſy of Richard. The unhappy father, already oppreſſed with a heavy load of ſorrows, broke out into expreſſions of the utmoſt deſpair; curſed the day in which he received his miſerable exiſtence; and beſtowed upon his children, in bitterneſs of anguiſh, a malediction, which he could not be prevailed upon to retract. The more his heart was ſuſceptive of friendſhip and tender affection, the more he reſented the barbarous return which his four ſons had made to his paternal care; and this finiſhing blow, by depriving him of every comfort in life, quite broke his ſpirit, and threw him into a fever.

The day after the laſt conference he was carried in a litter to the caſtle of Chinon, and there took to his bed. His natural ſon Geoffrey had obtained his leave to be abſent when the treaty was ſigned, that he might not be witneſs to his father's humiliation; but, being informed of his illneſs, he haſtened to Chinon, and finding him ſo exceeding weak that he could not ſit up in his bed, he gently raiſed his drooping head, and ſupported it upon his own boſom. Henry fetched a deep ſigh; and turning his languid eyes upon him, ſaid, "My deareſt ſon, as you have, in all dangers, behaved yourſelf moſt dutifully and affectionately to me, doing all that the beſt of ſons could do; ſo will I if God permit me to recover from this ſickneſs, make ſuch returns to you as the beſt of fathers can make, and place you among the greateſt and moſt powerful ſubjects in all my dominions. But ſhould death prevent my fulfilling this intention, may God, to whom the recompence of all goodneſs belongs, reward you for me." "I have no wiſh," replied the ſon, "but that you may recover and be happy." After theſe words, Geoffrey roſe up; and, unable to reſtrain his guſhing tears, left the room. But, hearing that no hopes of life remained, he returned to perform the laſt duties to his father, who, awakened from a kind of trance by his lamentations, opened his eyes, which had been for ſome time cloſed, and knowing him, endeavoured with a faint voice to expreſs his deſire, that he ſhould obtain the biſhopric of Wincheſter, or the archbiſhopric of York. Then taking a ring of great value from his finger, gave it to him with his laſt bleſſing, and ordered that another, which was kept in his treaſury as a precious jewel, ſhould alſo be delivered to him. After which he ſunk down, and in a ſhort time expired.

No ſooner had the breath left the body, than it was treated with even more indecency than that of his great grand-father William the Conqueror; for his ſervants, after rifling his wardrobe, ſtripped the royal corpſe naked; in which uncomely manner it continued, till one of the pages, leſs brutal than the reſt, threw over it a ſhort mantle. The next day Richard came to ſee the dead body of his father, and on viewing it was ſtruck with horror and remorſe; when the attendants, obſerving that at that very inſtant blood iſſued from the mouth and noſtrils of the corpſe, he exclaimed, according to a vulgar ſuperſtition, that he had been his father's murderer; and expreſſed, though too late, that his undutiful conduct had brought his indulgent parent to an untimely end.

Thus died Henry II. on the ſixth of July, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign. By his queen Eleanor he had five ſons, two of whom only, namely, Richard III. and John, his youngeſt, ſurvived him: but Geoffrey, his fourth ſon, left Arthur, who was duke of Brittany. He had three daughters; Maud, married to the duke of Saxony; Eleanor, wife of Alphonſo, king of Caſtile; and Joan, conſort to William II. ſurnamed the Good, king of Sicily. Henry alſo had ſeveral natural children. By the fair Roſamond, daughter of lord Clifford, he had Geoffrey, and William Longe-eſpee, or Long-ſword. This lady was his firſt miſtreſs, and the moſt celebrated beauty in England. Being then married, he might probably be afraid of his queen's jealouſy, and ſolicitous to hide his intrigue from her knowledge; which he might think ſtill more neceſſary when ſhe was with him in England; and this may have given riſe to the romantic tradition mentioned by Brompton, of his having made a kind of labyrinth in his palace of Woodſtock, to conceal his miſtreſs from the ſight and vengeance of his queen; but the tale of her having been poiſoned in that place by Eleanor, has not the leaſt foundation in authentic hiſtory. Before her death, ſhe retired to the nunnery of Godſtow, near Oxford, and there died. Henry beſtowed large revenues on the convent; in return for which he required, that lamps ſhould be kept perpetually burning about the remains of fair Roſamond, which were placed near the high altar, in a tomb covered with ſilk: but under the reign of his ſucceſſor, Hugh, biſhop of Lincoln, commanded them to be taken from thence, as being unworthy of ſo holy a place; upon which they were removed to the chapter-houſe of the nunnery, and there interred. There is a ſtory related of one Morgan, a Welchman, provoſt of Beverley, who pretended to be a natural ſon of Henry, by the lady of a knight, named Ralph Bloet; but this pretence ſeems to have been founded on nothing but the man's own vanity and madneſs. Henry is likewiſe ſaid to have carried on an intrigue with Alice, ſiſter to the French king, and even to have had a child by her; but this ſtory is ſtill worſe founded than the former. It is certain, however, that Richard, to whom Alice was betrothed, made uſe of this pretence for refuſing to marry that princeſs.

Character of Henry II.

His perſon was of a middle ſtature, yet robuſt and well-proportioned. His features, which were good, formed a dignity of aſpect; and when his mind was ſerene, his eyes had a remarkable ſweetneſs; but when angry, they ſparkled with indignant fire. His paſſionate temper was one among his imperfections. Upon any ſudden provocation, he could not command the firſt emotions of his rage; though, at other times, he poſſeſſed an extraordinary degree of judgment and prudence.

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filling this engagement had irritated the court of Rome, and was, probably, one of the principal cauſes of his calamity. But he was now too old, and too diſpirited, to undertake that expedition in perſon. It was therefore concluded, that Richard ſhould perform in perſon the vows of his father. By the other articles of this treaty it was agreed, that Richard ſhould martyr the princeſs Alice, and receive the homage and fealty of all his ſubjects, both in England and on the continent; that Henry ſhould pay twenty thouſand marks to the king of France to defray the charges of the war; that his own barons ſhould engage to make him obſerve this treaty by force; and in caſe of his violating it, ſhould promiſe to join Philip and Richard againſt him; and that all who had entered into confederacy with Richard, ſhould be indemnified.

Henry, who in moſt treaties had been accuſtomed to give law, had now the mortification of ſubmitting to the moſt humiliating terms; the agitations of his mind were beyond deſcription. But how were they increaſed, when he, demanding a liſt of the barons to whom pardon was to be extended for their connexions with Richard, found at the head of them the name of his ſon John, who had always been his favourite, whoſe intereſt he had ever anxiouſly at heart, and who had, by his aſcendency over him, often excited the jealouſy of Richard. The unhappy father, already oppreſſed with a heavy load of ſorrows, broke out into expreſſions of the utmoſt deſpair; curſed the day in which he received his miſerable exiſtence; and beſtowed upon his children, in bitterneſs of anguiſh, a malediction, which he could not be prevailed upon to retract. The more his heart was ſuſceptive of friendſhip and tender affection, the more he reſented the barbarous return which his four ſons had made to his paternal care; and this finiſhing blow, by depriving him of every comfort in life, quite broke his ſpirit, and threw him into a fever.

The day after the laſt conference he was carried in a litter to the caſtle of Chinon, and there took to his bed. His natural ſon Geoffrey had obtained his leave to be abſent when the treaty was ſigned, that he might not be witneſs to his father's humiliation; but, being informed of his illneſs, he haſtened to Chinon, and finding him ſo exceeding weak that he could not ſit up in his bed, he gently raiſed his drooping head, and ſupported it upon his own boſom. Henry fetched a deep ſigh; and turning his languid eyes upon him, ſaid, "My deareſt ſon, as you have, in all dangers, behaved yourſelf moſt dutifully and affectionately to me, doing all that the beſt of ſons could do; ſo will I if God permit me to recover from this ſickneſs, make ſuch returns to you as the beſt of fathers can make, and place you among the greateſt and moſt powerful ſubjects in all my dominions. But ſhould death prevent my fulfilling this intention, may God, to whom the recompence of all goodneſs belongs, reward you for me." "I have no wiſh," replied the ſon, "but that you may recover and be happy." After theſe words, Geoffrey roſe up; and, unable to reſtrain his guſhing tears, left the room. But, hearing that no hopes of life remained, he returned to perform the laſt duties to his father, who, awakened from a kind of trance by his lamentations, opened his eyes, which had been for ſome time cloſed, and knowing him, endeavoured with a faint voice to expreſs his deſire, that he ſhould obtain the biſhopric of Wincheſter, or the archbiſhopric of York. Then taking a ring of great value from his finger, gave it to him with his laſt bleſſing, and ordered that another, which was kept in his treaſury as a precious jewel, ſhould alſo be delivered to him. After which he ſunk down, and in a ſhort time expired.

No ſooner had the breath left the body, than it was treated with even more indecency than that of his great grand-father William the Conqueror; for his ſervants, after rifling his wardrobe, ſtripped the royal corpſe naked; in which uncomely manner it continued, till one of the pages, leſs brutal than the reſt, threw over it a ſhort mantle. The next day Richard came to ſee the dead body of his father, and on viewing it was ſtruck with horror and remorſe; when the attendants, obſerving that at that very inſtant blood iſſued from the mouth and noſtrils of the corpſe, he exclaimed, according to a vulgar ſuperſtition, that he had been his father's murderer; and expreſſed, though too late, that his undutiful conduct had brought his indulgent parent to an untimely end.

Thus died Henry II. on the ſixth of July, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign. By his queen Eleanor he had five ſons, two of whom only, namely, Richard I. and John, his youngeſt, ſurvived him: but Geoffrey, his fourth ſon, left Arthur, who was duke of Brittany. He had three daughters; Maud, married to the duke of Saxony; Eleanor, wife of Alphonſo, king of Caſtile; and Joan, conſort to William II. ſurnamed the Good, king of Sicily. Henry alſo had ſeveral natural children. By the fair Roſamond, daughter of lord Clifford, he had Geoffrey, and William Longe-eſpee, or Long-ſword. This lady was his firſt miſtreſs, and the moſt celebrated beauty in England. Being then married, he might probably be afraid of his queen's jealouſy, and ſolicitous to hide his intrigue from her knowledge; which he might think ſtill more neceſſary when ſhe was with him in England; and this may have given riſe to the romantic tradition mentioned by Brompton, of his having made a kind of labyrinth in his palace of Woodſtock, to conceal his miſtreſs from the ſight and vengeance of his queen; but the tale of her having been poiſoned in that place by Eleanor, has not the leaſt foundation in authentic hiſtory. Before her death, ſhe retired to the nunnery of Godſtow, near Oxford, and there died. Henry beſtowed large revenues on the convent; in return for which he required, that lamps ſhould be kept perpetually burning about the remains of fair Roſamond, which were placed near the high altar, in a tomb covered with ſilk: but under the reign of his ſucceſſor, Hugh, biſhop of Lincoln, commanded them to be taken from thence, as being unworthy of ſo holy a place; upon which they were removed to the chapter-houſe of the nunnery, and there interred. There is a ſtory related of one Morgan, a Welchman, provoſt of Beverley, who pretended to be a natural ſon of Henry, by the lady of a knight, named Ralph Bloet; but this pretence ſeems to have been founded on nothing but the man's own vanity and madneſs. Henry is likewiſe ſaid to have carried on an intrigue with Alice, ſiſter to the French king, and even to have had a child by her; but this ſtory is ſtill worſe founded than the former. It is certain, however, that Richard, to whom Alice was betrothed, made uſe of this pretence for refuſing to marry that princeſs.

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CHAP. II.

RICHARD I.

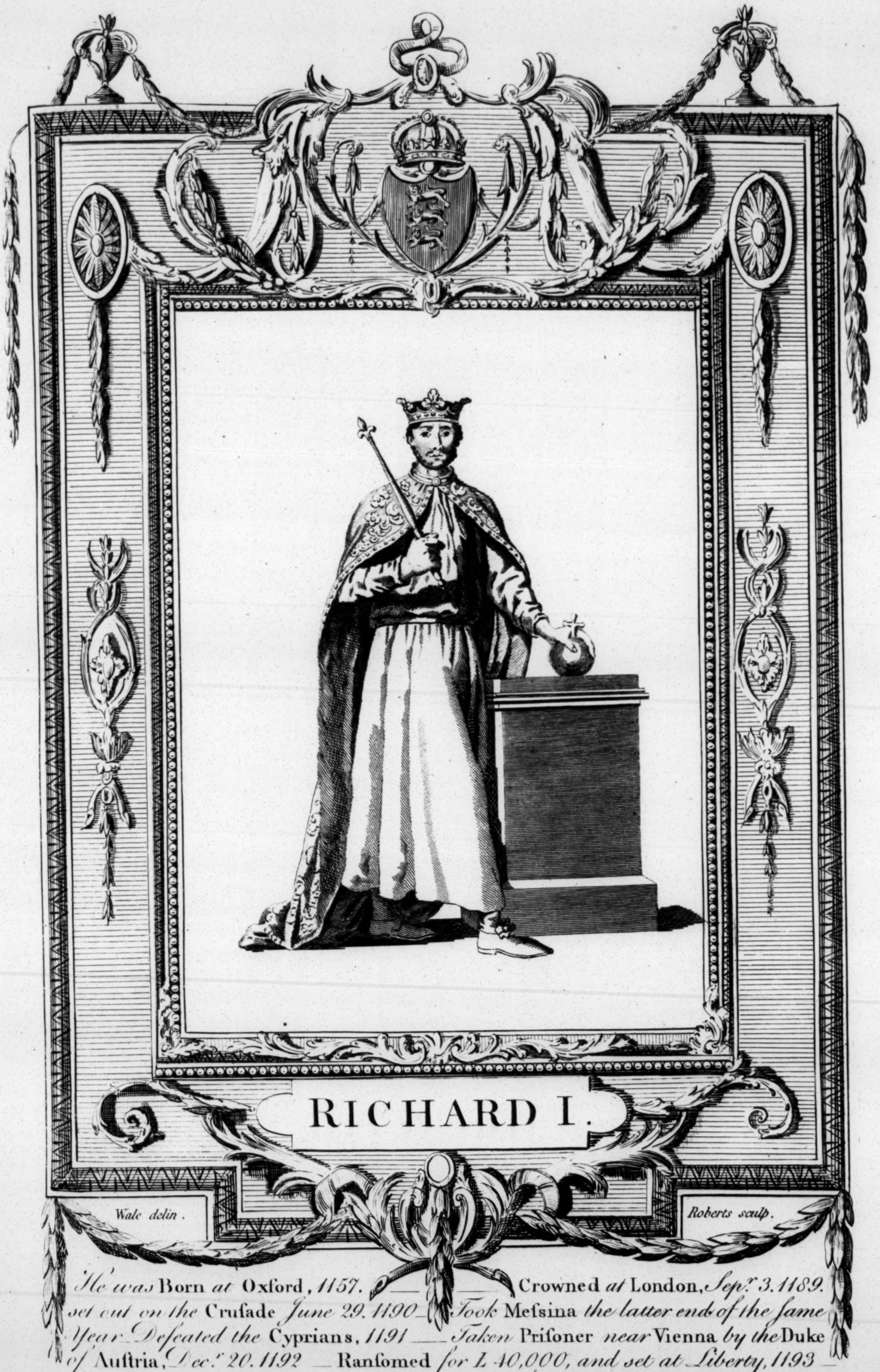
His coronation attended with an inhuman maſſacre of the Jews—His preparations and expedients, by which he raiſed money for the Cruſade—Sets out for the Holy Land with Philip king of France—His principal tranſactions and exploits in the courſe of that expedition—On his return to England, falls into the hands of Leopold, by whom he is kept for ſome time a cloſe priſoner, and then delivered to the emperor, Henry VI. who not only threw him into a dungeon, but loaded him with irons—Recovers his liberty, upon paying a ranſom of one hundred thouſand marks, about two hundred thouſand pounds of our preſent money—Diſorders in England during his abſence—Upon his arrival there is crowned a ſecond time at Wincheſter—A war with France—The manner of his death and character.

A. D. 1189. RICHARD, on account of his ſingular fortitude obtained the ſurname of Coeur de Lion, or lion's heart. At the time of his father's deceaſe, he was in France; where having concluded a peace with Philip, he repaired to Rouen, and was inveſted with the ducal crown of Normandy; after which he paſſed over to England, and was crowned, without oppoſition, on the third of December, at Weſtminſter. His contrition for his undutiful behaviour to his father was ſo ſincere, as to influence him after his ſucceſſion, in the choice of his miniſters and ſervants. Thoſe who had aſſiſted him in his unnatural rebellion, inſtead of being raiſed to the poſts of honour they expected, had the mortification to find they were hated and deſpiſed; while his father's faithful miniſters, who had expoſed all the baſe exploits of his ſons, were received with open arms, and continued in the offices they had with honour diſcharged for their former maſter. One of his firſt acts of regal power, was releaſing Eleanor, queen dowager, from her confinement, and intruſted her with the government of England during his abſence. He remembered not the unnatural part ſhe had acted in arming children againſt their indulgent parent, and ſacrificing the lives of thouſands at the altar of jealouſy.

His bounty to his brother John was profuſe. Beſides confirming him in the poſſeſſion of four thouſand marks a year, beſtowing on him the country of Montagne in Normandy, and marrying him to Aviſa, daughter of the earl of Glouceſter, he conferred on him the whole eſtate of William Peverell, which had been eſcheated to the crown; he alſo delivered to him ſeven earldoms, and even put him in poſſeſſion of eight caſtles, with all the honours annexed to them.

Richard, ſince his arrival in England, had generally reſided at Wincheſter; but in the beginning of December he ſet out for London, in order to be crowned. The ceremony was performed by Baldwin, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and celebrated with great magnificence; but the zeal of the people againſt infidels, which was excited by the king's intended cruſade, broke out in a very remarkable and cruel manner on the day of his coronation. The Jews on account of their religion, were beheld with little leſs indignation than the Mahometans. They had amaſſed great riches, by lending money on exorbitant intereſt. Richard well knowing the diſpoſition of his ſubjects towards the Jews, publiſhed a proclamation, prohibiting their appearance at the coronation; but ſome of them bringing him large preſents from their nation, preſumed in conſequence of that merit, to approach the hall in which he dined; and being diſcovered, were expoſed to the inſults of the populace, who took the opportunity, under cover of the king's edict, for venting their reſentment againſt them. They were obliged to fly; the people purſued them; and a rumour was immediately circulated, that the king had iſſued orders to maſſacre all the Hebrews. The report was ſo pleaſing to the vulgar prejudices, that the ſuppoſed command was executed in an inſtant on all who had the misfortune to fall into the hands of their cruel murderers. Thoſe who ſtaid at home were expoſed to equal danger: the populace, inſtigated by rapacity and zeal, broke into their houſes, which they plundered, after having killed the owners; where the Jews barricaded their doors, and defended their property, the rabble ſet fire to the houſes, and made their way through the flames to commit their deteſtable acts of pillage, and to gratify their thirſt for blood. The licentiouſneſs of the mob in London, which the civil power could with difficulty reſtrain, continued their outrages to an alarming degree: the houſes of rich citizens, though Chriſtians, were next attacked and plundered; till wearineſs and ſatiety at laſt put an end to the riot, ſo horrible, and inconſiſtent with humanity: yet Glanville, the juſticiary, when empowered by the king to find out the authors of theſe crimes, ſo many conſiderable citizens were involved in the guilt, that it was thought moſt prudent to drop the proſecution, and very few ſuffered on this occaſion. Nor did the diſorders ſtop at London. The inhabitants of other cities of England, hearing of this ſlaughter of the Jews, imitated the barbarous example. In York, five hundred of thoſe people, who had retired into the caſtle for ſafety, finding themſelves unable to defend it, murdered their wives and children, caſt the dead bodies over the walls, and then ſetting fire to the buildings, periſhed in the flames. The gentry in the neighbourhood, who were all indebted to the Jews, ran to the cathedral where the bonds were kept, and made a ſolemn bonfire of thoſe papers. The king did all in his power to manifeſt his diſpleaſure againſt the authors of this inhuman tragedy. He publiſhed an edict, ſtrictly forbidding any inſult to be offered to the Jews, whom he declared to be under his immediate protection.

Richard had taken the croſs from the hands of the archbiſhop of Tours, and was now determined to make an expedition to the Holy Land in perſon. He was indeed more a ſoldier than a devotee; and to gratify his paſſion for military glory, and gather laurels in the field of Paleſtine, he ſcrupled not to ſacrifice at once the intereſt of his crown, and the welfare of his people. His whole attention was now engroſſed in forming ſchemes for raiſing money to defray neceſſary expences. His father's treaſures amounted to above a hundred thouſand marks, and he reſolved to augment that ſum by every expedient, however pernicious it might be to his ſubjects or himſelf. The biſhop of Ely dying without will, he confiſcated his eſtate, which was very conſiderable. He put to ſale the manors and revenues of the crown; and even diſpoſed of the great ſeal to William Longchamp, his prime miniſter. Ralph de Glanville, chief juſticiary, expoſtulated with him on theſe proceedings, as derogatory to his own dignity, and oppreſſive to his ſubjects. The king replied, "That he would ſell the city of London itſelf, if he could find a purchaſer." This anſwer ſhocked the upright juſticiary. He



RICHARD I.

Wale delin.

Roberts sculp.

He was Born *at* Oxford, *1157.* —— —— Crowned *at* London, *Sepr 3. 1189.* *set out on the* Cruſade *June 29. 1190* — *Took* Meſsina *the latter end of the ſame Year* — *Defeated the* Cyprians, *1191* —— *Taken* Priſoner *near* Vienna *by the* Duke *of* Auſtria, *Decr 20. 1192* — Ranſomed *for L 40,000, and set at Liberty, 1193* — *And being* Wounded *with an* Arrow *at* Chaluz *in* Normandy. Died *April 6. 1199.*

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was alarmed for his country, and remonſtrated freely with the king on the conſequences that muſt attend ſuch precipitate meaſures. But Richard ſo highly reſented the liberty taken by his juſticiary, that he deprived him of his office, and committed him to priſon; and he was obliged to purchaſe his freedom at the price of fifteen thouſand pounds. Upon which he ſold the poſt of juſticiary to the biſhop of Durham for a thouſand marks; and the ſame prelate bought the earldom of Northumberland for his life. Many of thoſe who were engaged to join the cruſade, having repented of their vow, purchaſed the liberty of violating it: and Richard, who was in leſs need of men than money, on thoſe conditions, having obtained a bull from pope Clement, diſpenſed with their attendance. So negligent was he of the future intereſt and honour of the crown of England, that he ſold the vaſſalage of Scotland, together with the fortreſſes of Roxborough and Berwick, for ſo ſmall a ſum as ten thouſand marks, and agreed to accept the homage of the king of Scotland, merely for the territories that prince held in England. All ranks and ſtations among the Engliſh, were indeed oppreſſed by numerous exactions. Offices of inquiſition into the behaviour of magiſtrates were erected, not for reformation but oppreſſion. The innocent and guilty ſuffered in common, and nothing but paying large ſums into the king's coffers, gave ſafety to the one or indemnity to the other. Such were the arts by which this brave, ill-fated, and worſe judging prince, reduced the patrimony of the crown, exhauſted the ſubſtance of his people, and proſtituted the juſtice of his country, merely to procure a temporary ſupply, for ſatisfying his unbounded vanity.

Yet, though Richard thus ſacrificed every conſideration to the ſuppoſed ſucceſs of a romantic enterprize, his conduct had ſo little the appearance of real ſanctity, that Fulk, curate of Neuilly, who from the merit of being a zealous preacher for the cruſade, had acquired the privilege of ſpeaking the boldeſt truths, adviſed him to get rid of his pride, avarice, and voluptuouſneſs, which he termed the king's favourite daughters. "You adviſe well," replied Richard, "and I diſpoſe of the firſt to the Templars, of the ſecond to the Benedictines, and of the third to my prelates."

Richard's next care was to provide for the adminiſtration of public affairs during his abſence; in ſettling of which, he purſued the dictates of his own caprice, without conſulting his council, and againſt the ſenſe of the whole nation; leaving Hugh, biſhop of Durham, and Longchamp, biſhop of Ely, regents of the kingdom. The latter was a Norman, of mean birth, who by art and addreſs had inſinuated himſelf into his favour. He had before created him chancellor, and now engaged the pope to inveſt him with legatine authority, that both the civil and eccleſiaſtical power being centered in him, he might be the better able to ſecure the public tranquillity. Four of the principal barons were appointed their aſſiſtants and counſellors in the adminiſtration.

A. D. 1190. Having thus provided for the ſafety of his kingdom, Richard paſſed over to the continent, and had an interview with Philip at Gue de St. Remi, in order to ſettle finally the meaſures during the whole expedition. Here they appointed the firſt place of their rendezvous to be in the plains of Vezelay, on the borders of Burgundy. Here alſo the two kings ſwore mutually to maintain an uninterrupted peace, pledged their faith not to invade each other's dominions during the cruſade, exchanged the oaths of their principal nobility to the ſame effect, and ſubjected themſelves in the moſt ſolemn manner, to the penalty of interdicts and excommunications, if they ever violated this religious engagement. And it was determined, in order to prevent the calamities which hitherto attended all the cruſades, to conduct their armies to Paleſtine by ſea, that by means of their naval power, they might open a communication with their own ſtates, and all the weſtern ports of Europe. Every thing being thus ſettled, Richard, after receiving the pilgrims's ſtaff at Tours, repaired to Vezelay, where, being joined by the king of France, they reviewed their forces, amounting to one hundred thouſand men.

The two armies now ſeparated, Philip taking the road to Genoa, and Richard that of Marſeilles, their reſpective fleets having received inſtructions to rendezvous at thoſe parts; Richard waited eight days at Marſeilles, when his fleet not arriving, he hired twenty gallies, on board of which he embarked for Meſſina in Sicily, leaving orders for the whole fleet to follow him with all expedition. This order was punctually obeyed; the fleet arrived ſafe at Meſſina, where they found the king of France with his whole navy, ready to join them; and at this place they ſtaid all the winter. During this interval of time thoſe feuds and animoſities firſt broke out, which ultimately defeated the principal deſign of the expedition. It was not indeed reaſonable to expect, that two kings, competitors in power, and rivals in honour, would long continue to act in concert, and ſacrifice their own paſſions to the intereſt of the cruſade. Could this have been expected, the intention would have been anſwered, and the Holy Land entirely recovered from the infidels. But the torch of diſcord was lighted up by the hand of jealouſy. Philip could not behold, without envy, the forces of his rival in glory ſo much ſuperior to his own; the power of Richard filled the breaſt of Philip with malignity; who being politic and deceitful, did not fail to take every advantage againſt him; and thus that harmony, which was neceſſary to the ſucceſs of their undertaking, was entirely broken.

William II. the laſt king of Sicily and Naples, had married Jane, Richard's ſiſter; but he dying without iſſue, Tancred, his natural brother, ſeized the throne of Sicily. Tancred having put the queen dowager, Richard's ſiſter, into confinement, and refuſed to put her in poſſeſſion of her money and effects, to which ſhe claimed a right on the part of her huſband, her brother Richard demanded the reſtoration of both with her liberty. Tancred complied immediately with the laſt demand, and the lady was ſent from Palermo to Richard, with a very ſplendid convoy. He alſo concluded an alliance with Richard, who agreed that his nephew, Arthur, the young duke of Brittany, ſhould marry one of Tancred's daughters.

But before theſe terms of friendſhip were ſettled, Richard, jealous both of Tancred and the inhabitants of Meſſina, took up his quarters in the ſuburbs, and having ſeized a ſmall fort which commanded the harbour, kept himſelf upon his guard againſt any ſurprize. The citizens taking umbrage at this, mutual inſults and attacks paſſed between them and the Engliſh. Philip, whoſe troops were quartered in the city, had a conference with Richard, to accommodate the quarrel. But while the two kings, who met in the fields, were engaged in diſcourſe on this ſubject, a body of Sicilians appeared to be drawing towards them; upon which Richard, with a body of his troops puſhed forward in order to enquire into the reaſon of this extraordinary movement. The Engliſh wanting only a pretence for attacking them, drove them into the town, and entered with them at the gates; Richard made uſe of his authority to prevent their plundering the defenceleſs inhabitants; but in token of his victory, or in order to humble them, he commanded the ſtandard of England to be erected on the wall. Philip, conſidering the city as his head quarters, ordered his troops to pull down the colours: but Richard ſent to let him know, that though he himſelf was willing to remove the cauſe of offence, he would not permit it to be done by others; and if the French king attempted ſuch an inſult, it would be attended with an effuſion of blood. Philip ſatisfied with this kind of haughty ſubmiſſion, recalled his orders, and the difference, in appearance, was accommodated, though the remains of rancour and jealouſy ſtill ſubſiſted in their breaſts.

The Sicilian prince was ſoon ſenſible, that he could not hope for ſafety, only by ſubmitting to all Richard's demands; and Tancred agreed to pay to Richard twenty thouſand ounces of gold, for his ſiſter's dower, and twenty thouſand more for his acquittance of all his claim to the moveables left by the late king. It is to be obſerved, that Tancred was at this very time, under apprehenſions of an invaſion from the Saracens, and from the coaſt of Italy. This perhaps diſpoſed him the more readily to pay down ſuch exorbitant ſums; but he received another valuable conſideration; for he not only procured the king of England to become guarantee for the poſſeſſion of his throne, but alſo the oath of all his nobility, who engaged that Richard ſhould defend him, with all his forces, againſt the attacks of his enemies. This ſtipulation not being agreeable to Philip, it was now propoſed by the two monarchs, to obviate future contentions by a ſolemn treaty, which when brought upon the carpet, inſtead of bringing matters to an amicable concluſion, became the occaſion of new diſputes. In one of theſe, the honour of Philip's family was deeply concerned. Richard when only heir to the crown, had inſiſted on his being allowed to marry Alice of France; but after his having aſcended the throne, he no longer mentioned that alliance, and was now preparing to eſpouſe Berengaria, daughter of Sanchez, king of Navarre, with whom he became enamoured, during his ſtay in Guienne; and queen Eleanor was daily expected to arrive at Meſſina with that princeſs. When Philip therefore renewed his application for marrying his ſiſter Alice, Richard gave him an abſolute refuſal. Tancred, who wiſhed for his own ſecurity to inflame their mutual hatred, employed an artifice that might have been attended with fatal conſequences. He ſhewed Richard a letter, ſigned by the French king, and delivered to him, as he pretended, by the duke of Burgundy; wherein Philip deſired Tancred to fall upon the quarters of the Engliſh; and promiſed to aſſiſt in putting them to the ſword. The unwary Richard gave credit to the information; but complained of this treachery to Philip, who denied the letter, and charged Tancred with forgery and falſehood; on which Richard was, or pretended to be, entirely ſatisfied.

A. D. 1191. In the beginning of February, Richard received an account, that his mother and the princeſs Berengaria, were arrived at Naples; upon which he ſent his gallies to attend and bring them to Meſſina. Philip convinced of the infidelity of Alice, permitted Richard to give his hand to Berengaria; and having ſettled all other controverſies with the king of England, that monarch ſet ſail for the Holy Land, having for ſome time been inceſſantly importuned by the Chriſtians, who were carrying on the ſiege of Acre.

Richard waited ſome time for the arrival of his mother and Berengaria, when they joined him every thing was prepared with the utmoſt expedition for their departure. Queen Eleanor returned to England; but Berengaria and his ſiſter, the queen dowager of Sicily, attended him on the expedition.

The large ſums received from Tancred, enabled Richard to make great additions to his fleet, which now conſiſted of one hundred and fifty ſail of large ſhips, and fifty three well armed gallies. This fleet, on leaving the port of Meſſina, met with a violent tempeſt; and the ſquadron in which the two princeſſes were embarked, was, on the twelfth of April, drove on the coaſt of Cyprus, and ſome of the veſſels were wrecked near Limiſſo in that iſland. Iſaac, governor of Cyprus, who had aſſumed the pompous title of emperor, plundered the ſhips that were ſtranded, impriſoned the ſeamen and paſſengers, and even refuſed to allow the princeſſes liberty, notwithſtanding their dangerous ſituation, to enter the harbour of Limiſſo. Richard, enraged at hearing this cruel tranſaction, immediately came to their relief. He diſembarked his troops, defeated Iſaac, who oppoſed his landing, entered Limiſſo by ſtorm, and having the next day obtained a ſecond victory, obliged Iſaac to ſurrender at diſcretion, and placed governors over the whole iſland. Here the king married Berengaria, who inſtantly embarking, took with her Iſaac's daughter, a dangerous rival, who was thought to have ſeduced the affections of her huſband.

Richard arrived in Paleſtine, when the ſiege of Acre or Ptolemais, had been carried on above two years, by the united force of all the Chriſtian armies in the Holy Land, and had been defended by the utmoſt efforts of Saladin and the Saracens. The arrival of Richard and Philip gave new life to the common cauſe; and theſe princes ſharing in the honour and danger of every attack, gave hopes of a final victory over the infidels. Extraordinary acts of valour were performed, by the emulation between theſe rival kings; but Richard, animated with a more precipitant courage, drew to himſelf the general attention, and acquired a prodigious reputation. This diſtinguiſhed courage in the king of England, raiſed a flame of jealouſy in the breaſt of Philip, who now conſidered himſelf as totally eclipſed by the valiant exploits of the former. However, notwithſtanding the variance between Richard and Philip, as the length of the ſiege had reduced the Saracen garriſon to the laſt extremity, they ſurrendered themſelves priſoners; and in return for their lives, agreed to reſtore all the Chriſtian captives. Thus this long ſiege, reſembling in ſome particulars, that of Troy, which had engaged the attention of Europe and Aſia, was at laſt brought to a period, after the loſs of three hundred thouſand Chriſtians.

The city having ſurrendered, was, agreeable to the determination of arbitrators, divided between the two kings. Philip now expreſſed a deſire of returning home. Richard conſented to his departure, but not till he had obtained from him a ſolemn vow, that he would not invade his territories, nor ſuffer them to be invaded by others, during his abſence. The future behaviour of Philip plainly evinced, what confidence ſhould be placed in a man who had already been guilty of ſo many inſtances of perfidy. On his return through Italy, he complained to the pope of the ill-treatment he had received from Richard, whoſe intolerable inſolence, he alledged, was the cauſe of his returning from the cruſade; at the ſame time begging abſolution from his holineſs, from the vow he had made, in order to afford him an opportunity of avenging himſelf for the injuries he had received. The pope abſolved him from his oath in quitting the cruſade, but ſtrictly enjoined him not to invade Richard's territories. A number of pilgrims ſoon followed the example of Philip, ſo that to Richard was left the whole charge of proſecuting the war, which he did with unremitting ardour.

The cruſaders now under Richard's command, reſolved to open the campaign, by attempting the ſiege of Aſcalon, in order to prepare the way for that of Jeruſalem; and with a view of gaining a better ſupply of proviſions, marched along the ſea-coaſt of Joppa. Saladin, in order to interrupt their paſſage, encamped in the road with an army of three hundred thouſand men; and this occaſioned one of the greateſt battles which any age has produced. The right wing of the Chriſtian army was commanded by James d'Aveſnes; the left by the duke of Burgundy. Saladin had concealed part of his troops on the right behind ſome hills, which covered them from the ſight of the Chriſtians. On this body of reſerve he placed his greateſt hopes of victory; and therefore, without altering his poſition, waited the attack of the enemy, who began the action with their right wing. The Saracens ſupported the ſhock with great reſolution; and by the ſuperiority of their numbers, put that body into great diſorder. Their leader, James d'Aveſnes was ſlain, in endeavouring to rally his broken troops, and lead them once more againſt the infidels. The duke of Burgundy, at the head of the left wing, made a furious charge upon the right of the enemy, who, agreeable to their orders, retreated as they fought; whereby the duke was deceived, and followed them to a conſiderable diſtance from the main body of the army. Saladin perceiving this, ordered the ambuſh behind the hills to move forward. Theſe troops, ſurrounding the duke's forces, made a dreadful ſlaughter. The fate of the Chriſtian army now depended on Richard. He had been very ſucceſsful in his attacks, and had compelled the troops that oppoſed him to retreat in diſorder. He was purſuing them when informed of the dangerous ſituation of the two wings. Upon which, marching immediately to the duke of Burgundy's aſſiſtance, he fell upon the victorious troops of Saladin with ſuch impetuoſity, that he ſoon wreſted from them the palm of victory which they thought to have ſecured. Richard, on this occaſion, performed the moſt aſtoniſhing acts of valour; and thoſe who before were filled with envy, were now ſtruck with admiration. One of the Saracen generals, remarkable for his ſtrength and agility, ſeeing the wonders which Richard performed, thought by the conqueſt of ſuch a warrior to grace his arms. He therefore ſpurred his horſe, and advanced againſt the brave Engliſh monarch. So diſtinguiſhed a combat drew the attention of both armies; as the event, had the king been vanquiſhed, muſt have decided the fate of the day; but Richard, after having received a ſtroke from the infidel, aimed a blow with ſuch force that it divided his head from his body, and falling aſlant, took away part of the Saracen's ſhoulder. The battle was now renewed with more fury than before; it ſeemed to be contracted to the ſpot where Richard fought in perſon; every ſword was aimed, every weapon directed, either to deſtroy or protect him. The brave earl of Leiceſter loſt his liberty, fighting at the ſide of his maſter, by whom he was generouſly reſcued at the hazard of his own. Saladin was obliged to reinforce his right wing with part of his victorious troops from the left; this motion gave the right wing of the Chriſtians time to recover themſelves; who, finding the oppoſition they had before met with to grow weaker, they recovered new vigour, and quickly rallied; then falling with the utmoſt fury on the Saracen troops that oppoſed them, they renewed the action with ſurprizing intrepidity, and at length forced them to ſeek their ſafety in a precipitate flight. Richard ſtill maintained the battle in ſpite of the vaſt ſuperiority of the enemy; though his horſe was ready to ſink under him, and he himſelf almoſt fainting with fatigue, rather by the blows he had given, than by thoſe he had received. He was, however, in danger of being overpowered by numbers, had not his right wing, meeting with no farther oppoſition, advanced to his aſſiſtance. Finding themſelves attacked by a body of freſh forces, the Saracens began to give way; nor was it in the power of Saladin, though he exerted himſelf with the utmoſt aſſiduity and fortitude, to rally them. The Chriſtians, taking advantage of their diſorder, preſſed them with ſo much vigour that they betook themſelves to flight. Above fifty thouſand of the infidels were left dead on the field of battle.

This complete victory ſtruck the Saracens with a panic: they abandoned the maritime cities of Aſcalon and Cæſaria, after demoliſhing the fortifications, which, with ſome other places, fell into the hands of the Chriſtians. Richard marched directly to Joppa, where he ſtaid ſome time to repair the fortifications, that if he ſhould be obliged to retreat, he might have a ſecure port to embark his forces for Europe. While he continued at this place, he frequently amuſed himſelf with hunting in the neighbourhood, attended only by a few of his intimate friends. As he was one day returning from the chace, with only ſix perſons in his train, he alighted from his horſe, laid himſelf down under a tree, and fell aſleep. He was, however, ſoon diſturbed, by the approach of a ſmall party of Saracen horſe paſſing by the place. Richard immediately, as they were few in numbers, purſued them; till he was artfully drawn into an ambuſcade, and ſurrounded by a ſquadron of horſe. He defended himſelf for a conſiderable time with great bravery, without the leaſt thought of retreating, notwithſtanding the prodigious diſparity of numbers. But even the valour of Richard would have been exerted in vain, had not one of his attendants, by a remarkable preſence of mind, ſaved him from the impending danger. Four of his attendants were ſlain; when William Deſpreaux, his only ſurviving friend, cried out in the Saracen tongue, "Hold! I am the king of England!" Every eye of his aſſailants was now turned to Deſpreaux; and thoſe who were engaged with Richard immediately left him, that they might ſhare in the glory of taking priſoner the perſon, whom they imagined to be the Engliſh monarch. This counter-ſtratagem afforded Richard an opportunity of eſcaping. Deſpreaux did not diſcover himſelf till he came before Saladin; when, falling at his feet, he, with tears of joy, confeſſed the deception he had made uſe of to ſave his maſter. Saladin commended his fidelity, and treated him with great reſpect; but ſenſible that Richard would never ſuffer a perſon, who had ſo ſignally aſſiſted him, to remain in confinement, demanded ten emirs in exchange for ſo faithful a ſervant.

Having put Joppa in a ſtate of defence, Richard advanced within ſight of Jeruſalem, the grand object of the expedition. Saladin, determined to prevent, if poſſible, this famous city from falling into his hands, drew up his army on the plains of Rama to oppoſe his paſſage. A ſecond battle enſued, and Richard was again victorious. Nothing now prevented his attacking the place, but the crafty advice of the knights Templars, who, being in the intereſt of Philip, perſuaded the Engliſh monarch to lay aſide his attempt againſt Jeruſalem till the enſuing ſpring. Richard, who was more of a warrior than a politician, without ſuſpecting the motive of the knights, who were envious of the glory he would obtain by the conqueſt of the Holy City, followed their advice; and marching to Aſcalon, repaired the fortifications which Saladin's forces had demoliſhed.

A. D. 1192.

The diſpute between Guy de Luſignan and Conrade, with regard to the crown of Jeruſalem, was now renewed; and the duke of Burgundy refuſed to act any longer in conjunction with the Engliſh. The French troops, retiring into places of ſafety, paſſed their time in luxury and indolence. Deſirous of making himſelf maſter of Jeruſalem, Richard put an end to the diſpute by declaring in favour of Conrade, and appointing him king of Jeruſalem. But at the ſame time he indemnified Guy for the loſs of a nominal, by preſenting him with a real crown. He beſtowed upon him the kingdom of Cyprus. Pleaſed with having obtained the honour he had ſo long deſired, Conrade, who was now at Tyre, made preparations for joining the Chriſtian army at Aſcalon. But before he could embark, he was ſtabbed in the ſtreets of that city by two aſſaſſins, ſent for that purpoſe by a Saracen prince, known by the name of The old man of the mountains. The ſubjects of that chief eſteemed aſſaſſination meritorious, when ſanctified by his mandate: they courted death, were it even in the extremities of Europe, in the execution of his orders. The Old Man juſtified his cruel proceeding, in a letter he wrote to the duke of Auſtria ſome time after; declaring, that the marquis fell by the poniards of his ſoldiers, in revenge for his having put to death one of his merchants, whoſe ſhip was forced into Tyre by a ſtorm.

The death of Conrade proved a freſh obſtruction to the progreſs of the Chriſtian army; but his widow ſoon after marrying Henry, count of Champagne, that nobleman was, in her right, declared king of Jeruſalem; and at his intreaties the French conſented to join the army of Richard, who immediately marched to attack the capital of Paleſtine. But when Richard thought of putting a glorious period to the expedition, his hopes were rendered abortive by diviſions among the leaders of the confederate army. The duke of Burgundy drew off his forces, and marched directly to Tyre. The duke of Auſtria followed the example of the French general: he abandoned the king of England, when fortune held up in his view the palm of victory, and when the Saracens, ſhut up within the walls of Jeruſalem, trembled for their liberty. Richard now ſaw all his hopes of future laurels cut down. It would have been folly in extreme for him to have beſieged a city famous for its ſtrength, eſpecially as Saladin, at the head of a numerous army, hovered on the mountains, ready to fall upon the maritime places the moment they ſhould be deſerted by the Chriſtians. The Engliſh monarch was therefore obliged to abandon the enterprize, and accordingly marched his army to Acre. But he had ſcarcely reached the environs of that city, before advice arrived that Saladin had taken Joppa, and was preſſing the ſiege of the caſtle with ſo much fury, that the garriſon muſt ſurrender unleſs ſpeedily relieved. Richard, who never abandoned his ſoldiers in diſtreſs, ordered his army to the relief of Joppa; while he himſelf, at the head of a ſmall body of choſen troops embarked at Acre, and reached Joppa ſome time before the main body of his army. The name of Richard was terrible to the infidels; he fell on the beſiegers with ſuch irreſiſtible fury, that they abandoned the enterprize with precipitation, and retreated to the neighbouring mountains.

But it was impoſſible for this gallant hero, with only a handful of followers, compared with the numerous armies of Saladin, to gratify the darling paſſion of his ſoul, by taking Jeruſalem; eſpecially when he had the mortification to find, that the enthuſiaſtic ardour of the cruſaders was abated, and that their long abſence from home, fatigue, want, and the variety of incidents attendant on war, rendered all but himſelf deſirous of returning to their own country. Richard, therefore, who was no ſtranger to their wiſhes, concluded a truce with Saladin; by which it was agreed that Acre, Joppa, with ſome other ſea-port towns, ſhould remain in the hands of the Chriſtians; and that pilgrims, without the leaſt moleſtation, ſhould have free liberty to viſit the holy ſepulchre, and that all of their religion ſhould be allowed to trade in any part of the ſultan's dominions. This truce was ſuperſtitiouſly concluded for three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours. Shortly after the concluſion of this truce, the humane and brave Saladin died. Before he expired he ordered his winding ſheet to be carried as a ſtandard through every ſtreet of the city; while a crier went before, and proclaimed with a loud voice, "This is all that remains to the mighty Saladin, the conqueror of the eaſt." By his laſt will he left large charities, to be diſtributed to the poor of every denomination, without diſtinction of Jew, Chriſtian, or Mahometan.

As Richard had now no buſineſs of importance to detain him, the intelligence he received of the intrigues of the king of France, and his brother John, made him haſten to Europe. Not thinking it ſafe to paſs through France, he ſailed for Italy: but being ſhipwrecked near Aquileia, he, on his landing, put on the diſguiſe of a pilgrim, in order to travel unobſerved through Germany. Being purſued by the governor of Iſtria, he was obliged to leave the direct road to England, and paſs by Vienna; where, being betrayed by his expences and liberalities, more ſuited to a monarch than a pilgrim, he was arreſted on the twentieth of December at Gynacia, by order of Leopold duke of Auſtria, whom this great monarch had inſulted at the ſiege of Acre; and that duke, ſtimulated by his revenge, kept him for ſome time a cloſe priſoner, and then baſely delivered him to Henry VI. his inveterate enemy, who not only threw him into a dungeon, but loaded him with irons.

It might be thought very unpolite, and appear affectedly ſingular, nay, our prudence might be, perhaps, called in queſtion, if we viſited, or continued long, even with a king of England, when confined by a concurrence of unfortunate events, in a loathſome priſon, in a dungeon too, and entirely at the mercy of his ungenerous enemies; indeed, we are a little better acquainted with the world to be guilty of ſuch an abſurdity, and to diſcover ſo little inexperience, as to aſſociate with a wretch loaded with chains, and covered with miſfortunes. We ſhall therefore follow the example of men much more wiſe, learned, and pious, than we pretend to be; and, leaving Richard to ſtruggle with his hard fate as well as he can, paſs over into England, and enquire what tranſactions happened there, during the king's abſence in the Holy Land.

When queen Eleanor conducted the princeſs Berengaria to Meſſina, ſhe gave her ſon a faithful account of the ſtate of affairs in England. That kingdom was involved in much confuſion by William Longchamp, biſhop of Ely, guardian of the realm. This imperious prelate, though of mean extraction, diſdaining to have a colleague of equal authority, had committed Hugh, biſhop of Durham, to priſon, and governed the nation by his ſole authority. He exerciſed all the ſtate of a deſpotic monarch. His oppreſſive meaſures were unbounded. Both clergy and laity were ſtripped of their poſſeſſions, which were given to his own creatures. The king's revenues were embezzled to make purchaſes for himſelf; the vacant churches and abbies he ſequeſtered. In travelling he was attended by ſo numerous a retinue, that more damage was ſuſtained in the convents where he lodged for one night's entertainment only, than could be made good for a conſiderable time. Among thoſe whom he deemed domeſtics, to wait at his table, were ſons of the firſt nobility in the kingdom, who thought themſelves amply repaid by intermarrying with the remoteſt branches of his family. A prince of Marſeilles, on application being made to him by Hugh for redreſs, ordered William to reſtore the places he had taken from him; but he, with great arrogance, perſiſted in his arbitrary proceedings,

ings, and abſolutely refuſed a compliance with his orders. The king was now convinced of his error in appointing ſuch a mean perſon to ſo high and important a ſtation. He therefore ſigned a new commiſſion, and named a council, without whoſe concurrence Longchamp was not to act. This commiſſion Richard ſent to England by Walter, archbiſhop of Rouen, accompanied with William Mareſchal, earl of Striguel, laying a poſitive injunction on the regent not to act without their advice; but when arrived in England, finding the univerſal tyranny of the legate, they were intimidated from ſhewing their powers; John only was informed of their commiſſion. The reverence the Engliſh entertained for the perſon of their king, together with the ſanctity of the cauſe in which he was embarked, prevented a civil war from raging among the people, reduced to the greateſt extremity, through the arbitrary proceedings of an imperious churchman. He diveſted Gerard de Camville of the ſheriffdom of Lincolnſhire: even the king's brother did not eſcape the inſults offered by this prelate to the greateſt of the nobility. However, being oppoſed by John, his pride was ſomewhat lowered; and at this juncture he was, by the pope's death, deprived of his legatine authority. An event alſo happened ſoon after, which highly exaſperated the nobility, clergy, and the people in general, againſt Longchamp. Geoffrey, the king's natural brother, had, ſome time before Richard's departure for the Holy Land, been elected to the ſee of York; but ſome diſputes ariſing between them, Geoffrey had promiſed not to reſide in England during the abſence of his brother in Paleſtine. But queen Eleanor having obtained a diſpenſation of the king's promiſe, Geoffrey arrived in England to take poſſeſſion of his ſee. Longchamp ordered him to be arreſted; but the archbiſhop having received intelligence of his deſign, fled for refuge to the church of St. Martin. The regent's officers, paying no regard to the ſanctity of the place, dragged him from the altar in his ſacerdotal robes, and committed him to Dover caſtle.

This violent proceeding excited the deteſtation of all ranks of people. The clergy were particularly alarmed. The biſhop of Lincoln excommunicated all concerned in this ſacrilegious outrage; and the ſentence was confirmed in a general convocation held at Reading. The biſhops even threatened the kingdom with an interdict, if Geoffrey was not immediately releaſed. The regent was now ſufficiently alarmed, and Geoffrey was ſet at liberty. But this was not ſufficient: it was now reſolved to put a final period to the deſpotic adminiſtration of Longchamp. A general aſſembly of the nobles and prelates was accordingly ſummoned, where the king's commiſſion was read, and Longchamp ordered to attend. He promiſed to aſſiſt at the conference; but conſcious that his actions could not ſtand a ſcrutiny, he fled to London, and ſhut himſelf up in the Tower. Being cloſely inveſted by the nobility and citizens, and not having ſufficient ſtores, particularly of proviſions, he endeavoured to eſcape in the habit of a female, in hopes of gaining the continent; but his aukward deportment led to a diſcovery; upon which he was ſeized by the populace and impriſoned in a cellar, till the pleaſure of the council ſhould be known. The great ſeal of England was now delivered to Walter, archibſhop of Rouen, a perſon of great prudence, modeſty, and integrity. He always conſulted his colleagues in the affairs of government; and by his prudent management reſtored peace to the kingdom. Longchamp found means, after having been deprived of all his offices, to eſcape over to France, where he endeavoured to diſturb the new adminiſtration of his country by promoting the views of Philip.

John, who had joined in the oppoſition againſt Longchamp, was poſſeſſed of neither virtue nor honour; therefore the ſpecious pretext to public ſpirit, no longer ſerving as a cloak for his private ambition, he refuſed to co-operate with thoſe who were actuated by the moſt noble and laudable views in the ſervice of their country. John's preſent behaviour ſo plainly indicated what might be expected from him in future, that it was reſolved to invite queen Eleanor into England, in order to ſtrengthen the royal party.

On the arrival of Philip, king of France, from Paleſtine, a conference was propoſed by him with William Fitz-Ralph, ſeneſchal of Normandy, and the nobility of that dutchy; at which conference he damanded in marriage Adela, his ſiſter, with the caſtle of Guiſors, and the provinces of Eu and Aumale, aſſerting, that they were ceded to him by the treaty of Meſſina. The Normans, alledging that they were not authorized to make the ceſſion, refuſed compliance. Philip threatened to aſſert his right by force of arms; whilſt the Normans, in return, prepared for defence. Being diſappointed in this attempt, he made an offer to prince John of his ſiſter in marriage, together with the poſſeſſion of his brother's dominions on the continent. John embraced eagerly the propoſal of Philip, in hopes of gratifying a pique againſt his brother, and was preparing to ſet out for the place appointed for a conference; but through the remonſtrances of his mother, joined with the menaces of the juſticiaries, who threatened to confiſcate his property if he quitted the kingdom, he was prevented from putting his deſign in execution. Philip now determined to invade Normandy. Such is the ſtability of Gallic faith. But his nobles refuſed to join in the expedition, having taken a ſolemn oath to the contrary when in Paleſtine. The pope alſo declared in favour of Richard, expreſſing his abhorrence of thoſe who would take advantage of the abſence of a prince, who was ſo laudably employed in fighting battles for the cauſe of their church, and moſt holy religion. Thus was the treacherous French monarch again diſappointed in his perfidious deſigns. The lords juſtices now united more firmly than ever; they called another meeting of the ſtates; and a general oath of fidelity was taken to Richard and his heirs, againſt all mankind. At the ſame time they kept a watchful eye over all the ſea-ports, where they placed ſtrong garriſons, commanded by experienced officers, whoſe fidelity they could depend upon. They ſoon found they had occaſion for all theſe prudent precautions. John recalled Longchamp, whom he had before driven out of the kingdom; that, by joining their intereſts, they might diſtreſs, or at leaſt embarraſs the adminiſtration. Longchamp, confiding in ſo powerful a protector, returned immediately; and John uſed all his intereſt to replace him in his former poſt and dignity. But this notorious inconſiſtency of conduct, ſerved only to unite the government more cloſely againſt both; and the prelate was given to underſtand, that if he did not, without a moment's delay, prepare to quit the kingdom, he would, by a due courſe of law, be proceeded againſt as a traitor. This menace, which was to have been put in execution, produced the deſired effect. Longchamp, who well knew his former actions would not bear inſpection, left the kingdom, and returned to the continent. John, deſpairing of gaining his point in England by dividing, or corrupting, or over-awing, ceaſed from his oppoſition; and the affairs of government went ſmoothly on, the people being perfectly ſatisfied with the adminiſtration.

While the hand of perfidy was thus ſtretched forth to graſp the dominions of Richard, that prince was ſuffering in priſon every kind of inſult and indignity. A warrior, who at the head of his army made even the mighty Saladin tremble, was now treated with contempt and cruelty. He was brought before the diet, and accuſed of ſeveral crimes, which had no exiſtence but in the malignant minds of his enemies. He juſtified himſelf with an eloquence that confounded his perſecutors, and covered them with confuſion.

When the fatal intelligence of his impriſonment reached England, the council were aſtoniſhed, and inſtantly foreſaw all the dangerous conſequences that might ariſe from ſo melancholy an event. Eleanor, the queen-dowager, exerted herſelf on this occaſion. She wrote letter after letter to the pope, exclaiming againſt this injurious treatment of her ſon; repreſented the impiety of detaining in priſon the moſt illuſtrious champion that had ever marched under the banner of Chriſt into the Holy Land; claiming his protection, and upbraiding him, that in a cauſe in which juſtice, religion, and the dignity of the church were ſo nearly concerned, the ſpiritual thunders ſhould ſo long be ſuſpended. At length the pope declared loudly in favour of Richard; threatening to lay the whole empire under an interdict if he was not releaſed. The princes of Germany alſo exclaimed in ſtrong terms againſt the emperor's conduct; ſo that Henry, who had liſtened to the propoſals of the king of France and prince John, now found it impoſſible to execute his and their baſe purpoſes, or to detain the king of England much longer in priſon. He therefore agreed with Richard for his ranſom, who purchaſed his liberty for the ſum of one hundred and fifty thouſand marks, of which one hundred thouſand were to be paid before he was ſet free, and ſixty-ſeven hoſtages to be delivered as a ſecurity for the remainder.

A. D. 1194. The Engliſh no ſooner received an account of this treaty, than they exerted themſelves in raiſing the ſum required for the king's ranſom. Twenty ſhillings were levied on each knight's fee; but that being not ſufficient, the voluntary zeal of the people readily ſupplied the deficiency. The parochial clergy contributed a tenth of their tithes; the biſhops, abbots, and nobles, paid a fourth of their annual income; and the churches and monaſteries melted down as much plate as amounted to thirty thouſand marks. The ſum being thus collected, queen Eleanor, and Walter, archbiſhop of Rouen, ſet out with it for Germany; paid the money to the emperor and the duke of Auſtria at Mentz; and having delivered the required hoſtages, ſet the king at liberty. Richard, who well knew the diſpoſition of his late tyrants, did not ſtop a moment in their territories; but proceeding with the utmoſt expedition, embarked at the mouth of the Schelde, and after a very ſhort paſſage, landed in England. Happy was it for Richard that no accident retarded his journey. Henry had been detected in aſſaſſinating the biſhop of Liege, and in making the ſame attempt on the duke of Louvaine; and to render himſelf, if poſſible, more odious, he had reſolved to form an alliance with Philip; to detain Richard in perpetual captivity; to keep the money they had already paid for his ranſom; and to extort freſh ſums from Philip and John, who had made him large offers to detain the captive king. He therefore gave orders, that Richard ſhould be purſued and ſtopped; but that prince had uſed ſuch expedition, that when the meſſengers arrived at Antwerp, the veſſel had ſailed, and landed him ſafe at Sandwich on the twentieth of March, after an abſence of four years and three months, fifteen months of which time he had been in captivity.

On his arrival in London, where he made a triumphal entry, he was received with the utmoſt demonſtrations of joy by his ſubjects. They beheld with rapture their favourite king, who had acquired ſo much glory, and ſpread the reputation of the Engliſh farther than their fame had ever before extended. Every token of reſpect was ſhewn him, and ſuch a vaſt profuſion of riches flowed from every quarter, as aſtoniſhed thoſe German noblemen who accompanied him; one of whom remarked, that a greater price would have been fixed for his ranſom, had the emperor been acquainted with the wealth of his ſubjects. This endearing behaviour of his people, baniſhed from the mind of Richard thoſe indignities he had experienced during his impriſonment; all his alarms, his fatigues, and his ſufferings, were buried in oblivion. On the other hand, Philip, the French king, was aſtoniſhed when he heard that Richard was ſet at liberty; and he is ſaid to have wrote to John in theſe words, " Take care of yourſelf, the devil is broke looſe."

A ſhort time before the arrival of Richard in England, his brother John had diſpatched Adam de St. Edmund, his chaplain, to his adherents, with orders for them to fortify their caſtles. Adam, who poſſeſſed a larger ſhare of vanity than diſcretion, openly boaſted of his maſter's connections with Philip; which the mayor of London being informed of, ordered him to be arreſted, and his papers ſeized, by which means the baſe deſigns of John were fully diſcovered. Orders were immediately iſſued from the council to beſiege his caſtles, and diſſeize all his poſſeſſions; the biſhops alſo excommunicated him and all his adherents. Richard not only approved of theſe meaſures, but ſummoned a general council at Nottingham, where he demanded judgment againſt John, count of Montagne, and Hugh Novant, biſhop of Coventry. They were both cited to appear within forty days; otherwiſe it was decreed, that John ſhould forfeit all his poſſeſſions, and a proceſs be commenced againſt the biſhop, both in the civil and eccleſiaſtical courts. This council likewiſe agreed on a tax called hidage, to be laid on all ploughed land throughout the kingdom.

Richard now appointed a day for his ſecond coronation; thus giving the people another opportunity of diſplaying publicly their exultations. This ceremony the king pleaded the neceſſity of repeating, in order to wipe off the ignominy of his captivity. However plauſible this reaſon may appear, it is moſt probable that his real motive was, to have an opportunity of new modelling the kingdom, of annulling the ſales, and of reſuming the grants which he had made previous to his departure for Paleſtine. He alledged, that the purchaſers had already indemnified themſelves by the profits of the eſtates; that neceſſity had compelled him to make thoſe grants; that the money had been ſpent in an expedition favoured both by the clergy and the laity; and that therefore it was unjuſt the crown ſhould bear the whole burden. None diſputed the validity of theſe reaſons, or the juſtice of the intended reſumption. Hugh, biſhop of Durham, reſigned the earldom of Northumberland; Geoffrey, biſhop of Wincheſter, ſurrendered the ſheriffalty of Hampſhire, the caſtle of Wincheſter, and the two manors he had purchaſed previous to the cruſading expedition. All other purchaſers and grantees followed the example of theſe prelates, and ſeemed to vie with one another who ſhould be the firſt to make the required ſurrender.

During theſe tranſactions, Richard made preparations to revenge the many injuries he had received undeſervedly from Philip's perfidy. To this end he raiſed an army; and embarking at Portſmouth in a fleet of one hundred large ſhips, landed at Barfleur, from whence he proceeded to his palace at Bures, near Bayeux. The next morning his brother John, throwing himſelf at his feet, implored his pardon, which was granted through the interceſſion of his mother. "I forgive him," ſaid the king; "and I hope I ſhall as eaſily forget his injuries, as he my pardon." In the following year Richard reſtored to him the counties of Montagne and Glouceſter, with an annuity of eight thouſand livres, in lieu of thoſe poſſeſſions not given back to him. But John, in returning to his duty, was guilty of an act of treachery, which has ſtained his name with infamy. Before he left Philip's party, he invited to dinner all the officers which that prince had placed in the citadel of Evreux, and cauſed them to be maſſacred during the entertainment; then fell on the garriſon, with the aſſiſtance of the townſmen, and having put them all to the ſword, delivered up the place to his brother.

Philip was now laying ſiege to Verneuil, to the relief of which Richard advanced, reſolving to give him battle; but that prince not being willing to face him, who he had ſo frequently injured, declined an engagement, and retired in the night with precipitation. After repairing the walls of Verneuil, the king directed his courſe to Tours, where the citizens voluntarily preſented him with two thouſand marks; and from thence he proceeded to Loches, which he took by aſſault. The king of France, alarmed at the rapid progreſs of the enemy, propoſed a conference at Ponte de l'Arche; but while the Engliſh commiſſioners waited for the gallic deputies, Philip took the caſtle of Fontaines, near Rouen, and in his retreat ſurprized the earl of Leiceſter, in the neighbourhood of Gournay; he afterwards burnt the town of Evreux, and then marched to Fretteval. This flagrant breach of faith incenſed Richard ſo much, that he advanced to Vendome, to give him battle; but the perfidious Frenchman, not daring to venture an engagement, retired in great confuſion. The Engliſh monarch purſued his flying foe, and coming up with him, defeated his army with great ſlaughter, and Philip narrowly eſcaped with his life. All his baggage and treaſure were taken, with the contracts ſigned by the rebellious barons, who had bound themſelves to aſſiſt Philip and John againſt the king of England. Immediately after this deciſive victory, Richard marched with great expedition into Guienne, againſt the count of Eugeuleſme, and Geoffrey de Rancone, who had raiſed an inſurrection, and in ſixteen days reduced all their towns and caſtles, and took three hundred knights and forty thouſand ſoldiers. Philip now ſued in earneſt for peace, and a truce for a year was concluded between the two monarchs. In this interval, in order to regulate his revenue, Richard directed the itinerant juſtices, to make an exact detail of the eſtates of the crown, and the lands of wards, with eſcheats and forfeitures; he alſo obliged the Jews to deliver true inventories of their eſtates on pain of forfeiture. The biſhop of Ely was deprived of his office of chancellor, and a new ſeal being made, a very conſiderable ſum of money was produced by fees paid for the renewing of charters.

About this time the duke of Auſtria, Leopold, having cruſhed his leg, by a fall from his horſe at a tournament, a fever enſued, which brought on a mortification, and on the approach of death, being ſtruck with remorſe for his injuſtice to Richard, he ordered, by his will, that all the Engliſh hoſtages in his hands ſhould be ſet at liberty; that the money which he had received for his ranſom ſhould be returned, and the remainder of the debt due to him be remitted. His ſon was ſo unwilling to execute theſe articles, that he allowed his father's body to lie a week unburied, before he would releaſe the hoſtages; for the clergy refuſed to perform the funeral till theſe articles were fulfilled.

A. D. 1196. The contentions, founded on animoſity, that ſubſiſted between Philip and Richard, occaſioned a continual ſeries of hoſtilities, and truces, which were broken almoſt as ſoon as concluded. They were little more than ceſſations from war, till both parties could recruit their armies. But to ſupport theſe military expeditions, Richard was obliged to load his ſubjects with taxes, which, by becoming intolerable, excited among them a general complaint; and the great talents of Hubert, the juſticiary, were hardly ſufficient to prevent the univerſal diſcontent from breaking out into open rebellion. Theſe diſturbances were greatly augmented by one William Fitz-Oſborn, commonly called Longbeard; who had gained great popularity among the rabble, by exclaiming, how grievouſly the poor had been oppreſſed by an unequal aſſeſſment of the taxes for the ranſom of the king. He was continually exciting a ſpirit of reſentment in the poor againſt the rich, by the moſt inflammatory ſpeeches; pretending there was a colluſion among the great to eaſe themſelves of the load of public taxes, and to throw the whole weight on the ſhoulders of the labouring poor, who were conſidered in no better light than that of beaſts of burden. Theſe inſinuations produced the deſired effect; the fury of the people was raiſed to a height bordering upon madneſs; and a tumult enſued in St. Paul's Church-Yard, where ſeveral perſons loſt their lives.

This dangerous inſurrection alarmed the juſticiary, who ordered Longbeard (a name given him, becauſe he ſuffered his beard to grow to an enormous length) to appear before him; but he was ſo far from obeying the ſummons, that he killed the officer who delivered the citation. The more ſenſible part of his followers were ſtruck with horror at this inhuman action; they abandoned the pretended advocate for the rights of the people, and a few of the loweſt ſort only now adhered to him. He ſaw the deſertion of the greateſt part of his followers, but continued for ſome days to rob and murder his fellow citizens with cruel barbarity. It was now time for government to interpoſe, in order to prevent an open rebellion. A ſtrong party of ſoldiers were accordingly ſent into the city, with ſtrict orders to apprehend the incendiary, dead or alive. The rioters were ſtruck with terror, and retired, with Longbeard at their head, to the church of St. Mary le Bow, where they ſhut themſelves up, hoping that a general inſurrection would follow in their favour. They were deceived: the citizens ſaw their error, and abandoned the wretch, who had deceived them, to his fate. Longbeard however refuſed to ſurrender; and being driven from the body of the church, he retreated with his followers into the ſteeple, from whence they diſcharged a ſhower of ſtones, darts, and other miſſiles, on their aſſailants. Unwilling to expoſe the lives of his ſoldiers to the attacks of ſuch deſperadoes, the officers cauſed a large quantity of wet ſtraw to be carried into the body of the church, and ſet on fire. The ſmoke effectually anſwered the propoſed end, and prevented any further oppoſition. The inſurgents, apprehenſive of ſuffocation, ſurrendered at diſcretion. Longbeard was ſentenced to be drawn at a horſe's tail through the principal ſtreets of the city, and afterwards to be hung in chains with nine of his accomplices.

A. D. 1197. The emperor now beholding the ſuperiority of Richard's arms over thoſe of France, made advances for his friendſhip; and offered to give him a diſcharge from the ſhare of his ranſom that remained unpaid, on condition of his entering into an offenſive alliance againſt Philip. Richard readily embraced this propoſal. But though the treaty with the emperor took no effect, it ſerved to re-kindle the war between England and France, before the truce was expired. It was carried on in Normandy with unremitted animoſity, but produced very few remarkable events. Richard indeed having formed an alliance with the counts of Champagne, Thoulouſe, Bologne, Flanders, and other conſiderable vaſſals, imagined he ſhould now gain great advantages over his rival. But he ſoon experienced the inſincerity of thoſe princes, and was unable to make much impreſſion on the dominions of ſo active and crafty an opponent as Philip. In order to fruſtrate his deſigns, Richard ſtrengthened the frontiers of Normandy; and making himſelf maſter of the town of St. Vallery, in Picardy, deſtroyed the caſtle, and ſeized all the ſhips in the harbour. Prince John and Marcadee, generals of the Brabantines, took the caſtle of Melly, in Beauvais, and demoliſhed the fortifications. The biſhop, Peter de Dreux, a martial prelate, and couſin-german to the king of France, was taken priſoner, and was cloſely confined at Rouen, loaded with fetters. Two of the clergy waited on the king, to requeſt his majeſty, that more lenity might be ſhewn to the biſhop, when the king, who hated him, informed them, that he having received many injuries from him, while in Germany, had ordered him his preſent puniſhment by way of retaliation. The pope was alſo applied to in his behalf, who demanded his liberty, calling him his ſon, and inſiſted in ſtrong terms on the privileges of the church. Richard ſent to his holineſs, the coat of mail Peter had worn in battle, and which was beſmeared with blood, ordering the meſſenger to uſe the words of Jacob's ſons to their father, "This have we found; know now whether it be thy ſon's coat or not." The pontiff, who knew Richard's haughty ſpirit was not to be trifled with, replied, "That the coat ſent by the king did not belong to a ſon of the church, but to a ſon of the camp; and that the priſoner ſhould repoſe in Richard's mercy alone for redreſs." The prelate thus abandoned, was obliged to purchaſe his liberty at the price of ten thouſand marks.

The king's abſence, and his engagements in foreign wars, encouraged the Welſh to invade his dominions. Rees, prince of South Wales, collecting a conſiderable number of forces, laid ſiege to the town and caſtle of Caermarthen, which he took and laid in aſhes. Roger Mortimer and Hugh Say, two noblemen of the greateſt intereſt in thoſe parts, attempted to check his progreſs, but were routed with great loſs. The caſtles of Culn, Radnor, and Pain, now fell into the hand of Rees; but the laſt was delivered to its owner, William de Brouſe, on certain conditions. The progreſs of the Welſh at length drew the regent himſelf into the field, at the head of a powerful army; but the Welſh were wiſe enough not to hazard a battle, ſo that all Hubert could do was to take a few of their caſtles, which, as ſoon as the ſeaſon obliged him to retire, fell again into their hands.

The convulſions of kingdoms, equally with thoſe of nature, have their advantages. The Holy War muſt have ſhook every pillar of ſtate, and weakened every nerve of government, had not the ſpirit of commerce happily ſucceeded that of war. Richard's cruſading adventures had opened to his Engliſh ſubjects countries almoſt unknown to them before, and intercourſes hitherto unattempted. The ports of England, in conſequence of the conqueror's eſtabliſhments, continued yet free, or at leaſt their cuſtoms were ſo ſmall as hardly to be felt, and natural conveniences promoted mutual advantages. All the continent of Europe had been for ſome years in arms; England alone enjoyed the happineſs of peace. This invited commerce; nor could the kingdom have otherwiſe ſupplied the immenſe ſums that were every year furniſhed for fruitleſs wars on the continent. As all taxes, in their laſt reſort, fall upon the landed intereſt, the meaner tenants felt themſelves intenſely oppreſſed; but the trading part of the nation opened channels of traffic, which, in time, ſupplied thoſe tenants with the means of anſwering the demands of government. But as the means of the one increaſed, the claims of the other kept equal pace with the augmentation; and about this time the influx of riches and treaſure greatly altered the value of the ſpecie: for it appeared by the regent's accounts, that he had raiſed, at a medium, five hundred and fifty thouſand marks for the king's uſe only, during the two preceding years of his adminiſtration. This vaſt increaſe of revenue could be owing only to the great increaſe of commerce, ſince ſo few years before, the raiſing an hundred and fifty thouſand marks had been attended with the utmoſt diſtreſs.

A. D. 1199.

The war in Normandy was carried on with ſuch ferocity, that both kings frequently put out the eyes of their priſoners; but Philip finding no advantage could be gained over the Engliſh monarch by arms, and weary of a war which exhauſted his country, applied to pope Innocent III. who then filled the papal chair, to employ his good offices in bringing about a peace with Richard. The pope readily complied with his requeſt, and ſent the cardinal of St. Mary, to act as mediator between the contending parties. A negotiation was accordingly begun, and conſiderable progreſs made in a treaty for a permanent peace, when the death of Richard, by an unfortunate accident, put an end to the negotiation and all his labours. Having laid ſiege to the caſtle of Chalus, in order to compel Vidomar, viſcount de Limoges, one of the vaſſals, to deliver to him a conſiderable treaſure, which that nobleman had found in his grounds, but which Richard claimed as ſuperior lord of the country; he one day, attended by Marcadee, in reconnoitering the place, ventured too near, when Bertram de Gourdon, an archer, took an aim at him from the wall of the caſtle, and pierced him in the ſhoulder with an arrow, cloſe to the neck. An unſkilful ſurgeon, endeavouring to extract the weapon, mangled the fleſh ſo deſperately, that the wound gangreened, of which he died, eleven days after the fatal deſign was executed, on the 6th of April, in the forty-ſecond year of his age, and the tenth of his reign. When he found his end approaching, he requeſted his will might be made, by which he bequeathed the kingdom of England, with all his other dominions, and three fourths of his treaſure to his brother John: the remaining fourth he divided among his ſervants and the poor; and to his nephew Otho, emperor of Germany, he bequeathed all his jewels. His body he ordered to the buried at Fontevraud in Anjou, at the feet of the king his father, in order to teſtify his grief for his undutiful behaviour towards him. He left only one natural ſon, named Philip, to whom he bequeathed the lordſhip of Cognac in Guienne. A ſhort time before his death the caſtle of Chalus was taken by ſtorm, and all the garriſon hanged except Bertram de Gourdon, who being brought into the king's preſence, on ſeeing him, he cried, "Wretch what have I ever done, what injury from me, that you ſhould ſeek my life?"—"What have you done to me?" the priſoner coolly replied with an air of bravery; "why you killed with your own hands my father, and my two brothers, and you intended to have hanged me. I am now in your power. Satisfy your revenge. I am prepared to ſuffer every torment you can inflict, ſhall endure them all and die with pleaſure, ſince I have been the inſtrument to deliver the world from ſuch a tyrant, who has filled it with blood and carnage." This ſpirited reply had more effect on the mind of Richard, than all the admonitions of the ghoſtly confeſſor. He ordered Gourdon to be ſet at liberty, and to be preſented with one hundred ſhillings; but Marcadee, like a true ruffian, ordered the unhappy man to be flead alive, and afterwards hanged.

Some remarkable occurrences happened during this reign, the noticing of which may perhaps be acceptable to our readers. Richard added three lions paſſant to his arms, being the firſt king of England that ever bore them. He alſo ordered one ſtandard for weights and meaſures, that they might be the ſame throughout the kingdom. The city of London aſſumed a new form of juriſdiction, by chuſing a mayor, and being divided into ſeveral corporations and ſocieties, now called companies. Henry Fitz-Alvin was the firſt mayor of London, and continued in that office four and twenty years. We cannot give any circumſtances more curious, reſpecting the cuſtoms of the age in this reign, than the manner in which engagements at ſea, and the ſieges of fortified towns were carried on, before the invention of gunpowder.

The ſhips of war were all gallies, with two rows of oars, and to the prow was fixed a piece of wood, commonly called a ſpur, deſigned to ſtrike and pierce the ſhips of the enemy. There were alſo leſſer gallies, with only one tier of oars, which being ſhorter, and therefore moving with greater facility, were fitter for throwing combuſtibles, and were uſed for this purpoſe. In order to give an idea of naval engagements, we ſhall give a deſcription of one, which the Chriſtians, who were going to the ſiege of Ptolemais, had with the Turks on that coaſt. When the fleets were advancing to engage, that of the Chriſtians was drawn up in a creſcent or half moon, and at the two ends of the curve were placed the largeſt gallies, that they might the better repel the attacks of the enemy. On the upper deck of each galley the ſoldiers belonging to it were drawn up in a circle, with their bucklers cloſely joined, the rowers ſitting all together on the lower deck, that thoſe who fought above might have the more room. The action began on both ſides with a diſcharge of their miſſile weapons: then the Chriſtians rowed forwards with all their force to ſtrike the enemy's gallies, with the ſpurs or beaks of theirs: after which they came to cloſe fighting; the oppoſite oars were mixed and entangled together; they held the gallies together with grappling irons, and fired the planks with a kind of burning oil, commonly called Greek-wildfire, which, with a pernicious ſtench, our author, Geoffrey de Vineſauf, ſays, conſumed even flint and iron, nor could be extinguiſhed but by ſprinkling ſand, or pouring vinegar upon it. While this wildfire was known only to the Greeks, it was of great uſe in the defence of Conſtantinople; but in the twelfth century the ſecret was diſcovered by many other nations, and was alſo uſed in the defence of caſtles and towns.

The military art, at this time, was in many particulars the ſame with that of the antient Romans. Among other machines uſed by them in ſieges, the Engliſh and other nations had moveable towers built of wood, and of ſuch a height that the tops of them overlooked the battlements of the city. They were covered with raw hides, to prevent their being burnt, and had alſo a net work of ropes, which hung before them, in order to deaden the violence of the ſtones that were thrown againſt them by the engines of the beſieged; theſe engines were the *baliſtæ* of the antients; their force was prodigious; they threw ſtones of a vaſt weight, and were employed by the beſiegers to batter the walls, and by the beſieged to defend them. Their manner of fortifying towns and caſtles, was alſo much the ſame as had been practiſed by the old Romans: but the armies differed much from thoſe of that people; for their principal ſtrength was in cavalry, whereas among the Romans it conſiſted of their legions, which was chiefly compoſed of infantry.

Character of Richard I.

In his perſon he was tall, comely, fair, and well proportioned, with prodigious bodily ſtrength. His eyes were blue, and full of vivacity; he had light hair, and a majeſtic manner; and it has been remarked, that his arms were unuſually long. He was poſſeſſed of a good underſtanding, an uncommon penetration, and a fund of manly eloquence. His converſation was ſpirited, and he was particularly admired for his talent of rapartee. But the moſt dazzling part of his character were his military talents. No man, even in that romantic age, carried perſonal courage and intrepidity to a greater height, and from this quality he gained the appellation of Lion's-heart. He was paſſionately fond of military glory, and never thought any toils, any dangers, any difficulties, too great to attain it. His talents were admirably adapted to the acquiſition of renown, and he poſſeſſed the good as well as the bad qualities incident to that character. He was therefore much better qualified to dazzle his contemporaries by the ſplendor of his enterprizes, than either to promote the happineſs of his people, or his own true grandeur, by a ſound and well regulated policy. Several writers have given a ſtrange contradictory deſcription of his character, by ſaying, he was open, frank, generous, ſincere and brave; but at the ſame time, ambitious, domineering, haughty, reſentful, proud and cruel; jarring qualities which cannot be ſuppoſed to have ever exiſted in one man. His behaviour to his father was certainly unnatural and baſe; but then it is to be conſidered he unhappily fell into the hands of a crafty, politic Frenchman, at an age too when the paſſions are ſeldom under the guidance of cool reaſon; and his ſincere contrition is far from being an indication of a bad heart, under the influence of pride, revenge, or cruelty. The open frankneſs with which he pardoned his brother John, after a ſeries of ingratitude, treachery and rebellion, and the readineſs with which he renewed his truces with the perfidious monarch of France, are ſuch ſtriking inſtances of generoſity and condeſcenſion, as are not to be met with but in great and exalted minds. The ſame may be obſerved of his conduct towards Bertram, by whom he was mortally wounded. His love of glory carried him into the fields of Paleſtine; and if in the exerciſe of his great military talents, or in the courſe of his reign, ſome actions appear arbitrary, oppreſſive and cruel, we muſt remember he was of a warm, paſſionate temper, which frequently involved him in expeditions, calculated rather to promote his own glory, than the intereſts of his people; to ſupport which he impoſed many exorbitant, ſometimes unjuſtifiable taxes; and yet he was greatly beloved by his Engliſh ſubjects, and is conſidered the firſt prince who bore them a ſincere affection. Eminent talents, nay even ſhining virtues, in ſuperior minds, are frequently ſhaded with headſtrong paſſions, and remarkable vices. His enterprizing genius would not ſuffer him to remain long inactive; ſo that, during the whole of his reign, he was not more than eight months in England. He ſpent near three years in the cruſade; and notwithſtanding his paſt misfortunes, he was ſo pleaſed with the ſame he had acquired in the eaſt, that he determined to expoſe himſelf to new hazards, and to have again exhauſted his kingdom by another expedition into the Holy Land. It is pretended, in proof of his tyranny and cruelty, that Hubert, his juſticiary, ſent him over to France, in the ſpace of three years, the ſum of one million, one hundred thouſand marks; but the value of land, and prices of commodities, prove, that no ſuch enormous ſums could be levied on the people. A hide of land, which conſiſted of about a hundred and twenty acres, was then let for twenty ſhillings a year, and there were but two hundred and forty-three thouſand ſix hundred hydes in England. The uſual price of an ox was four ſhillings, of a labouring horſe the ſame, of a ſow one ſhilling, of a ſheep with fine wool ten-pence, and with coarſe ſixpence; beſides, the revenues of the crown, being in this, and ſeveral former reigns, moſtly ſpent abroad, there could be but little ſpecie circulating in the kingdom. However cenſurable, therefore, the conduct of this king may appear in the eyes of ſome, it muſt be univerſally allowed, that he excelled all the princes of his time in heroic courage; and as, with all his faults, he was beloved by the Engliſh, it is in our opinion, a duty incumbent on their poſterity, to touch his reputation with an impartial judgment, and a tender hand.

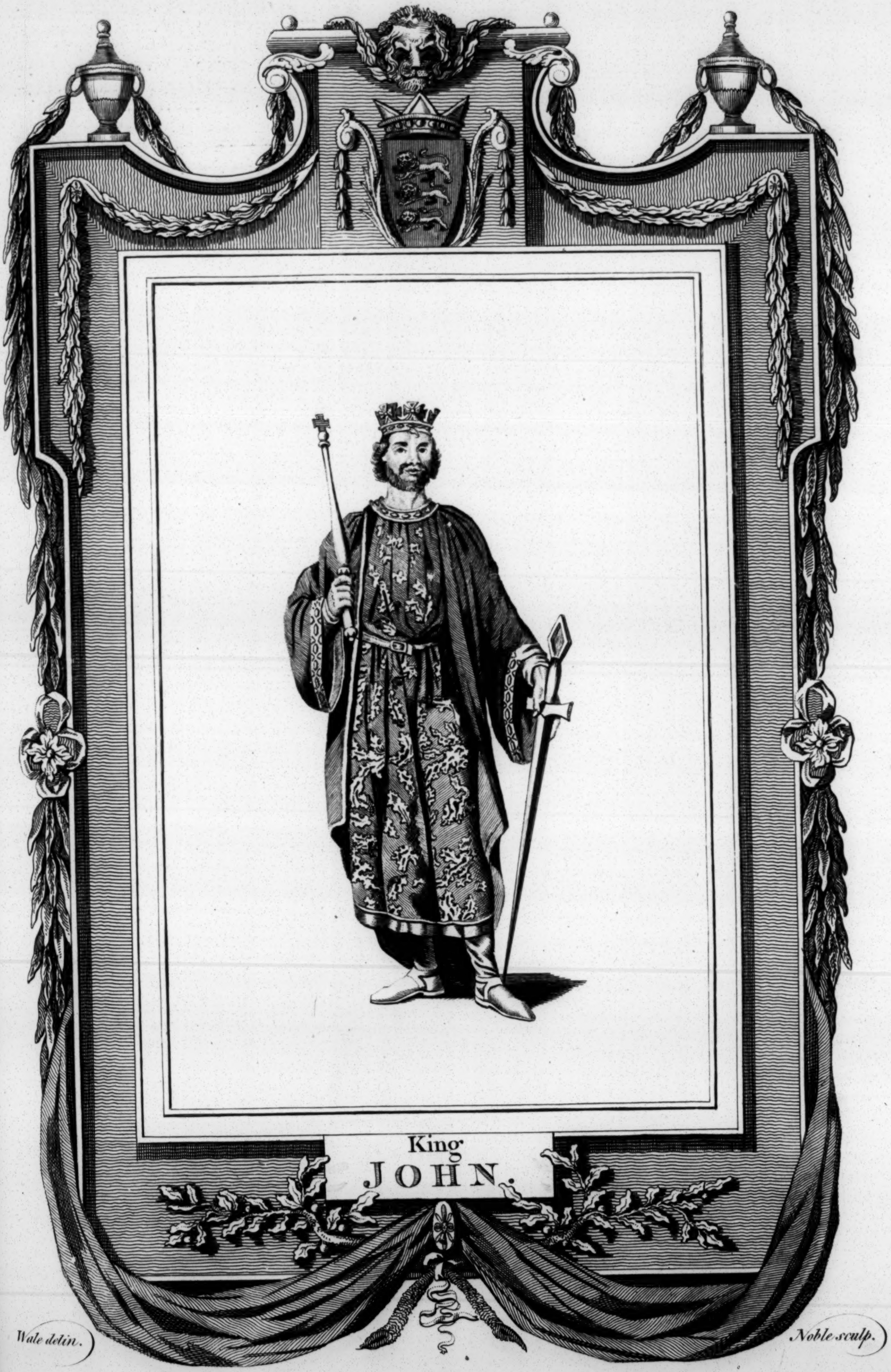
C H A P. II.

J O H N.

Aſcends the throne agreeable to the will of his predeceſſor, notwithſtanding Arthur, ſon to Geoffrey, John's elder brother, had a preferable title—He is crowned at Weſtminſter, on the twenty-eighth of May—War with France renewed, in the courſe of which, Arthur is taken priſoner and baſely murdered—The whole of John's foreign dominions conquered, and united by Philip to the crown of France—John quarrels with the pope, in conſequence of which his kingdom is laid under an interdict, and he himſelf excommunicated—An inſurrection of the barons, who compel him to ſign, in Runnemede meadow, a charter of liberties, called MAGNA CHARTA, *or the great charter, A. D.* 1215.*—He endeavours with the aſſiſtance of foreign mercenaries to revoke his grants; and the barons invite over Lewis, ſon to the king of France—The civil war terminated by the death of John—His character.*

A. D. 1199. JOHN, who ſucceeded his brother, Richard I. was ſurnamed Sans-terre, or Lackland, becauſe his father left him no inheritance. Richard, before his departure to the Holy Land, had appointed Arthur, ſon to his brother Geoffry, his ſucceſſor, but afterwards changed his mind, and by his laſt will, bequeathed his ſcepter to his brother John; notwithſtanding which there remained a doubt as to the right of ſucceſſion, which had not been ſettled by any law ſince the time of William the Conqueror. It was a queſtion, whether Arthur, duke of Brittany, had not a prior right to his uncle, being the immediate repreſentative of his father Geoffrey; and it was likewiſe doubted, whether, if the law was favourable to the nephew, Richard had a right to diſpoſe of his poſſeſſion. However, John found no difficulty in prevailing on the Engliſh to declare in his favour; for while he continued on the continent to ſecure his foreign dominions, he left the care of his affairs in England to Hubert, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and William Mareſchal, in conjunction with queen Eleanor, and Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, the chief juſticiary. Theſe having fixed the greateſt men of the kingdom in his intereſt, invited them to meet at Northampton; where they magnified the liberality and munificent diſpoſition of John, and prevailed on them to acknowledge him as the ſovereign, by taking the oath of fealty. John having been informed of the ſteps taken in his favour, embarked for England, and landed at Shoreham, proceeded immediately to London, where he had arrived only two days, when he was crowned in Weſtminſter-abbey, with the uſual ceremonies, on the twenty-eighth of May, by Hubert, archbiſhop of Canterbury. Immediately after his coronation, he confirmed the archbiſhop in his office of chancellor, created Mareſchal, earl of Pembroke, and Fitz-Peter, earl of Eſſex, beſides conferring ſeveral marks of diſtinction on other barons. However ſeveral of the provinces on the continent revolted. The barons of Touraine, Maine, and Anjou, declared in favour of Arthur, his nephew, and applied to the king of France for aſſiſtance. Philip, who wiſhed for an opportunity to embaraſs John, took young Arthur under his protection, ſending him, with his ſon Lewis, to be educated at Paris. Theſe tranſactions occaſioned a renewal of hoſtilities between the Engliſh and French, which was continued for a while with trifling ſucceſſes to either party; but the intriguing policy of Philip contributed to enable John to bring this war to a concluſion: for the French king behaving in the provinces that had delared for Arthur, without any regard to the intereſt of this prince, Conſtantia, his mother, became jealous of Philip's deſigns; and finding means to carry off Arthur ſecretly from Paris, ſhe put him into the hands of his uncle; reſtored thoſe provinces which had revolted; and made the young prince do homage to John for the duchy of Brittany. This unexpected event induced Philip to deſire a peace, which, after ſeveral fruitleſs conferences, was concluded, ſeemingly to the ſatisfaction of all contending parties. Thus by the mutual jealouſies of his enemies, did John become the undiſputed ſovereign of all the dominions appertaining to the crown of England, yet power ſo eaſily acquired, he had not prudence ſufficient to preſerve.

One of John's firſt imprudent ſteps, which proved the ſource of many misfortunes, was his indulging a paſſion for Iſabella, the daughter of the count of Angouleme, Aymar Taillefer, while his own wife was living, and at a time when the young lady was under a contract of marriage with Hugh, count de la Marche, wo was paſſionately in love with her, and to whoſe care, on account of her tender years, ſhe had been conſigned. Regardleſs of this engagement, or the conſequences that might follow his weak conduct, John prevailed upon Taillefer to carry off his daughter from her huſband; and having procured a divorce from his wife Aviſa, heireſs of the family of Glouceſter, under pretence that ſhe was too nearly related to him, married Iſabella, giving himſelf not the leaſt concern about the menaces of the pope, who loudly complained of ſuch irregular proceedings, or the reſentment of the injured count. An inſurrection againſt him was immediately formed, which obliged him to apply to his Engliſh ſubjects for aſſiſtance; and by their aid the conteſt was ſoon decided in his favour; which ſerved only to excite him to the commiſſion of other acts equally impolitic and unjuſtifiable. At this period it was common for diſputes of all kinds to be determined by the barbarous cuſtom of duelling, which, with ſhame be it ſpoken, continues in an age ſo refined as the preſent. Cauſes in the lords court being frequently decided by this antient uſage, John retained for his champions certain bravos, who were deputed to fight in his behalf, when any of the nobility ſhould oppoſe the rapid ſtrides he made towards arbitrary power. The count de la Marche, and other barons, conſidered this both as an affront and an injury, declaring they would never draw their ſwords againſt men of ſuch inferior



King
JOHN.

Wale delin.

Noble sculp.

Began his Reign April 6. 1199 — Died Octr. 18. 1216.

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inferior quality. The conſequence of which was, that another confederacy of the French barons was formed againſt him; to break which John had recourſe to promiſes, oaths, and proteſtations; but having violated every engagement, his enemies, knowing his weakneſs, reſolved to puſh him to extremities; and they were ſoon encouraged in their oppoſition to his deſpicable adminiſtration by the junction of a new ally.

A. D. 1203. Apprehenſive of his uncle's dangerous character, young Arthur, who was now riſing to man's eſtate, reſolved to ſeek ſecurity by an union with Philip and the diſcontented barons, and therefore joined the French army, which had begun hoſtilities againſt the king of England. Philip received him with marks of diſtinction, knighted him, gave him in marriage his daughter Mary, and not only inveſted him with the duchy of Brittany, but with the counties of Maine and Anjou, which had been reſigned by him to his uncle. The progreſs of the French forces was remarkably rapid; inſomuch that John made ſeveral advances towards a peace; but the French monarch declared, that he would not ſheath the ſword, unleſs the king of England would ſubmit to reſign all his tranſmarine dominions to his nephew, the undoubted and lawful heir. Philip now ſupported the intereſt of Arthur with the utmoſt vigour. Several towns ſubmitted to the young prince, and for a while ſucceſs ſeemed to follow his footſteps. He knew that queen Eleanor was a ſworn enemy to his intereſt, and conceived a deſign of ſecuring her perſon. She reſided in the caſtle of Mirabel, the fortifications of which were in a ruinous condition; the garriſon too few to make a long reſiſtance. Arthur being placed by Philip at the head of two hundred knights, he led them precipitantly againſt that fortreſs. It was taken at the firſt aſſault; but the queen, with the greater part of the garriſon, retired into the tower, there making a gallant defence. The danger of his mother rouſed John from his indolence. He marched to her relief with an army of Engliſh and Brabanders, attacked the camp of Arthur, put his forces to flight, took the young prince, together with the count of Marche, and moſt of the revolted barons priſoners. The king ſent the greater part of his captives over to England, but Arthur was impriſoned in the caſtle of Falaiſe; after which he returned into Normandy in triumph, without improving his victory. The rival of John being now in his power, he began to conſider how he ſhould diſpoſe of him, ſo as to prevent his being troubleſome in future; and it immediately ſtruck the daſtardly tyrant, that to be happy he muſt commence aſſaſſin; and that his death alone could be effectual to anſwer the propoſed end.

Hiſtorians have given different accounts in what manner this young prince came to his end, but it is generally allowed, that he was never ſeen in public after his confinement; and the following circumſtances, that attended a black deed of darkneſs, appear to be beſt authenticated. The king, it is ſaid, firſt propoſed to William de la Braye, one of his ſervants, to diſpatch Arthur; but he replied with a becoming ſpirit, "that he was a gentleman, not an executioner;" and refuſed to comply with the king's deſire. Thus diſappointed, John applied to another inſtrument of murder, leſs ſcrupulous, who actually went to the caſtle in which the prince was confined, with a view of putting him to death; but this intended aſſaſſin having informed Hubert de Bourg, who was chamberlain to the king, and conſtable of Falaiſe, of the nature of his commiſſion, the latter, anxious to ſave the life of the young innocent, told the other, that he himſelf would undertake to execute the king's mandate, and having ſent away the aſſaſſin, ſpread abroad a report of Arthur's death, and to give it credit, performed publicly all the ceremonies of his interment. It is not to be imagined, that an affair of this dark complexion could long remain a ſecret. Conſtantia was inconſolable, ſuppoſing her ſon to have been murdered, their faithful adherents threatened the ſevereſt revenge; the revolted barons perſevered more obſtinately in their rebellion: and public clamor growing every day ſtronger, Hubert thought it moſt prudent to inform the world, that the young prince was yet ſafe in cuſtody. This circumſtance coming to the knowledge of the king, he determined to be himſelf the perpetrator of that bloody deed, for which he could not find a ready executioner. To execute his horrid purpoſe with ſecrecy, he cauſed Arthur to be removed to the caſtle of Rouen, on the borders of the river Seine; and going in a boat to that place, during the dead of night, he commanded that young Arthur ſhould be brought before him. A ſeries of misfortunes, impriſonment, and fearful apprehenſions of an untimely end, had ſo dejected the ſpirit of this unfortunate prince, that unable, in ſuch a trying moment, to ſupport himſelf with any degree of fortitude, he fell at the feet of his uncle, and implored his compaſſion; but the inhuman butcher, callous to all the finer feelings of humanity, with a look of revenge, making no reply, ſtabbed him with his own barbarous hands; then faſtening a ſtone to his body caſt it into the river Seine. From the ruin that purſued this inhuman murderer of his kinſman, princes may learn, that the direct path of honour is altogether as eligible for thoſe in the higheſt, as for thoſe in more humble ſtations; and the middling claſs of people, by attending to the juſtice of providence, vindicated on this and many other inſtances, throughout the hiſtory of England, may perceive, that notwithſtanding the inequalities of this life, there are certain puniſhments the conſequences of criminal actions, and a ſure retribution, in many caſes, of a vicious conduct, even independant of, and previous to, a world to come. All Europe accuſed John of murder, though perpetrated in the inner chamber, at the ſolemn hour of midnight. The crimſon deed rendered him univerſally hated; and he was henceforward the leaſt able to find friends, when he ſtood moſt in need of them.

The diſconſolate Conſtantia cried aloud for revenge and protection. She applied to the king of France, preſenting a petition ſigned by all the barons in Brittany. Philip readily undertook her cauſe, and ſummoned the king of England before his court, to take his trial for the ſuppoſed murder of prince Arthur. But when the day of hearing came, John appeared only by his deputies, the biſhop of Ely and Hubert de Bourg. Their buſineſs was to demand of Philip a ſafe conduct for their maſter to the court of France. "He may come ſafely," ſaid Philip, with a ſtern countenance: "but will he be alſo ſafe in returning?" replied the biſhop of Ely. "Yes," anſwered Philip, "if the judgment of his peers will permit him." The ambaſſadors ſufficiently perceived the inſidious tendency of this expreſſion, and inſiſted upon a clearer explanation, and the king's granting a ſafe conduct. Philip refuſed this; ſwearing by all the ſaints of France, "That he ſhould return no otherwiſe than according to the ſentence of the court." The biſhop then told Philip, "that John was to be conſidered as king of England, as well as duke of Normandy; and the barons of England would not permit their king to riſque his life or his liberty at the French court, even though he ſhould agree to it himſelf." Philip's anſwer was both ready and juſt. "If my lord," ſaid he, "the duke of Normandy's ambition led him to acquire a higher title, ought I, who am his lord, to loſe his allegiance as my vaſſal? What is it to me that he has aſcended the throne of England." The ambaſſadors remained ſilent; for his remarks were unanſwerable upon the principles of the feudal law. The court therefore proceeded to paſs the following ſentence: "That John, duke of Normandy, not regarding the oath he had taken to Philip his lord, and being a vaſſal of the king of France, had, within the ſeigniory of that crown, murdered his elder brother's ſon, who was alſo a vaſſal of the ſame; therefore the ſaid John is declared a traitor; and, as an enemy to the crown of France, he is adjudged to forfeit all his ſeigniories, which he held by homage, and re-entry into the ſame is ordered to be made by force."

From this period John had no other means of ſupporting his power, than by ſeverity to thoſe whom he thought might oppoſe him, and making it the intereſt of others to engage in his ſervice. His late crime was ſucceeded by a ſupine inactivity, and his time ſpent in dalliance with his young queen. With his innocence he had loſt his ſpirit. He had dipped his hands in blood, and was more fearful of reflection than puniſhment. He ſtrove to delude his own heart, and drown the voice of conſcious guilt in the ſtream of pleaſure.

Philip, whoſe ambitious views had been hitherto reſtrained by the martial genius of Richard, prepared now to put the ſentence againſt John into execution. A more favourable event could not have happened, for annexing to his crown ſo many valuable fiefs, which, during ſeveral ages, had been diſmembered from it. His vaſſals were in no condition to oppoſe him; the inhuman action of John engaged them to his ſide; the duchy of Brittany, exaſperated at the murder of their prince, promoted all his meaſures, and rendered all his attempts on Normandy eaſy and ſucceſsful. The count of Alençon deſerted his ſovereign, and delivered up all the places under his command to the French monarch, who now ſeparated his army, in order to give them ſome repoſe.

John, now ſuddenly collecting his forces, laid ſiege to Alençon; when Philip, unable to reaſſemble his ſcattered troops, found an expedient to prevent the mortification of ſeeing his friend and confederate oppreſſed. A tournament being at that time held at Moret, in the Gatinois, whither all the chief nobility of France and its neighbourhood had reſorted, Philip preſented himſelf before them, and with great addreſs pointed out the plains of Alençon as the more honourable field, wherein they might not only ſignalize their courage, but, by aſſiſting him, diſplay their generoſity. The martial ſpirit of theſe brave knights inſtantly took fire. They vowed to take ample vengeance on the tyrannical murderer; and putting themſelves, with their retinues, under the command of Philip, marched without the leaſt delay to the relief of Alençon; when John, hearing of their approach, raiſed the ſiege, and fled with ſuch precipitation, that all his tents, military machines, and baggage, fell into the hands of the enemy. This was almoſt the laſt feeble effort of that cowardly prince, for the defence of his foreign dominions. He remained inactive at Rouen, ſpending his time in paſtimes with his wife, as if he had been in a ſtate of profound tranquillity, and his affairs in the moſt happy ſituation. If war was ever mentioned, he gave himſelf ſuch vaunting airs as made him ſtill more contemptible. "Let the French go on," ſaid he, "I will retake in one day what it has coſt them years to acquire." The Engliſh barons, ſeeing the progreſs of the French arms without reſiſtance, were amazed at his ſtupidity. Finding their time waſted to no purpoſe, they ſecretly withdrew from their colours and returned to England, reſolving no longer to defend a weak, indolent prince, who had deſerted himſelf.

But while John thus neglected every natural expedient for his ſafety, he had the meanneſs to apply to pope Innocent III. whom he intreated to interpoſe his authority between him and the king of France. Innocent, pleaſed with an opportunity of exerting the papal authority, ſent Philip orders to ceaſe hoſtilities, and to make peace with the king of England; but theſe commands were received with indignation by the French barons, who diſclaimed the temporal authority exerted by the pontiff; and Philip, inſtead of paying obedience to them, laid ſiege to Chateau Gaillard.

A. D. 1204.

This place was defended with the greateſt intrepidity for a whole year, by Roger de Lacy, conſtable of Cheſter, and one of the moſt able generals of the age. The fortreſs was remarkable for its ſtrength; and Philip was obliged to reduce it by a blockade. The intrepid governor, after having repulſed every attempt, to which ſucceeded the miſeries of famine, was at laſt ſubdued by a ſudden aſſault in the night time, and taken priſoner, with the whole of his garriſon. Philip, charmed with the abilities of Lacy, treated him with great reſpect, and allowed him the whole city of Paris for the place of his confinement. True magnanimity reſpects valour, even in an enemy. Philip found little difficulty in reducing the other fortreſſes of Normandy. Every city opened its gates on the approach of the French monarch. The inhabitants of Rouen, indeed, who hated the French, would willingly have defended themſelves to the laſt extremity; but ſome of their outworks being taken, and finding, left as they were to themſelves, all further reſiſtance would be in vain, they agreed to deliver up the place, provided they were not relieved in thirty days. No ſupply arrived, and the French monarch took poſſeſſion of the city. All other towns followed the example of the capital. Thus was the important duchy of Normandy united to the crown of France, near three centuries after the ceſſion of it by Charles the Simple, to Rollo the firſt duke. Animated with his preſent career of ſucceſs, Philip now led his army into the weſtern provinces, where he ſoon reduced under his dominion Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and part of Poictou. Thus, by the puſillanimity of John, within three years the French crown received ſuch an acceſſion of power and grandeur, as, in the ordinary courſe of things, might have required ſeveral ages to attain. In the mean time John, in order to cover this diſgrace, on his arrival in England exclaimed loudly againſt his barons, who he pretended had deſerted his ſtandard in Normandy; and extorted from them, in a very arbitrary manner, a ſeventh part of all their moveables, as a puniſhment for their offence. Soon after he compelled them to grant him two marks and a half on each knight's fee, for an expedition into Normandy, but did not attempt to go there. The next year he ſummoned all his barons to attend him on that expedition; but meeting with ſome oppoſition from his miniſters, he diſmiſſed both the fleet and army. He next put to ſea with a ſmall body of forces, and it was believed that he now intended to exert himſelf for the recovery of his dominions. Perhaps his guilty fears would not ſuffer him to proceed; for, after a few days, his ſubjects were ſurprized to ſee him return, like another Caligula, without having attempted any thing.

A. D. 1205.

A. D. 1206.

John this year appeared to be inſpired with freſh ardor, declaring he would ſtrike a ſtroke which ſhould reſtore the drooping honours of his country. Gui de Thouars, who governed Brittany, being jealous of the rapid progreſs made by his ally the French king, promiſed to join the king of England with all his forces. John embraced the offer; and once more embarking proceeded to Angiers, which city he burnt to the ground; but being informed of the approach of Philip's army, the vain-glorious coward ſtole to his ſhips, reimbarked his army, and ſailed back to England, under additional circumſtances of diſgrace. Nothing was wanting to complete his misfortunes but a quarrel with the church, and this he ſoon effected by his imprudence. It had been cuſtomary for the clergy not to acknowledge any ſubjection but to the pope; and when they had elected any of their order to an eccleſiaſtical dignity, to abide by the confirmation of the ſovereign pontiff. There had been frequent diſputes between the ſuffragan biſhops and the monks of St. Auſtin, reſpecting the election of archbiſhops; and both parties were in poſſeſſion of precedents, which had given a ſanction to their pretenſions. Matters were thus circumſtanced at the time of the death of Hubert, archbiſhop of Canterbury; on which event the monks of St. Auſtin held a private meeting in their cathedral at Canterbury, and elected Reginald their ſub-prior archbiſhop in his room. This election created the utmoſt diſturbance among the biſhops, who inſiſted that their privileges had been invaded; and an eccleſiaſtical conteſt was likely to be the conſequence. John, deficient in policy, as in every other princely qualification, took part with the ſuffragan biſhops, and recommended to them John de Grey, biſhop of Norwich, who was immediately choſen archbiſhop. The conſequence was ſuch as might eaſily have been foreſeen: both parties made an immediate appeal to the ſee of Rome: the ſub-prior ſet out for Italy, to obtain the pope's confirmation of his election; and on the biſhop of Norwich being elected, twelve deputies were ſent to ſupport his election; and the biſhops likewiſe ſent agents to ſupport their cauſe. Innocent ſet aſide both the elections as uncanonical and illegal; and ordered, that the monks ſhould chooſe cardinal Stephen Langton, an Engliſhman then at Rome, archbiſhop of Canterbury. This they for a while refuſed to do; but the pope threatening excommunication in caſe of refuſal, the election was accordingly made, and Langton was conſecrated by the pope. Innocent, apprehending that this uſurpation on the crown of England would be reſented by that court, wrote John a ſoothing letter, and made him a preſent of four gold rings ſet with precious ſtones, which were repreſented as invaluable, on account of the myſteries they contained; but John, notwithſtanding he accepted the pope's preſent, reſolved not to admit Langton to be archbiſhop of Canterbury. Weak men are generally violent in their proceedings. On receiving the pope's letter, he ſent two of his knights to expel the monks of St. Auſtin, who took poſſeſſion of their treaſures. Theſe violent proceedings of the king coincided with the pope's wiſhes; who foreſeeing that he would not be able to abide the conteſt with him, had recourſe to every method that he thought would promote the important end he had in view. He ſoothed, implored, and urged the king to a compliance with his determination; and when he found that all theſe modes of proceeding were fruitleſs, he proceeded to threatenings, and ſent three Engliſh prelates to the king to acquaint him, that if he continued pertinacious, the whole kingdom ſhould be laid under an interdict. The reſt of the prelates proſtrated themſelves before the king, beſeeching him, in terms of the utmoſt earneſtneſs, that he would accept the biſhop who had been newly elected, reinſtate the monks in poſſeſſion of their convent, and not expoſe his church to the reſentment of the ſee of Rome. Their intreaties, however, were of no kind of uſe, but rather excited the indignation of the king; who ſwore, "by God's teeth," his cuſtomary oath, that, "if the kingdom was put under an interdict, he would baniſh the whole body of the clergy, and confiſcate all their poſſeſſions." Notwithſtanding this ridiculous vapouring, the pope, who was not ignorant of John's weakneſs, iſſued the fatal interdict, which he had for ſome time held ſuſpended over the head of this infatuated monarch. This ſentence, the political engine of the court of Rome, was calculated to operate with irreſiſtible force on the minds of the people. It was pronounced againſt ſovereigns for the ſlighteſt offences, and made the guilt of one productive of inexpreſſible miſery to millions. The nation hereby was, on a ſudden, deprived of all exterior acts of religion: the altars were ſtripped of their ornaments, the croſſes, the relicks, the pictures, the ſtatues of the ſaints, the images, were laid on the ground; and, as if the air itſelf was polluted, the prieſts carefully covered them up, even from their own approach and veneration. The uſe of the bells entirely ceaſed in all churches; they were removed from the ſteeples, and laid on the ground with other ſacred utenſils. The doors were ſhut while maſs was celebrated, and none but prieſts admitted. The laity partook of no religious rite, except baptiſm of new-born infants, and the ſacrament to dying perſons. The dead were not interred in conſecrated ground; they were thrown into ditches, or buried in common fields; nor were their obſequies attended with any funeral ceremonies. Marriage was celebrated in church-yards; the people were prohibited the uſe of meat; debarred from all pleaſures and entertainments; forbid to ſalute each other, or to beſtow a decent attention to their perſons and apparel. Every circumſtance was followed with deep diſtreſs, and created horrid apprehenſions of divine wrath and vengeance. John, in order to oppoſe temporal to theſe ſpiritual terrors, inſtantly confiſcated the revenues of the clergy who obeyed the interdict; baniſhed the biſhops; ſhut up the monks in their convent, allowing them only a ſmall part of their incomes, to provide them with food and raiment; and treated not only Langton's adherents, but all who obeyed the commands of Rome with the utmoſt rigour. At the ſame time the more ſenſibly to diſtreſs the clergy, and to expoſe them to ridicule, he threw all their concubines into priſon. It may not be amiſs here to obſerve, that after archbiſhop Anſelm had rigorouſly executed in England the canons which enjoined celibacy, the eccleſiaſtics gave almoſt univerſally into concubinage; even convents were ſupplied with this kind of neceſſary proviſion; to which the court of Rome made but a ſlight oppoſition; and it at length became every where uſual, for prieſts to apply to the ordinary to obtain a formal liberty for this indulgence. The biſhop did all he could that the practice ſhould not degenerate into licentiouſneſs; and, to prevent the fleſh gaining an entire aſcendant over the ſpirit, confined the carnal mind to the uſe of one woman; enjoining him to be conſtant to her bed, and obliging him, that the pariſhes might not be overſtocked, or be troubleſome, to provide for her ſubſiſtence, and that of her children. What a conſiderate, indulgent, comfortable profeſſion, is the Romiſh religion! Of what little eſtimation are liberty, and the old inſtitutions of the Bible, when paſſive obedience to the infallibility of anti-chriſt can purchaſe the whole circle of terreſtrial enjoyments!

A. D. 1208.

While the ſtate of the kingdom was in this deplorable ſituation, John attempted military expeditions againſt Scotland, Ireland, and the Welch, over whom he gained ſeveral advantages, owing more to the weakneſs of his enemies, than to his own abilities or vigour.

In the mean time, the danger to which his throne was expoſed from the diſſatisfaction of the clergy, encreaſed his propenſion to tyranny; and he became daily more and more obnoxious to his people, who hated a ſovereign that had made himſelf contemptible by his vices. He appears to have diſguſted particularly his nobles, whoſe families he diſhonoured by his licentious amours; whom he alſo attempted to deprive of the pleaſures of hunting, hawking, and fowling; and that his deer might have a ready acceſs into their fields, he ordered the hedges and fences of his foreſts to be levelled. He even obliged them to put into his hands their ſons or near relations, as hoſtages for their allegiance. His meſſengers coming to William de Barouſe, a baron of great diſtinction, his lady imprudently replied to their demand, "That ſhe would never truſt her ſons with a man who had murdered his nephew;" but her huſband, in order to ſoften this bitter ſarcaſm, anſwered, with more moderation, "that if his lady had been wanting in her duty, he knew what was his; and that if he had, in any manner, offended the king, he was ready to anſwer for his offences in the king's court, before his peers." The meſſengers returning without the required hoſtages, John flew into a violent paſſion, reſolving inſtantly to impriſon the earl and his family. But they, being forewarned of their danger, fled to Ireland, where they endeavoured to conceal themſelves; but the tyrant, having diſcovered their retreat, ordered the wife and her ſon to be thrown into priſon, where they were ſtarved to death; and the baron narrowly eſcaped by flying into France.

It was one of the artifices of the Romiſh court to advance, by degrees, from the leaſt to the moſt ſevere ſentence. The interdict not having produced its effect, Innocent now proceeded, in 1209, to that of excommunication. This ſecond ſhaft of vengeance was no ſooner hurled againſt John from the Vatican, than its conſequences began to appear. Geoffrey, archdeacon of Norwich, who was one of the barons of the Exchequer, being told that the biſhops of London, Worceſter, and Ely, had paſſed the ſentence, mentioned it to his colleagues while ſitting on the bench, the danger of ſerving under an excommunicated king; and immediately riſing, they left the court. Exaſperated at the behaviour of Geoffrey, John ordered him to be ſeized, and throwing him into priſon, cauſed his ſhoulders to be covered with a weighty leaden cope; by which, and other ſeverities, he put an end to his life. The biſhops, on finding themſelves expoſed either to the king's jealouſy or the hatred of the people, gradually ſtole out of the kingdom; ſo that at laſt there were only three prelates left to perform the epiſcopal office. Many of the nobility followed them; and thoſe who ſtaid were juſtly ſuſpected of having ſecretly entered into a confederacy againſt the king.

John began now to be alarmed at his dangerous ſituation. He therefore ſent for Langton, with whom he had a conference at Dover, and wherein he offered to acknowledge him primate; to ſubmit to the pope; to reſtore the clergy he had baniſhed; and to pay them a limited ſum as a compenſation for the produce of their revenues. But Langton, not ſatisfied with theſe conceſſions, demanded that full reſtitution ſhould be made to all the clergy; a condition which the king was, probably, then unable to fulfil; and foreſeeing that theſe damages would amount to an immenſe ſum, he broke up the conference.

A. D. 1212. This conference, and another held at Northampton with Pandolf the pope's legate, not having produced the end propoſed, his holineſs proceeded another ſtep againſt his refractory ſon, by abſolving all his ſubjects from their oaths of fidelity and allegiance; declaring every individual in the realm excommunicated, who, either in public or private, had any intercourſe with him at his councils, at his table, or by converſation; which ſentence was denounced with the utmoſt ſolemnity. John, however, ſtill perſevered in his contumacy, which cauſed Innocent to dart his laſt thunderbolt of depoſition againſt the king of England. This ſentence requiring an armed force to put it in execution, the pope caſt his eye on Philip, king of France, offering that monarch, with the crown of England, numberleſs ſpiritual benefits as the reward of his ſervices, for aggrandizing the power of the catholic church. Philip could not reſiſt a prize of ſo tempting a nature. To carry the ſentence into execution, he levied a great army, with a fleet of ſeventeen hundred veſſels, collected in the ports of Normandy; a force, to all appearance, equal to the greatneſs of his intended invaſion. On the other hand, John iſſued out writs, requiring the attendance, not only of all his military vaſſals, but of all able-bodied men at Dover, out of whom he choſe an army of ſixty thouſand men; who, had they been actuated by a love for their king, and zeal to defend their country, might have bid defiance to the power of France, and the thunder of the Vatican. But John, being an excommunicated tyrant, was regarded by the people with horror, at the ſame time that his barons deſpiſed him for his cowardice, and many of them held a treaſonable correſpondence with the enemy. The eyes of all Europe were now fixed on the vaſt preparations making by different parties; and the fate of the church was expected to be determined by a deciſive blow. This important event, however, was not to be accompliſhed by the ſword. The profound policy of the pope was eminently diſplayed on this occaſion. He knew his intereſt conſiſted in not ſuffering John, deſtitute of fortune and principles, to be overcome by any enemy but himſelf. His view was therefore to intimidate him in ſuch a manner, as might bring him the more eaſily into his meaſures. To this end he ordered his legate Pandolf, to go over to England with a private commiſſion, by which he impowered him, in caſe he found the king in a proper temper, to receive his ſubmiſſion on ſuch terms, as the legate, by virtue of his authority, knew would be acceptable to the church of Rome.

A. D. 1213. Pandolf, in paſſing through France, beheld, with much ſeeming ſatisfaction, the vaſt preparations making by Philip for a deſcent on the Engliſh coaſt; and highly extolled that monarch for his zeal in the laudable cauſe in which he had embarked; at the ſame time he ſent over two knights Templars, to deſire an interview with John at Dover, which was readily granted. On his arrival in England, the legate uſed every artifice to bring this infatuated prince to a compliance with his propoſals. He painted in ſtrong colours the inveterate hatred his meaſures had produced among his ſubjects; he acquainted him with a ſecret confederacy, which he urged was then forming againſt him; he magnified Philip's prodigious armament, that John, terrified at his loſt condition, promiſed to ſubmit entirely to the pope; to acknowledge Langton for primate; to reſtore all the exiled clergy; to admit to his grace all who had been outlawed or impriſoned; to grant a compenſation for all damages ſuffered by thoſe who had adhered to the pope; and to conſign eight thouſand pounds in part of payment. Four barons joined with the king in ſwearing to obſerve this treaty; but his ignominy was not yet complete, for it was followed with the humiliating ceremony of homage. Pandolf propoſed that John ſhould reſign his kingdom to the church, there being no other way by which he could ſo effectually diſappoint the hope of the French monarch. To this humiliating propoſal John alſo aſſenting, he ſigned a charter, by which he declared, that, not conſtrained by fear, but of his own free will, for the remiſſion of his ſins, and thoſe of his family, he reſigned England and Ireland to St. Peter, St. Paul, to pope Innocent, and to his ſucceſſors in the apoſtolic chair. He agreed to hold theſe his dominions as feudatory of the church of Rome, by an annual payment of a thouſand marks, ſeven hundred for England, and three hundred for Ireland. In conſequence of this agreement, the next day, which was the fifteenth of May, the king repaired to Dover church attended by the legate, with a numerous train of lords and officers of the army, where, in the preſence of them all he took off his crown, and laid it with the other enſigns of royalty at Pandolf's feet, who was ſeated on a throne; after which, having firſt ſigned the above charter, he did homage to him as the pope's repreſentative, with all the ſubmiſſive rites which the feudal law required of vaſſals to their liege lord. He threw himſelf upon his knees before the legate, and, lifting up his joined hands, put them within thoſe of Pandolf; then ſwore fealty to the pope, and paid part of the tribute which he owed for his kingdom as the patrimony of St. Peter. Pandolf, elevated by this triumph of the ſacerdotal over the regal power, diſcovered extravagant ſymptoms of joyful exultation. The arch-hypocrite even trampled on the money that was laid at his feet, as a mark of the kingdom's ſubjection; an inſolence which, though all preſent beheld with glowing indignation, the biſhop of Dublin only had ſpirit to notice, who exclaimed aloud againſt the legate's pride and intolerable inſolence. Pandolf, not ſatisfied with theſe mortifying acts of ſuperiority, kept the crown and ſceptre five days, and then reſtored them as a ſpecial favour of the holy ſee; but, notwithſtanding a king of England ſubmitted to ſuch baſe indignities, he refuſed to take off the interdict and excommunication till the loſſes of the eccleſiaſtics could be eſtimated, for whom he inſiſted upon having a full reſtitution and compenſation.

Theſe humiliating circumſtances, diſgraceful as they were, could not alter John's diſpoſition to tyranny. A hermit, named Peter of Pomfret, having predicted, that the king ſhould loſe his crown this very year, was cloſely confined in Corfe caſtle; and now, by the king's order, he was arraigned and tried as an impoſtor. The hermit pleaded in his defence, that his prophecy was accompliſhed, the king having reſigned his crown and independency; which plea was ſuppoſed to augment his guilt, and he was dragged at a horſe's tail to Warham, where both he and a perfectly innocent ſon were hanged on a gibbet.

Philip was now fully convinced he had been made a dupe of by the ſee of Rome, and was determined to proſecute the war, in defiance of the pope and his bulls. The French barons alſo vowed that they would follow their prince in this expedition; except the earl of Flanders, who having made a ſecret treaty with John, declared againſt the impiety of the undertaking; when Philip, unwilling to leave behind him ſo dangerous an enemy, turned his arms againſt the dominions of that prince. In the interim, the earl of Saliſbury, admiral of the Engliſh fleet, and the king's natural brother, attacked the French in their harbours, took three hundred of their ſhips, and deſtroyed one hundred more; when Philip, finding it impoſſible to hinder the reſt from falling into his hands, ſet fire to them himſelf; and thus were his deſigns upon England entirely fruſtrated.

About this time the exiled prelates returned to England in triumph, Langton appearing at their head. The king on hearing of their approach went to meet them; and throwing himſelf before them on the ground, intreated them, with tears, to have compaſſion on him and his kingdom. The primate obſerving theſe marks of repentance, led him to the chapter houſe of Wincheſter, where, on the twentieth of July, he again ſwore allegiance to the pope, promiſing to love, maintain, and defend the clergy. Langton then gave him abſolution, and permitted the king to dine with him. The ſentence of interdict was however ſtill in force. Nicholas, biſhop of Freſcati, coming into England, in the room of Pandolf, declared, that the pope would not take off that ſentence, till every thing was reſtored to the clergy, which had been taken from them, and they had received ample reparation for all the damages they had ſuſtained. Certain barons being appointed to take an account of theſe claims, John ſeemed aſtoniſhed at the greatneſs of the ſums to which the clergy made their loſſes amount; the monks of Canterbury alone demanding no leſs than twenty thouſand marks. The king, to ſtop theſe kind of claims, which appeared endleſs, offered a hundred thouſand marks for a full diſcharge, but this they rejected with diſdain. However the pope willing to favour his new vaſſal, directed his legate to accommodate the affair; the reſult of which was, that the biſhops and conſiderable abbots obtained full reparation, while the inferiour clergy were obliged to ſit down as contented as they could, under their loſſes. The interdict being now removed, John ſolemnly renewed his profeſſions of homage to the ſee of Rome, by a new charter ſealed with gold.

A. D. 1214.

This troubleſome affair having at laſt, by the cunning of pope Innocent, been brought to a concluſion, the king went to Poictou, which ſtill acknowledged his authority, and then laid ſiege to a caſtle near Angiers; but prince Lewis, Philip's ſon, approaching with an army, he raiſed the ſiege with ſuch precipitation, that he left his tents, baggage, and military machines behind him; and again returned with diſgrace to England. He now appeared to content himſelf with ruling his own kingdom; and his cloſe connection with the pope, made him imagine he ſhould perform this arduous taſk with little or no difficulty; but other misfortunes awaited him which he did not expect.

John, who reſented the deſertion of his barons, in his laſt expedition on the continent, collected an army of his tenants and foreſters, to reduce them to reaſon. With this intention he marched as far as Northampton, where he was overtaken by Langton, archbiſhop of Canterbury. That prelate is an example to prove, that every man of ſenſe will, if poſſible, be independent. Though he owed his advancement to the pope, yet he no ſooner became an Engliſh baron, than he ſtood forth in oppoſition to all the meaſures which tended to ſubject the crown of England to a foreign power. The tyranny of the pope was, to him, as intolerable as that of any other power; and the tyranny of the king as odious as that of the pontiff. He therefore very freely expoſtulated with the king, urging, that he had violated his engagements by making war upon his ſubjects before they had been tried by their peers, or judged by the equity of his court. John, relying upon the protection of the pope, anſwered fiercely, that matters of this kind came not under his juriſdiction, which extended not to any affair of a civil nature. The next morning he ſet out for Nottingham, breathing fury againſt his adverſaries. Langton renewed his remonſtrances, and the king, at length, convinced by the force of his arguments, appointed a day for the accuſed barons to appear at his court, there to anſwer the complaints that ſhould be preferred againſt them.

In the month of September, a private meeting of the barons was held at London, when the primate laid before them a charter of Henry I. which, he ſaid, he had happily found in a monaſtery; and exhorted them to inſiſt on its being renewed; whereupon the barons ſwore, that they would loſe their lives rather than not comply with ſo reaſonable, ſo honourable, and juſt a demand. The confederacy ſoon ſpread, and comprehended moſt of the barons in England; and a more numerous aſſembly was ſummoned by Langton, at St. Edmund's-bury, under the colour of devotion; where he again produced the charter; renewed his exhortations to proceed with unanimity and vigour; and repreſented in the ſtrongeſt light, the tyranny to which they had been long ſubject, and from which they were to free themſelves and their poſterity. The barons, animated by his eloquence, formed a general confederacy, to which there were few in the kingdom who did not accede; and agreed before the high altar, that at Chriſtmas they would preſent their petition to the king in a body. They then ſeparated, after mutually promiſing, to enliſt men, to purchaſe arms, and to ſupply their caſtles with neceſſary ſtores and proviſions.

A. D. 1215. On the day appointed, which was the ſixth of January, the barons repaired to London, and demanded of the king, that, in conſequence of his oath he had taken before the primate, as well as out of reſpect to their juſt rights, he would be pleaſed to grant a renewal of Henry's charter, and a confirmation of the laws of St. Edward. John, alarmed at their power, unanimity, and zeal, promiſed to give them a poſitive anſwer at Eaſter. Having procured this interval, John endeavoured to gain over the clergy on his ſide, granting them a charter, in which he relinquiſhed for ever a privilege, earneſtly contended for by all his anceſtors, in allowing them a free election on all vacancies; he likewiſe made a vow to lead an army into Paleſtine; and alſo diſpatched an agent to Rome, in order to appeal to the pope; while at the ſame time the barons were not inactive in their endeavours to attach his holineſs to their intereſt.

Innocent was concerned at obſerving the fire juſt ready to be lighted in England, but ſecretly inclined to John, whom he found willing to ſacrifice every conſideration to his preſent ſafety. He however wrote letters to the king, prelates, and nobles. He adviſed the firſt to treat the barons with grace and indulgence, and to grant them ſuch of their demands as ſhould appear reaſonable. He exhorted the ſecond to employ their good offices in putting an end to civil diſcord, by making a peace between the contending parties; and to the laſt he expreſſed his diſapprobation of their conduct, in reſolving by force of arms to extort conceſſions from their lawful ſovereign.

Hence the barons perceived, that the pope intended to take part with the king; but they were already gone too far to recede; and they received freſh vigour, by having certain intelligence that moſt of the biſhops, as well as all the inferior clergy, highly approved their conduct.

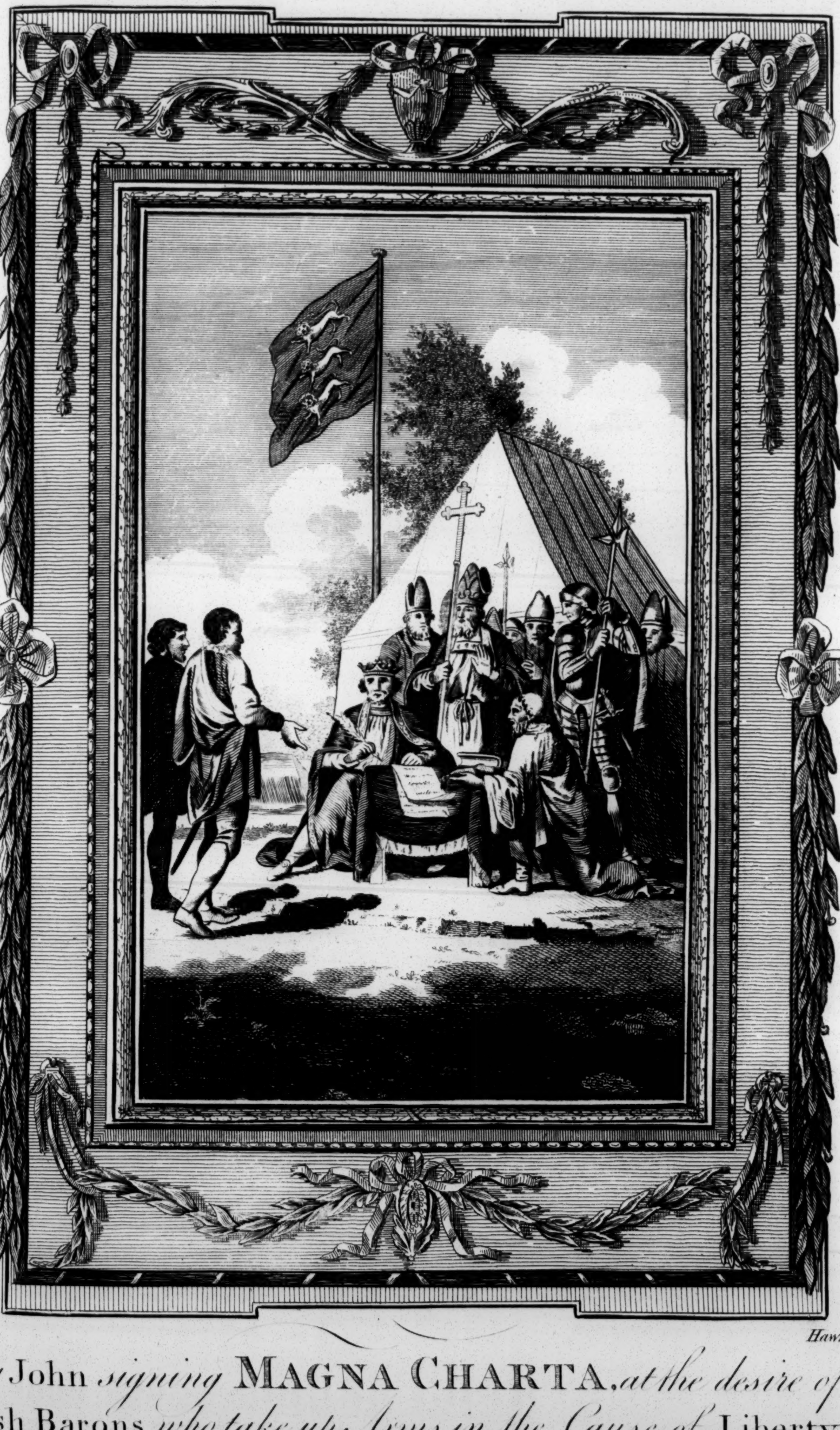
At the approach of Eaſter, when the barons were to expect the king's anſwer to their petition, they aſſembled by agreement at Stamford, having collected a force conſiſting of above two thouſand knights, beſides their retainers, and an infinite number of inferior perſons. Having advanced in a body to Brackley, within fifteen miles of Oxford, the court being there kept, they received a meſſage from the king by the primate, deſiring to know what were the liberties they ſo zealouſly demanded of their ſovereign. In anſwer to which, they delivered a writing, containing the chief articles; which being read to the king, he flew into a violent paſſion, aſking the meſſengers, why his barons did not demand the whole kingdom of him; ſwearing that he would never grant their demands; but the king's menaces were not an object of conſideration with the barons, who knew very well his imbecility.

The confederated nobles were no ſooner informed of John's reſolve, than chuſing Robert Fitz-Walter their general, whom they called, *Mareſchal of the army of God and holy church*, they, without farther ceremony, proceeded to lay ſiege to the caſtle of Northampton, which they carried in only fifteen days; but they were willingly admitted into Bedford caſtle by William Beauchamp, its governor. From this place they advanced to Ware. Here they received intelligence that the citizens of London were diſpoſed to give them a welcome reception: proceeding therefore to the capital without loſs of time, they entered at Aldgate, which was opened to receive them. They now ſtationed proper guards, took into cuſtody ſuch perſons as they had reaſon to ſuſpect, and then wrote circular letters to all the nobilty and perſons of diſtinction, who had not declared in their favour, threatening, that if they refuſed to join them, they would demoliſh their caſtles, and ravage their eſtates. Theſe menaces had their intended effect, for moſt of the great men repaired to London, and united in the aſſociation. The king was now at Odiham, with very few attendants, ſome ſay only ſeven knights. He was mortified and alarmed in the higheſt degree. He had not a friend to whom he could apply for advice or aſſiſtance, and he found the dreadful effects of his tyrannical diſpoſition, in the univerſal contempt in which he was held. His affairs were now indeed arrived at a moſt alarming criſis; and he began to think ſeriouſly of compromiſing all differences with his ſubjects. Reflecting on his calamitous ſituation, he made propoſals to refer the deciſion of the matter to the pope, or to eight barons; four to be choſen by himſelf, and four by his opponents; but theſe were rejected with diſdain. The king had no farther hope but in abſolute ſubmiſſion; wherefore he ſent word to the barons that he would comply with all their demands; in conſequence of which a conference was appointed to be held, and preparations were made for adjuſting this important agreement. The meadow of Runnemede, between Staines and Windſor, was the place fixed on; here the confederated barons made their appearance on the fifteenth of June, and two days afterwards came the king's commiſſioners, each party forming a kind of ſeparate encampment, like declared enemies. The barons being reſolved to abate nothing of their demands, and the king's agents in general being of their ſentiments, the treaty was not long protracted. At the end of a few days, the king with a readineſs that was rather wondered at, as it was known to be the effect of compulſion, ſigned the famous charter, known by the name of MAGNA CHARTA. We ſhall here inſert a tranſlation of this important deed, whereby the moſt valuable privileges were ſecured to every order of men, which, at this day, is conſidered as the foundation of Engliſh liberty.

MAGNA CHARTA.

The great charter of liberties, granted by king John to his ſubjects, in the year 1215.

"John, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy and Acquitaine, and earl of Anjou, to the archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, earls, barons, juſticiaries of the foreſts, ſheriffs, governors, officers, and to all bailiffs and others his faithful ſubjects, greeting. Know ye, that we, in the preſence of God, and for the health of our ſoul, and the ſouls of all our



Wale delin.

Hawkins sculp.

King John signing **MAGNA CHARTA**, at the desire of the English Barons who take up Arms in the Cause of Liberty, in Runnemead Meadow, between Stains and Windsor, June 5. 1215.

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our anceſtors and heirs, and to the honour of God, and the exaltation of the holy church, and the amendment of our kingdom, by the advice of our venerable fathers, Stephen, archbiſhop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and cardinal of the holy Roman church; Henry, archbiſhop of Dublin; William, biſhop of London; Peter, of Wincheſter; Jocelyn, of Bath and Glaſtonbury; Hugh, of Lincoln; Walter, of Worceſter; William, of Coventry; Benedict, of Rocheſter, biſhops; and maſter Pandolf, the pope's ſubdeacon and ancient ſervant; brother Aymeric, maſter of the Temple in England; and the noble perſons William Mareſchal, earl of Pembroke; William, earl of Saliſbury; William, earl of Warrenne; William, earl of Arundel; Alar de Galoway, conſtable of Scotland; Warin Fitzgerald, Peter Fitzherbert, and Hubert de Bourgh, ſeneſchal of Poictou; Hugo de Neville, Matthew Fitzherbert, Thomas Baſſet, Alen Baſſet, Philip de Albiney, Robert de Ropele, John Mareſchal, John Fitzhugh, and others our liege men, have in the firſt place, granted to God, and by this our preſent charter, confirmed for us and our heirs for ever.

1. "That the church of England ſhall be free, and enjoy her rights entire, and her liberties inviolable, and we will have them to be obſerved, that it may appear from hence, that the freedom of elections, which was reckoned chief and indiſpenſible to the Engliſh church, and confirmed by our charter, and obtained the confirmation of from pope Innocent III. before the diſcord between us and our barons, was granted of mere free will; which charter we ſhall obſerve, and do will it to be well obſerved by our heirs for ever.

2. "We have alſo granted, to all freemen of our kingdom, for us and our heirs for ever; all the under written liberties to have and to hold them and their heirs, of us and our heirs.

3. "If any of our earls or barons, or others who hold of us in chief, by military ſervice, ſhall die, and at the time of his death, his heir ſhall be of full age, and owe a relief; he ſhall have his inheritance by the ancient relief; that is, the heir or heirs of an earl, for a whole earl's barony, by an hundred pounds; the heir or heirs of a knight, for a whole knight's fee, by an hundred ſhillings at moſt; and whoever oweth leſs, ſhall give leſs, according to the ancient cuſtom of fees.

4. "But if the heir of any ſuch ſhall be under age, and be in ward, his lord ſhall not have the wardſhip of him, nor his land, before he hath received his homage; and after ſuch heir ſhall be in ward, and attain to the age of one and twenty years, he ſhall, when he comes of age, have his inheritance without relief, and without fine.

5. "The warden of the land of ſuch heir, who ſhall be under age, ſhall not take of the land of ſuch heir, other than reaſonable iſſues, reaſonable cuſtoms, and reaſonable ſervices; and that without deſtruction or waſte of the tenants or effects upon the eſtate. And if we ſhall commit the guardianſhip of thoſe lands to the ſheriff, or any other perſon, who is anſwerable to us for the iſſues of the land; and if he ſhall make deſtruction and waſte upon the wardlands, we will compel him to give ſatisfaction; and the land ſhall be committed to lawful and diſcreet tenants of that fee, who ſhall be anſwerable for the iſſues to us, or to him to whom we ſhall aſſign them. And if we ſhall give or ſell to any one the wardſhip of ſuch lands; and if he makes deſtruction or waſte upon them, he ſhall loſe the wardſhip itſelf, which ſhall be committed to two lawful and diſcreet tenants of the fee, who ſhall in like manner be anſwerable to us aforeſaid.

6. "But the warden, ſo long as he ſhall have the wardſhip of the land, ſhall keep up the houſes parks, warrens, ponds, mills, and other things pertaining to the land, out of the iſſues of the ſame land, and ſhall reſtore to the heir, when he comes of full age, the whole land ſtocked with ploughs and carriages, according as the time of wainage ſhall require, and the iſſues of the land can reaſonably bear. And all theſe things ſhall be obſerved in the cuſtodies of vacant archbiſhoprics, biſhoprics, abbies, priories, churches, and dignities, which appertain to us, except that theſe wardſhips are not to be ſold.

7. "Heirs ſhall be married without diſparagement, ſo as that before matrimony ſhall be contracted, thoſe who are neareſt in blood to the heir ſhall be made acquainted with it.

8. "A widow after the death of her huſband, ſhall forthwith and without difficulty, have her marriage and inheritance, nor ſhall ſhe give any thing for her dower, or her marriage, or her inheritance which her huſband and ſhe held, at the day of his death; and ſhe may remain in the manſion houſe of her huſband, forty days after his death, within which term her dower ſhall be aſcertained.

9. "No widow ſhall be diſtrained to marry herſelf, ſo long as ſhe has a mind to live without a huſband. But at the ſame time, ſhe ſhall give ſecurity, that ſhe will not marry without our conſent, if ſhe holds of us, or without the conſent of the lord of whom ſhe holds, if ſhe holds of another.

10. "Neither we nor our bailiffs ſhall ſeize any land or rent for any debt, ſo long as there ſhall be chattels of the debtor's upon the premiſes, ſufficient to pay the debt, and the debtor be ready to ſatisfy it. Nor ſhall the ſureties of the debtor be diſtrained, ſo long as the principal debtor is ſufficient for the payment of the debt.

11. "And if the principal debtor ſhall fail in the payment of the debt, not having wherewithal to pay it, or will not diſcharge it when he is able, then the ſureties ſhall anſwer the debt; and if they will, they ſhall have the lands and rents of the debtor, until they ſhall be ſatisfied for the debt which they paid for him, unleſs the principal debtor can ſhew himſelf acquitted thereof againſt the ſaid ſureties.

12. "If any one have borrowed any thing of the Jews, more or leſs, and dies before the debt be ſatisfied, there ſhall no intereſt be paid for that debt, ſo long as the heir is under age of whomſoever he may hold; and if the debt falls into our hands, we will take only the chattels mentioned in the charter or inſtrument.

13. "And if any one ſhall die indebted to the Jew, his wife ſhall have her dower and pay nothing of that debt; and if the deceaſed left children under age, they ſhall have neceſſaries provided for them, according to the tenement or real eſtate of the deceaſed; and out of the reſidue the debt ſhall be paid, ſaving, however, the ſervice of the lord. In like manner let it be with the debts due to other perſons than Jews.

14. "No ſcutage or aid ſhall be impoſed in our kingdom, unleſs by the common council of the nation, except for ranſoming our perſon, and making our eldeſt ſon a knight, and once for marrying our eldeſt daughter; and for theſe three only a reaſonable aid ſhall be demanded.

15. "In like manner it ſhall be concerning the aids of the city of London; and that city ſhall have all its antient liberties and free cuſtoms, as well by land as by water.

16. "Furthermore, we will and grant, that all other cities, boroughs, towns, and ports, ſhall have all their liberties, and free cuſtoms, and for holding the common council of the kingdom concerning the aſſeſſment of their aids, except in the three caſes aforeſaid.

17. "And for the aſſeſſing of ſcutages, we ſhall cauſe to be ſummoned the archbiſhops, biſhops,

abbots, earls, and great barons of the realm, ſingly by our letters.

18. "And furthermore, we ſhall cauſe to be ſummoned in general, by our ſheriffs and bailiffs, all others who hold of us in chief, at a certain day; that is to ſay, forty days before their meeting at leaſt, and to a certain place; and in all letters of ſuch ſummons, we will declare the cauſe of the ſummons.

19. "And ſummons being thus made, the buſineſs ſhall proceed on the day appointed, according to advice of ſuch as ſhall be preſent, although all that were ſummoned come not.

20. "We will not, for the future, grant to any one that he may take aid of his own free tenants, unleſs to ranſom his perſon, and to make his eldeſt ſon a knight, and once to marry his eldeſt daughter; and for this there ſhall only be paid a reaſonable aid.

21. "No man ſhall be diſtrained to perform more ſervices for a knight's fee, or other free tenement, than is due from thence.

22. "Common pleas ſhall not follow our court, but ſhall be holden in ſome certain place: trials upon the writ of novel diſſeiſin, and of mort d'anceſtor, and of deraign preſentment, ſhall not be taken but in their proper counties, and after this manner: we, or if we ſhall be out of the realm, our chief juſticiary ſhall ſend two juſticiaries through every county four times a year, who with four knights, choſen out of every ſhire by the people, ſhall hold the ſaid aſſizes in the county, on the day, and at the place appointed.

23. "And if any matter cannot be determined on the day appointed for holding the aſſizes in each county, ſo many of the knights and freeholders as have been at the aſſizes aforeſaid, ſhall be appointed to decide them as is neceſſary, according as there is more or leſs buſineſs. Aſſizes of deraign preſentment to churches, ſhall always be taken before the juſticiaries of the bench.

24. "A free man ſhall not be amerced for a ſmall fault, but according to the degree of the fault; and for a great crime in proportion to the heinouſneſs of it, ſaving to him his contentment, and after the ſame manner a merchant, ſaving to him his merchandize.

25. "And a villain ſhall be amerced after the ſame manner, ſaving to him his wainage, if he falls under our amerciament; and none the aforeſaid amerciament ſhall be aſſeſſed, but by the oath of honeſt men in the neighbourhood.

26. "Earls and barons ſhall not be amerced but by their peers, and according to the degree of offence.

27. "No eccleſiaſtical perſon ſhall be amerced for his lay tenement, but according to the proportion of the others aforeſaid, and not according to the value of his eccleſiaſtical benefice.

28. "Neither a town, nor any tenement, ſhall be diſtrained, to make bridges over rivers, unleſs that anciently and of right they are bound to do it. No river for the future ſhall be embanked, but what was embanked in the time of king Henry our grandfather.

29. "No ſheriff, caſtellan, coroner, or other of our bailiffs, ſhall hold pleas of the crown.

30. "All counties, hundreds, wapentakes, and trethings, ſhall ſtand at the old form, without any increaſe, except in our demeſne manors.

31. "If any one, holding of us a lay fee, dies, and the ſheriff, or our bailiff, ſhew our letters patent of ſummons concerning the debt due to us from the deceaſed, it ſhall be lawful for the ſheriff or our bailiff, to attach and regiſter the chattels of the deceaſed, found upon his lay fee, to the value of the debt, by the view of lawful men, ſo as nothing be removed, until our whole debt be paid; and the reſt ſhall be left to the executors, who are to fulfil the will of the deceaſed; and if nothing be due from him to his, all the chattels ſhall remain to the deceaſed, ſaving to his wife and children their reaſonable ſhares.

32. "If any free man ſhall die inteſtate, his chattels ſhall be diſtributed by the hands of his neareſt relations and friends, by view of the church, ſaving to every one his debts, which the deceaſed owed to him.

33. "No conſtable or bailiff of ours ſhall take corn, or other chattels of any man, who is not of the town where the caſtle is, unleſs he preſently gives him money for it, or hath reſpite of payment by the good-will of the ſeller. But if he be of the ſame town, he ſhall pay him within forty days.

34. "No conſtable ſhall diſtrain any knight, to give money for caſtle guard, if he himſelf will do it in his own perſon, or by another able man, in caſe he cannot do it through any reaſonable cauſe.

35. "And if we lead him, or ſend him into the army, he ſhall be free from ſuch guard, for the time he ſhall be in the army by our command.

36. "No ſheriff or bailiff of ours, or any other, ſhall take horſes or carts of any freeman for carriage, but by the good-will of the ſaid freeman without paying according to the rate anciently appointed; that is to ſay, for a cart and two horſes, ten-pence a day; and for a cart with three horſes, fourteen-pence a day.

37. "Neither ſhall we, or our bailiffs, take any man's timber for our caſtles, or other uſes, unleſs by the conſent of the owner of the timber.

38. "We will retain the lands of thoſe that are convicted of felony, only one year and a day, and then they ſhall be returned to the lord of the fee.

39. "All wares for the time to come, ſhall be put down in the rivers of Thames and Medway, and throughout England, except upon the ſea-coaſt.

40. "The writ, which is called præcipe, ſhall not, for the future, be made out to any one of any tenement whereby a freeman may loſe his court.

41. "There ſhall be one meaſure of wine, and one of ale, throughout our whole realm, and one meaſure of corn; that is to ſay, the London quarter, and one breadth of dyed cloth, and ruſſets, and haberjects; that is to ſay, two ells within the liſt. As to the weights, they ſhall be as the meaſures.

42. "From henceforth nothing ſhall be given or taken for a writ of inquiſition of life and limbs; but it ſhall be granted gratis, and not denied.

43. "If any one holds of us by fee-farm, or ſoccage, or burgage; and holds lands of another by military ſervice, we will not have the wardſhip of the heir, or land, which is of another man's fee, by reaſon of what he holds of us by fee-farm, ſoccage, or burgage; nor will we have the wardſhip of the fee-farm, ſoccage, or burgage, unleſs the fee-farm is bound to perform military ſervice.

44. "We will not have the wardſhip of an heir, nor of any land, which he holds of another by military ſervice, by reaſon of any pettit-ſergeanty he holds of us, as by the ſervice of giving us knives, arrows, or the like.

45. "No bailiff ſhall for the future put any man to his law, upon his ſingle word, without credible witneſſes produced to prove it.

46. "No freeman ſhall be taken or impriſoned, or diſſeiſed, or out-lawed, or baniſhed, or any ways deſtroyed; nor will we paſs ſentence upon him, or commit him to priſon, unleſs by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

47. "We will ſell to no man, we will deny no man, nor delay right nor juſtice.

48. "All merchants, unleſs they be publickly prohibited, ſhall have ſafe and ſecure conduct, to go out of, and to come into England; and to ſtay there, and to paſs as well by land as by water; for buying and ſelling by the ancient and allowed

cuſtoms, without any evil tolls, except in time of war, or when they are of any nation at war with us.

49. " And if there be found any ſuch in our land, at the beginning of the war, they ſhall be attached without damage to their bodies or goods, until it may be known to us, or our chief juſticiary, how our merchants are treated in the nation at war with us; and if ours be ſafe there, the others ſhall be ſafe in our dominions.

50. " It ſhall be lawful in the time to come, for any one to go out of our kingdom and return ſafely and ſecurely by land or by water, ſaving his allegiance to us, unleſs in time of war, by ſome ſhort ſpace, for the common benefit of the realm, except priſoners and out-laws (according to the law of the land,) and people at war with us, and merchants who ſhall be in ſuch condition as is above mentioned.

51. " If any man holds of any eſcheat, as of the honour of Wallingford, Nottingham, Bologne, Lancaſter, or of other eſcheats which are in our hands, and are baronies, and dies, his heirs ſhall give no other relief, and perform no other ſervice to us, than he would to the baron, if the barony were in the poſſeſſion of the baron: we will hold it after the ſame manner the baron held it. Nor will we, by reaſon of ſuch barony or eſcheat, have any eſcheat or wardſhip of any of our men, unleſs he that held the barony or eſcheat held of us in chief elſewhere.

52. " Thoſe men who dwell without the foreſt, ſhall not from henceforth come before our juſticiaries of the foreſt upon common ſummons, but ſuch as are impleaded, or are pledges for any that were attached for ſomething concerning the foreſt. No country court ſhall be holden for the future but from month to month, and where there uſed to be a greater interval, let it be ſo continued. Neither any ſheriff, nor his bailiff ſhall keep his turn in the hundred oftener than twice in a year, and only in the accuſtomed place, that is, once after Eaſter, and once after Michaelmas, and the view of frank-pledge ſhall be held after Michaelmas, that every one may have his liberties which he had, and was wont to have, in the time of king Henry our grandfather, or ſuch as he obtained afterwards. But the view of frank-pledge ſhall be ſo made, that our peace may be kept, and that the tything be full as it was wont to be. And the ſheriff ſhall not ſeek occaſions, but ſhall be content with what the ſheriff was wont to have for making his view in the time of king Henry our grandfather. For time to come it ſhall not be lawful for any man to give his land to a religious houſe; ſo as to take it again and hold it of that houſe, nor ſhall it be lawful for any religious houſe to receive land, ſo as to grant it him again of whom they received it to hold of him. If any man for the future ſhall give his land to a religious houſe, and be convicted thereof, his gift ſhall be void, and the land ſhall be forfeited to the lord of the fee. Scutage for the future ſhall not be taken, as was uſed to be taken in the time of king Henry our grandfather; nor ſhall the ſheriff oppoſe any man, but be content with what he was wont to have. Saving to the archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, priors, templars, hoſpitallers, earls, barons, knights, and all others, as well eccleſiaſtics as ſeculars, the liberties and free cuſtoms which they had before.

53. We will not make any juſticiaries, conſtables, ſheriffs, or bailiffs, but ſuch as are knowing in the law of the realm, and diſpoſed duly to obſerve it.

54. " All barons who are founders of abbies, and have charters of the kings of England for the advowſon, or are entitled to it by antient tenure, may have the cuſtody of them when vacant, as they ought to have.

55. " All woods that have been taken into foreſts in our own time, ſhall forthwith be laid out again; and the ſame ſhall be done with regard to rivers, which have been taken or fenced in by us during our reign.

56. " All evil cuſtoms concerning foreſts, warrens, and foreſters, warreners, ſheriffs, and their officers, rivers and their keepers, ſhall forthwith be enquired into each county, by twelve knights, ſworn of the ſame ſhire, choſen by credible perſons of the ſame county, and upon oath; and within forty days after the ſaid inqueſt, be utterly aboliſhed ſo as never to be reſtored.

57. " We will immediately give up all hoſtages and writings, delivered unto us by our Engliſh ſubjects, as ſecurities for their keeping the peace, and yielding us faithful ſervice.

58. " We will entirely remove from our bailiwicks the relations of Gerard de Athyes, ſo as that for the future they ſhall have no bailiwick in England. We will alſo remove Engelard de Cygony, Andrew, Peter, and Gyon from the chancery; Gyon de Cygony, Geoffrey de Martyn and his brothers, Philip, Mark, and his brother, his nephew Geoffrey, and all their followers.

59. " And as ſoon as peace is reſtored, we will ſend out of the kingdom all foreign ſoldiers, croſsbow men, and ſtipendaries, who are come with horſes and arms, to the prejudice of our people.

60. " If any one hath been diſpoſſeſſed or deprived by us, without the legal judgment of his peers, of his lands, caſtles, liberties, or rights, we will forthwith reſtore them to him; and if any diſpute ariſes upon this head, let the matter be determined by the twenty-five barons hereafter mentioned, for the preſervation of the peace.

61. " As for thoſe things of which any perſon has, without the legal judgment of his peers been diſpoſſeſſed or deprived, either by king Henry our father, or our brother king Richard, and which we have in our hands or are poſſeſſed by others, and we are bound to warrant and make good, we ſhall have a reſpite during the term uſually allowed the cruiſes; excepting thoſe things about which there is a plea depending, or whereof an inqueſt hath been made by our order, before we undertook the cruſade. But when we return from our pilgrimage, or if we do not undertake it, we will immediately cauſe full juſtice to be adminiſtered therein.

62. " The ſame reſpite we ſhall have for diſafforeſting the foreſts, which Henry our father, or our brother Richard have afforeſted; and for the wardſhip of the lands, which are in another's fee, in the ſame manner as we have hitherto enjoyed thoſe wardſhips, by reaſon of a fee held of us by knight's ſervice; and for the abbies founded in any other fee than our own, in which the lord of the fee ſays he has a right; and when we return from pilgrimage, or if we ſhould not perform it, we will immediately do full juſtice to all the complainants in this behalf.

63. " No man ſhall be taken or impriſoned upon the appeal of a woman, for the death of any other perſon than her huſband.

64. " All unjuſt and illegal fines levied by us, and all amerciaments impoſed unjuſtly and contrary to the law of the land, ſhall be entirely forgiven, or elſe be left to the deciſion of the five and twenty barons hereafter mentioned for the preſervation of the peace, or of the major part of them, together with the aforeſaid Stephen, archbiſhop of Canterbury, if he can be preſent, and others whom he ſhall think fit to take with him; and if he cannot be preſent, the buſineſs ſhall, notwithſtanding, proceed without him. But ſo, that if one or more of the aforeſaid five and twenty barons be plaintiffs in the ſame cauſe, they ſhall be ſet aſide as to what

concerns this particular affair, and others choſen in their room out of the ſaid five and twenty, and ſworn by the reſt to decide that matter.

65. "If we have diſſeiſed or diſpoſſeſſed the Welch of any lands, liberties, or other things, without the legal judgment of their peers, they ſhall be immediately reſtored to them. And if any diſpute ariſes upon this head, the matter ſhall be determined in the Marches by the judgment of their peers; for tenements in England according to the laws of England; for tenements in Wales according to the laws of Wales; for the tenements of the Marches according to the law of the Marches: the ſame ſhall the Welch do to us and our ſubjects.

66. "As for all thoſe things of which any Welchman hath, without the legal judgment of his peers, been diſſeiſed or deprived by King Henry our father, or our brother king Richard, and which we either have in our hands, or others are poſſeſſed of, and we are obliged to warrant it, we ſhall have a reſpite for the time generally allowed the cruiſes, excepting thoſe things about which a ſuit is depending, or whereof an inqueſt has been made by our order, before we undertook the cruſade. But when we return, or if we ſtay at home without performing our pilgrimage, we ſhall immediately do them full juſtice, according to the laws of the Welch, and of the parts above-mentioned.

67. "We will, without delay, diſmiſs the ſon of Llewellin, and all the Welch hoſtages, and releaſe them from the engagements they have entered into with us for the preſervation of the peace.

68. "We ſhall treat with Alexander, king of Scots, concerning the reſtoring his ſiſters and hoſtages, and his rights and liberties, in the ſame form and manner as we ſhall do to the reſt of the barons of England; unleſs from the charters, which we have from his father, William, late king of Scots, it ought to be otherwiſe; and this ſhall be left to the determination of his peers in our court.

69. "All the aforeſaid cuſtoms and liberties which we have granted to be holden in our kingdom, as much as it belongs to us towards our people of our kingdom, as well clergy as laity, we ſhall obſerve, as far as they are concerned towards their dependants.

70. "And whereas for the honour of God, and the amendment of our kingdom, and for quieting the diſcord that hath ariſen between us and our barons, we have granted all the things aforeſaid; willing to render them firm and laſting, we do give and grant our ſubjects the underwritten ſecurity, namely, that the barons may chuſe five and twenty barons of the kingdom whom they think convenient, who ſhall take care, with all their might, to hold and obſerve, and cauſe to be obſerved, the peace and liberties we have granted them, and by this our preſent charter confirmed; ſo as that if we, our juſticiary, our bailiffs, or any of our officers, ſhall, in any circumſtance fail in the performance of them towards any perſon, or ſhall break through any of theſe articles of peace and ſecurity, and the offence is notified to four barons, choſen out of the five and twenty above-mentioned, the ſaid four barons ſhall repair to us, or our juſticiary, if we are out of the realm, and laying open the grievance, ſhall petition to have it redreſſed without delay; and if it is not redreſſed by us, or, if we ſhould chance to be out of the realm, if it is not redreſſed by our juſticiary within forty days, reckoning from the time it has been notified to us, or to our juſticiary, if we ſhould be out of the realm, the four barons aforeſaid ſhall lay the cauſe before the reſt of the twenty five barons; and the ſaid five and twenty barons, together with the community of the whole kingdom, ſhall diſtrain and diſtreſs us all the ways poſſible; namely, by ſeizing our caſtles, lands, poſſeſſions, and in any other manner they can, till the grievance is redreſſed according to their pleaſure; ſaving harmleſs our own perſon, and the perſon of our queen and children; and when it is redreſſed they ſhall obey us as before.

71. "And any perſon whatſoever in the kingdom may ſwear, that he will obey the orders of the five and twenty barons aforeſaid in the execution of the premiſes, and that he will diſtreſs us jointly with them to the utmoſt of his power; and we give public and free liberty to any one that ſhall pleaſe to ſwear to them, and never ſhall hinder any perſon from taking the ſame oath.

72. "As for all thoſe of our ſubjects who will not, of their own accord, ſwear to join the five and twenty barons in diſtraining and diſtreſſing us, we will iſſue our order to make them take the oath above-mentioned.

73. "And if any one of the five and twenty barons ſhould die, or go out of the kingdom, or be hindered any other way from carrying the things aforeſaid into execution, the reſt of the ſaid five and twenty barons may chuſe another in his room at their diſcretion, who ſhall be ſworn into his office in like manner as the reſt.

74. "In all things that are committed to the execution of the five and twenty barons, if, when they are all aſſembled together they ſhould happen to diſagree about any matter, or ſome of them, when ſummoned, will not, or cannot come; whatever is agreed upon or enjoined by the major part of thoſe who are preſent, ſhall be reputed as firm and valid as if all the five and twenty had given their conſent; and the aforeſaid five and twenty ſhall ſwear, that all the premiſes they ſhall faithfully obſerve, and cauſe with all their power to be obſerved.

75. "And we will not by ourſelves, or by any other, procure any thing whereby any of theſe conceſſions and liberties be revoked or leſſened; and if any ſuch thing be obtained, let it be null and void; neither ſhall we ever make uſe of it, either by ourſelves or any other.

76. "And all the ill-will, anger, and malice, that hath ariſen between us and our ſubjects of the clergy and laity, from the firſt breaking out of diſſention between us, we do fully remit and forgive. Moreover, all treſpaſſes occaſioned by the ſaid diſſention, from Eaſter, in the ſixteenth year of our reign, till the reſtoration of peace and tranquillity, we hereby entirely remit to all, both clergy and laity, and, as far as in us lies, do fully forgive.

77. "We have moreover granted them our letters patent teſtimonial of Stephen, lord archbiſhop of Canterbury, Henry, lord archbiſhop of Dublin, and the biſhops aforeſaid, as alſo of maſter Pandolf, for the ſecurity and conceſſions aforeſaid.

78. "Wherefore we will, and firmly enjoin, that the church of England be free, and that all men in our kingdom have and hold all the aforeſaid liberties, rights, and conceſſions, truly and peaceably, freely and quietly, fully and wholly, to themſelves and their heirs, of us and our heirs, in all things and places for ever as is aforeſaid.

79. "It is alſo ſworn, as well on our part, as on the part of the barons, that all things aforeſaid ſhall faithfully and ſincerely be obſerved.

> "Given under our hand, in the preſence of the witneſſes above-mentioned, and many others, in the meadow called Runnemede, between Windelſore and Staines, the fifteenth day of June, in the ſeventeenth year of our reign."

This charter contained the principal outlines of a juſt and legal government, and provided for the equal diſtribution of juſtice, and the free enjoyment of property; the great objects for which political ſociety was at firſt inſtituted. It was ſigned by John, by all the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and ratified by ſolemn oaths. The barons alſo obliged the king to conſent, that London ſhould remain in their hands, and the Tower in the cuſtody of Langton, till the fifteenth of Auguſt enſuing, or till the articles of the great charter were fully executed. Knowing the perfidiouſneſs of his diſpoſition, they alſo urged him to appoint twenty-five of their number as conſervators of public liberty. Theſe were intended to be a check on his conduct; and, if he preſumed to violate his oath, they were at liberty to levy war againſt him. Though theſe regulations were ſufficiently degrading, John appeared to ſubmit to them with the utmoſt chearfulneſs; and even iſſued writs, commanding his ſheriffs, their officers and others, to pay a paſſive obedience to the twenty-five barons. Indeed, all in the kingdom were obliged to enforce the obſervation of the articles contained in Magna Charta; and the freeholders of each county choſe twelve knights, who were to make a report of ſuch evil cuſtoms as required redreſs. John went even farther than this; for he diſmiſſed all his foreign forces, the inſtruments of his tyranny, and pretended, that there was to be a total reform in every part of his government, which ſhould thenceforward have a regard to the welfare of his people. Theſe circumſtances gave ſpirits to his ſubjects, who began to think that all traces of humanity were not expunged from the heart of the king. Happy would it have been for this weak tyrant, had he not diſſembled; but he only waited for a favourable opportunity of overthrowing that glorious column of liberty, which his people had juſt erected. His deſire to break the reſtraints under which the barons had laid him, increaſed in proportion to the reſolution they had evinced in carrying their point. The injuries and indignities he had ſuffered from the king of France and the pope, had made a ſlight impreſſion on his mind; but the ſenſe of his being compelled by his own ſubjects to confine himſelf within the bounds of juſtice and humanity, ſhocked his pride; and the thought of being curbed by thoſe whom he held as his vaſſals, ſtung him to the ſoul, not conſidering that kings and miniſters are deputies of the people, who always pay them liberally, and ſometimes for what they have neither ability nor virtue to perform. John, from this period, grew ſullen, ſilent, and reſerved. He ſhunned the company of his nobles; and, as if determined to ſecrete himſelf from public view, retired to the Iſle of Wight. There was a degree of artifice in this proceeding not then comprehended; for he ſent his emiſſaries abroad to invite the rapacious Brabanters and other foreign mercenaries into his ſervice, to whom were promiſed the forfeited eſtates of his opulent nobles. He likewiſe complained to the ſee of Rome of the violence to which he had been obliged to ſubmit. Innocent, who conſidered himſelf as feudal lord of the realm of England, zealouſly eſpouſed his cauſe. He iſſued a bull, in which, "from the plenitude of apoſtolic power, and the authority God had committed to him to build and to deſtroy, to plant and overthrow kingdoms," he abrogated the great charter; prohibited the barons from exacting the obſervance of it, and the king himſelf from regarding it; abſolving him and his ſubjects from all the oaths they had been conſtrained to take, and denouncing a general ſentence of excommunication againſt all who perſevered in maintaining pretenſions ſo treaſonable and iniquitous. At this time the forces John had ſent for from the continent arrived; whereupon he no longer diſguiſed his intentions, but, throwing off the maſk, recalled all the privileges granted to his ſubjects, which he had ſolemnly ſworn to preſerve. Placing his whole confidence in the pope, he re-aſſumed his tyrannical character. But he ſhould have conſidered the thunder of Rome would have leſs force than when directed againſt him. Langton refuſed to publiſh the ſentence of excommunication againſt the barons; and though he was cited to attend a general council at Rome, in which he was ſuſpended for diſobedience to the pope, and for ſecretly correſponding with the king's enemies; yet John ſtill found that his barons, his people, nay his clergy ſtill continued their confederacy againſt him.

The king's intereſt began to prevail now over the barons, who had no ſooner obtained the great charter, than, lulled in a fatal ſecurity, they took no meaſures for re-aſſembling their forces, in caſe the king ſhould introduce a foreign army. Hence John, being maſter of the field, inveſted Rocheſter caſtle, which, though bravely defended by William de Albiney, was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. The obſtinacy of the beſieged irritated the king to ſuch a degree, that he would have hanged the governor and all the garriſon; but being informed that repriſals would be made, he ordered only the inferior priſoners to be put to death. Having raiſed two powerful armies, he marched with one into the north, leaving the other under the command of the earl of Saliſbury, to ravage the ſouthern counties. His barbarous foreign mercenaries, incited by a cruel, enraged tyrant, ſpread devaſtation over the face of the kingdom. Rapacious by nature; hired to abet the purpoſes of deſpotiſm, they were guilty of the moſt dreadful outrages. The miſery of the inhabitants is beyond the power of deſcription. Villages and caſtles were ſucceſſively reduced to aſhes. Melford, Morpeth, Alnwick, and Werk were burnt. Roxburg, Haddington, and Dunbar, underwent the ſame fate; John himſelf, like a barbarous ruffian, ſetting fire, with his own hands, to every houſe in which he had lodged. The ſoldiers exerciſed the utmoſt cruelty on the inhabitants to make them diſcover their riches. Ruin and deſtruction marked their progreſs. The king proceeding through the whole kingdom from Dover to Berwick, conſidered every eſtate that was not his own immediate property, as an object of military execution, and laid waſte the country on each ſide of him.

The barons were inexpreſſibly alarmed at this ſudden turn in their affairs. Reduced to extremity, they knew not what courſe to take; but, for a while, remained in London, while John's mercenary troops were committing their devaſtations. They had now no proſpect of conqueſt; nor could they entertain any expectations of mercy, ſhould they ſubmit. In this dilemma recourſe was had to a moſt deſperate expedient. They invited over Lewis, eldeſt ſon of Philip, to defend their juſt rights, promiſing, in caſe of ſucceſs, that they would acknowledge him for their ſovereign. Nothing could be more agreeable to the ambition of the French monarch than an offer of this kind. He chearfully embraced the propoſal; and having received twenty-five hoſtages for the performance of the contract on the part of the barons, he made every poſſible preparation for the expedition, notwithſtanding the pope threatened him with interdicts and excommunications, if he preſumed to invade the patrimony of St. Peter, or attack a prince under the immediate protection of the holy ſee. But Philip, deſpiſing now all papal cenſures, which formerly he had pretended to reſpect, ſent a body of ſeven thouſand men into England, which was ſoon followed by a more conſiderable army, under the command of his ſon prince Lewis, who landed at Sandwich on the twenty-firſt of May, 1216.

The arrival of Lewis gave a check to John's ſucceſſes. The greater part of his foreign troops, who were chiefly natives of France, now deſerted him, declaring they could not fight againſt the heir of their lawful ſovereign. John was encamped near Dover when Lewis landed in the Iſle of Thanet; but inſtead of endeavouring to attack the French forces before they could be joined by the barons, he retreated to Wincheſter. Conſcious guilt, and jealous diſtruſt, benumbed all the faculties of his ſoul, and diſarmed him at the very inſtant he ſtood in need of more than common reſolution. His unmanly fears operated more powerfully in favour of Lewis than a numerous army; ſo that he marched to the capital without meeting in his way the leaſt oppoſition. He entered the city amidſt the acclamations of the people. The barons and citizens immediately ſwore fealty to him; while the prince, in return, promiſed ſolemnly to confirm the ancient privileges of the kingdom. The proſpect of the Engliſh was now very gloomy; for if the operations of John ſhould be attended with ſucceſs, they were certain of being ſubjugated to a tyrant: if, on the contrary, the arms of Lewis ſhould prevail, abſolute ſubjection muſt be the conſequence. But we ſhall ſee in the ſequel, that neither Lewis nor John were to tyrannize over the rights of Engliſhmen.

Though Lewis was in poſſeſſion of the capital, and at the head of a numerous army, yet many difficulties remained to be ſurmounted, before he could make himſelf maſter of England. Moſt of the maritime places were in the intereſt of John, who had favoured the ſea-ports with many valuable privileges. This was an alarming circumſtance to Lewis, who conſidered his being maſter of ſome convenient harbour as a matter of the laſt importance. He therefore attempted to make himſelf maſter of Dover; but his enterprize was rendered fruitleſs by the bravery of the beſieged, who defied his power. He therefore carried his arms into the inland parts of Kent and Suſſex, which he reduced with great facility. On the other hand, John flattered himſelf that the bolt of papal thunder, which was now ready to be launched againſt Philip and his ſon, would defeat all their ſchemes, and reſtore him to the quiet poſſeſſion of the Engliſh throne. He was, however, miſtaken. Innocent, indeed, fulminated the ſentence of excommunication againſt both; but the effect fell far ſhort of his expectations. The French biſhops declared the excommunication of Philip void, and Philip was not terrified at the thunder of the Vatican. More anxious of procuring a convenient ſea-port, than of guarding againſt the effects of the pope's anathemas, he once more led his army to Dover, and inveſted that important fortreſs. But Lewis found the attempt more difficult than he had imagined. Hubert de Burgh, the governor, was an experienced officer; and being at the head of a reſolute garriſon, made ſuch furious ſallies upon the French army, that Lewis was obliged to remove his camp to a conſiderable diſtance, and turn the ſiege into a blockade. This miſcarriage not a little mortified the French prince, eſpecially as the barons appeared leſs active in his ſervice: but he was too haughty to conciliate their eſteem, and wanted prudence to foreſee the conſequences of his neglect. He did not even endeavour to conceal his diſguſt; he excluded them from his councils, ſhewing thereby his want of confidence in them; and inſtead of reſtoring the nobility to their honours and eſtates, he beſtowed all his favours upon his own followers. The barons now ſaw their error, in calling in a foreign force to their aſſiſtance; the people complained of the oppreſſions of their new maſters; and it was rumoured, that Melun, one of Lewis's courtiers, falling ſick at London, on the approach of death, ſent for ſome of the Engliſh barons, who were his friends, and informed them, that Lewis intended to exterminate them, and to beſtow their dignities and eſtates on his favourites, in whoſe fidelity he could better confide. This report, whether true or falſe, was univerſally credited; acted powerfully on the Engliſh barons, and was of unſpeakable prejudice to Lewis. The earl of Saliſbury, and others of the principal nobility, deſerted to the king's army, in order to elude the ſtorm which threatened their deſtruction.

Animated with the hope of being joined by more of the confederate barons, John exerted himſelf in collecting a conſiderable army, with the view of making one vigorous effort for the preſervation of his crown. In the interim he was in perpetual motion, to avoid coming to a battle for the preſent. Having experienced the fidelity of the inhabitants of Lynn, in Norfolk, he had there depoſited his crown, ſceptre, and other treaſures; yet, not thinking this a place of ſafety, he determined to remove; but in marching over the waſhes from Lynn into Lincolnſhire, at an improper time of tide, the ſea ruſhed in upon him with ſuch rapidity, that he loſt a great part of his forces, together with all his treaſure, regalia, baggage and carriages, he himſelf eſcaping with difficulty. In the evening he arrived at the abbey of Swineſhead, and being ill before, was there ſeized with a violent fever, occaſioned by his affliction at this irreparable loſs, and the diſtracted ſtate of his affairs. The next day, being unable to ride, he was carried in a litter to the caſtle of Sleford, and from thence to Newark; where, having made his will, and appointed Henry, his eldeſt ſon, his heir, he died on the eighteenth of October, in the fifty-firſt year of his age, and the eighteenth of his reign. By his firſt wife, Aviſa, heireſs of the houſe of Glouceſter, he had not any children; but by his ſecond, Iſabella, daughter of count Aymar, he had two ſons, Henry his ſucceſſor, and Richard, earl of Cornwal. He had alſo three daughters; Jane, wife to Alexander II. king of Scotland; Eleanor, married firſt to William Mareſchal, earl of Pembroke, and afterwards to Simon de Montfort, earl of Leiceſter; and Iſabella, conſort to the Emperor Frederic II. He is ſaid to have had ten natural children, but none of them of diſtinguiſhed characters.

A. D. 1216.

Literature made very little progreſs during this period. No diſcoveries were made in the ſciences; the arts had no patrons among the great. The little knowledge of the ſciences that ſubſiſted was confined to the cloiſter; nor were even the monks remarkable for their learning. A few of them, indeed, wrote ſeveral chronicles of the Engliſh tranſactions in certain periods, with ſome degree of eloquence; but none equalled William of Malmſbury, whom we have already noticed. The torch of civil diſcord was lighted up in the reign of Henry II. and continued its baneful influence till the death of king John. It is no wonder, therefore, that the ſciences were little cultivated during that period. When the peace of a kingdom is deſtroyed, it is in vain to expect the productions of tranquil retirement.

The commerce of England was alſo at a low ebb in the reigns of Henry II. Stephen, Richard I. and John. The Flemings and Italians were in poſſeſſion of its moſt valuable branches. Flanders was the grand market of Europe for all woollen manufactures, and Italy for ſilk; and it is highly probable, that with the habits, manners, cuſtoms, and language of the Normans, we likewiſe imported their manufactures; for the Engliſh were too much engaged in civil wars, and ſo often called off from attending to the arts of peace by their lords, to whom they owed military ſervice, that nothing but wars and tumults, civil diſcord and unnatural

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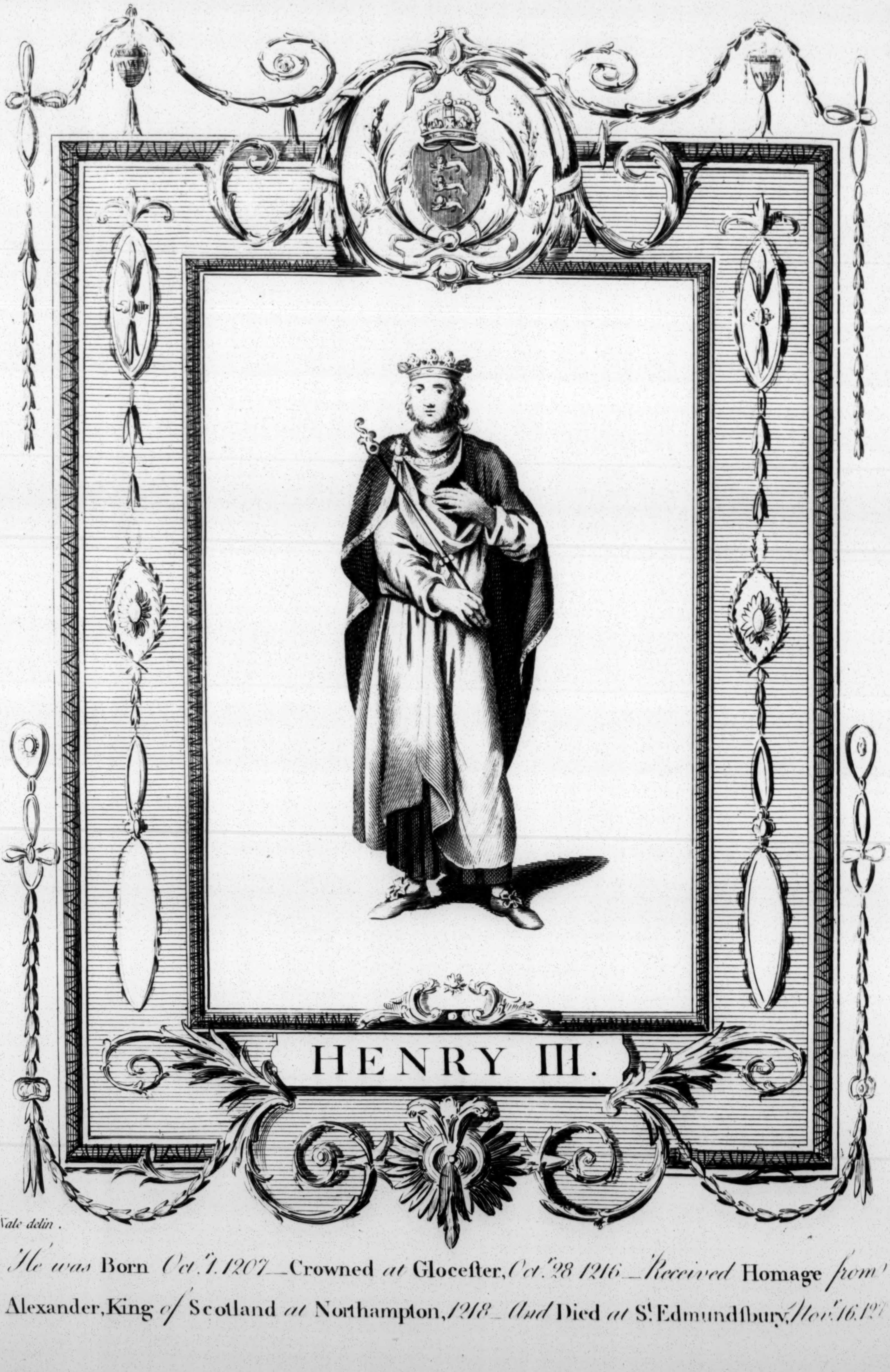


HENRY III.

Wale delin.

He was Born *Octr 1.1207* — Crowned *at* Gloceſter, *Octr 28 1216* — *Received* Homage *from* Alexander, King *of* Scotland *at* Northampton, *1218* — *And* Died *at* St Edmundſbury, *Novr 16.127* unnatural rebellions, engaged their attention. Coaches were, however, firſt introduced during the reign of Henry, but not the art of conſtructing them; and the Jews practiced that uſeful article of commerce, called in theſe days bills of exchange.

The Normans, fluſhed with victory, ſought only how to paſs away their time in mirth and ruſtic feſtivity; and employed almoſt all their intervals of leiſure, in hunting, feaſting, and women. Nor is their exceſſive licentiouſneſs in this reſpect to be wondered at; for the very laws tended to encourage the practice of many vices. No man could approach the king without a preſent; they ſold all their good offices; and permitted every indulgence that might afford a pretence for extorting money. Richard de Neville gave twenty palfreys to obtain the king's requeſt to Iſolda Biſſet, that ſhe ſhould take him for a huſband. The biſhop of Wincheſter gave one tun of good wine for not putting the king in mind to give a girdle to the counteſs of Albemarle. And Robert de Vaux gave five of the beſt palfreys, that the king would hold his tongue about Henry Pinel's wife. Every violation of chaſtity had its fixed price, which was not beyond the reach of a ſubſtantial yeoman. The lewd lives of the clergy, who cohabited publicly with concubines, tended ſtill farther to debauch the age; nor was it poſſible for the king, or his archbiſhops, to correct their enormities, while ſuperſtition blinded the eyes of the people, and induced them to believe, that what conſtituted a crime in a layman, was a virtue in a prieſt.

It may not be amiſs here to obſerve, that, during the reign of John, Conſtantinople was taken by the French and Venetians in 1204; and, in a cruſade, the Albigenſes, ſectaries in the ſouth of France, were entirely exterminated. This cruſade is ſaid to have given riſe to the bloody inquiſition.

Character of king John.

In ſtature he was above the middle ſize; of a good ſhape, and an agreeable countenance. He was a bad man; and, if poſſible, a worſe king. He ſeems to have been a compound of every vice that can degrade human nature, without a ſingle virtue or good quality to throw into the oppoſite ſcale. When left to the bent of his own depraved nature, he was raſh, furious, voluptuous, and cruel; and devoted himſelf entirely to the gratification of his vicious paſſions, regardleſs of the happineſs or miſery of his people. His fortune never ſuited with his temper. He loved eaſe and quiet, yet was continually in action. The murder of his nephew; the infringement of public property; and the violation of private honour, have conſigned his memory to eternal ignominy. He was inſolent in proſperity; raſh in adverſity; puſillanimous in war; and tyrannical in peace. He broke every oath; every ſacred bond of ſociety; and was generally hated by his ſubjects, eſpecially in the latter part of his reign. His inactivity, cowardice, ingratitude, treachery, and folly, too evidently appear in the ſeveral parts of his life, to give the leaſt room for ſuſpicion, that the diſagreeable picture has been at all overcharged by the prejudices of ancient hiſtorians. It muſt, however, be owned, that his reign, odious and deteſtable as it now appears, was not deſtitute of ſome laudable tranſactions, and procured to the people the moſt important advantages. His tyranny firſt prompted the barons to aſſert, and his ſloth and cowardice afterwards enabled them to obtain, thoſe ineſtimable rights and privileges which now form the baſis of the Engliſh conſtitution, whereby this nation is diſtinguiſhed from every other in the world. He conferred on the city of London, the right of annually electing a mayor out of its own body, an office which was, till then, held for life. He gave the city power to elect and remove ſheriffs at pleaſure, and its common council annually. He alſo introduced the laws of England into Ireland, and granted the Cinque Ports their particular privileges. On the other hand, he ſubjected his kingdom to a ſhameful vaſſalage under the ſee of Rome; obliged his ſubjects to take up arms, to recover thoſe privileges which had been handed down to them by their anceſtors; drove them to ſeek protection from a foreign power; and died at a time when he was in danger of ending his life in a priſon, or as a fugitive from the purſuit of his enemies. The horror which the public entertained of prince Arthur's murder, had more effect in driving him from his French dominions, than all the power of Philip; nor was he ever able to avail himſelf of the many favourable circumſtances that afterwards offered. This ſcourge, and ſelf-tormentor, like another Caligula, lived the life of a tyrant, and, which is the end of moſt tyrants, died as the fool dieth univerſally deſpiſed; indeed, he ſeems to have valued power, only as it gave him an opportunity of doing miſchief with greater ſecurity.

BOOK VI.

From the Commencement of the Reign of Henry III. to that of Henry IV. of the houſe of Lancaſter.

CHAP. I.

HENRY III.

Civil diſcord prevails in England on the death of king John—The government ſettled in favour of young Henry, by the earl of Pembroke and the pope's legate—The French having been defeated in the great battle of Lincoln, and their general, the count de Perche killed, Lewis, with his army, leave the kingdom—Commotions occaſioned by the adminiſtration of Hubert de Burgh, the dominion of foreigners, and oppreſſions by the pope—A confederacy of the barons, who obtain from the king the ſtatutes or proviſions of Oxford—Civil war renewed; in which the barons, having obtained a complete victory, take the king himſelf, his ſon prince Edward, his brother Richard, and his nephew Henry d'Allmain, priſoners—The great power of Leiceſter, and how employed—Origin of the preſent Houſe of Commons in 1265—The battle of Eveſham, in which the confederates are completely routed by prince Edward, and the earl of Leiceſter is ſlain—Inſurrection of the earl of Glouceſter, quelled without effuſion of blood—Prince Edward, undertakes a cruſade—Death and character of Henry III.

A.D. 1216. HENRY III. ſurnamed of Wincheſter, at the death of his father, was only nine years of age, conſequently unable to hold the reins of government, eſpecially at a time when civil diſcord and univerſal diſſention prevailed in England. The metropolis and more than one half of the kingdom were already in the poſſeſſion of Lewis, ſupported by a majority of Engliſh barons, and by the whole power of France. Fortunately for young Henry, and for his country, the gallant earl of Pembroke, marſhal of England, was at the head of a powerful army, in conſequence of his poſt, and the reins of government could not have been placed in better hands. His abilities and virtues ſtemmed the current of oppoſition. By theſe he weathered the tempeſt, and reſtored tranquillity to the ſtate. He well knew, that no ſucceſs could be expected till a mutual confidence between the king and barons was reſtored: this was therefore his firſt care; and his indefatigable labours to this end were facilitated by the tyrannical behaviour of Lewis, who had ſo highly exaſperated the barons, that they now wanted only a pretence to deſert his ſervice. The noble earl, though he had maintained an unſhaken loyalty to John; even in the loweſt ebb of that weak king's fortune, was too wiſe, and too virtuous, to attempt an excuſe, far leſs a vindication of the meaſures purſued in the late reign. He was equally zealous of hereditary right, and for the ſupport of public liberty, when invaded by incroaching prerogative. Upon theſe principles he entered upon his arduous work; and at this critical time, with a true ſpirit of patriotiſm, ſummoned a council of the barons at Glouceſter. The meeting was very numerous, all who adhered to the royal family being preſent. As ſoon as the members were ſeated, the earl marſhal entered the aſſembly, leading young Henry by the hand: "Behold," ſaid he, "your king." The barons were pleaſed at the ſight of the prince; which Pembroke perceiving, thus addreſſed them: "My dear countrymen, though we expreſſed a juſt reſentment againſt the father of this young prince, on account of his miſtaken and wicked conduct, yet this little child is free from the imputation of his father's guilt; and ſince puniſhment for offences ought only to be inflicted on their authors, it would be unjuſt for us to make the ſon bear the iniquity of his father. It is our duty and intereſt to forget our animoſities, and in compaſſion to the tender years of this infant king, unite to ſupport him on the throne of his anceſtors. Let us exert our utmoſt efforts to drive Lewis and all his followers out of this oppreſſed country, who would infallibly enſlave it, and who has by his arbitrary conduct forfeited all the benefits that have been promiſed him." This addreſs was ſo well received, that an univerſal acclamation of joy broke out in the aſſembly, who cried unanimouſly, "Let Henry be king." Pembroke immediately prepared for the ceremony of his coronation; and the young prince was crowned in the cathedral of Glouceſter, on the twenty-eighth day of October, by the biſhops of Bath and Wincheſter, in preſence of Gualo, the pope's legate. But as the crown had been loſt in the waſhes of Lincolnſhire, a ſimple fillet of gold was uſed at the ceremony; which when concluded, the perſon of the king was committed to the cuſtody of the earl of Pembroke, who acted as regent of the kingdom. As it was neceſſary to ſupport the tottering throne by the aſſiſtance of the papal authority, Henry ſwore fealty to the pontiff, and renewed that homage, to which his father had already ſubjected the kingdom. A general amneſty was now publiſhed by the regent, which promiſed to all who ſhould return to their obedience, and acknowledge Henry III. for their lawful ſovereign, that all paſt offences ſhould be buried in oblivion. Nor did the earl ſtop here. Deſirous of reconciling all men to the new government, he prevailed on the young king to grant a new charter of liberties, which differed from the former given by John, in a few alterations, both with regard to civil and eccleſiaſtical pretenſions. Another charter of foreſts was alſo added, whereby all the foreſts that had been incloſed ſince the reign of Henry II. were diſafforeſted, and new perambulations were appointed for that purpoſe: offences in the foreſts were declared to be no longer capital, but puniſhable by fines, impriſonment, and more gentle penalties; and all the proprietors of lands recovered the liberty of cutting their own wood whenever they pleaſed. Theſe famous charters were thus brought nearly to the form in which they have ever ſince remained; and for many generations have been eſteemed the moſt ſacred bulwark of our national liberty. The above prudent meaſures had the deſired effect upon many of the barons, who ſtill adhered to Lewis. They reflected that the cauſe which induced them to take up arms no longer exiſted; that oppoſition now was unnatural rebellion, and that the only method they could purſue with propriety, was that of making their peace with their lawful ſovereign. To this they were alſo ſtrongly induced by the ſentence of excommunication, which the pope's legate cauſed to be thundered againſt them in every church throughout the kingdom. This ſentence, however deſpiſed in the firſt tranſports of reſentment, they wiſhed in the calm moments of reflection to be diſannulled, and that they might be readmitted both to the king's peace, and into the boſom of the church.

Lewis, in the mean time was blocking up the caſtle of Dover, and had frequently attempted to corrupt the fidelity of the governor, by the moſt alluring propoſals; but Hubert de Burgh, nobly diſdained his offers, and declared, that he would defend the right of his young ſovereign, at the expence of his life and fortune. Finding that neither forcible nor lenient methods would prevail over the inflexible honour of Hubert, Lewis raiſed the ſiege, and repaired to London. Having ſecured his intereſt in that metropolis, he inveſted the caſtle of Hertford, which ſurrendered after a faint reſiſtance. Robert Fitz-Walter, hereditary governor, demanded the cuſtody of it, but had the mortification to hear himſelf upbraided as a traitor, and to ſee the government of the fortreſs conferred on a Frenchman, and the caſtle garriſoned with foreigners.

This inſulting act produced a general clamour among the Engliſh, who were not only deprived of their eſtates, but reviled as traitors unworthy to be truſted with a place of that importance. They now perceived the truth of Melun's diſcovery on his death-bed, and conſidered themſelves as victims, devoted to deſtruction. In the mean time Lewis purſued his conqueſts, and about the end of the year returned to London. But the regent, while the French monarch was availing himſelf of the king's death, exerted his utmoſt abilities, in ſecuring the intereſt of young Henry. He informed the pope of his coronation, and ſolicited his protection in favour of a prince, encompaſſed with foreign and domeſtic enemies.

Innocent, ever attentive to his own intereſt, applied himſelf to the preſervation of England, as a part of St. Peter's patrimony. He empowered his legate to renew the excommunication againſt Lewis and his adherents. The whole body of the clergy eſpouſed the royal cauſe, the French prince having incurred their diſpleaſure, by deſtroying their poſſeſſions, ſo that Lewis readily conſented to a ſhort truce; during which he held a general aſſembly at Oxford, while the regent convoked another at Cambridge, and demanded a prolongation of the truce, which Lewis, on hearing that the pope intended to excommunicate him in full conſiſtory, agreed to; that he might have an opportunity of viſiting Paris, and obtaining from his father, a ſupply of men and money.

A. D. 1217. His abſence greatly promoted the royal cauſe, for immediately on his departure, the earls of Saliſbury, Arundel, and Warrenne, returned to their allegiance, and afterwards

wards acted with great zeal in the ſervice of the young king. The legate, to excite others to follow their example, offered to all who would embark in the royal cauſe, the ſame privileges with thoſe who undertook a cruſade.

The cinque ports, with other maritime places, declared in favour of Henry, and fitted out a ſtrong fleet to diſpute the return of Lewis. That prince having procured a reinforcement of mercenaries under the command of the earl of Perche, embarked for England, and was met in his paſſage by the royal fleet, who took a great number of his ſhips, but he himſelf, with the earl, and a conſiderable body of ſoldiers eſcaped, and landing at Sandwich, reduced the town to aſhes. The truce being now expired, the earl of Cheſter inveſted the caſtle of Mont-Sorrel, in the county of Leiceſter, defended by a French garriſon; and Lewis detached the earl of Perche, with an army of twenty thouſand men, to ſuſtain the beſieged.

The Engliſh, being greatly inferior in numbers, retired, and the count advanced and inveſted the caſtle of Lincoln, which was held for the king, though the town had declared for the barons. As this was a place of great importance, the regent determined to ſuccour it, though at the expence of an engagement. Accordingly, having aſſembled his forces with great diligence and ſecrecy, he advanced as far as Newark within twelve miles of Lincoln, before the count had the leaſt intimation of his approach.

The earl of Perche thus ſurprized, called a council of war, when ſome of the moſt experienced officers deemed it expedient to quit the town, in order to engage the earl of Pembroke in the open plain where he could charge with his cavalry, which would otherwiſe be uſeleſs; but the majority were for continuing the ſiege, and keeping themſelves within the walls of the town, which was in no danger of being forced by the regent.

In conſequence of this opinion they repaired the fortifications, ſo as to render the place defenſible; and the regent approaching, without oppoſition, threw into the caſtle by a poſtern a choice body of troops, under the command of Fulk de Breant, who, according to his inſtructions ſallied out furiouſly on the beſiegers, while the earl of Pembroke aſſaulted one of the city gates. This double and unexpected attack, threw the enemy into the utmoſt terror and conſternation, who were entangled for want of room, and ſaw themſelves charged with incredible impetuoſity; the legate having given, to animate the common ſoldiers, abſolution, and full aſſurance of paradiſe to all who ſhould fall in battle againſt the enemies of the church; ſo that they behaved, in general, with ſurprizing alacrity and reſolution. Unable to oppoſe the vigorous attacks of the royal army, they would fain have conſulted their ſafety by a precipitate flight; but the earl of Perche rejected the expedient as mean and inglorious, and at length, after ſurprizing efforts to rally his troops and ſuſtain the impetuoſity of the Engliſh, ſeeing them totally routed, and diſdaining to ſurvive the diſgrace, ruſhed upon the ſwords of the enemy.

The priſoners taken were numberleſs, and no quarter given to the French, who were all cut to pieces. The town, which had long eſpouſed the cauſe of the barons, abandoned to pillage, and the ſoldiers gained ſuch a vaſt booty, that they diſtinguiſhed the pillage by the appellation of Lincoln fair.

This deciſive victory was attended with many happy circumſtances. The French evacuated the caſtle of Mont-Sorrel, which was inſtantly diſmantled at the command of the regent. All the adjacent country immediately ſubmitted to the royal army; and the regent, having appeaſed the tumults in the north, prepared to march to the ſouthward, and attempt the reduction of London.

Lewis, at the news of this defeat, was ſtruck with the utmoſt conſternation. He immediately raiſed the ſiege of Dover, which he had re-inveſted, and returned to London in order to repair the loſs he had ſuſtained. He then diſpatched letters to his father the king of France, ſoliciting a ſpeedy reinforcement, without which it would be impoſſible for him to face his enemy in the field, or even quit the kingdom with ſafety. Philip, unwilling to embroil himſelf farther with the pope, affected to diſclaim his proceedings, and publickly refuſed him compliance; but at the ſame time permitted Blanche, his daughter-in-law, to equip an armament in her own name for the relief of her huſband; and accordingly a ſtrong fleet was prepared to tranſport a conſiderable army to England. The regent was no ſooner informed of this expedition, than he ſent out a ſtrong fleet under the command of Philip d'Albiney, and John de Mareſchal, to intercept them in their paſſage, and prevent their debarkation in England. The French fleet ſoon appeared, and was attacked with ſuch fury by the Engliſh, that the greateſt part of their ſhips were taken, and the reſt obliged to make for France.

A diſaſter this which was ſeverely felt by Lewis, as the Engliſh army approached London, in which he ſoon found himſelf blocked up by the regent without any hopes of relief; the people now expreſſed their diſcontent without reſerve, his principal partizans had been taken priſoners at Lincoln, many had deſerted him already, and others were on the point of defection. His enemies were maſters of the ſea, and himſelf beſieged in a foreign country, and cut off from all ſources of ſuccour and ſupply. In this forlorn ſituation he demanded an honourable peace of the regent, in which all his allies ſhould be included.

The earl of Pembroke readily complied with his demand. Conferences were accordingly opened, and a treaty of peace concluded, on the following terms: That all the adherents of Lewis ſhould be reſtored to the eſtates and poſſeſſions they enjoyed before the commencement of the troubles; that the city of London ſhould retain her antient privileges; that all priſoners, taken ſince the arrival of Lewis ſhould be releaſed, and commiſſioners appointed to ſettle the terms on which the reſt ſhould be ranſomed or exchanged; that all the Engliſh, without diſtinction, who had revolted againſt John, ſhould take the oath of allegiance to Henry; that the hoſtages delivered to Lewis for the ranſom of priſoners, ſhould be ſet at liberty upon the payment of the money; that all places, towns, and caſtles, occupied by Lewis in England, ſhould be ſurrendered to king Henry; that the king of Scotland might be comprehended in the treaty; upon reſtoring all that he had ſeized during the war, the ſame reſtitution being made to him by the Engliſh monarch; that the prince of Wales ſhould enjoy the benefit of the ſame ſtipulation; that Lewis ſhould relinquiſh all the iſles that were held in his name, and renounce the homage he had received from the Engliſh ſubjects; that all the ſums which were due to him, and the terms of paying which were fully expired, ſhould be regularly remitted; and that eccleſiaſtics ſhould enjoy the benefit of this treaty, not in their clerical capacity, but only with reſpect to their law-fees.

It was alſo ſtipulated on the part of Lewis, that he would uſe his intereſt with his father that the foreign dominions belonging to the royal family might be reſtored, and that on failure in his remonſtrances on this ſubject, he would make the reſtitution on his own acceſſion to the crown of France.

This treaty being ratified and confirmed by the pope's legate, Lewis received abſolution and ſailed for France, after having borrowed five thouſand marks of the citizens of London to pay his debts, and defray the expences of the voyage. Immediately on the embarkation of Lewis, Henry made his public entry into London, amidſt the ſhouts and acclamations of the populace. Here he ſwore to maintain the nation in all its privileges; and this voluntary oath afforded the barons more ſatisfaction, than could ever have reſulted from the victories of a foreign prince, by which he would have been enabled to enſlave them deeper.

The ſword of civil diſſention being now appeaſed, the regent applied himſelf to the improvement of that peace, which he with great difficulty obtained. This proved a very arduous undertaking, as ſome of the nobility looked on the grants of John to be valid, as he died poſſeſſed of the regal power; and others had received from him grants of eſtates, which the late treaty obliged him to reſtore. This created many debates in the council, as well as excited perſonal animoſities among the noblemen, who, during the late diſputes, had eſpouſed the intereſt of different parties.

A. D. 1218. To appeaſe any diſturbances that might ariſe from either of theſe cauſes, the regent ſent orders to all the magiſtrates of the kingdom, to obſerve the two charters of king John, and to exact an oath from all perſons that they would obſerve them with the greateſt punctuality. The earl of Pembroke, whoſe whole conduct ſeems to have been influenced by a genuine ſpirit of patriotiſm, in order to ſpare the expence that would have attended the reduction of Llewellin, prince of Wales, propoſed honourable terms of accommodation, to which that prince acceded, and was afterwards abſolved by the legate at the earl's interceſſion. This was the laſt exertion of legatine power by Gualo, who was recalled by Honorius ſucceſſor to Innocent, Pandulph being veſted with that office.

A. D. 1219. The nation now ſuſtained an irreparable loſs by the death of the earl of Pembroke, who was removed from this ſtage of life, in the midſt of the wiſeſt and moſt faithful endeavours to confirm the peace and happineſs of the people of England. This nobleman was no leſs eminent for his honeſty, than his capacity, being not only endowed with a good head, but poſſeſſing a good heart. No man, in ſo exalted a ſphere, ever had, and none ever deſerved to have, fewer perſonal enemies. It was his peculiar happineſs to reconcile the maxims of policy to the ſtricteſt rules of juſtice, and the unhappineſs of his country, that the young prince loſt ſo faithful a guardian, and wiſe a preceptor, before he had time to imbibe his excellent inſtructions, and imitate his ſhining example. He was ſucceeded by William de Roches, biſhop of Wincheſter; and Hubert de Burgh, who ſo gallantly defended Dover caſtle, was created chief juſticiary of the realm.

A. D. 1220. The king's coronation was now again performed by cardinal Langton, who was freed from the ſuſpenſion on account of which he had quitted the kingdom. Immediately after the coronation, Henry ſet out with the regent on a progreſs through the different counties of the kingdom, in order to examine the conduct of the ſervants of the crown, and remove ſuch governors as were thought averſe to the preſent adminiſtration. None of theſe oppoſed the king's meaſures, except William de Albemarle, governor of Rockingham, who had arrogated a kind of ſovereignty, and affected to deſpiſe the laws of government. This imperious nobleman refuſed to reſign his employment, and put himſelf in a poſture of defence; but hearing of the concurrence of the neighbouring governors with the king's party, he thought proper to ſurrender on capitulation.

A. D. 1221. Henry returned to London, where, with his own hands, he laid the firſt ſtone of the new abbey-church of Weſtminſter, which remains to this day a monument of the architecture of that age. About the ſame time cardinal Langton, archbiſhop of Canterbury, transferred the body of Thomas Becket from the ſtone coffin and vault in which it was firſt interred, to a rich ſhrine of gold adorned with precious ſtones. This pompous ceremony was performed in the preſence of the king, and Pandulph the pope's legate, ſurrounded by a vaſt multitude, many of whom came from foreign parts merely to be ſpectators of ſo ridiculous a ſolemnity.

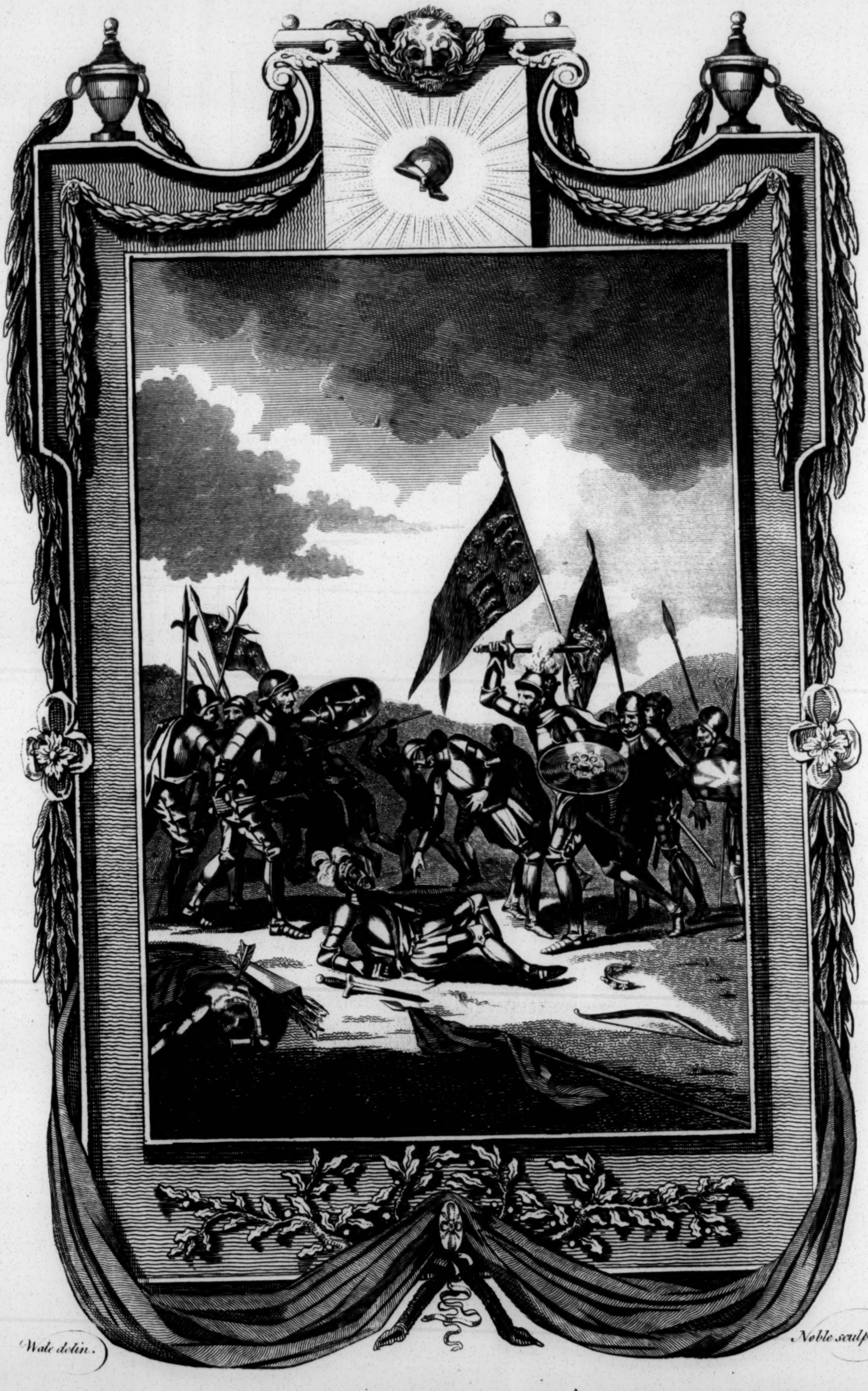
The citizens of London having obtained the prize in a wreſtling match, a ſteward belonging to the abbot of Weſtminſter, one of the combatants, piqued at the glory he had loſt, and determined to revenge the diſgrace, propoſed a ſecond conteſt and a ram, as the prize of the victor. The Londoners, who flocked to the place of diverſion, were ſuddenly attacked by the ſteward and a band of armed ruſtics, by whom, being cruelly maimed and wounded, they were obliged to fly for refuge into the city. The citizens, incenſed at this outrage, took to their arms in a tumultuous manner, determined to be revenged on the perfidious ſteward. Serle, the mayor, endeavoured to appeaſe the mob, and referred them to the abbot for ſatisfaction; but this moderate expedient was rejected at the inſtigation of Conſtantine Fitz-Arnulf, a rich, factious, and popular citizen, who had been a zealous partizan of the barons.

This incendiary having inflamed the rioters, propoſed that they ſhould march againſt the abbot and his ſteward, and level their houſes with the ground. The mob, readily embracing the propoſal, Conſtantine put himſelf at their head, proceeded to Weſtminſter, and having demoliſhed ſeveral houſes belonging to the abbey, returned in triumph to the city.

The chief juſticiary being informed of this outrage, excited at the inſtigation of Conſtantine, repaired to the Tower, and ſummoned the citizens to appear and anſwer for their riotous proceedings. Conſtantine juſtified what he had done with unparalleled impudence, declaring that he would repeat the ſame conduct on a like occaſion. He was thus emboldened, by a vain preſumption on the ſecurity which had been ſtipulated in favour of the adherents of Lewis; but the juſticiary informed him, that no benefit accrued from that ſtipulation to rioters, and that he, with his chief accomplices, ſhould be hanged the next morning; a ſentence which was punctually executed, notwithſtanding an offer of fifteen thouſand marks of ſilver for his ranſom. Many of the rioters were puniſhed with the amputation of their hands and feet; and the king expreſſed his reſentment of this behaviour by diſplacing the magiſtrates, and ſubſtituting others by his ſole authority

A. D. 1222. This act of ſeverity, as directly oppoſing the charters which had been ſo lately confirmed, raiſed an univerſal clamour amongſt the people; notwithſtanding which, the royal power was ſo abſolute at this period, that the king exacted hoſtages for the peaceable behaviour of the citizens; and the corporation obliged themſelves, by an authentic deed, to deliver them upon demand.

Like deſpotic meaſures, theſe were ſo diſpleaſing to the nation in general, that in a ſubſequent council of the prelates and nobility, the king was peremptorily demanded to execute thoſe charters, to the obſervance of which he had ſolemnly ſworn.



Wale delin.

Noble sculp.

The celebrated BATTLE of AGINCOURT,
in the French Netherlands in which Henry 5th King of England commanded in person & obtained a signal Victory over the French Army

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The court had, ſince the death of the earl of Pembroke, adopted new maxims; and when this addreſs was preſented to the king, William Briwere replied, that it was unreaſonable to demand the execution of charters extorted by force. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, offended at this raſh reply, obſerved, that if he loved the king, he would not prevent the peace of the kingdom.

Henry, though young, and beſet with fawning creatures, diſcerned the equity of the demand, and the conſequences that might reſult from a refuſal; and therefore not only declared his approbation of what the archbiſhop had obſerved, but iſſued orders for the exact execution of the articles of the charter throughout the kingdom. The council, to teſtify their approbation of the king's behaviour on this occaſion, granted him a conſiderable ſubſidy for relieving the Chriſtians in the Holy Land.

A. D. 1223. Philip Auguſtus, king of France, dying about this time, the council of England ſent over ambaſſadors to congratulate Lewis on his acceſſion to the throne, and remind him of the promiſe he made reſpecting Normandy; but the French monarch informed them, that he conſidered himſelf as freed from that obligation, by Henry's infringement of the articles of the treaty in the affair of Conſtantine, and neglect of reſtoring the antient laws purſuant to the charters.

The barons, incenſed againſt Hubert on account of a late act for reſuming the lands and caſtles of the crown, determined, if poſſible, to deprive him of his authority. In order to accompliſh their deſign, they ſent Peter, biſhop of Wincheſter, an implacable enemy to Hubert, to ſolicit a bull from the pontiff declaring Henry of full age, and authorizing him to take the government into his own hands; and enjoining thoſe who held any offices of ſtate to reſign them into the king's hands, that he might diſpoſe of them as he ſhould think proper.

The pope readily complied with the biſhop's requeſt; but the king, in conſequence of a mandate from his holineſs, was no ſooner in poſſeſſion of the caſtles, than Burgh's governments were reſtored. The principal malecontents were the earls of Cheſter and Albemarle, Fulk de Breant, and Robert de Vipot, who, with ſome other diſcontented barons held a meeting at Leiceſter, to concert meaſures for carrying their rebellious projects into execution; when the archbiſhop of Canterbury and his ſuffragans, pronounced ſentence of excommunication on all diſturbers of the public peace, and particularly thoſe who refuſed to reſign the caſtles belonging to the crown, which were then in their cuſtody.

In conſequence of this ſpirited meaſure, the malecontent barons repaired to Northampton, reſigned the lands, caſtles, and honours which belonged to the crown, and renewed their oaths of allegiance to their ſovereign.

A. D. 1225. A general aſſembly was now held at Weſtminſter, in which Hugh de Burgh laid before the aſſembly the ſtate of the king's affairs abroad, the ſucceſſes of the French, and the neceſſity of an immediate ſupply; concluding with a motion, that a fifteenth part of all moveables belonging to clergy or laity, ſhould be granted for that purpoſe.

The people ſubmitted to this tax with great chearfulneſs, as the charters were again confirmed by Henry, who was now in the eighteenth year of his age. Thus ſupplied, Henry equipped an armament for an expedition into Guienne, under the command of his brother Richard, who had reduced ſeveral places; but hearing that the main army of the French was advancing to give him battle, he retreated, and through the interpoſition of the pope a truce was concluded for three years.

During theſe tranſactions in Guienne, Otho, the pope's legate arrived in England, and a general aſſembly being convened while the king lay dangerouſly ill at Marlborough, he made a very extraordinary propoſal in the name of the pontiff. Having obſerved, that as the holy ſee had long been ſubject to the reproach of ſelling her favours for money, through the extreme indigence of the Roman church, it was the duty of all her members to remove the cauſe of that imputation; he propoſed that two prebends in every cathedral, and as many cells in every convent in England, ſhould be granted to the pope by an authentic deed, confirmed by an act of the general aſſembly.

This demand appeared ſo unreaſonable, that the council continued ſilent, till the legate complained of being ill treated; when they told him, that the abſence of the king, and ſeveral principal members, would not permit them to deliberate on a point of ſuch importance. Otho, with a true pontifical arrogance, deſired them to continue the ſeſſion till the arrival of his majeſty and the principal members; but regardleſs of his importunity they broke up, without ſo much as conferring on the ſubject, ſo that the legate was obliged to wait another opportunity.

During this interval he made a progreſs through the northern counties, where, under pretence of the right of procurations, he fleeced the churches in ſuch a manner, that the people in general complaining to the pope, he was recalled, in order to avoid exaſperating the Engliſh at ſuch a juncture. At the ſame time the pontiff deputed the archbiſhop of Canterbury, to demand a poſitive anſwer to the propoſal he had made by his legate.

Langton obeyed the mandate; and the king, with the advice of the prelates declared, that as the affair concerned all the powers in Chriſtendom, he would conform to the reſolutions of the other potentates. During theſe tranſactions, Lewis king of France was poiſoned by his ſon Lewis IX. under the guardianſhip of Blanche of Caſtile, who was alſo declared regent of the kingdom.

A. D. 1226. Henry began his reign with a tranſaction, which afforded an unfavourable omen of his future government. As he could not, with the leaſt plauſibility, demand a grant of money from the aſſembly after the large ſubſidies he had ſo lately received, he reſolved to revive an expedient, practiſed by his uncle Richard, after his return from Paleſtine. This was an impoſition of a certain tax upon all perſons who enjoyed charters; by which the nation in general, and the monaſteries in particular, were aggrieved; but this extortion was imputed to the juſticiary, who had gained an abſolute aſcendency over the king, and incurred the odium of the people, which was not a little increaſed by the death of the earl of Saliſbury, natural ſon to Henry II.

A. D. 1227. This nobleman had done many ſignal ſervices to the king, and was conſidered as a rival in power with Hubert, who invited him to an entertainment in his houſe, where he was ſeized with a languiſhing diſtemper that brought him to the grave; ſo that a general opinion prevailed that he had been poiſoned at the inſtigation of the juſticiary.

This diſguſt to the miniſter was increaſed by the conduct of the prince, who, as he advanced in years, diſcovered an avaricious, capricious, irreſolute, and oppreſſive diſpoſition. The people were perſuaded that a king, deſtitute of maxims and reſolution, could never manage the helm of ſtate, and would therefore be liable to the influence of ſome inſinuating ambitious individual, who might rule him and his kingdom as favourite and prime miniſter.

Henry was thus devoted to the caprice of Hubert de Burgh, who, impatient of any control, prevailed on the king to diſmiſs the biſhop of Wincheſter from his councils; and accordingly that prelate was ordered to retire to his dioceſe. After his departure, Hubert perſuaded the king to render himſelf independent of thoſe reſtrictions that controlled him in his adminiſtration, and aſſume a deſpotic power. This advice agreeing with the diſpoſition of the king, the juſticiary prevailed on him to exact five thouſand marks from the city of London, on pretence of that community's having lent the like ſum to Lewis when he left the kingdom. He alſo exacted from Northampton twelve thouſand pounds ſterling, on various frivolous pretences, and extorted large ſums from the monaſteries, notwithſtanding their appeals to the pontiff; but that by which he incurred a general odium, was the unexpected revocation of the two charters, which he had ſo ſolemnly ſworn to obſerve, and now renounced, alledging the invalidity of any act paſſed in his minority.

The conſequence of theſe impolitic ſteps was, a univerſal ſpirit of diſſatisfaction among the barons; and prince Richard, lately arrived from Guienne, took the advantage of this alienation to inſult his brother, in conſequence of a quarrel about the inveſtiture of an eſtate in Cornwal, poſſeſſed by one Walleran, a German, who in his abſence had ſeized the manor, and now refuſed to produce his title.

Richard therefore ſeized the eſtate, and refuſed to ſurrender it till the title was determined by the judgment of his peers. Henry, incenſed at this declaration, ordered his brother to reſtore the lands in diſpute, or immediately quit the kingdom. Richard boldly replied, that he would abide by the deciſion of his peers; and retired to his own houſe. Hubert adviſed the king to arreſt him without delay; but while he heſitated, Richard ſet out for Marlborough, where he communicated the tranſaction to the earl of Pembroke, who approving his behaviour, undertook to form an aſſociation to vindicate his right.

Accordingly a plan was concerted, in concurrence with the earl of Cheſter and ſome other noblemen, and a rendezvous appointed at Stamford, where they publiſhed a maniſeſto containing their grievances, and demanded a confirmation of their charters, and reſtitution of their rights. The juſticiary, to evade the danger that might reſult from this inſurrection, adviſed the king to call a council at Northampton, and promiſe the barons to redreſs the grievances of the nation. This conceſſion induced the barons to lay aſide their deſigns, and return to their allegiance.

A. D. 1228. Stephen Langton, archbiſhop of Canterbury, dying about this period, the monks of St. Auguſtin elected one Walter de Hemiſham to ſucceed him, without even demanding the king's permiſſion. Henry, incenſed at their proceedings, refuſed to confirm his election, and agents were diſpatched with appeals to Rome; when the pope, having examined the merits of the cauſe, annulled the election, and reſerved the nomination of another archbiſhop to himſelf. All the Engliſh envoys concurred in recommending Richard le Grant, chancellor of Lincoln, who was accordingly appointed by the pope, and conſecrated at Canterbury by the biſhop of Rocheſter, before he had received the pall.

A. D. 1229. The buſineſs of the late convention at Rome being in itſelf ſo ſcandalous, was induſtriouſly concealed till one Stephen Seagrave came over from the pope, to collect the tenths of all moveables throughout the nation, that had been ſtipulated by the agents, in conſequence of the pontiff's conſenting to the nomination of Richard. A meeting of the nobility being called on the arrival of Stephen, the members were aſtoniſhed at the propoſal; but as a mark of reſpect to his holineſs, agreed to grant him a donation, without proceeding to a minute enquiry into the effects of individuals.

But while all the reſt of the nation diſcovered ſuch a puſillanimous ſpirit, in ſuffering themſelves to be robbed of their property by this religious freebooter, the earl of Cheſter maintained his independence; inſiſted on his prerogative of Paleſtine; and forbad the nuncio, or any of his agents, to ſet foot within his territories at their peril. The collection of this tax was hardly finiſhed, when the king demanded freſh ſubſidies to enable him to proſecute a war in France, for the recovery of his dominions on the continent. But after a numerous army had been collected from all parts of the kingdom, the expedition was prevented by a neglect of the juſticiary, who had not provided a ſufficient number of tranſports.

A. D. 1230. The following year a ſcutage was levied to defray the expences of a ſecond armament, which was accordingly tranſported into Bretagne. But the whole attempt was fruſtrated by impolitic conduct; and Henry, having exhauſted his finances abroad, returned to England, and again demanded ſubſidies, which a generous council granted to his indigence.

The abſence of Henry from his dominions, occaſioned many diſturbances. The king of Connaught, knowing that moſt of the Engliſh troops were employed in foreign parts, reſolved to avail himſelf of their abſence; and aſſembling a great number of vaſſals, invaded the lands of the Britiſh proprietors, which he waſted with fire and ſword, until he was oppoſed and routed by Geoffrey de Morico, juſticiary of Ireland. Llewellin, prince of Wales, had alſo renewed his incurſions, ravaged the borders of that country with impunity, and returned with his plunder in ſafety.

Henry marched into Wales at the head of a numerous army; but meeting with ſome difficulties and much oppoſition, he retreated without having reduced the enemy, or done any thing worthy of notice.

A. D. 1231. About this time Richard, archbiſhop of Canterbury, reſigned his breath, and the monks choſe Ralph de Neville, biſhop of Chicheſter, and chancellor, for his ſucceſſor; and Henry ſo approved their choice, that he put him in immediate poſſeſſion of the temporalities of the ſee; yet he could not obtain the confirmation of the pope, who ſhrewdly ſuſpected that ſhould he be advanced to the primacy, he would endeavour to detach the Engliſh church from its dependence on the holy ſee.

He therefore annulled his election, and ordered the monks to chuſe another, and afterwards a third, who was alſo rejected; but at laſt they elected Edmund, treaſurer of the church of Saliſbury, who being choſen by recommendation of the pope, was duly confirmed. This exertion of deſpotiſm in the court of Rome, excited a general clamour throughout the kingdom.

It was now become a practice to beſtow benefices on Italian prieſts, and inhibit the Engliſh till theſe foreigners were provided for. This being conſidered as a national inſult, many aſſociations were formed for delivering the kingdom from ſuch ſhameful oppreſſion. Circular letters were ſent to the biſhops and chapters, warning them againſt favouring ſuch practices on pain of having their houſes burned, and their farms deſtroyed.

In this manner they proceeded ſome time without oppoſition, and the foreign clergy fled for refuge to monaſteries and convents. The pope, on information of theſe outrages, wrote a letter to the king, inſiſting that he ſhould inflict an exemplary puniſhment on the delinquents, otherwiſe he would excommunicate his perſon, and lay his kingdom under an interdict. Henry, alarmed at theſe menaces, appointed inquiſitions in the different parts of the kingdom; and it ſoon appeared that they had been countenanced by all ranks and degrees of people.

A.D. 1232. At laſt Robert de Twange, a gallant young knight, who, under the fictitious name of W. Wither, had headed the rioters, appeared in the king's preſence, and owned himſelf the ringleader in all the expeditions againſt the Italians, who, he alledged, had endeavoured to deprive him of the only patronage he enjoyed. Henry was charmed with his frank confeſſion; and as ſentence of excommunication had been denounced againſt all concerned in thoſe riots, he ſent him to Rome, with letters recommending him to the pope's indulgence.

Though the confeſſion of this young knight exculpated Hubert; his profeſſed enemy, Peter de Roches, biſhop of Wincheſter, inſinuated to the pope, that the juſticiary was actually concerned in the late diſturbances, and by that means added the influence of his holineſs to the confederacy already formed againſt Hubert. The juſticiary's enemies perceiving the fickle temper of the king, by calumniating the character and conduct of his miniſter, prevailed on his majeſty to recall the biſhop of Wincheſter to court.

That artful prelate found means to obtain the favour of this weak prince, by which he filled the vacant poſts with his adherents; and while he ſtrengthened his own party, weakened that of the juſticiary. About this time the prince of Wales made freſh incurſions into the Engliſh territories with impunity; the biſhop repreſented to the king the diſgrace of tamely ſuffering his dominions to be ravaged by a handful of banditti; when Henry informed him, that his finances were not adequate to the expences of his houſhold, much leſs to the charges of a war; Peter took occaſion to inveigh againſt the conduct of the prime miniſter, affirming that his revenues were embezzled; that the wardſhips of the crown were beſtowed on individuals; that the income of vacant benefices were intercepted, as well as that reverting to the crown by death or confiſcation; adding, that by means of honeſt officers and œconomy, he might, like his predeceſſors, keep his coffers always full, and his power conſequently independent of the general aſſembly.

Theſe inſinuations gratified the avaricious and rapacious diſpoſition of Henry, who gave immediate orders for all his ſheriffs and officers of the revenue to produce their accounts. Many who were detected in frauds were deprived of their offices, and impriſoned. Ralph Brito, treaſurer of the chamber, was fined in a thouſand pounds, and his poſt beſtowed upon Peter de Rivaux, nephew to the biſhop of Wincheſter. Having removed the dependents of Hubert from court, this artful prelate prevailed with the king to diveſt him of his office of juſticiary, and confer it on Stephen de Seagrave, one of his principal adherents.

Hubert perceiving that Peter was bent on his ruin, and that the king's affection was wholly alienated from him, retired to the priory of Merton, in Surry, where he took ſanctuary; and Henry, whoſe reſentment againſt him was now as furious, as his confidence in him had been implicit, ordered the mayor of London to force him from his retreat, either dead or alive.

In conſequence of this order, in the evening the mayor aſſembled the populace with the alarm bell, and having acquainted them with the purport of his majeſty's command, directed them to be ready to march the next morning to execute the king's order. This direction was extremely grateful to the mob, who retained an implacable hatred againſt Hubert ever ſince the execution of their favourite leader Conſtantine, and therefore chearfully diſperſed to make preparations for the enterprize.

In the mean time ſeveral citizens of diſtinguiſhed rank, who ſeem to have had more regard to order and good government than either the king, his council, or the mayor, repaired to the biſhop of Wincheſter in Southwark, and repreſented to him the danger that might enſue, not only to the church of Merton, but even the city itſelf, from the ungoverned rage of a licentious multitude. The prelate, inſtead of acting with prudence and moderation becoming his character, told them, that whatever might be the conſequence, the king's command muſt be obeyed.

Animated by this declaration, and prompted by their own reſentment, the populace, to the amount of twenty thouſand armed men, marched towards the church of Merton, where Hubert was kneeling before the altar, expecting his fate with great fortitude and reſolution. But the execution of this lawleſs command was prevented by the remonſtrances of the earl of Cheſter, who, though a profeſſed enemy to Hubert, prevailed on the king, to obviate a reproach he would inevitably incur from ſuch tumultuous as well as ungrateful proceedings, againſt a nobleman whoſe whole life had been devoted to the ſervice of himſelf and family.

Henry, affected with the ingenuity of the earl, and conſcious of the truth of his allegation, diſpatched a counter-order to the mayor of London, which, by the care of the biſhop of Wincheſter, arrived time enough to prevent miſchief; and the mob returned to London much chagrined at their diſappointment.

Through the interceſſion of the archbiſhop of Dublin, the biſhop of Chicheſter, and earl of Cheſter, Hubert obtained time to prepare for his trial. Relying on the protection of this indulgence, he ſet out for St. Edmundſbury on a viſit to his wife; and Henry, imagining that he intended to make his eſcape, ſent a detachment of three hundred men, under the command of Geoffrey de Craucombe, to apprehend and commit him cloſe priſoner to the Tower. The party detached found Hubert in the chapel of Brentwood, with a croſs in one hand, and a conſecrated wafer in the other; which having wreſted from him, he was dragged out by violence, and conveyed to priſon like a common felon. Next day, Roger, biſhop of London, repaired to court, to complain of this breach of the church's privileges; and threatened to excommunicate all concerned in it, unleſs Hubert was immediately releaſed.

The king accordingly ordered him to be reconveyed to the chapel; but at the ſame time the ſheriffs of Hertford and Eſſex were directed to raiſe the populace of thoſe counties, and beſet the place in ſuch a manner, that he could neither eſcape or receive ſuſtenance; and offered him only the alternative of perpetual impriſonment, perpetual exile, or a confeſſion of his treaſon.

The earl, conſcious of his innocence, diſdained to purchaſe life on ſuch inglorious terms; and after remaining in the chapel a whole month, and labouring under great want of the common neceſſaries of life, ſurrendered himſelf to the ſheriff, who delivered him up to the conſtable of the Tower. During his confinement, the king, informed that he had depoſited a conſiderable ſum of money in the hands of the Templars, demanded it of the maſter, who refuſed to comply without Hubert's order, which was immediately granted. This unreſerved compliance appeaſed the indignation of Henry, who now declared he would never conſent to the death of a nobleman, to whom he and his father owed ſuch important obligations. He therefore liſtened to terms of accommodation; and Hubert, after conveying to Henry all the lands he held of the crown, was permitted to enjoy the reſt of his fortunes.

A. D. 1233. The biſhop of Wincheſter thinking his own power eſtabliſhed on the ruins of that of Hubert de Burgh, aſſured Henry that as few of the Engliſh nobility were well affected to his government, he could never render himſelf independent, while they poſſeſſed the great offices of the kingdom.

He therefore adviſed him to leſſen their power and influence, by depriving them of their lucrative poſts and employments, which he might beſtow on foreigners, and thereby ſecure their unreſerved ſubmiſſion to his pleaſure. Henry, like a weak prince, believed his ſuggeſtions, and embraced his council.

In a ſhort time above two thouſand knights were imported from Gaſcony and Poictou, the native country of the biſhop of Wincheſter, who had invited them over to ſhare the ſpoils of the nation. Theſe were immediately provided with lucrative employments, of which the Engliſh barons were diveſted. At length the earl of Pembroke, at the inſtigation of the Engliſh nobility, openly complained of this unjuſt adherence to ſtrangers; and told the king, that his attachment to foreigners alienated the affections of his ſubjects, and muſt, if perſiſted in, be attended with dangerous conſequences; frankly aſſuring him, that ſhould he continue to laviſh his favours on foreigners, the barons would be obliged to concert ſome meaſures for delivering the nation from theſe rapacious interlopers.

The biſhop who was preſent at this expoſtulation, immediately replied, that his inſolence deſerved chaſtiſement; adding, that the king had full liberty to call in what foreigners he thought proper for the ſecurity of his crown, and, that if thoſe already in England were not ſufficient, others ſhould be immediately invited over for that purpoſe.

The Engliſh nobility, inflamed with this arrogant declaration, retired from court, and began to form aſſociations for the defence of their lives and fortunes; while the biſhop of Wincheſter affected to deſpiſe their reſentment, confiding on his foreign friends, who almoſt overſpread the kingdom.

A ſhort time after the barons were ſummoned to attend a council at Oxford, but refuſed to expoſe themſelves to the inſults and treachery of perfidious foreigners. They received a ſecond and third ſummons, with promiſes that their grievances ſhould be redreſſed; but hearing that freſh ſwarms of aliens arrived daily with military accoutrements, they ſent a deputation to the king, inſiſting on the removal of the biſhop of Wincheſter from all his councils, and the expulſion of his foreign aſſiſtants from the kingdom; otherwiſe they ſhould be obliged to transfer the crown of England to ſome prince more worthy of ſuch an exalted dignity.

The king was alarmed; but the biſhop ſoon diſpelled his fears, by aſſuring him that he ſhould ſhortly be able with the aſſiſtance of his foreign friends, to chaſtize the inſolence of ſuch rebellious ſubjects, who dared to treat their prince with ſuch indignity. Accordingly, all the barons that ſtill continued about the court were treated as enemies to their country, and obliged to give hoſtages for their peaceable behaviour.

At the ſame time a conſpiracy was formed againſt the earl Mareſchal, who, to avoid the execution, retired into Wales. As the abſence of this nobleman prevented the other barons from coming to any reſolution, the king, with the advice of Wincheſter, ſummoned all his military tenants to meet him in arms at Glouceſter on the fourteenth of Auguſt; and the barons, refuſing to obey the citation were proſcribed as traitors, and their eſtates confiſcated and given to foreign mercenaries.

The parliament aſſembled at Weſtminſter, earneſtly beſought the king to be reconciled to his barons, and exclaimed againſt the practice of proſcribing Engliſh noblemen without trial or conviction. The biſhop of Wincheſter not only pretended to juſtify the late proceedings, but impudently aſſerted, that the Engliſh nobility were not intitled to the ſame privileges with the peers of France.

An aſſertion, falſe as it was inſolent, ſo exaſperated the biſhops in general, that they roſe up and threatened him with the ſentence of excommunication; and, when Wincheſter told them he was exempted from their juriſdiction, as having been conſecrated by the pope, to whom he appealed from any ſtep they might take to his prejudice; they denounced a general ſentence againſt all thoſe who had alienated the king's affections from his ſubjects; but when Henry urged them to excommunicate the earl of Pembroke, they refuſed compliance, alledging the injuſtice of cenſuring a man for vindicating his right and property.

The king, finding himſelf under a neceſſity of attacking the earl in the field, ordered his troops to rendezvous at Glouceſter, in order to march from thence into Wales. The earl, receiving advice of the approach of the royal army, ordered the cattle to be driven from the adjacent country, ſo that the king's troops being deſtitute of forage and proviſions, were obliged to retire into Monmouthſhire, to prepare magazines for their ſubſiſtence. The earl, informed that the king and his principal officers had taken up their garriſons in the caſtle Groſmont, while the army lay encamped in the open plain, ſurprized them in the night, routed them the firſt onſet, and took above five hundred horſes, with all the king's baggage, ſo that he was obliged to return to Glouceſter. Pembroke then undertook the ſiege of Monmouth, which was defended by Baldwin de Guiſnes, who making a ſally as the earl was reconnoitering the walls with a ſmall retinue, attacked them with the utmoſt fury. A deſperate conflict enſued, in which the earl, after performing wonders, and killing numbers with his own hands, was very near being carried off priſoner, when Baldwin received a wound with an arrow, which his followers thinking mortal, gathered round him, and gave the earl an opportunity of making his eſcape.

In the mean time Pembroke's army marched up and ſeeing the danger of their general, ſurrounded and took the whole party. In the mean time Hubert de Burgh, who ſtill continued a priſoner in the caſtle of the Devizes, received advice that the biſhop of Wincheſter determined to take away his life; and that, in order to facilitate his deſign, he was ſoliciting the king for the government of the caſtle; communicated the danger of his ſituation to ſome of the guards, who commiſerating the fate of ſo gallant a man, connived at his eſcape. But the governor, ſenſible of the importance of his charge, detached a party in purſuit of the fugitive, whom they found in a church, and dragged back again to his priſon.

At the remonſtrances of the biſhop of Saliſbury and ſome other prelates, Henry ordered Hubert to be re-conveyed to the church, but with the ſame diſadvantageous circumſtances as before; when at length Richard de Siward routed the ſurrounding mob, and reſcued Hubert, who retired with him into Wales, and joined the earl of Pembroke.

A. D. 1234. Early in the ſpring he defeated a conſiderable body of troops, commaded by John of Monmouth, ravaged the lands belonging to the king's foreign counſellors on the borders of Wales, and laid the town of Shrewſbury in aſhes. Henry, inſtead of oppoſing the progreſs of the Marſhal, retired to Wincheſter, leaving the country to his mercy. The biſhops therefore ſolicited the king to compromiſe with Pembroke, but he rejected this ſalutary advice, at the inſtigation of Wincheſter, unleſs that nobleman would throw himſelf at his feet, and acknowledge himſelf a traitor.

Theſe diſhonourable terms were rejected by the earl, who fell with redoubled fury, on the lands of the king's adviſers. But the crafty and inſidious Wincheſter, had concerted a ſcheme unknown to all but himſelf. He wrote letters in the king's name, to Maurice Fitz-gerald, juſticiary of Ireland, Walter and Hugh de Lacy, and others, giving them to underſtand, that Richard, earl of Pembroke, had been deprived by a ſentence in the king's court, of all his honours and eſtates, and deſiring that they would ravage his lands in Ireland, in order to draw him over thither; in which caſe if they would take him, either dead or alive, all his fortune in that kingdom ſhould be divided among them.

This treacherous contrivance had the deſired effect; the earl ſet out for Ireland, with only ſixteen attendants, and on his landing was received by Geoffrey de Mareis, with all the exterior marks of zeal and attachment. This traitor engaged to raiſe troops for his ſervice, and inveigled him into a parley with his colleagues; on which occaſion, being deſerted by his followers, he received a mortal ſtab in the back with a poniard, of which he died in a few weeks, to the regret of all honeſt men, who revered him as a nobleman of great valour, capacity and virtue, a hater of tyranny, and zealous aſſertor of the conſtitutional rights of his country. But the unprecedented and infamous proceedings of the biſhop of Wincheſter and his adherents now approached their final cloſe; for in an aſſembly at Weſtminſter, the prelates joined as one man in the common cauſe of liberty, and were well ſeconded by the barons; nor was there a ſingle advocate in the whole aſſembly, for the prime miniſter and his foreign faction.

Edmund, archbiſhop of Canterbury, accuſed Peter, biſhop of Wincheſter, and his foreign aſſiſtants, as acceſſary to the misfortunes that had befallen the kingdom, and the alienation of the affections of the people from their prince; and finally inſiſted on a ſpeedy redreſs of thoſe grievances, on pain of ſentence being denounced againſt him and all his adherents.

The king, alarmed by this ſpirited reſolution, remanded Wincheſter back to his dioceſe, diſmiſſed Peter de Rivaux from the office of high-treaſurer, and ordered him to produce his accounts, and deliver up the caſtles in his cuſtody. Seagrave was ſoon after diveſted of his poſt of juſticiary, the foreigners were obliged to quit the country, and the Engliſh prelates and nobility admitted into the privy council.

A charge of meaſures immediately followed; ambaſſadors were ſent to conclude a peace with Llewellyn and his aſſociates, and the king himſelf repaired to Glouceſter, to forward the negociation. In his way to that city, he received the news of Pembroke's death, and though he had proſecuted that worthy nobleman with the utmoſt virulence, could not refrain from tears, when he heard the treacherous manner in which he had been betrayed.

Llewellyn conſented to the propoſals of peace, on condition that the barons who were in alliance with him ſhould be pardoned, and reſtored to their eſtates. Theſe terms being granted, they repaired to court and met with a favourable reception from his majeſty, who among the reſt, diſtinguiſhed Hubert de Burgh with peculiar marks of his favour. Baſſet and Siward were created privy counſellors; Gilbert, brother to the earl of Pembroke, received the inveſtiture of the Engliſh and Iriſh eſtates, and Henry, having previouſly conferred on him the honour of knighthood, delivered into his hands the marſhal's ſtaff, in a parliament held at Worceſter. It being now reſolved to commence a proſecution againſt the late miniſters, Edmund, archbiſhop of Canterbury, produced copies of the letters which had been ſent to the Iriſh noblemen, for the deſtruction of the earl of Pembroke; the recitation of which, filled the whole aſſembly with horror and indignation. The miſcreant authors were ſummoned to appear in court at Midſummer, to anſwer this and other charges of mal-adminiſtration, but inſtead of obeying the ſummons; Wincheſter and Rivaux took ſanctuary in the cathedral of Winton, Seagrave retired to the church of St. Mary Newark, in Leiceſterſhire, and another of the accomplices hid himſelf in a cellar in London.

Edmund, who was a prelate of moderation, and averſe to all violent meaſures, prevailed on the king to grant them a ſafe conduct; in conſequence of which they came from their retreats and appeared in court to take their trial.

Peter de Rivaux was dreſſed in the habit of a clergyman, under which were concealed a coat of mail and a ſtiletto. Detected in this diſguiſe, he fell on his knees and ſued for mercy, deſiring time to regulate his accounts of the royal revenue, which was granted, though his lay poſſeſſions were ſequeſtered. Seagrave was fined a thouſand marks, and obliged to reſtore ſeveral manors that had been alienated from the crown in his favour, but Peter biſhop of Wincheſter, the principal offender, being a favourite of the pope, both on account of his riches and military knowledge, was at the deſire of his holineſs, ſent to Rome to command his armies, and thus eſcaped the judgment of his country.

The council were now employed in regulating the confuſed ſtate of the kingdom; the fortreſſes were committed to the care of Engliſh noblemen, well affected to their country; the extent of the civil and eccleſiaſtical policy of the kingdom, was aſcertained by certain reſtrictions, to prevent a mutual encroachment; and proclamations were iſſued, to enforce a due obſervation of the two charters of liberty.

About this time, the emperor, Frederick II. demanded Henry's ſiſter, Iſabella, in marriage; the propoſal was embraced, the articles of the contract ſettled, and the prelates and barons granted a ſcutage; by which thirty thouſand marks were levied, as a dowry for the young princeſs, who was immediately ſent with a ſplendid retinue into Germany, and the nuptials were celebraced at Worms, with great pomp, in preſence of a great number of perſons of the firſt rank in the empire.

The king now determined to marry Eleanor, ſecond daughter of Raymond Berenger, count of Provence, who had already diſpoſed of his eldeſt daughter to the king of France. The council approving this alliance, and the father the propoſals of Henry, the young lady was conducted by the ambaſſadors into England, and the ceremony performed at Canterbury, whence the royal pair proceeded to London, which they entered with great ſplendor.

A. D. 1236.

The ſunday following the queen was crowned at Weſtminſter, with a pomp exceeding any thing known before. But what completed the general joy on this occaſion, was the king's readineſs to gratify the people, by holding a court at Merton, in Surry, in which ſeveral regulations were made, and particularly the famous ſtatute, relating to the dowers, and wills of widows; the improvement of waſte; the exemption of heirs from uſury, during their minority, for debts contracted by their father; the limitation of writs, and other articles calculated for the eaſe and ſecurity of the people.

There ſtill remained ſome grievances, but they were ſuch as might eaſily be removed. A council was therefore ſummoned to be held at London, but the weakneſs of Henry ſoon re-appeared, notwithſtanding all the pains which the new miniſtry had taken to regulate his conduct. William de Savorie, biſhop elect of Valence, uncle to the queen, had attended her to England, and was now become a great favourite with the pliant king. The Engliſh nobility, who were always remarkable for their hatred of foreign favourites, determined to cruſh this new influence, before the minion could acquire a degree of authority ſufficient to affect the welfare of the nation.

Accordingly in an aſſembly convened at London, they preſented a remonſtrance to the king, who was ſo alarmed at their addreſs, that he retired to the Tower, and there propoſed to finiſh the buſineſs of the ſeſſion; but the nobility refuſing to attend in that place, Henry had foreſight enough on this occaſion to remove to his palace and prevent the complaints of his people. This had the deſired effect; the members ſeeing all compulſion on their deliberations taken off, repaired thither, and the king, by their advice, regulated the office of ſheriffs.

Great abuſes had crept into the diſcharge of that important truſt, and the perſons in general who enjoyed it having been creatures of the two laſt miniſters, were become obnoxious to the people. Such therefore were diſcharged, and their places filled with men of birth, fortune and honour, above the temptation of mercenary actions.

The foreigners, alarmed at the power and influence of the barons, over the conduct of the king, employed every act to ſtrengthen their party. They prevailed on Henry to diſmiſs Ralph Fitznicholas, lord ſteward, and other officers from the houſhold and council, and to demand the ſeal from the biſhop of Chicheſter, who was a conſummate lawyer, and upright judge; but the prelate boldly refuſed to reſign his poſt, except by order of that council, from which he had received his authority.

Rivaux, Seagrave and Paſſelwe were recalled to court, and recovered their former influence; the pernicious meaſures, for which they had been ſo juſtly diſgraced, were now revived; the caſtle of Glouceſter, was committed to their charge; in ſhort, they engroſſed all the benefactions Henry had to beſtow. But theſe inſolent foreigners, not content with ſatisfying their avarice, muſt alſo gratify their revenge. They exhorted Henry to revoke all alienations of the crown demeſnes, and grants made the nobility before his marriage, and even engaged the pope to interpoſe his authority. Accordingly Gregory iſſued a bull, repreſenting thoſe grants as injurious to the honour of the crown, detrimental to the king's right of ſovereignty, abſolving Henry from the oath by which they had been confirmed, and enjoining an immediaie reſumption.

This mandate was communicated to the parliament of Wincheſter, but the members rejected the propoſal with contempt, alledging that a compliance with the bull, would be an acknowledgement of ſubjection to the Roman ſee, of which they conſidered the kingdom entirely independent.

A. D. 1237. The new miniſtry finding this ſcheme rendered abortive, by the reſolute oppoſition of the repreſentatives of the people, concerted another, for raiſing money to gratify their own avarice.

With this view, another aſſembly was convened at Weſtminſter, where the king informed them, that as his finances were exhauſted by the expences attending his marriage, and the queen's coronation, he deſired they would grant him a ſubſidy, for the neceſſary purpoſes of government. The aſſembly replied, that former ſubſidies had never been employed to the honour and advantage of the nation, but ſquandered on worthleſs foreigners, who ſupplanted his ſubjects in poſts of honour and profit, and ſeemed to vaunt themſelves in oppreſſing the people.

Henry, ſoothed by this ſpirited reply, promiſed to abide for the future, by council of his natural-born ſubjects, and that if they would now indulge him with the thirtieth part of their moveables, he would never aſk another ſupply, that ſhould give them the leaſt cauſe of offence. In order to facilitate their compliance, he diſavowed the pope's bull, touching the reſumption of grants, declared he would inviolably obſerve the liberties of Magna Charta, and ordered ſentence of excommunication to be pronounced againſt all perſons who ſhould dare to violate that ſacred conſtitution. The aſſembly, influenced by theſe aſſurances, and the admiſſion of ſeveral Engliſh noblemen into the council, complied with his requeſt, but on condition that the money levied ſhould be depoſited in certain abbeys and churches, as a fund ſacred to the neceſſities of government; not to be laviſhed on governors, who were no longer to rule, in prejudice of his natural-born ſubjects.

But the king ſoon receded from theſe ſolemn proteſtations, through the prevailing influence of Valence, who directed every tranſaction, and graſped at every poſt of honour and advantage.

The avarice and ambition of this favourite ſo exaſperated the Engliſh nobility, that a civil commotion would probably have enſued, had he not left the kingdom, on pretence of viſiting his own country; but as ſoon as he was informed that the reſentment of the barons had ſubſided, he returned to the kingdom, and renewed his former practices. Nevertheleſs being ſtill apprehenſive of danger, he prevailed on Henry, to deſire the pope would ſend over a legate, whoſe authority, added to that of the crown, might intimidate the barons, and reſtrain the mutinous ſpirit of the people. The pope readily granted Henry's requeſt, Otho was inveſted with legatine authority, and ſent over into England.

His arrival excited an univerſal clamour, yet he conducted himſelf with ſo much prudence and moderation, that he ſoon acquired the eſteem and veneration of the public. Henry, however, was ſo emboldened by his preſence, that he made no difficulty of conferring all his favours on foreign miniſters, and totally diſregarded the remonſtrances of the Engliſh nobility.

A. D. 1238. The miniſtry fonnd it now abſolutely neceſſary, to engage ſome of the leaders of the oppoſition in their intereſt; and they accordingly gained over John earl of Lincoln, and Simon de Montfort earl of Leiceſter. This ambitious young nobleman, thinking himſelf too great for a ſubject, aſpired to the dignity of a ſovereign. With this view he paid his addreſſes ſucceſſively to two heireſſes in foreign countries, the counteſſes of Bologne and Flanders, but failing in thoſe attempts, he turned his eyes upon Eleanor, ſecond ſiſter of Henry, and widow of the wiſe and gallant earl of Pembroke.

The foreign miniſters, reſolving to attach Leiceſter to their intereſt, perſuaded Henry to conſent to the marriage, notwithſtanding ſhe had made a vow of chaſtity, at the deceaſe of Pembroke, and, as a confirmation of which, taken the ring without the veil, from the archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the preſence of a great number of nobility. The king was ſeverely rebuked for conſenting to this marriage, by the archbiſhop of Canterbury; and the barons, who oppoſed the foreign miniſters, were ſo incenſed at the defection of the earl of Leiceſter and Lincoln, that they began to concert meaſures for doing themſelves juſtice.

Accordingly the earls of Cornwal and Pembroke, with the greateſt part of the nobility of England, engaged in a confederacy againſt the adminiſtration. They aſſembled in arms at Southwark, and being joined by the citizens, repaired to court, and peremptorily inſiſted that Lincoln and Montfort ſhould be removed from the council-board. Henry, alarmed at this demand, had recourſe to the good offices of the legate, who, on the promiſe of large grants, appeaſed the reſentment of Cornwal; and a truce concluded till the firſt Monday in Lent, when all grievances were to be redreſſed, at a general council in London.

The barons appeared according to appointment, but the earl of Cornwal being detached from the aſſociation, the grievances were but half redreſſed, and the diſpute was compromiſed by the mediation of the legate. The two earls were removed from the council, and Leiceſter, fearing his marriage might be diſſolved, by means of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, went privately to Rome, and purchaſed a confirmation at that venal court.

Otho, having effected an accommodation between the king and the barons, ſet out on a viſitation towards the north of England, and taking Oxford in his way, was ſumptuouſly entertained at Oſiney. After dinner, the ſcholars coming to pay their reſpects to his reverence, were refuſed admittance by his Italian porter. Enraged at this treatment, they endeavoured to force their entrance, the legate's ſervants running to ſuſtain the porter, an obſtinate fray enſued. A poor Iriſh ſcholar, begging at the grate, was miſerably ſcalded by the ſteward, who was brother to the legate; and a Welchman, obſerving this outrage, ſhot him dead with an arrow. The legate, alarmed at this diſaſter, fled to the church, whence he eſcaped to Abingdon, where he loudly complained to the king, of the unworthy treatment he had received. Henry immediately detached the earl of Warrenne, with a party of ſoldiers, to apprehend the rioters, and thirty of them being taken, were committed cloſe priſoners to Wallingford caſtle.

Otho, not yet ſatisfied, laid the univerſity under an interdict, and excommunicated all thoſe who had been concerned in the late riot; but the ſcholars ſubmitting to humble themſelves before the legate, the cenſures were removed. Peter de Roches, biſhop of Wincheſter, dying in the courſe of this year, the king recommended William de Valence, to ſucceed him in that rich biſhoprick.

The monks abſolutely refuſed to elect him as being a foreigner, odious to the Engliſh nation, and at the ſame time illiterate and immoral. Yet, in order to manifeſt their inclination to conform to the king's deſire they conferred that dignity on Ralph de Neville, a prelate of unblemiſhed reputation, and ſuppoſed acceptable to his majeſty. Henry, incenſed at the preſumption of the monks, in diſputing his recommendation, applied to the pope, who, in conſideration of a ſum of money, annulled the election, and diſplaced the prior, and ſubſtituting one wholly dependant on the court, procured a majority in favour of Valence. He did not however long enjoy his promotion, for he died the following year at Viterbo, little regretted by the friends of virtue and liberty.

A. D. 1239. The earl of Leiceſter now returned from Rome, and made a ſplendid entry into London, where he was received with great reſpect by the king. He then, by his inſinuations, incenſed his majeſty againſt Gilbert earl of Pembroke, who was now refuſed admittance at court. The earl, provoked at this affront, retired to the north, to ſhelter himſelf from the intrigues of his enemies, and concert meaſures with the diſcontented barons for their mutual ſafety. Nor did the earl of Leiceſter himſelf eſcape the effects of the king's capricious humour, for in a ſhort time after his return, he reviled him in the moſt opprobrious terms, branding him with the odious appellation of traitor, and excommunicated wretch, who had debauched his wife before marriage, and afterwards by bribery and corruption, obtained the pope's confirmation.

This indignity, offered to a nobleman of his rank, and in the preſence of the counteſs, who was the king's own ſiſter, alarmed them both to ſuch a degree, that they immediately retired to the continent. By this time, Otho, the pope's legate, had deviated from his original conduct, and ſo oppreſſed the churches and clergy, to gratify his inſatiable avarice, that the biſhops complained to the pope of his exactions; and though the pontiff had twice ſent letters of revocation to the cardinal, they were ſet aſide by the king, who conſidered Otho, as the chief ſupport of his adminiſtration.

A. D. 1240. The legate, by the royal favour, was emboldened to renew his exactions, who levied ſums from churches and monaſteries, under the title of procurations; and at length publiſhed a mandate, in the name of his holineſs, importing, that he was empowered not only to abſolve from their vow, all ſuch as had taken the croſs, but to compel them to purchaſe their redemption with money, on pain of excommunication. He likewiſe granted to the abbot and monks of Clugny, a tenth of the profits of all the benefices in England for the term of three years. But this impoſition was ſo repugnant to all rules of juſtice, that Henry, abject as he was, forbad the agents to collect it on pain of ſevere penalties. The pope, far from being intimidated by this repulſe, ſent orders for raiſing a fifth on all eccleſiaſtical revenues, as an aid againſt the emperor; and accordingly exacted it firſt from the Roman clergy, reſident in England, who relying on the pope's protection, were obliged to comply with this exorbitant demand. It was afterwards propoſed to the prelates in council, at Reading, and granted by the advice and example of Edmund, archbiſhop of Canterbury.

The pope had no ſooner received the immenſe ſums raiſed by the late exactions, than he ſent orders to Edmund, and the biſhops of London and Sarum, to reſerve three hundred of the beſt livings in England, for the benefit of the Roman clergy, on pain of being ſuſpended from the power of collating. Theſe benefices were deſigned for the children and relations of ſuch, as ſhould afford him their aſſiſtance againſt the emperor.

Edmund, incenſed at ſo flagrant an impoſition, and meeting with no redreſs from the king, retired to Burgundy, where he died, and was interred in the abbey of Pontigny. The pope and his emiſſaries continued to oppreſs, not only England, but Ireland, Wales, and Scotland, by methods, which plainly indicated, that the religion of thoſe days was little more than a maſk to vail all that was vile and diabolical. Nor did his holineſs reap the fruit of his rapacious impoſitions, for Otho, in his return to Rome with the French legate, was intercepted by the Emperor's allies, who ſtripped them of their whole acquiſitions.

A. D. 1241. The indulgence foreigners had met with in England, encouraged Peter de Savoy, one of the queen's uncles, to viſit the iſland, who, on his arrival, was created earl of Richmond, and ſolemnly knighted in the abbey of Weſtminſter. But Peter, perceiving how diſguſtful his preferments were to the Engliſh nobility, behaved with great moderation, and took all poſſible care to avoid giving them offence.

Soon after, his brother Boniface was raiſed to the ſee of Canterbury, though he could not be confirmed on account of the vacancy in the Roman ſee. About this period died, in a very advanced age, Llewellin, prince of Wales, leaving his principality to his ſon David, who had committed ſome depredations on the Engliſh territories. He had an illegitimate brother, elder than himſelf, named Griffin, who was extremely popular among the Welch, and thence the object of his jealouſy and hatred.

Griffin claimed part of his father's inheritance, to which he was entitled by the laws of his country; but David, inſtead of complying with his demand, committed him to cloſe priſon. Henry, at the inſtigation of his wife Senana, interpoſed his good offices in favour of Griffin; but theſe proving ineffectual, he advanced from Glouceſter, and entering Wales with a ſtrong army, compelled David not only to releaſe his brother, but to ſubmit to ſuch conditions as he thought proper to impoſe. But David, who knew Henry's foible, offered him a larger ſum that Senana had promiſed, obtained his intereſt, and Henry, to his eternal diſgrace, accepting the baſe and diſhonourable bribe, from the protector, became the perſecutor of Griffin, and committed him cloſe priſoner to the tower.

While Henry was degrading his birth and character, by acts of perfidy and baſeneſs, his brother Richard was gathering laurels in the plains of Paleſtine, where he acquired great reputation, for his courage, conduct and liberality. He fortified Aſcalon, recovered Jeruſalem, and concluded an advantageous truce with the Saracens for ten years.

Having thus obtained glory and renown, he ſet out on his return to England, and tarried two months at the imperial court, with his ſiſter the empreſs, who died in child-bed a few days after his departure.

Before he ſet out for the Holy Land, he had received the inveſtiture of the province of Poictou, though Fana poſſeſſed great part of it, by the conqueſts of Philip Auguſtus, and the province being thus divided between the two crowns, Lewis thought he had an equal right to beſtow the livery of it on his brother Alphonſo.

Henry determined to revenge this inſult, and engaged in the quarrel more eagerly, as it affected the intereſt of his mother, Iſabella, who had lately married the count de la Marche. This count repreſented to Henry, the facility of expelling the French from Poictou, and aſſured him, that the province itſelf would afford a ſufficient number of men for that purpoſe, provided he would defray the expence of their ſubſiſtence. Charmed with this project, the king aſſembled a parliament, and demanded a ſubſidy, adequate to the importance of the expedition.

A. D. 1242. But the aſſembly obſerved, that the war was entirely foreign to the Engliſh intereſt, and promoted wholly by the count de la Marche, and barons of Poictou, and that it was particularly improper at a juncture, when the people and nobility had been exhauſted of their ſubſtance, by the exactions of the government, and the Roman pontiff. The king alledged in his behalf, the ſhame that would reſult to Engliſhmen, from a deſertion of their ſovereign, at a juncture ſo critical, when both the voice of his allies, and the inhabitants of the country he claimed, loudly called upon him to aſſert the right of his family and crown. He alſo urged the glory that would redound to them and the ſoldiers from a ſucceſs in the expedition. But theſe arguments had no effect on the aſſembly. Henry, therefore, with the advice of the Roman agents, divided the province, and by that means, prevailed on a conſiderable number of the aſſembly to eſpouſe his intereſt.

Having obtained a majority, a thirtieth of all moveables was voted for the ſervice of this undertaking; but this fund being inſufficient, he levied a talliage on the cities, boroughs, and crown demeſnes in Ireland; and demanded an aid from the clergy of that kingdom. Having thus procured a ſupply of money, he ſummoned all his military tenants, to meet him with horſes and arms at Wincheſter, and in the mean time agreed to a match between his daughter Margaret, and Alexander, ſon to the king of Scotland, who in conſequence of this contract, undertook to preſerve the peace in the northern parts of England. William, archbiſhop of York, was nominated guardian of the realm, and a council appointed to aſſiſt him.

The public tranquility being thus ſecured, the king embarked at Portſmouth with his queen, his brother Richard, ſeven earls, three hundred knights, and thirty hogſheads of ſilver, and, after a ſpeedy paſſage, landed at Royane, a port of Saintonge, at the mouth of the river Gironde.

Lewis, apprized of Henry's deſign, had fitted out a fleet of thirty gallies, and aſſembled an army of four thouſand knights, twenty thouſand gentlemen, beſides a vaſt number of infantry. With theſe forces he invaded Poictou, where he reduced ſeveral places of the count de la Marche, and at length inveſted Fontenay. He was engaged in the ſiege of this fortreſs, when Henry, landing at Royane, ſent ambaſſadors to demand ſatisfaction for attacking the count da la Marche, whom he repreſented as an ally of England.

Lewis ſenſibly replied, that he was deſirous to maintain, and even prolong the ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, but that Henry had no right to interpoſe between him and his rebellious ſubjects. This reply being deemed a refuſal, was followed by a formal declaration of war, and Henry advanced to Pons, where he was joined by the nobility of Gaſcony, with their vaſſals.

Thus reinforced, he marched to Saintes, but finding his forces ſtill much inferior in number to thoſe of the enemy, wrote to England for a ſupply of two hundred knights, and half that number of horſemen. Soon after he advanced to Toney, on the Charante, in order to check the progreſs of Lewis, who had reduced great part of the count de la Marche's caſtles. He then returned to Saintes, and endeavoured to hinder the French from advancing to Taillebourg, but Lewis, getting between the Engliſh and the town, the garriſon opened the gates to his forces. He then ordered his army to encamp without the gates, in a meadow.

Henry had in his army ſeveral brave and experienced officers, particularly his brother Richard, who made himſelf maſter of a ſtone bridge, over the Charente, ſo that the French army was obliged to paſs the attack in boats, and aſſault the bridge at the ſame time. The Engliſh ſuſtained the attack with great intrepidity, but overpowered by numbers, were at length driven from the bridge.

The French animated by this ſucceſs, forced the Engliſh from the field of battle, and obliged them to retreat to Saintes. Henry ſuſtained ſo great a loſs in this action, that he abandoned Saintes, and proceeded to Pons, where leaving a ſtrong garriſon, he made a haſty march to Blaye.

The count de la Marche, alarmed at the rapid progreſs of Lewis, diſpatched his eldeſt ſon to ſue for ſome tolerable conditions of peace. Lewis, retaining his uſual moderation, readily indulged him with a pardon, demanding only three of his caſtles, as pledges of his future fidelity.

Henry was wholly ignorant of this negociation, though the preſent ſituation of his affairs rendered an alliance with the count more neceſſary than ever.

Richard at length diſcovered the treaty, by means of a French knight, whoſe life he had ſaved in the Holy Land, and who was privy to the whole tranſaction. Henry was no ſooner informed of it, than he decamped, paſſed the Charente, and ſhut himſelf up in Bourdeaux.

Henry's affairs were now rendered deſperate, the earl of Marche, with ſeveral of his moſt important allies having deſerted his intereſt; one nobleman, Hertold de Mirebau, alone perſevered in the allegiance he had ſworn to Henry, and refuſed to deliver up his caſtle without his maſter's permiſſion; but as ruin would have been the inevitable conſequence of his reſiſtance, he obtained leave to make his ſubmiſſion, and the king of France was ſo charmed with his honour, that he permitted him alone, of all the barons in the oppoſition, to retain his eſtate and caſtle.

Lewis was now preparing to avail himſelf of Henry's loſſes and misfortunes, by attacking him in Gaſcony; but this expedition could not be rendered ſucceſsful, without many difficulties. Having advanced to the neighbourhood of Blaye, where the Engliſh army was encamped, the plague broke out in his army, and raged with ſuch violence, that he loſt upwards of twenty thouſand men, beſides fourſcore of his principal nobility, ſo that he was obliged to relinquiſh the purſuit of his conqueſts, and return to his own dominions.

A. D. 1243. Henry loitered the winter in Bourdeaux, among the Gaſcoigne nobility, in feaſting and riot; by which means he ſoon exhauſted his finances; ſo that he was obliged to write for a ſupply to the archbiſhop of York, whom at the ſame time he enjoined, to confiſcate the eſtates of certain noblemen, that had returned to England without his permiſſion.

The firſt part of his orders was punctually executed, and the money immediately remitted; but the latter he refuſed to obey, for fear of exciting a diſturbance in the kingdom. Henry had no ſooner received this ſupply, than he directed the archbiſhop, to demand the profits of a year's wool from the Ciſtertians, which they refuſed to grant; and the regent unwilling to uſe compulſion, obtained a conſiderable ſubſidy from the parliament, in order to diſengage the king entirely from the debts he had contracted. But this was ſquandered with his uſual prodigality. The prelate attempted to borrow money in the king's name, from individuals; but this practice produced ſuch diſcontent and clamour, that he gave the king to underſtand, all the reſources were ſtopped, and that there was an abſolute neceſſity for his immediate return.

Henry, deprived of all hopes of further remittances, prepared for his departure from Bourdeaux, and gave orders that all the Engliſh nobility ſhould aſſemble at Portſmouth for his reception. He then ratified the truce he had concluded with Lewis, and at his arrival in England, gave directions for a magnificent entry into London, as if he had returned from a conqueſt.

Henry, before he embarked in this expedition, had projected a match between his brother Richard and Sanchia, third daughter of the count de Provence. This alliance was generally diſapproved by the Engliſh, who foreſaw it would ſtrengthen the foreign intereſt, which was already too powerful. The contract was however adjuſted, and the young lady arriving, under the auſpices of her mother, the nuptials were ſolemnized at Weſtminſter with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence.

A. D. 1244. After the celebration of the nuptials, the king confirmed to Richard, the earldom of Cornwal, together with an annual ſtipend of five hundred pounds. The old counteſs, after borrowing of the king four thouſand marks for the uſe of her huſband, returned to the continent. Henry, by his profuſion, had reduced himſelf to the utmoſt neceſſity, therefore, to recruit his finances, he iſſued out writs, directing all his ſheriffs to enquire into all miſdemeanors and tranſgreſſions of the law, by widows and others, who had married without a licenſe; or thoſe who had encroached on the royal foreſts; and by this means a large ſum was raiſed. The Ciſtertians were obliged to pay the profit of one year's wool, and the Jews to part with moſt of their ſubſtance. But ſuch was his avarice and extravagance, that the ſums raiſed by theſe deſpotic meaſures, were inſufficient; he was therefore once more obliged to ſolicit a ſupply from parliament.

The prelates and laity retiring ſeparately to deliberate on the propoſal, came to a reſolution that no ſubſidy ſhould be granted but with their common conſent, and that a committee of twelve perſons ſhould be choſen, to concert meaſures for preventing all encroachments on the two charters for the future. They complained, that writs had been iſſued out of Chancery to the prejudice of their liberties; inſiſted on their right of nominating the chancellor and juſticiary; propoſed that four noblemen of the king's council ſhould be appointed conſervators of the liberty of the kingdom, with power to inſpect the treaſury, and the application of the public money; to ſummon a parliament as often as neceſſity ſhould require, and arbitrate in all differences between the king and his people.

They inſiſted on the revocation of all writs contrary to the cuſtom of the realm; that cenſures ſhould be publiſhed againſt all that oppoſed theſe regulations; that the chancellor and juſticiary, choſen by conſent of parliament, ſhould always be two of the four conſervators; that if the king ſhould deprive the chancellor of the ſeals, all writs ſigned by his ſucceſſor ſhould be null and void; that beſides the chancellor and juſticiary, two judges in the Common-pleas, two barons of the Exchequer, and a juſtice of the Jews, ſhould be nominated by parliament; and that all ſuſpected perſons ſhould be removed from about the king's perſon.

The king was alarmed at theſe demands, which were very incongruous with his notions of royal prerogative. But as this was an improper time to ſhew his reſentment, he evaded their propoſals with promiſes of amendment; and after having vainly endeavoured to perſuade them to a compliance, at laſt prorogued the aſembly.

Innocent, who now filled the papal chair, ſent one Martin as nuncio into England, with powers exceeding thoſe of all his predeceſſors in extortion. His commiſſion was to procure a ſubſidy of ten thouſand marks from the clergy, to enable his holineſs to maintain the war againſt the emperor, who at the ſame time ſent ambaſſadors to England to vindicate his own conduct, and diſſuade the prelates from granting any contribution.

This nuncio had received orders to excommunicate all whom he ſhould find refractory to the papal commands, contained in the bull he carried with him; and that all the dependents on the ſee of Rome ſhould be provided with livings, worth at leaſt thirty marks a year. Martin perſiſted in his inſolent behaviour and monſtrous exactions, till at length the clamour againſt him became ſo loud and general, that Henry commanded him to depart the kingdom. Mean while the king having acquired the ſubſidies he demanded, made preparations for attacking Alexander, king of Scotland, who after the death of Iſabella had married the daughter of Enguerrand de Courcy, and thereby given great umbrage to Henry; at the ſame time he refuſed to pay homage for any part of the lands he held in Scotland.

Theſe meaſures ſo incenſed Henry, that he gave orders for aſſembling an army, and equipping

ing a fleet, to invade Alexander's dominions by ſea and land. All the military tenants were ſummoned to attend him at Newcaſtle upon Tyne, and the king putting himſelf at their head, marched immediately againſt the Scottiſh army. At Pentland he found the enemy in battle array; and as the forces were nearly equal on both ſides, a bloody engagement muſt have enſued, had not the archbiſhop of York, with ſeveral prelates and noblemen interpoſed, and effected an accommodation, whereby the former peace was confirmed, together with a contract of marriage between Alexander's ſon, and Henry's eldeſt daughter.

Griffin, brother to the prince of Wales, weary of his long confinement in the Tower, attempted to make his eſcape; but the rope giving way, he fell headlong from the battlements, and immediately expired. David, during the impriſonment of his brother, had maintained an harmony with the Engliſh; leſt, by provoking Henry, he might have occaſioned the releaſe of Griffin, whoſe great popularity had excited his jealouſy.

This check being removed by the death of that prince, David aſſembled a body of troops, and in open violation of the treaty ſubſiſting between him and the king of England, committed great depredations on his territories. Henry, contrary to the advice of the nobility, had diſbanded the greateſt part of his army, and detached only three hundred horſe, under the command of Hubert-Fitz-Matthews, who was immediately routed by David.

The Welch prince, aſſured that Henry would employ his whole force againſt him, had ſolicited the aſſiſtance of the pope, offering to become a vaſſal to the Roman ſee, and pay his holineſs an annual tribute of five hundred marks, the ſum impoſed on him by the Engliſh monarch.

Innocent, though charmed with the propoſal, declined a determinate anſwer, till he ſhould have enquired into the merits of the cauſe; and particularly whether the late treaty was the effect of compulſion on the part of David, as he alledged. Accordingly, by commiſſion, he directed two Welch abbots to examine into the pretended complaint; and if David's allegation appeared to be founded on fact, to abſolve him from his oath, and annul the treaty. Elated with their commiſſion, the abbots ſummoned the king of England to appearance without deference to his dignity; an example of inſolence, equally provoking to Henry and his ſubjects, who had therefore reaſon to repent the diſmiſſion of the army. Determined to chaſtize this arrogance, Henry having levied a powerful army, ſummoned him, with all the nobility of north and ſouth Wales, to appear in the king's court at Weſtminſter, on the firſt Thurſday in Lent, there to do homage, and anſwer for their depredations.

A. D. 1245. David, alarmed at the ſpirit of the king and his council, endeavoured to amuſe them with a negociation which produced no effect. At a grand council aſſembled about Whitſuntide it was determined, that his majeſty ſhould command the army in perſon, and the military tenants of the crown be ſummoned to appear at a certain rendezvous.

About the middle of Auguſt, Henry began his march to North Wales, and penetrated without oppoſition to the river Conway, near which he built the ſtrong caſtle of Garinac, to check the excurſions of the enemy. This fort ſo embarraſſed the Welch, that they could draw no ſupplies from Cheſhire, while the Iriſh auxiliaries waſted the Iſle of Angleſey; and proclamation was made in all the Marches, that no proviſions or merchandize ſhould be carried into Wales on ſevere penalties; ſo that the ancient Britons were penned up in the mountainous counties of Caernarvon and Merioneth, and reduced to a ſtarving condition. In this melancholy ſtate they continued till the death of David, which happened in the beginning of the next year, when his dominions were divided between Llewellin and David Goch, the two ſons of Griffin.

Theſe princes, affected with the miſeries of their countrymen, concluded a treaty of peace with Henry, by which they engaged to furniſh England with a thouſand foot, and four and twenty horſe, well armed and diſciplined to ſerve in Wales and the Marches when required.

The barons immediately on their retnrn from the Welch expedition, applied themſelves to the conſultation of methods for delivering the nation from the tyranny of Rome, which, through the oppreſſion and exactions of the nuncio was grown inſupportable.

The nobility beheld, with grief and indignation, the treaſure of the nation exported to gratify the pope's avarice and ambition; and perceiving that the clergy were always wrought into compliance by the artifice of the legates, determined to put a ſtop to ſuch ſcandalous impoſitions. Without waiting for the ſanction of the king, they of their own authority diſpatched a knight in their name to the nuncio, requiring him to leave the kingdom. When Martin aſked him by whoſe authority he brought ſo inſolent a meſſage, he replied, by that of the whole nation; informing him at the ſame time that if he ſhould, after three days, be found in England, he muſt expect to be hewn in pieces.

The nuncio complained to the king; but meeting with no redreſs demanded a paſſport, and departed immediately to the general ſatisfaction of the people. The pontiff, on his return, enraged at the inſult offered to himſelf in the perſon of his nuncio, broke out into the following exclamation; "I ſee plainly I muſt make peace with the emperor, in order to humble theſe petty princes; for the great dragon being once appeaſed, we ſhall find no difficulty in cruſhing thoſe leſſer ſerpents."

Before the barons ſent the above peremptory meſſage to Martin, they had diſpatched ambaſſadors to the general council at Lyons, where the pope preſided in perſon. The purport of their commiſſion contained a narrative of the oppreſſions, both civil and eccleſiaſtic, under which England had laboured from the Italians, whoſe benefices exceeded the ordinary revenue of the crown, and the inſolence and exactions of his nuncio.

This charge was boldly enforced by the ſecretary, William Poweric, who loudly diſclaimed the tribute that had been paid, and the ſubmiſſion that had been made to the ſee of Rome, as having been extorted from the clergy without conſent of the barons and great council of the nation. To this charge the pope evaſively replied, that theſe matters, being of infinite conſequence, required deliberation. But the ambaſſadors, not content with this anſwer, inſiſted on immediate ſatisfaction; and the pope continuing to prevaricate, they departed from the aſſembly, after ſolemnly proteſting againſt future payments of the ſhameful tribute, or any money out of the revenues of churches, to which laymen preſented.

His holineſs politically diſſembled his reſentment at theſe proceedings; but finding his intereſts decline in England, he ſent over a bull, requiring the prelates to confirm the charter of ſubmiſſion made by John to the ſee of Rome. The prelates complied with this inſolent demand, to the aſtoniſhment and concern of the whole kingdom, and even Henry himſelf, who ſolemnly ſwore, "That however ſcandalouſly the biſhops behaved, yet he would, while he had breath, ſupport the liberties of his people." This year the male line of the illuſtrious family of Strongbow became extinct, by the death of Anſelm, who ſucceeded his brother Walter, and enjoyed the honours only a few weeks.

A. D. 1246. Innocent determined to reſent the inſolence of the Engliſh ambaſſadors, and the refractory behaviour of Henry. With this view he endeavoured to perſuade the king of France to expel that prince from his dominions, or at leaſt compel him to ſubmit to the papal authority. But Lewis objected to that propoſal, alledging his affinity to Henry, and the dictates of common juſtice. He, in his turn, preſſed the pope to a reconciliation with the emperor, which the pontiff declined, and afterwards hired ruffians to aſſaſſinate Frederic.

The Engliſh nation was now highly exaſperated with the pope, who neverthelefs, deſpiſed their reſentment, and perſiſted in his actions. He demanded of the Engliſh prelates a number of knights to ſerve in the army of the church; and, by his ſole authority, granted the profits of all the vacant benefices within the province of Canterbury for one year, to archbiſhop Boniface. He levied ſix thouſand marks, aſſeſſed on the prelates by his nuncio, the twentieth part of all eccleſiaſtical revenues, according to a decree of the council of Lyons; one third of the income of all benefices, exceeding the yearly amount of one hundred marks; and a moiety of the prebends and livings of non-reſident canons and clergymen; exactions which, according to computation, amounted to eighty thouſand marks, a ſum thought equivalent to the whole ſpecie of the kingdom; and as this enormous ſum was to be extorted for three ſucceſſive years, it could not fail to involve the nation in the utmoſt diſtreſs. A parliament being ſummoned for the redreſs of public grievances, it was determined once more to renew their complaints to his holineſs. Accordingly, three letters of expoſtulation were diſpatched to the court of Rome, one by the king, one by the prelates, and the other by the barons; all which were committed to the charge of William de Poweric and Henry de la Mare, who had inſtructions to ſecond them with perſonal remonſtrances. But no means could check the arbitrary and rapacious career of Innocent, who proceeded with greater tyranny and deſpotiſm than ever. He claimed the perſonal eſtates of eccleſiaſtics who died inteſtate; all goods fraudulently acquired, provided the owner did not appear; all effects amaſſed by uſury, and all legacies granted for reſtitution and pious uſes; he appointed the Dominicans, on whom he had conferred privileges ſubverſive of all order and government, commiſſioners to levy theſe actions.

Henry had prohibited the levy of the ſix thouſand marks, and the payment of any talliage or contribution to the pope, till the return of the agents; but notwithſtanding this prohibition, it was collected by ſeveral biſhops, who were empowered by the pope to excommunicate all recuſants. At length the deputies returned; and, in a parliament held at Wincheſter, reported the ill ſucceſs of their negociation.

Innocent had treated them with contempt; and openly declared, that rather than relinquiſh the proſecution of his ſchemes, he would proceed to the ſame extremities with the king of England as he had done with the emperor.

The aſſembly, enraged at theſe menaces, perſuaded the king to renew the prohibition under the ſevereſt penalties; and this ſo incenſed the pope, that he immediately diſpatched orders to Canteloup, biſhop of Worceſter, to procure the payment of the contribution money to his nuncio at the new temple, on or before a certain day, on pain of ſuſpenſion and excommunication.

Henry at firſt ſeemed tenacious of the liberties of the nation; but was ſoon intimidated into a compliance by the menaces of this prelate and others, who threatened the kingdom with an interdict; eſpecially as his brother Richard had eſpouſed the intereſt of his holineſs, who had ſecured his aſſiſtance by a grant of money ariſing from the commutation of vows, made to engage in the cruſade.

Influenced, therefore, by theſe conſiderations, which were ſufficient to ſtagger the reſolution of a more courageous prince than Henry, he was obliged to ſubmit, and the people were delivered over as a prey to pontifical inſolence and rapacity. In vain did the abbots and clergy remonſtrate on theſe extortions in the enſuing parliament; for the ſpirit of the nation ſeemed to be wholly depreſſed by a popiſh faction, armed with the terrors of eccleſiaſtical cenſures, and abetted by the concurrence of the king's brother. The only reſource was, to repreſent, by new agents, the impoſſibility of the nation's ſuſtaining ſuch exorbitant burthens; but this repreſentation, as the former, was totally diſregarded.

A. D. 1247. The preſent poſture of Innocent's affairs, obliged him to abate ſomewhat of the rigour of his exactions, which he was deſirous of having attributed to his moderation.

The landgrave of Thuringia, in ſupport of whoſe pretenſions he had expended a great ſum, died of grief, occaſioned by the loſs of a pitched battle; but Innocent, enraged at the triumph of Frederic, determined to ſet up another competitor in the perſon of William, count of Holland.

In order to defray the expences of this new project, he ſent four legates into different countries to raiſe contributions; and diſpatched two Franciſcan Friars into England to aſk a ſupply for his holineſs, not authoritatively, but as mendicants.

Having by this diſſimulation obtained their point, they threw off the diſguiſe, and ſent circular letters to the biſhops, abbots, and monaſteries, demanding exorbitant ſums, which the prelates, however, refuſed to pay, without the conſent of parliament.

Incenſed at their refuſal, the pope ſent over Marino, one of his chaplains, to enforce the demand by legatine authority; from which the prelates, appealed both to the pope and parliament; but meeting with no redreſs, were obliged to compound for a large ſum of money.

A. D. 1248. Henry's prodigality to foreigners had ſo reduced the ſtate of his finances, that he was obliged to renew his application to parliament, which met at Weſtminſter in the month of February; but when he demanded a ſubſidy, the barons upbraided him with profuſion to foreigners, and want of œconomy, and abſolutely refuſed to comply with his demand. They complained of his retaining vacant benefices, diſcouraging commerce, by loading it with heavy duties, and conferring the higheſt poſts of the kingdom on unworthy perſons. They therefore inſiſted on the demands they had made in a former ſeſſion, relative to the nomination of chancellor and juſticiary; and the king, finding his deſign impracticable, prorogued the aſſembly, in order to prepare himſelf againſt their next meeting.

During this interval he ſuffered himſelf to be wrought on by the inſinuations of his foreign favourites, at whoſe inſtigation he again attempted to intimidate the parliament. At the next aſſembly he enveighed againſt their inſolence, in daring to impoſe laws upon him to which they themſelves would never ſubmit; he obſerved, that every maſter of a private family choſe his own confidants and counſellors, and retained or diſmiſſed his domeſtics at pleaſure; while he, though a king, was treated as a ſlave by his own ſubjects; declaring, at the ſame time, that inſtead of changing his meaſures in conformity with their capricious humours, he was determined to rule in his own kingdom, and teach them their duty of obedience.

However, he promiſed to redreſs their grievances in general terms; and concluded with demanding an immediate ſubſidy, to enable him, at the end of the truce, to recover his lawful rights on the continent. The barons replied, with great compoſure, that as he was not diſpoſed to reform his conduct, they would not impoveriſh themſelves, to gratify the pride and avarice of foreigners, under the notion of imaginary conqueſts.

This reply defeating every view of Henry from that quarter, he diſmiſſed the aſſembly, leſt they ſhould reſolve on meaſures ſtill more diſagreeable. His coffers being now wholly exhauſted, he was obliged to ſell his plate and jewels, which were immediately purchaſed by the citizens of London, to the great mortification of the king, with whoſe demands they had generally refuſed to comply. As an inſtance of his reſentment, he inſtituted a new fair at Weſtminſter, during which he prohibited all trade in London; and inſtead of regarding the remonſtrances of the citizens on this ſubject, paſſed the Chriſtmas holidays in their city, and exacted from them an exorbitant new year's gift; nor was he ſatisfied with this impoſition, for he ſoon after extorted another preſent of two thouſand pounds ſterling.

A.D. 1249. The pernicious practice of cruſading ſtill prevailed in Europe. Lewis, king of France, was now acquiring great renown againſt the Saracens; but the pope, though patron of all cruſaders, found means to ſacrifice that prince, with all his army, to his own private revenge and reſentment.

This prince, in conjunction with Frederick, emperor of Germany, was eſteemed by the Pontiff a more dangerous enemy than either the Turk or Saracen; he therefore publiſhed a cruſade againſt the emperor, adding the ſame promiſes, pains, and penalties, as were commonly annexed to cruſades againſt the infidels.

This at once diſconcerted the ſchemes of Lewis; but many of the Engliſh nobility, diſſatisfied with their ſituation in their own country, diſdaining to ſerve againſt a chriſtian prince, took the croſs, and repaired to Lewis. This proceeding was equally diſagreeable to the pope and Henry, the latter of whom determined, therefore, to aſſume the croſs.

This cruſade ſeems to have been formed againſt the emperor; for the pope denounced his anathema againſt all the Engliſh nobility who refuſed to follow their own prince; and at the ſame time bulls were ſent from Rome, to ſtop thoſe who were preparing to join Lewis. But Henry had another motive for aſſuming the croſs; he conſidered it as the beſt expedient for paying his debts, as it would furniſh him with a pretence for aſking a ſubſidy from parliament for the purpoſes of the expedition.

The king's example was followed by five hundred knights, many of whom had diſpoſed of their eſtates to defray the expences of their voyage; but as the king was not in a condition to perform his vow, they were obliged to wait his departure.

While the expedition was deferred, Henry found himſelf involved in freſh difficulties. The army of French cruſaders having been defeated, and Lewis himſelf, with his two brothers, taken priſoners; the French, irritated with this reverſe of fortune, violently inveighed againſt the pope, as the author of this fatal event, in prohibiting the Engliſh from following Lewis, as ſo ſtrong a reinforcement would have rendered his army victorious.

A. D. 1251. Henry de Bathe, who was now high juſticiary, by a narrow, avaricious conduct, had acquired an immenſe fortune. This determined Henry to liſten to any accuſation againſt ſo wealthy a ſubject, that might infer treaſon and forfeiture of eſtate. Accordingly, the juſticiary being charged both with infidelity in his office, and treaſon, the cauſe was brought before the parliament, who acquitted him of both accuſations; but he was obliged to pay a very conſiderable ſum, before he could reinſtate himſelf in his Majeſty's favour.]

Philip Lovel was ſeverely fined, on an accuſation of bribery from the Jews, from whom he had collected the talliage. In ſhort, every expedient was practiſed for raiſing money to ſupply the demands of an indigent king. The circumſtances of the Engliſh, notwithſtanding the exactions of papal and royal authority, were far ſuperior to thoſe of the other powers of Europe; the former having carried on a large and extenſive trade, while the latter were rent by domeſtic broils, or mad, ſuperſtitious, and unavailing cruſades. The city of London this year, in conſideration of five hundred marks, obtained the privilege of having her mayor ſworn before the barons of the Exchequer, and not before the king in perſon. Henry alſo granted them a renewed confirmation of their rights and privileges; and the citizens in return, ſwore an allegiance to prince Edward.

The nation alſo received ſome compenſation for its late expences by the reduction of part of Wales, and the payment of eleven hundred marks by Alen de la Touch, for the government of the parts reduced. Henry, being apprehenſive of a war with Alexander, king of Scotland, who had ſecured ſeveral places on the borders of England, aſſembled a numerous army, and immediately began his march towards the north; but before the commencement of hoſtilities, an embaſſy arrived with propoſals for an accomodation.

Theſe were readily accepted, and a match concluded, between Margaret, daughter of Henry, and young Alexander, who repaired to York, on a viſit to the Engliſh monarch, by whom he was knighted. The following day the marriage ceremony was performed with great ſolemnity in the preſence of Henry, and the queen mother of Scotland, attended by the chief nobility of both kingdoms. Alexander received a bond for five thouſand marks, as the portion of his wife, with whom he returned to his own country.

A. D. 1252. The tranquillity of England being thus ſecured, Henry applied his whole attention to the cruſade he had undertaken, fixing the time of his departure at Midſummer. He therefore convened all the prelates at Weſtminſter, and produced the pope's bull, enjoining them to pay a tenth of their revenue; but the prelates refuſed compliance, alledging, that they would not proceed to any determination without the two archbiſhops, who were then abſent. The pope, to prevent further delay, and puniſh the refractory behaviour of the clergy, furniſhed Henry with freſh bulls, granting him a twentieth of all eccleſiaſtical revenues, a tenth of all the lands belonging to the prelates, the cruſade commutation money, and the profits ariſing from ſtolen goods, uſury, and legacies for charitable uſes; at the ſame time he took the king and his dominions under his immediate protection.

Beſides the amount of theſe exactions, Henry laid a talliage on all the royal demeſnes; nor were even the late conqueſts in Wales exempted from impoſition. Having thus raiſed a ſufficient ſum, the king haſtened the preparations for his voyage, which was delayed by ſome diſturbances in Gaſcony; deputies arriving from that province complaining of the tyrannical government of the earl of Leiceſter. The earl, however, was continued in his office; and ſoon after, by his implacable fury and revenge he involved the province in a civil war, and then retired into France.

A. D. 1253.

Henry therefore called a parliament at Weſtminſter, where he laid before them the ſtate of Gaſcony, and repreſented the neceſſity of vigorous meaſures in order to recover that province. After long debates the barons agreed to the ſcutage, and the prelates granted the tenths of their revenues, according to the pope's bull, which they had before rejected. But they objected to the king's over-ruling the election of biſhops and abbots, contrary to the firſt article of Magna Charta, and inſiſted on the redreſs of thoſe grievances.

The king acknowledged the juſtice of the complaint, and confeſſed, that on ſome occaſions he had extended the royal prerogative too far; that he determined a reverſion of conduct, and the moſt punctual obſervance of the charters. Accordingly, he aſſembled the lords ſpiritual and temporal, in Weſtminſter-hall, where every individual appeared with a lighted taper in his hand, the king himſelf ſtanding with his hand upon his breaſt, as a token of his ſincerity. Then the archbiſhop of Canterbury denounced a dreadful anathema againſt all thoſe, who ſhould directly or indirectly, oppoſe the execution of the charters, or violate, diminiſh, or alter, the laws and conſtitution of the kingdom.

This execration being denounced, the two charters were read with an audible voice, and confirmed by his majeſty, when each nobleman daſhed his taper on the ground, ſaying, "ſo let them be extinguiſhed and ſink in hell, who ſhall infringe the charters." But notwithſtanding the ſolemnity of this declaration the parliament was no ſooner diſſolved, than the king endeavoured to free himſelf from the ſalutary reſtraints, to which he had ſo voluntarily ſubmitted.

A. D. 1254.

Henry now proceeded to Guienne, where, dreading the ſuperior conduct and capacity of Alphonſo, king of Caſtile, he effected an accommodation with that monarch; at which time a marriage was concluded between prince Edward, and Eleanor, half ſiſter to Alphonſo. The revolters of Gaſcony likewiſe ſubmitted, and tranquillity was reſtored to that province.

About the ſame period Lewis returned from Paleſtine, having purchaſed his liberty by the ſurrender of Damietta, which he had taken. Henry, on his return, made a magnificent entry into London, from the citizens of which he received a preſent of one hundred pounds, and a maſſy piece of plate, of excellent workmanſhip.

A. D. 1255.

During the late expedition, the king had contracted a heavy debt, which was increaſed by an imprudent contract with pope Innocent, for the crown of Sicily, in favour of his ſecond ſon Edmund. In conſequence of which, he ſupplied the pontiff with all the money in his exchequer, as well as what he could extort from the Jews, who were grievouſly oppreſſed.

Soon after Innocent reſigned his breath, and was ſucceeded in the papal chair by Alexander IV. who, adopting the meaſures of his predeceſſors, gratified Edmund with the inveſtiture of the kingdom of Sicily, which was performed by the biſhop of Bologna, ſent over to England for that purpoſe. While the biſhop was on his way, Alexander's forces were defeated at Nocera by Monfroy, who by this victory, made himſelf maſter of Apulia, and was crowned king of the two Sicilies at Palermo. Though the biſhop was apprized of this unfortunate event, he concealed it from Henry, who ordered the ceremony of the inveſtiture to be performed with great magnificence, and vainly expected to exact a ſupply from his people, for the ſupport of this new dignity.

The parliament promiſed to grant the ſubſidy, on condition of the punctual obſervance of the two charters, and the right of appointing the lord high treaſurer, independent of the king's authority; but theſe conditions Henry rejected, and therefore prorogued the parliament.

In the mean time, Henry found his finances to be very inadequate to the debts he had contracted with the pope for the inveſtiture of the kingdom of Sicily. This debt, according to the pope's account, amounted to thirty-five thouſand five hundred marks of ſilver, beſides intereſt. In order to raiſe this ſum, the moſt iniquitous and oppreſſive meaſures were concerted by the pontiff and king, that ever ſtained the page of hiſtory.

A number of fictitous bills were forwarded, owning the receipt of particular ſums of money, from certain merchants of Sienne and Florence; theſe the pope propoſed the Engliſh clergy ſhould ſubſcribe, for ſums proportioned to the benefices of each individual.

In order to execute this villainous project, Ruſtan, the pope's legate, aſſembled the clergy, and imparted to them the demand of his holineſs; but the prelates diſcovered a noble ſpirit of independence, and the biſhop of London, in particular, declared, that he would rather loſe his head, than ſubmit to ſuch tyranny and oppreſſion. He was ſeconded by the biſhop of Worceſter, and the aſſembly unanimouſly declared that the clergy of England diſdained popiſh ſlavery.

The nuncio complained to Henry of the refractory behaviour of the clergy, which he imputed to the inſtigation of the biſhop of London. Henry reprimanded the biſhop, aſſuring him that he ſhould feel the effects of his reſentment. The biſhop nobly replied, that he acknowledged the ſupremacy of the king and pope, but if they deprived him of his mitre, he would ſupply its place with a helmet.

A. D. 1256.

Failing in this project, the pope propoſed another expedient, which he determined to carry into execution. He inſiſted on their paying the bills, according to the firſt calculations; but agreed to indulge them with the deduction of thoſe ſums from the tythes, which might in the ſequel, be granted to his majeſty, and with this deciſion, the clergy were at length obliged to acquieſce.

The king, during theſe diſputes between the pope and clergy, endeavoured to obtain from the barons the ſubſidy he had demanded, for placing Edmund upon the throne of Sicily; and the archbiſhop of Meſſina arrived from the pope, to enforce the inſtances of Henry with the parliament. But the eagerneſs of the pope defeated the purpoſe it was intended to promote; for the barons perceiving that the ſubſidy was to paſs through the hands of Alexander, whoſe integrity they much doubted, refuſed compliance, alledging the danger of the enterprize, and impoveriſhed ſtate of the kingdom. Again repulſed, the king renewed his application to the clergy, and with the aſſiſtance of the pope, extorted from them a continuance of the tythes, which were at firſt granted for three years only.

He likewiſe continued his exactions on the citizens of London, and other corporations of the kingdom, and even extended his acts of oppreſſion to to the Welch, whom as they were become his vaſſals, he conſidered as his ſubjects, and fleeced accordingly. But the Welch barons, who retained their ancient, free and independent ſpirit, refuſed the demands both of himſelf and the pope, and boldly declared, they would never be brought tamely to ſubmit to extortion and oppreſſion, but by dint of arms.

A. D. 1257. At this time many unfavourable circumſtances concurred to impoveriſh the nation. The emperor of Germany, and king of the Romans, being killed in a ſkirmiſh with the Friſons, the princes of the empire were divided in their choice of a ſucceſſor to that dignity; the majority, voted in favour of Richard, earl of Cornwal, and the reſt eſpouſed the intereſt of Alphonſo, king of Caſtile. The election of Richard, was very diſpleaſing to the king of France, ſituated between the two powers of England and Germany, which might unite, in order to recover the dominions belonging to their anceſtors.

Actuated by theſe conſiderations, Lewis fortified his frontiers and endeavoured to intercept the earl of Glouceſter, and John Manſel, provoſt of Beverly, whom Richard had ſent into Germany, to examine the ſtate of the country and genius of the people, before he ventured his perſon among them.

Richard having received a favourable account from his agents in Germany, and raiſed an immenſe ſum of money, embarked with a very ſplendid retinue at Yarmouth, and was, ſoon after his arrival at Aix-la-Chapelle, crowned king of the Romans, by Conrade, archbiſhop of Cologne. To add to the calamities under which the Engliſh now laboured, a war broke out with the Welch, and was carried on with as mnch ſpirit and reſolution by the latter, as negligence and miſconduct by the former.

The ancient Britons, alarmed at an attempt to introduce the Engliſh laws and cuſtoms into the conquered diſtricts, flew to their arms, and under the conduct of prince Llewellin, made ſeveral inroads into the Engliſh territories. The king irritated at the proſpect of loſing the only conqueſts he ever made, ſummoned his barons, and military tenants of the north, to attend him at Cheſter, and appointed thoſe of the weſtern counties, to rendezvous at Briſtol, intending to divide the forces of the enemy, by attacking them at once in different quarters.

At the ſame time he ordered a body of troops from Ireland, to land upon the iſland of Angleſey, in order to deprive the Welch of all ſupplies, which they might receive from thence. Theſe precautions being taken, the king entered North Wales with his army, and advancing to Gannock, continued there inactive till Michaelmas, in expectation of the forces from Ireland; while the weſtern diviſion, appointed to make a diverſion into South Wales, delayed the execution of their orders, on account of the abſence of their general, Richard de Clare, earl of Glouceſter, who was ſuſpected of holding a correſpondence with Llewellin; ſo that Henry, incapable of performing any action of importance, was obliged to return, after an inglorious campaign, for defraying the expence of which, he had levied a very conſiderable ſcutage.

Soon after Ruſtan, the pope's legate, arrived in England, with orders to excommunicate the king, unleſs he immediately undertook the projected conqueſt of Sicily; and Henry, incapable of ſuch an enterprize, diſpatched an embaſſy to Rome, in the name of his ſon Edmund, renouncing all claim to the crown of Sicily.

But the pope, deeming this renunciation inſufficient to accompliſh his deſigns, appointed a new nuncio, called Arlot, to mitigate the convention in favour of Henry, and incite him to impoſe farther exactions on the clergy. For this purpoſe the nuncio publiſhed a new bull, enjoining the prelates to pay the tythes granted to the king, on pain of excommunication, notwithſtanding all oppoſitions, appeals, or exemptions. Such a perſeverance in extortion, could not fail of exciting the reſentment of any people, who retained the leaſt ſenſe of injury or independence.

The clergy groaned under theſe intolerable burdens; the people, driven to deſpair by poverty and diſtreſs, burſt into general exclamations againſt the eternal impoſitions which exhauſted the wealth of the nation; and the nobility not only reſented the inſolence, avarice, and tyranny of the pope, but were incenſed at the weakneſs and partiality of the king, who had conferred on foreigners thoſe poſts which they had an undoubted right to enjoy.

A ſpirit of diſcontent generally prevailed, and the people began to deliberate on meaſures more ſevere than ever, in order to redreſs their grievances: their firſt reſolution being to expel the foreign counſellors, as the beſt expedient towards a reformation of the miniſtry. An opportunity for putting this deſign into execution ſoon offered; for Henry convoking a parliament, and, according to cuſtom, demanding a ſubſidy for carrying on the conqueſt of Sicily, inſtead of complying with his demand, they bitterly inveighed againſt his breach of promiſe, and all the abuſes of government. Notwithſtanding his endeavours to allay the reſentment, by an affectation of candour and ſincerity, they plainly declared their non-reliance on his word, and reſolution to rectify the abuſes of his government ſo effectually, as to obviate all future fears from his inconſtancy.

Alarmed at this peremptory declaration, he promiſed his hearty concurrence in every meaſure that tended to the intereſt of the nation; and even granted a writing, ſubſcribed by his own hand, by which he conſented to the nomination of four and twenty noblemen, choſen by himſelf, and the parliament to draw up the articles of reformation; and as a further proof of his ſincerity, ordered his ſon Edward to ſign the obligation.

Fear was the only motive of Henry's behaviour on this occaſion; for he perceived a confederacy formed againſt him by the moſt powerful nobility of the realm, ſome of whom were governed by private animoſity to his perſon, and others actuated by a deſire of retrenching the prerogatives of the crown.

On the third day of the ſeſſion they all appeared in the houſe, arrayed in armour, the ſight of which ſo much alarmed the king, that he aſked, if he was a priſoner: Roger Bigod replied in the negative; but at the ſame time declared their reſolution to expel all foreigners, and rectify the diſorders of the ſtate. This appearance and declaration terrified him into compliance with their propoſal; the execution of which was deferred till the next meeting, which the king appointed at Oxford.

A. D. 1258. During this interval the barons, diffident of his moſt ſolemn proteſtations, levied a body of forces, and at the time appointed repaired to Oxford, well armed and attended, and fully reſolved to execute their deſign. Having choſen the council of four and twenty, Simon de Mont was placed at the head of the twelve, elected by the barons.

The commiſſioners then began to deliberate on the ſubject of their meeting, and in a ſhort time the following articles were agreed to: That the king ſhould confirm the great charter he had ſo often ſworn to obſerve; that the office of high juſticiary ſhould be conferred on a perſon of talents and integrity; that the chancellor, treaſurer, judges, and other miniſters of ſtate, ſhould be choſen annually by the council of four and twenty; and that the parliament ſhould be aſſembled three times in the year, to enact laws for the benefit of the kingdoms.

Theſe articles being approved by parliament, were confirmed by the aſſent of the king, and called the *Statutes* or *Proviſions of Oxford.* But theſe ſalutary conſtitutions were warmly oppoſed, as the court party, even among the moſt powerful barons was very ſtrong, conſiſting of Henry, eldeſt ſon of Richard, king of the Romans; the earl of Warrenne, Amerde Valence, biſhop elect of Wincheſter, Geoffrey de Luſignan, and William de Valence.

The article enjoining the ſurrender of their caſtles, which was now inſerted in the ſtatutes, greatly affected theſe foreigners; as it inevitably ſubjected them to the reſentment of the Engliſh, who had been long exaſperated by their inſolence.

They hoped a mitigation of affairs might be effected; but the violent ſpirit of the Engliſh bore down all oppoſition; and ſeveral, who at firſt inclined to the king's party, were now encouraged to declare for the other, ſo that there was a conſiderable majority againſt the court. William de Valence put himſelf at the head of the royal party, while Simon de Montford, by virtue of election, acted for the other; both of them foreigners, both of them men of ſtrong paſſions, great parts, and greater ambition.

In this debate, Valence, in the name of his party, declared for the reſervation of his caſtles and his wardſhips; to which Montford replied, that he ſhould either reſign them, or loſe his head. The earl of Warrenne objected to articles ſo derogatory to the king's prerogative; and Henry, ſon of Richard, king of the Romans, proteſted againſt them, or any articles, that ſhould be made in the abſence of his father.

The earl of Leiceſter, ſtill inſolent and impetuous, informed the young prince, that his father's refuſal of compliance with the ſalutary meaſures of the barons, would be attended with the loſs of every foot of land he poſſeſſed in England. Hence the court party, perceiving the prevalence of their opponents, determined to ſeek their ſafety in flight, and agreed to rendezvous at Wincheſter, where they took refuge in the caſtle of Wolveſham.

The barons, apprized of their flight, flew to their arms, and purſued them to that city, where, without any formal adjournment, they reſumed their deliberations, and cloſed the buſineſs of the ſeſſion. As they could not, without violating the privileges of the church, attack the caſtle to which they had retired, they had recourſe to negociation, propoſing they ſhould quit the kingdom, and ſtay abroad till the abuſes of government ſhould be reformed; when the king ſhould be at liberty, with conſent of council, to permit their return. To this they readily conſented; and after having been ſtripped of about ſeven thouſand marks in ready money, were ſupplied with a ſafe conduct, and embarked at Dover for the continent.

The Engliſh barons alſo ſeized the ſums of money they had depoſited in ſeveral religious houſes, confiſcated their lands, and ſent agents to Rome to juſtify their own conduct. The barons having thus expelled the foreigners, bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath to maintain the ſtatutes of Oxford at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, and invited the citizens of London to join in their aſſociation; a propoſal which the Londoners readily embraced.

Simon de Montford, the king's brother-in-law, was ſtill the moſt violent of the anti-courtiers, and therefore conſidered by his majeſty as the principal cauſe of his preſent misfortunes. But notwithſtanding the danger of Henry's ſituation, he could not avoid declaring his ſentiments on that ſubject.

As he was one day going by water to the Tower, he was overtaken by a ſudden ſtorm, on which he ordered himſelf to be rowed aſhore immediately. He was received on landing by the earl of Leiceſter, who finding him in great perturbation at the danger he had juſt eſcaped, "Why ſhould your majeſty," ſaid Montford, "be afraid, ſince the ſtorm is over?" Henry replied, with a ſerious look, "Montford, I own I am greatly afraid of thunder and lightning; but by the head of God, I fear thee more than all the thunder and lightning in nature."

In the mean time the great intereſt of the king of the Romans would not ſuffer him tacitly to obſerve the fundamental alteratiion in the Engliſh conſtitution. He therefore declared his intentions of viſiting that kingdom, and loudly diſclaimed the conduct of the barons. Had not Henry been greatly depreſſed by the power of his own ſubjects, the reſentment of this prince might have recovered his authority; for the parliament, hearing of his intentions, and dreading the effects, not only of his intereſt, but their own diviſions, if he landed as a foe in the kingdom, they entered into ſerious deliberations how to divert him from his purpoſe. The biſhop of Wincheſter and others were ordered to treat with him, and gain what intelligence they could relative to his journey, and his continuance in England. They were alſo directed, at all events to declare, that he could not be admitted into the kingdom, without previouſly conforming to the new model of government, and taking an oath to that effect.

The king of the Romans, incenſed at theſe propoſals, ſwore by the throat of God he would never comply with them. But receiving advice that every meaſure was taken in England to prevent his landing, and that therefore all oppoſition would at preſent be vain, he complied with the barons demands, and made preparations for his journey.

A. D. 1259.

On the twenty-ſeventh of January he landed at Dover, and there took the oath, in preſence of the king, and a great number of barons aſſembled for his reception.

Having thus ſecured the king of the Romans, their next care was to eſtabliſh a ſolid peace with the king of France, whoſe countenance and ſupport might counterbalance any efforts made by the king and his friends for retrieving the prerogative, and Montford undertook to conduct the negociation. Accordingly that nobleman repaired to France; and in order to facilitate the deſign, propoſed to ſacrifice all Henry's rights to Normandy and Anjou.

Such a propoſal could not but be agreeable to Lewis, who readily agreed to the terms, and concluded a treaty, which Henry was obliged to ſign. That weak puſillanimous prince was compelled to viſit the French king at Abbeville, where, in an aſſembly of the ſtates of France, he diſclaimed all title to Normandy and Anjou; while Lewis ceded in his favour all the Limouſin and Perigord, together with all that he poſſeſſed on the other ſide the Garonne, on condition of his ſubmitting to do homage, and ſitting among the peers of France as duke of Guienne.

During Henry's abſence, the four and twenty governors of England effectually removed an abuſe of the court of Rome, of which the nation had long complained. All the beſt benefices in the kingdom were enjoyed by Italian prieſts, who, without reſiding on the ſpot, farmed their livings to the higheſt bidder. A proclamation was therefore iſſued, ordering all perſons who farmed benefices of foreigners, to depoſit the rents in the hands of certain receivers appointed for that purpoſe, on pain of having their houſes razed to the foundation.

A. D. 1260.

For ſome time the barons had acted with unanimity; but now many of them were offended at the great authority aſſumed by the earl of Leiceſter, who began to exerciſe a kind of ſovereign power over the four and twenty;

and the earl of Glouceſter endeavoured to form a party, to check his towering ambition. In order to this, he began to diſparage his conduct in private, by inſinuating, that he had entered into a negociation with prince Edward, whom he intended to raiſe to the Engliſh throne, even during the life of his father.

Henry, informed of this report while at St. Omer's, was ſo terrified, that he reſolved not to return to England, perſuaded that either his life or liberty would be in danger. But the young prince, hearing of his ſuſpicions, proved his own innocence as to the ſubject of the report, and thereby wholly removed his father's doubts and fears. Failing in this attempt, Glouceſter openly attacked Leiceſter; but finding that nobleman's intereſt too powerful to hope for ſucceſs, he prudently dropped the proſecution.

Theſe diſſentions furthered the deſigns of Henry, as they weakened the ſtrength of the barons. But his hopes were principally encouraged by the ſpirit of the common people and free tenants, who complained that the yoke of the barons was more grievous than that of the king, before the pretended reformation.

The king therefore determined to embrace the firſt opportunity of freeing himſelf from the ſtatutes of Oxford. In order to this he ſolicited of the pope, abſolution from the oath he had taken to obſerve the ſtatutes of Oxford. The pontiff readily granted the requeſt; but dying before the diſpenſation could be expedited, he was obliged to wait till the papal chair was filled by his ſucceſſor, Urban IV. who made no difficulty in complying with his demand.

Having obtained this diſpenſation, Henry determined to throw off the diſguiſe; and accordingly repaired to the parliament and declared, that as they had not complied with their promiſe made to him on his ſigning the ſtatutes of Oxford, he thought himſelf abſolved from the oath he had there taken; adding, that he would no longer ſuffer counſellors to be impoſed upon him, but was determined to aſſert the dignity of his prerogative. He then retired to the Tower, which he had previouſly ſecured, ſeized on all the money in the Mint, and publiſhed a proclamation, diſcarding the officers appointed by the four and twenty, and nominating others in their room. In ſhort, ſo vigorous and reſolute was his conduct, that he ſeemed determined to retrieve his independence.

Prince Edward, then reſident at Paris, on advice of theſe tranſactions returned to England, in order to prevent the dreadful conſequences of a civil war. Henry was confounded when he heard that his ſon was much diſpleaſed with his violating his oath; and his aſtoniſhment was not a little excited, when he underſtood, that unleſs he would voluntarily remove from his perſon the counſellors who adviſed him to oppoſe the parliament, they would effect that removal by compulſion.

Alarmed at this intelligence, the king relapſed into his uſual perplexity and irreſolution, not being able to determine what courſe was moſt proper to take for his ſecurity, took no notice of the meſſage, but remained in the Tower, apprehending that his perſon would not otherwiſe be ſafe.

A. D. 1262.

As the nation was alarmed with the daily apprehenſion of a civil war, the king of the Romans offered his mediation, which being accepted, he prevailed on his brother, to confirm the ſtatutes of Oxford; and, on the other hand, perſuaded the barons to relax in thoſe articles which were moſt diſagreeable to the king. The earl of Leiceſter, ſtill refractory, proteſted againſt the peace, and retired immediately to France.

This treaty ſeemed to portend the reſtoration of tranquillity; but the embers of diſcord ſtill glowed under the vail of peace, and ſoon burſt into a violent flame. After the ratification of the agreement, the king paſſed over to the continent to regulate the affairs of Guienne, and was ſeized with a dangerous diſorder at Bourdeaux, which detained him much longer than he intended.

During his abſence, Richard, earl of Glouceſter, died, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Gilbert. Leiceſter being now delivered from a powerful rival, renewed his cabals, and returned to England, where his preſence re-animated the barons, who had ſubſcribed the articles contrary to their inclinations.

The king, informed of theſe proceedings, embarked immediately for England, in order to anticipate the deſigns of the confederate barons; but before his arrival they had concerted meaſures for ſecuring themſelves from the effects of his inconſtancy. Accordingly on his arrival they preſented an addreſs, inſiſting on the confirmation of the Oxford ſtatutes, according to a late agreement, and threatening to uſe compulſive means in caſe of refuſal.

This peremptory language was dictated by the furious Leiceſter, in order to terrify the king into an immediate compliance with their demands. But his deſign in this was defeated; for the king, in his anſwer treated the malecontent barons as rebels, and threatened them with the ſevereſt penalties.

During his reſidence on the continent, Henry had engaged in his intereſt both the king of the Romans and prince Edward; the latter of whom, under pretence of aſſiſting at a tournament at Paris, had levied ſome foreign troops, and was leading them againſt Llewellin, prince of Wales, who renewed his incurſions into the Engliſh territories.

A. D. 1263.

Edward, having repulſed the Welch, and reinforced the caſtle of Gannock, and other fortreſſes, returned to London; but being deſtitute of money to pay his forces, marched at the head of a ſtrong detachment to the houſe of the Templars, where he ſeized a conſiderable ſum of money, the property of the citizens, who had lodged it there as in a place of ſecurity.

This act of violence excited an univerſal clamour among the inhabitants; but the prince, regardleſs of their complaints, ordered it to be lodged in the caſtle of Windſor, which they did not think proper to beſiege.

The people, thus irritated, Leiceſter convened the barons at Oxford, where they unanimouſly reſolved to maintain the ſtatutes at the hazard of their lives, and choſe the earl for their general. Having raiſed a conſiderable body of forces, they ravaged the lands belonging to the royal party, and committed the moſt dreadful outrages where they met with the leaſt oppoſition.

The cities of Glouceſter and Worceſter ſubmitted to the earl of Leiceſter, who advanced about Midſummer towards London, with the royal ſtandard flying before him. Henry was now in the moſt deplorable circumſtances, deſtitute both of money and friends; and the city of London had declared for the barons, under the influence of the mayor, who was a firm adherent to Leiceſter.

The populace now formed themſelves into parties, determined to perſecute all foreigners; and prince Edward retired, with his French knights to Windſor, where he endeavoured to collect an army, in order to take the field againſt the barons.

The queen, diffident of her ſecurity in the Tower, attempted to follow her ſon by water; but as ſhe approached London-bridge, was inſulted in the moſt brutal manner by the populace, who, not content with reviling her in the moſt opprobrious terms, endeavoured to ſink her barge, by throwing down ſtones, as the rowers endeavoured to paſs through one of the arches; ſo that ſhe was obliged to return to the Tower, which ſhe reached with great danger and difficulty, and was thence conveyed by night to the palace of the biſhop of London, at St. Paul's, as a place of ſanctuary. The wealthy citizens were equally expoſed to the violence of the mob, who under pretence of ſearching for foreigners, broke open houſes, and plundered friends and foes, without diſtinction.

The king of the Romans, declaring for neither party, interpoſed his good offices to prevent the effuſion of human blood, and a negociation was ſet on foot, under the biſhops of London, Worceſter, and Lincoln, John de Arlington, and William de Wilton.

In the mean time the earl of Leiceſter engaged the cinque ports in his intereſt, and then advanced with his army towards London; when the king, dreading the conſequences of a ſiege, agreed to ſuch terms as the revolters thought proper to impoſe, and a treaty was concluded, importing, That the fortified places in the kingdom ſhould be put into the hands of the barons; that the ſtatutes of Oxford ſhould be inviolably obſerved; that all foreigners ſhould be baniſhed the kingdom, except ſuch as might be permitted to ſtay by the unanimous conſent of the barons; and that none but natural-born ſubjects, approved by the barons, ſhould be concerned in the adminiſtration of public affairs.

Thus the barons, elated by their ſucceſs, exceeded all bounds of moderation, and carried matters to the utmoſt extremity. A parliament was held about the middle of September, in which the ſtatutes of Oxford were confirmed, and the ſtate foreigners, either impriſoned or beneficed, taken into conſideration.

Boniface, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was then at Bologne, as being a foreigner, and was not only ſoliciting the concurrence of the court of France againſt the barons, but had excommunicated the two ſons of the earl of Leiceſter, a ſon of the earl of Hereford, and many other barons, who had annoyed eccleſiaſtical perſons.

Theſe proceedings induced the parliament to act with more moderation. The biſhop of Hereford, and Matthias de Bezile, governor of Glouceſter, were ſet at liberty, and the eccleſiaſtical depredations ordered to be made good. But the court of France, having now undertaken to act as umpire between the king and the earl of Leiceſter, the earl was accordingly ſummoned to appear before the French parliament, then held at Bologne, to which he, and Henry with his queen, repaired at the ſame time.

Lewis, at firſt, remonſtrated with great moderation, and exhorted the earl to leave his factious practices; but Montford anſwered, that though in obedience to his ſummons, he had attended the parliament, yet he did not apprehend, that what he and his peers had done were cognizable in a French court. Lewis finding him thus reſolute, was obliged to diſmiſs him, and he immediately returned to England, whither he was followed by Henry, whoſe queen thought it moſt expedient to remain at the court of France.

A parliament was held ſoon after Henry's return from France, wherein he propoſed terms of accommodation, which appeared equitable to all the diſintereſted part of the aſſembly; but being rejected by Leiceſter and his party, the major part plainly perceived that their conduct was actuated by factious motives.

Prince Henry, the Earl-mareſchal, John Baſſet, and ſeveral other noblemen, thought it inconſiſtent with their honour to remain any longer with Montford, and therefore joined prince Edward, determined to curb the inſolence of that faction, the fatal tendency of which was ſo amply evinced.

Their firſt united effort, was the ſurpriſal of Windſor caſtle, whither Henry immediately repairing, it was made the rendezvous of the royal party, and the garriſon reinforced by the king of the Romans, and earl of Warrenne.

From Windſor they repaired to Dover, in order to ſecure that important fortreſs, which was ſtill in the hands of the barons; but the governor refuſing them admittance, they viſited the other cinque ports, and having received the homage of their barons, returned to London, about the beginning of December.

Prince Edward was then at Merton, watching the motions of the earl of Leiceſter, who had raiſed troops for the relief of Dover, if it ſhould be inveſted, and remained in poſſeſſion of London; where Henry had now a conſiderable party. Montford's troops were quartered about Southwark, and the adjacent places, but both parties remained inactive till Henry having joined his forces with thoſe of his ſon, found himſelf more powerful than Leiceſter, who, relying on his intereſt with the Londoners, thought himſelf ſecure. But one John de Giſors, a Norman, and partizan of Henry, found means to ſecure the key of the bridge-gate, while the earl was vigorouſly attacked in the front, by the ſuperior forces of Prince Edward.

Being repulſed, he found the bridge ſhut, and thoſe within unable or unwilling to give him relief; he was therefore preparing to make the beſt defence he could, when the common people of the city, who were his chief friends, iſſued in ſuch multitudes to his aſſiſtance, that they forced the gates of the bridge, ſo that the prince was obliged to retire, and pitch his tents in Lambeth-fields. A deciſive action was now daily expected, when by the interpoſition of the humane and moderate of both parties, a truce was concluded, and the diſpute left to the arbitration of the French king, the reference of which was confirmed by the oaths of the king, barons, and all the principal perſons concerned in the quarrel.

A. D. 1264.

Lewis, having heard the cauſe in an aſſembly of the ſtates at Amiens, decreed, that the ſtatutes of Oxford ſhould be annulled; that the king ſhould recover all his rights and prerogatives, and have the liberty of nominating all the great officers of ſtate, and that foreigners ſhould be deemed capable of holding poſts and dignities, as well as the Engliſh; but added a clauſe, importing, that his award ſhould have no effect to invalidate the privileges granted to the Engliſh before the parliament of Oxford.

The latter clauſe being conſidered by the barons as a manifeſt contradiction, the ſtatutes of Oxford having been enacted with the ſole deſign of confirming their privileges, furniſhed them with a pretence for rejecting the deciſion, and renewing hoſtilities.

Leiceſter, therefore, ſent his ſon with a conſiderable detachment, to ravage the lands of Roger de Mortimer, and being afterwards joined by Llewellin, they reduced the caſtle of Radnor. At the ſame time another party, under the command of Robert Ferrers, earl of Derby, ſtormed the caſtle of Worceſter and abandoned it to plunder.

To ſuppreſs theſe commotions, Edward advanced with his army, reduced ſeveral caſtles belonging to Humphrey de Bohum, and purſued the two Montfords to Glouceſter, where they ſued for a truce, which they obtained by the mediation of the biſhop of Worceſter; before the expiration of which another treaty was begun at Brackley, in the preſence of John de Valence, the French ambaſſador, but the parties differing about the articles, the negociation

ciation was dropped, and preparations for renewing the war were made both by the king and barons.

The city of London was ſubjected to the ravages of the populace, who broke open the houſes of the Jews, and plundered their effects, ſtripped them naked, and kept them in cuſtody ſeveral hours, and then maſſacred about five hundred of that unhappy people.

Henry now ſummoned his military tenants, and ordered thoſe ſcholars of Oxford, whoſe allegiance he doubted, to depart the city, which he intended as a rendezvous for his troops. Here he was joined by a very conſiderable body from the north, commanded by John Cummin, John Baliol, and ſeveral other noblemen. Having received intelligence, that the earl of Leiceſter and the Oxford ſcholars had retired to Northampton, ſummoned the town, and being denied admittance, took it by ſtorm. Sixteen barons and ſixty knights were taken priſoners, with a vaſt number of inferior rank, after a prodigious ſlaughter in the ſtreets.

This greatly weakened the intereſt of the barons, and was followed by the ſurrender of Leiceſter, Nottingham, and Tutbury; the royal army alſo over-run the counties of Derby and Stafford, ravaging all the lands belonging to the confederate barons.

In the mean time Montford, having ſecured and fortified the city of London, laid ſiege to the caſtle of Rocheſter, which was near ſurrendering when Henry, by haſty marches, advanced to its relief. Montford, finding himſelf incapable of coping with the king, raiſed the ſiege, and retired to London.

Henry now reduced the caſtle of Tunbridge, and advanced to Winchelſea, exacted from ſome of the barons of the cinque ports, the oath of allegiance, while the reſt put to ſea, and intercepted all ſupplies of proviſion, except thoſe intended for the uſe of the malecontents. From thence the king marched into Suſſex, and fixed his quarters in the convent of Lewes, while prince Edward took up his reſidence in the caſtle.

Montford, being now reinforced by a body of fifteen thouſand Londoners, determined to hazard a deciſive engagement, and accordingly advanced towards the king's encampment. He halted about the diſtance of two leagues from Lewes, and, in order to throw the odium of whatever miſchief might happen on Henry, ſent a letter to the king, written in the name of the whole party, containing the warmeſt profeſſions of their readineſs to ſubmit to his government, and defend his perſon. They alſo endeavoured, by private application to the king of the Romans, and prince Edward, to perſuade Henry to moderate terms, but all their attempts proved fruitleſs; for the king and his party ſet them at defiance, and treated their ſubmiſſion with contempt.

The barons renewed their application, by the biſhops of London and Worceſter, and even offered thirty thouſand pounds, as a reparation for the damages the royal party had ſuſtained; but as the confirmation of the ſtatutes of Oxford was ſtill inſiſted on, all applications were ſtill ineffectual, and both parties prepared to try the fortune of a battle. The royal army was formed in three diviſions; prince Edward commanded the right, Richard, king of the Romans, the left wing, and Henry himſelf remained in the center, which conſiſted of his houſhold troops, and the northern forces. Leiceſter had ranged his forces in four diviſions; the firſt was commanded by his ſon Henry, the ſecond by the earl of Glouceſter, the third by the general himſelf, and the fourth, conſiſting wholly of Londoners, by Nicholas Seagrave. Montford, perſuaded that the prince from whom he had moſt to dread, would charge the Londoners, affected a reliance on that corps, by drawing them up before the baggage, and his own chariot and ſtandard.

This device ſucceeded; prince Edward breathing revenge againſt the Londoners, for the inſult they had offered his mother, charged them with the utmoſt fury, made a terrible ſlaughter, demoliſhed Montford's chariot, and purſued them above four miles from the field of battle. The eagerneſs of the prince proved fatal to the royal cauſe; for the earls of Leiceſter and Glouceſter, now attacked the troops under the command of Henry, and the king of the Romans, and totally routed the left wing, where the king of the Romans, and two barons were taken priſoners.

The center wing made a gallant reſiſtance, being animated by the example of Philip Baſſet, who intrepidly maintained his poſt, till he was overpowered by numbers, after having received four and twenty wounds; the king himſelf was ſlightly hurt, and his horſe killed under him, before he retired to the priory of Lewes, where he fell into the hands of the enemy.

Thus the royal army was totally routed, when prince Edward returned from the purſuit, and his followers were ſtruck with ſuch conſternation, that the earl of Warrenne, William de Valence, Guy de Luſignan, and Hugh Bigod, fled with ſeven hundred men to Penſey, where they embarked for the continent.

This defection prevented prince Edward's firſt reſolution of falling on the victors, while they were diſperſed in the purſuit and pillage; it likewiſe afforded the earl of Leiceſter an opportunity of making him an eaſy prey, and he was taken priſoner without reſiſtance. This battle was fought at Lewes on the 14th of May.

Richard, king of the Romans, and prince Edward, were treated as common priſoners, the former being ſent with his ſon to the Tower of London, and the latter to Dover caſtle, without the leaſt regard to his birth or quality. In the mean time the barons concerted a new plan of government, to be authorized by a parliament, which they intended to aſſemble, in the king's name, about Whitſuntide.

But this ſtep was attended with many difficulties, as they did not chuſe to ſummon one of the oppoſite party, and foreſaw, that a parliament compoſed wholly of their own dependents, would be deemed deficient in point of legality. In order therefore to render it more general, they compelled the king to ſign commiſſions, appointing in every county, certain officers, or magiſtrates, under the title of conſervators, for preſerving the privileges of the people, and theſe being of the barons party, were inveſted with extenſive authority. The king then ſigned new writs to theſe conſervators, commanding them to appoint four knights in every ſhire, to ſit in the enſuing parliament; and from this æra, moſt writers date the origin of that right, which the commons enjoy of ſitting in the great council of the nation, ſince the Norman conqueſt.

Such a parliament would doubtleſs approve the plan of government, concerted by the barons, whereby it was reſolved, that the parliament ſhould nominate three commiſſioners of approved ſagacity and diſcretion, impowered to chooſe a council of nine noblemen, to whom the adminiſtration of public affairs ſhould be committed; but might be changed occaſionally, by the king, with the conſent of the barons; that if the commiſſioners ſhould diſagree touching the choice of counſellors, the diſpute ſhall be referred to the majority; that the deliberations of the nine, ſhall be executed with the approbation of ſix of the number; but if that could not be procured, the affairs ſhould be decided by the three great commiſſioners, with the conſent of the barons; and that the nomination of all officers, ſhould be at the diſpoſition of the nine counſellors;

and laſtly, that theſe regulations ſhould prevail, till altered or annulled by parliament.

The three commiſſioners were the earls of Leiceſter and Glouceſter, and the biſhop of Chicheſter, who continued to govern the kingdom on this new model; having extorted the approbation of the king, and prince Edward, by threatening them both with perpetual impriſonment.

A. D. 1265. Leiceſter had now reached the ſummit of his ambition. The hand of the king was made uſe of to authenticate the vileſt acts of oppreſſion, and even to aſſign over the royal demeſnes, to this inſolent race, whoſe ambition was as extravagant, as their avarice was boundleſs. The earl of Glouceſter, the principal inſtrument of Montford's preferment, was now ſet aſide, as no longer requiſite to promote his deſigns.

Glouceſter obſerved his ſupercilious behaviour with indignation, but in ſilence; and as he was in every reſpect, a nobleman of much better principles than any of the Montford race, perceived he had too far acquieſced with their proceedings. He therefore required Leiceſter to releaſe his priſoners, and render an account of the enormous ſums, which, contrary to the convention of Lewes, he had extorted, and applied entirely to his own uſe.

But receiving only an inſolent reply to theſe demands, he determined to embrace the firſt opportunity, of atoning the miſeries he had aſſiſted to inflict, by reſtoring the royal family to their legal rights.

Leiceſter, perceiving a change in Glouceſter's conduct, iſſued a proclamation, enjoining all who had taken arms againſt the eſtabliſhed government, to retire immediately to Ireland; but inſtead of obeying the order, they repaired to the eſtates of the earl of Glouceſter, who afforded them protection. In the mean time the enemies of Leiceſter ſo wrought on the minds of the people, by inſinuating that the cruelties he practiced towards the royal family, plainly betrayed his pernicious deſigns; that he found it neceſſary to take ſome ſteps to exculpate himſelf from ſo infamous a charge.

With this view he called a parliament, under pretence of conſulting meaſures for ſetting prince Edward at liberty; and at this aſſembly, every county was repreſented by two knights, and two burgeſſes appeared for every city and borough in the kingdom; and this ſeems to be the origin of the preſent Houſe of Commons.

At the meeting of parliament, Leiceſter accuſed Glouceſter of having granted ſhelter and protection to the lords of the Welch marches, and demanded hoſtages for his fidelity; but the earl, inſtead of complying with his demand, quitted the aſſembly abruptly, and retired to the weſt, with a ſtrong body of his followers, among whom was John Giffard, one of the braveſt noblemen in England, whom Leiceſter had endeavoured to oppreſs.

This defection, though alarming to Leiceſter, did not prevent the aſſembly from proceeding on the buſineſs for which they had been convened, which was the releaſe of prince Edward. The biſhops of London, Worceſter, and Chicheſter, drew up the conditions on which he was to be ſet at liberty, and the king was obliged to ſwear to the performance. The prince reſigned his palace at Weſtminſter, to Peter de Montford, ceded his caſtle of Briſtol to the earl of Leiceſter, and promiſed in writing, to deliver up all his caſtles in the marches of Wales for three years to ſuch perſons as ſhould be nominated by the king's council, to perſuade or compel the noblemen of the marches to ſubmit to the preſent adminiſtration, to oppoſe the introduction of foreigners, to obſerve the agreement, on pain of forfeiting his eſtate, to give up the cuſtody of all his caſtles, for the term of five years, and to conſent that his couſin Henry ſhould be detained, till the end of the year, as an hoſtage for his behaviour, in caſe of an invaſion.

This convention being ſigned and ratified, Edward was brought into Weſtminſter-hall, where the inſtrument was publickly read, and nine biſhops joined in excommunicating all perſons who ſhould preſume to violate the agreement. The prince was then declared free, and ſet at liberty, though, like his father, ſurrounded by a ſtrong guard, who had particular orders to watch his motions, by which means he was in reality as much in cuſtody as before.

The ſcene of things was now changed, and the diſpute not between the king and his people, but between the nation and a faction. Glouceſter had openly aſſociated with the noblemen of the marches, and fortified his caſtles.

This was a retreat to which all the noblemen who were diſguſted with the pride, inſolence, and tyranny of Leiceſter retired, and ſoon became ſo numerous, as to threaten the moſt dangerous oppoſition. To divert this ſtorm, he directed his ſon to proclaim a tournament at Northampton, to which all knights were invited without diſtinction. Leiceſter imagined that nothing could divert young Glouceſter from his favourite diverſion, at which it would be eaſy to take away his life, or at leaſt make him a priſoner. But Glouceſter, well acquainted with the perfidious temper of Montford, avoided the ſnare, and Leiceſter, enraged at this diſappointment, prevailed on the knights aſſembled at the tournament, to proceed immediately to the marches of Wales, in hopes of taking Glouceſter by ſurprize. That nobleman, ſtill ſuſpecting the treacherous deſign of Montford, had engaged with Mortimer, and other lords for their mutual ſecurity. Leiceſter now taking with him the king and prince Edward, advanced towards the borders of Wales, and endeavoured to amuſe his rival, with the propoſal for an accommodation. Glouceſter, to further his deſigns, detained the meſſengers of Montford, and at the ſame time, concerted meaſures for the eſcape of prince Edward, aſſured that the preſence and influence of the heir apparent to the crown, would ſtrengthen his cauſe, for humbling the pride of Leiceſter.

Having communicated his intentions to his brother, Thomas de Clare, who attended Edward as a companion; that prince readily embraced the offer of retrieving his liberty, and promiſed to act according to the directions he received. Accordingly, the prince was next day mounted on a horſe remarkable for his fleetneſs, and repaired with his guards and attendants to divert himſelf in Widmarſh, near Hereford, where he had matches between them, till he had tired all their horſes; when a certain nobleman appearing on the aſcent of Turlington-hill, and waving his bonnet, according to appointment, the prince mounted his horſe, and bade adieu to his keepers, who purſued him for ſome time, till they ſaw him received by Roger de Mortimer, with a party of men who had concealed themſelves in a neighbouring wood, and now conducted him to the caſtle of Wigmore. The lords of the marches now took to their arms, reduced thoſe caſtles which they had formerly given up, and over-run all the country between Hereford and Cheſter.

At the ſame time the earl of Glouceſter took the field, at the head of his troops, and broke down all the bridges on the Severn, to prevent the incurſions of Leiceſter. The populace flocked from all quarters, to ſerve under the banner of prince Edward, who was now joined by John Giffard, at the head of a great number of horſe and foot, who followed the fortunes of that gallant nobleman.

At the ſame time he was reinforced by William de Valence, John, earl of Warrenne, and Hugh

Bigod, who had lately landed in Pembrokeſhire, with a body of troops enliſted on the continent. Leiceſter was alarmed at the news of the prince's eſcape, though he at firſt believed he was fled into South Wales, in order to embark for France; but he was ſoon fatally convinced of his miſtake; for the prince having advanced at the head of a numerous army to Worceſter, found means to cut off his retreat into England. Thus alarmed, Montford ſummoned all the military tenants of the crown to meet the king at Glouceſter, with the utmoſt diſpatch; but before any body of the militia appeared in his behalf, both the city and caſtle of Glouceſter were taken by prince Edward.

Leiceſter then applied to Llewellin, prince of North Wales, who ravaged the lands of the earl of Glouceſter, in Glamorganſhire, and ſent a body of Welch troops to join Montford. Thus reinforced, he marched to Monmouth, whither he was followed by John Giffard, who offered to give him battle; but declining the engagement, he proceeded to Newport, where he expected a naval ſupply from Briſtol, in order to tranſport his army into England, finding it impracticable to croſs the Severn.

But this reſource was cut off by the activity of the earl of Glouceſter, who had blocked up the Avon with a fleet of gallies, ſo that no veſſel could come to his aſſiſtance. In the mean time prince Edward advanced with his army to Newport, and waited for day-light to begin the attack. Thus baffled, Montford decamped ſilently at midnight, and retired into North Wales, where he marched over the mountains to Hereford, and there fixed his quarters, till he could find an opportunity of croſſing the Severn.

In the mean time he diſpatched orders to his ſon Simon, to relinquiſh the ſiege of Penſey-caſtle, and march immediately to his aſſiſtance. Simon, in obedience to his father, returned to London, where having aſſembled a ſtrong body of troops, he began his march for the banks of the Severn. In his route, he took Wincheſter by aſſault, was admitted without oppoſition into Oxford and Northampton, whence he proceeded to Kenilworth, where his army lay encamped in the moſt ſupine ſecurity.

One of prince Edward's ſpies informed that prince of their defenceleſs ſituation, who therefore advancing with the utmoſt expedition from Worceſter, ſurprized Montford's troops, and without reſiſtance took the greateſt part of them priſoners, amongſt whom were many noblemen, but Simon himſelf found means to eſcape.

On his return from this fortunate expedition, the prince found that Leiceſter had paſſed the Severn in his abſence, and retired to Eveſham, hoping to join his ſon the enſuing day. Edward therefore put his army in motion about ſun-ſet, ſpreading a report, that he intended to march to Bridgnorth, in order to deceive the ſpies of the enemy. Accordingly he took the road, but having marched two or three miles, he faced about, and reached Eveſham before ſun-riſing. But Montford diſcovering his approach, eluded his vigilance, though he took his troops at firſt for a reinforcement marched to his relief under the command of his ſon. But he was ſoon undeceived, for aſcending an eminence in the neighbourhood, he plainly perceived the banners of Glouceſter and Mortimer, and obſerving the troops march in a regular manner, cried out, "By the arm of St. James, they advance like well diſciplined troops; it was not from themſelves, but me, they learned that diſcipline. Lord have mercy upon our ſouls, for our bodies are doomed to deſtruction." But he did not abandon himſelf to unmanly deſpair, for being ſurrounded on all ſides, he drew up his men in a compact circle, and exhorted them to exert themſelves like men, whoſe lives and liberties were now at ſtake; at the ſame time he obliged the king to put on his armour, that he might not be known, and to expoſe himſelf in the front of the battle. The prince began the attack with ſuch impetuoſity, that the Welch, unable to ſuſtain the ſhock, fled with the utmoſt precipitation, and the greater part of them periſhed either by the ſword, or in the ſtream of the Avon.

At the ſame time Glouceſter charged in another quarter with equal intrepidity; but notwithſtanding the vigorous efforts of theſe two impetuous commanders, and the precipitate flight of the Welch, Leiceſter maintained the battle from two in the afternoon, till night, with incredible obſtinacy. The king was wounded in the ſhoulder, and in imminent danger of his life, when calling out he was Henry of Wincheſter their king, he was ſaved by Adam de Mohaut.

Prince Edward, hearing his voice, ran immediately to the ſpot, and conducted him to a place of ſafety, and before he returned Leiceſter was ſlain. His horſe had been killed under him, and when he demanded quarter as he fought on foot, his adverſaries refuſed, declaring there was no quarter due to ſuch a traitor.

Henry ſoon followed the fate of his father, and his troops ſeeing their leaders ſlain, were ſo diſpirited, that they made no further reſiſtance; for by this time the juſticiary, Peter de Montford, William de Mandeville, Ralph Baſſet, John de Beauchamp, Guy de Bardolph, Roger de St. John, and all the barons had ſhared the ſame fate as the earl, except John Fitz John, Nicholas de Seagrave, Henry de Haſtings, Guy de Montford, Humphry de Bohun, junior, and ſeven or eight others, who were taken priſoners.

Thus fell the earl of Leiceſter, and thus was diſſipated a conſpiracy, which, had Montford obtained the victory of that day, would have ſubverted the Engliſh laws and liberties; the body of the elder Montford was diſmembered as a traitor, but thoſe of the other barons, were buried by the monks of Eveſham.

This defeat totally ruined the army of the confederates, while the prince only loſt three officers of any note, whoſe names have periſhed through the negligence of writers. By this victory the king of the Romans, and the other illuſtrious captives of the king's party, who had been impriſoned ever ſince the fatal battle of Lewes, obtained their liberty. The Tower of London was ſurrendered by the widow of the juſticiary Hugh d'Eſpenſer, but the caſtle of Kenilworth was ſtill kept by Simon Montford, who releaſed the king of the Romans, that he might obtain the better terms for himſelf.

Henry being returned from Eveſham to Worceſter, immediately revoked all the grants and other writings he had ſigned, to the prejudice of himſelf or the prince. The citizens of Hereford were pardoned, on payment of a large fine. The poſts which had been filled by the earl of Leiceſter, were declared vacant, and diſpoſed of by the king's order.

Having taken theſe neceſſary precautions, the king repaired to Wincheſter, where he called a parliament, in which the effects of the rebels were confiſcated to the crown, and a reſolution was entered on, to inveſt, and deſtroy the city of London, which had always favoured the intereſt of the malecontents.

The citizens informed of this determination, and alſo of their having been adjudged to have forfeited their privileges, ſubmitted to the mercy of the king, who deprived the city of its chains, barricadoes, gates, magiſtrates, and charter, which the inhabitants were obliged to redeem with a large ſum of money; and Fitz-Thomas, the mayor, with ſeveral of the aſſociates were impriſoned, till they agreed to purchaſe their liberty with the greater part of their ſubſtance.

The confederated barons were perſecuted with the utmoſt ſeverity; their effects being ſeized, and themſelves hunted about, till deſpair became their only refuge. The inhabitants of the Cinque Ports were ſo much exaſperated at Henry's ſevere treatment of the Londoners, that they fitted out a ſtrong fleet, with which they burnt the town of Portſmouth, and committed ſeveral acts of piracy, detrimental to the commerce and navigation of the kingdom.

The king, incenſed at theſe depredations, determined to puniſh their inſolence; accordingly prince Edward marched againſt them, took the town of Winchelſea by aſſault and hanged ſeveral of the moſt eminent inhabitants; and the other ports, alarmed at this ſeverity, ſubmitted, on promiſe of a general amneſty, and the confirmation of their privileges. At the ſame time the caſtle of Dover was ſurrendered by the garriſon, on honourable conditions.

Simon de Montford ſtill kept poſſeſſion of Kenilworth-caſtle, then accounted the ſtrongeſt fortification in Europe. The king of the Romans warmly ſolicited his pardon, declaring that he had ſaved his life at the hazard of his own, and ſet him at liberty without ranſom: but this grateful ſolicitation was ineffectual, for Montford was proſcribed as a rebel, and declared a traitor to his country.

Incenſed at this ſeverity, he determined to aſſemble the remains of his father's army, and ſeize on the iſland of Axholm, in Lincolnſhire, where he fortified himſelf, and was ſoon joined by a conſiderable number of his father's friends.

Prince Edward, judging it abſolutely neceſſary to repel ſuch a body of enemies, marched thither at the head of his forces, and found the place well fortified by art and nature. But he carried on his attack with ſuch vigour, that the beſieged, after a reſolute defence, were obliged to ſurrender, on condition of their ſtanding to the award of prince Edward, and the king of the Romans, provided the ſentence did not extend to their lives, limbs, or perpetual impriſonment. Young Montford accordingly obtained pardon, and an annuity of five hundred marks granted him out of the Exchequer, on condition of his departing the kingdom.

A. D. 1266. During theſe tranſactions the queen, who had reſided two years in France, arrived in England accompanied by Ottoboni, cardinal of St. Adrian, the pope's legate, armed with ſeveral bulls, confirming thoſe of his predeceſſor againſt Leiceſter and his adherents, whom he now excommunicated dead or living; he likewiſe laid an interdict on all lands; granted to Henry one year's tenth of the clergy's revenues, and ſummoned the biſhops of Worceſter, Chicheſter, Wincheſter, and London, to anſwer for their crimes in ſupporting Leiceſter in their rebellious proceedings, and diſregarding the cenſures denounced by the pope, againſt that arch rebel, and all his adherents.

The biſhop of Worceſter, on profeſſion of penitence, was abſolved, and died ſoon after; but the other three were ſent to Rome, in order to undergo ſuch puniſhment as his holineſs ſhould think proper to inflict. The caſtle of Kenilworth ſtill held out, and the garriſon inſolently cut off the hands of a royal herald, ſent to ſummon them to ſurrender.

Henry, exaſperated at theſe proceedings, iſſued orders for aſſembling the whole force of the kingdom at Oxford, in order to reduce this caſtle. Having aſſembled the troops he advanced to Northampton, where he received intelligence that ſome rebel barons had ſurprized and plundered the city of Lincoln.

This advice obliged him to continue ſome time at Northampton, where he diſpatched prince Edward, with a body of troops, to recover Lincoln. But the rebellious contagion had ſpread farther than Henry perceived; the earl of Derby having taken up arms, was joined by John d'Ayville, and Bernard Wake. This event diſconcerted Henry's ſcheme for reducing the caſtle of Kenilworth, as he was obliged to diſpatch his ſon, at the head of a party, to reſtrain the incurſions of the garriſon, while he ſent Henry, ſon to the king of the Romans, to the north-weſt counties, now harraſſed and plundered by the earl of Derby and his aſſociates. Prince Henry ſurprized the rebels in Cheſterfield on Whitſun-eve, where, after cutting great part of them to pieces, he took the earl of Derby priſoner; but d'Ayville and Wake made their eſcape.

While Henry was thus engaged againſt two parties of rebels, prince Edward was employed againſt a third, more dangerous than either, headed by the intrepid Adam Gurdon. This nobleman, diſguſted at the late ſevere meaſures of the government, ſcorned to ſubmit his property to the will of a rapacious court; and the renown he had acquired in the field under Montford, induced prince Edward to prefer the conqueſt of him alone, to a thouſand vulgar foes; nay, ſo emulous was he of his glory, that he gave orders, that when they ſaw Gurdon and himſelf engaged, no one ſhould interpoſe. The noble rebel lay between Alton and Farnham, attended by a handful of men; but theſe ſoldiers of fortune ſubſiſting on the contribution raiſed from the eſtates of the royal party. The acceſs to his camp, or rather retreat, was winding, gloomy, and unknown to all but himſelf and his followers. Edward watched his motions; and one day eſpying him in his return at the head of his party, attacked him hand to hand.

Each party kept a reſpectful diſtance from their leader. Adam was animated by the honour of waging ſingle combat with the heir-apparent to the crown; and Edward, by the glory that would accrue from the conqueſt of ſo gallant a man. After a fierce and equal conteſt, Edward, fired with congenial valour, offered his antagoniſt life, fortune and freedom, in exchange for his friendſhip.

Gurdon embraced the generous propoſal, delivered his ſword to his prince, and ever after behaved with the utmoſt fidelity. But the caſtle of Kenilworth ſtill braved the attempts of Henry, and the Iſle of Ely afforded a ſecure retreat to the rebels.

Though the fortreſs was inveſted, the garriſon was ſo well provided, and made ſo gallant a reſiſtance, that there appeared no probable method of reducing it, but that of famine. As the cauſe of theſe troubles was the confiſcation of the eſtates of the rebels, and the beſtowing of them on the king's adherents, Henry called a parliament in the town of Kenilworth, to mitigate the ordinance that had been enacted on this ſubject; and it was decreed by a new law, called the Dictum de Kenilworth, that all forfeited eſtates ſhould be reſtored to the original proprietors, after a certain deduction for his majeſty's uſe, according to the nature of the treſpaſs, or crime of the owner.

Henry de Haſtings, for his barbarity in cutting off the hands of the herald, was fined in a ſum equal to the revenue of his eſtate for ſeven years; and the earl of Derby, who had twice rebelled, was condemned to impriſonment for the ſame term, unleſs he choſe to throw himſelf on the king's mercy. Though this decree was publiſhed within the hearing of the garriſon of Kenilworth, they continued to defend the place with ſurprizing obſtinacy, till their proviſions beginning to fail, and the ſoldiers growing ſickly, they agreed to ſurrender the caſtle within forty days, if not relieved within that time, on condition of ſaving their lives, limbs, horſes, and armour. The propoſal being accepted, hoſtages were delivered; and, at the expiration of the term ſtipulated, the garriſon marched out, dreadful to behold, being withered and exhauſted with fatigue and famine; and their long confinement had occaſioned ſuch a ſtench, that the king's ſoldiers were almoſt ſuffocated when they firſt entered the caſtle. Thus ended a ſiege, as memorable as any recorded in the Engliſh hiſtory.

Henry conferred the command of the fortreſs on his younger ſon Edmund, whom he had already created earl of Lancaſter, and high-ſteward of England, and gave him the whole eſtate of the earl of Leiceſter. The reduction of Kenilworth, and proſpect of ſubduing the rebels in the Iſle of Ely, ſeemed to baniſh the remembrance of former misfortunes from the mind of Henry; and though Edward had ſolemnly ſworn to the earl of Glouceſter, when he eſpouſed his party, that he would uſe his utmoſt efforts to re-eſtabliſh the ancient laws of England, and drive the foreigners from the king's councils, he now ſeemed to prefer the reduction of the malecontents, to the performance of the articles to which he was ſo indiſpenſably bound.

The royal prerogative was already extended beyond the limits which the law preſcribed; and there was the higheſt reaſon to believe, that the king, after totally ſubduing the rebels, would render himſelf abſolute; a calamity which Glouceſter thought himſelf obliged, by the duty he owed his country, to prevent. In order to this, he inſiſted that the malecontents ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of their eſtates, according to the Dictum de Kenilworth; but on Henry's refuſal of compliance, he retired to his own eſtate on the frontiers of Wales, engaged in a treaty with Llewellin, and ſome noblemen in the adjacent parts, and ſent promiſe of aſſiſtance to the revolters of Ely.

The court, offended by his abſence and military preparations, ſent meſſengers to demand the cauſe of his non-attendance. Glouceſter, with reſpect and ſubmiſſion, aſſured the meſſengers, that he would never carry arms againſt the king or his ſon, but in his own defence; and that the levies he was raiſing were deſtined againſt his enemy Mortimer. This anſwer appeaſed the king and parliament, who granted a ſubſidy for carrying on the war againſt the malecontents; and at the ſame time the legate importuned the clergy to grant the ſame aid to his holineſs; but the prelates juſtly diſdained ſo unreaſonable a demand.

A. D. 1267.

As ſoon as the ſeſſion broke up, Henry took the field with his troops, and advancing into Cambridgeſhire, ſummoned the rebels of Ely to ſurrender; but relying on their own valour, and the advantage of their ſituation, they deſpiſed his menaces, and made ſo gallant a defence that his courage abated, and he determined to wait the arrival of prince Edward, who was then abſent on an expedition againſt John de Veſci, a northern baron, who had ſeized the caſtle of Alnwick, which the prince, at length, obliged him to ſurrender.

Glouceſter in the mean time put himſelf in motion, with the forces he had raiſed on his own eſtate, and in the principality of Wales, and marched with ſuch expedition, that he reached the neighbourhood of London, before the inhabitants had the leaſt intimation of his deſign. The magiſtrates, with the advice of the legate, afforded him admittance; and he remained quiet, till d'Ayville, arriving with a party of rebels from the north, and Robert de Willoughby with another from the Iſle of Ely, the draw-bridge was ordered to be drawn up, and the gates to be guarded for the defence of the citizens. But the earl, having found means to ſecure the intereſt of the greater part of the inhabitants, ſeized the gates, and gave admittance to the troops of the male-contents.

The populace then choſe a new ſet of magiſtrates; bulwarks and barbicans were erected between the Tower and the city, and Glouceſter ſummoned the legate to ſurrender that fortreſs. At firſt he acted on the defenſive; but at length all communication being cut off, and the garriſon conſequently diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, he pronounced a general anethema on thoſe who diſturbed the public tranquillity, and laid an interdict on the churches of London.

The ſeverity was ineffectual; and the legate, on receiving intelligence that the earl was preparing for a formal ſiege, ſurrendered at diſcretion. Glouceſter, having thus made himſelf maſter of the Tower, publiſhed a maniſeſto, declaring he had taken up arms to prove equitable terms to the revolters, and that he ſhould not lay them down, till he had compelled both the king and prince Edward to perform the engagements which they had hitherto neglected.

The king, alarmed at theſe proceedings, diſpatched orders to his ſon to join him without delay; and this being effected, they advanced and took poſt at Stratford, within three miles of London. The earl of Glouceſter, who vainly flattered himſelf that the whole nation would flock to his ſtandard, was not a little ſurprized, when he found an almoſt general reſort to the king's army.

In order to extricate himſelf from the danger in which he was involved, he had recourſe to the good offices of the king of the Romans, and lord Philip Baſſet, by whoſe mediation he obtained pardon for having taken up arms againſt his ſovereign. The earl then ſolicited and obtained the royal clemency in behalf of his friends and the city of London; but with regard to the rebels of Ely, the king was inexorable.

A. D. 1268.

England now enjoyed tranquillity; but foreign frenzy ſucceeded civil commotion. A parliament was convoked at Northampton, in which the legate Ottoboni declared the pope's reſolution of publiſhing a cruſade throughout Chriſtendom; at the ſame time exhorted the Engliſh to aſſiſt in an expedition tending to the honour of God, and the advantage of the church.

His exhortation ſucceeded, prince Edward, and his couſin Henry, received the croſs from the hands of the legate, and their example was followed by the earls of Glouceſter, Warrenne, Warwick, and Pembroke; above an hundred and twenty knights, and an infinite number of inferior quality. But the royal coffers being exhauſted, a talliage was laid on all cities, boroughs, and towns in his dominions; and Henry, to confirm the public tranquillity, ſummoned a parliament to meet at Marlborough, where a body of laws was enacted, and diſtinguiſhed by the title of, the Statutes of Marlborough.

A. D. 1269.

Charles, count of Anjou, had by this time acquired poſſeſſion of the Sicilian throne, by a victory obtained over young Conradin, whom he cruelly put to death; and as the king of Tunis had paid an annual tribute to the emperor Frederic II. Charles claimed that right as king of the Two Sicilies, and accordingly demanded this tribute; but the Mahometan prince rejecting his propoſal with diſdain, he applied to his brother Lewis, perſuading him to invade his dominions; alledging, that an expedition againſt the Saracens of Barbary would be as acceptable to God, as a new cruſade againſt thoſe of Paleſtine.

Lewis, whoſe ſuperſtitious zeal overcame every ſuggeſtion of reaſon and common ſenſe, agreed to join the troops of his brother Charles in making a deſcent on the coaſt of Africa; and being deſirous of engaging prince Edward in the ſame enterprize, invited him to his court, where he communicated his deſign, and ſecured the prince's aſſociation, by a loan of thirty thouſand marks; in conſequence of which they adjuſted the particulars of the undertaking, and fixed their departure for the month of Auguſt the enſuing year. About this period the king of the Romans, who had lately married Beatrix de Falquemort, niece to Conrade, archbiſhop of Cologne, a lady celebrated for her beauties, both mental and perſonal, preſented her to the king.

Soon after, Henry tranſlated the relics of the Confeſſor into a new ſhrine of ineſtimable value, erected in the abbey of Weſtminſter, which he had lately rebuilt. Prince Edward, in the mean time, was wholly occupied in making preparations for his departure.

The parliament, which was aſſembled on this occaſion, granted a twentieth of the moveables of the laity; a tenth of the eccleſiaſtical revenues; and all the debts of the Jews, not aſſigned to Chriſtians.

The earl of Glouceſter, diffident of the ſincerity of Edward's reconciliation, refuſed to take his ſeat in parliament; nor did he ſeem inclined to perform his vow of pilgrimage. Edward, fearful of leaving behind him ſo powerful and ambitious a nobleman, peremptorily inſiſted on his attending him to Paleſtine; and the earl as peremptorily refuſed to ſubject himſelf to any reſtriction, with regard to the time and manner of performing his vow.

A. D. 1270. But this diſpute was happily compromiſed, by the interpoſition of the king of the Romans, to whoſe arbitration both parties ſubmitted. He accordingly determined, that the earl ſhould accompany prince Edward to the Holy Land, unleſs prevented by ſickneſs or ſome neceſſary avocation; that if on his arrival he would join the prince with his followers, he ſhould receive eight thouſand marks, and a ſhip for his paſſage; but, ſhould he chuſe to act by himſelf, the ſum ſhould be reduced to two thouſand marks, and be obliged to give ſecurity for applying it to the purpoſes of the cruſade.

He alſo obliged himſelf by a bond, in the penalty of twenty thouſand marks, to keep the peace in England, provided he was prevented from fulfilling his vow; and agreed to deliver his caſtles of Tunbridge and Henley into the hands of the king of the Romans, by way of ſecurity, till advice arrived of his landing in Paleſtine, when they were to be ſurrendered to his commiſſioners.

In order to ſecure the public peace, all the caſtles of importance were committed to the care of governors, on whoſe fidelity the prince could depend. Robert, earl Ferrers, was ſet at liberty, and reſtored to the poſſeſſions of his eſtate, upon giving ſecurity for the payment of fifty thouſand pounds to prince Edmund, to whom it had been granted, when it was firſt forfeited by Robert's rebellion.

The king had indulged prince Edward with a grant of the Tower, and all his rights in the city of London, together with the duties on merchandize, which he farmed to a company of Italian merchants, and exacted ſome illegal cuſtoms from the citizens, whom he ſtill hated for their attachment to the barons, and the inſult they had offered to his mother. Nevertheleſs, at the inſtance of prince Edward he granted them a new charter, whereby all their antient rights and privileges were confirmed; and the citizens, as a teſtimony of their gratitude for ſo ſignal a favour, preſented him with the ſum of five hundred marks, towards defraying the expences of the cruſade.

The nation now enjoying an uninterrupted tranquillity, a parliament was ſummoned at Wincheſter, where the king, who had likewiſe taken the croſs, delivered it to prince Edward, had aſſigned to him the whole produce of the ſubſidy lately granted for the expedition. The guardianſhip of Edward's ſon was committed to Richard, king of the Romans; and the cuſtody of his lands to Walter Giffard, archbiſhop of York, Philip Baſſet, Roger de Mortimer, and Robert Wallerand.

Having taken every neceſſary precaution, Edward ſet out for France, with his princeſs, his couſin Henry, William de Valence, Thomas de Clare, Roger de Clifford, and ſeveral other noblemen. Lewis had already landed near Tunis with an army of ſixty thouſand men, and taken the caſtle of Carthage; but deferred the ſiege of the capital till the arrival of his brother Charles, king of Sicily, whom we did not live to receive; for he died of the flux, in the arms of his ſon Philip the Hardy, who attended him in this expedition. Charles landed immediately after his deceaſe; and having routed the Tunians in ſeveral encounters, compelled their king to ſubmit to whatever terms he might impoſe.

Edward, hearing of the king's death, reſumed his firſt deſign of proceeding directly to Paleſtine; but being importuned by Philip to join him in Africa, he ſailed thither, and arrived at Tunis after the treaty was ſigned. This war being finiſhed, and the ſeaſon advanced, he determined to winter in Sicily; but ſent back his couſin Henry to manage the affairs of Gaſcony in his abſence, who did not live to reach that province, being aſſaſſinated in the church of the Franciſcans at Rome by Simon and Guy de Montford, ſons to the late earl Leiceſter.

A. D. 1271. Henry, now aged and infirm, avoided, as much as poſſible, the toils of government. About this time a diſpute aroſe between the inhabitants and monks of Norwich concerning their privileges; when the populace attacked the monaſtery, ſet fire to the gates, burned an adjoining pariſh church, together with the almonry, priory, refectory, dormitory, and all the buildings in the outer court; then forcing the convent, murdered ſeveral monks in the cloiſters, inſulted and impriſoned the reſt, carried off the conſecrated veſſels, the church treaſure, veſtments, books, and all the moveables that eſcaped the flames.

A. D. 1272. The king ſummoned a parliament at St. Edmundſbury, to concert meaſures for puniſhing the authors of this maſſacre, who were already excommunicated by the biſhop of Norwich; and Henry, with the advice of his prelates and nobility went thither, and deprived the city of its liberties.

This year died Richard, king of the Romans, who made a conſiderable figure in the hiſtory of this reign. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Edmund, as earl of Cornwal, who married Margaret, ſiſter to the earl of Glouceſter. By this match he ſtrengthened his family intereſt; and the flouriſhing condition in which his father left his eſtates and caſtles, rendered him a very powerful ſubject.

Henry ſuſtained great loſs by the death of his brother Richard, who had aſſiſted him with his advice in all his emergencies, and contributed to the ſupport of his authority. His death muſt therefore have affected Henry, and co-operated with his other diſtemper; which increaſing daily, he ordered himſelf to be moved, by eaſy journies to Weſtminſter, where, finding his end approaching, he ſent for the earl of Glouceſter, and inſiſted on his taking an oath to preſerve the peace of the kingdom, and exert his endeavours in ſupporting the intereſt of his ſon Edward.

Then taking a ſolemn farewel of his chief nobility, he departed this life on the twentieth of November, in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age, and fifty-ſeventh of his reign. His body, at his own requeſt, was interred near the ſhrine of Edward the Confeſſor in Weſtminſter abbey, where his tomb, with his ſtatue in braſs, is ſtill to be ſeen.

By his queen, Eleanor of Provence, he had nine children, five of whom died in their infancy, but four of them ſurvived him; namely, Edward, who ſucceeded him on the throne; Edmund, earl of Lancaſter; Margaret, married to Alexander III. king of Scots; and Beatrix, wiſe to John de Dreux, duke of Brittany.

Character of king Henry III.

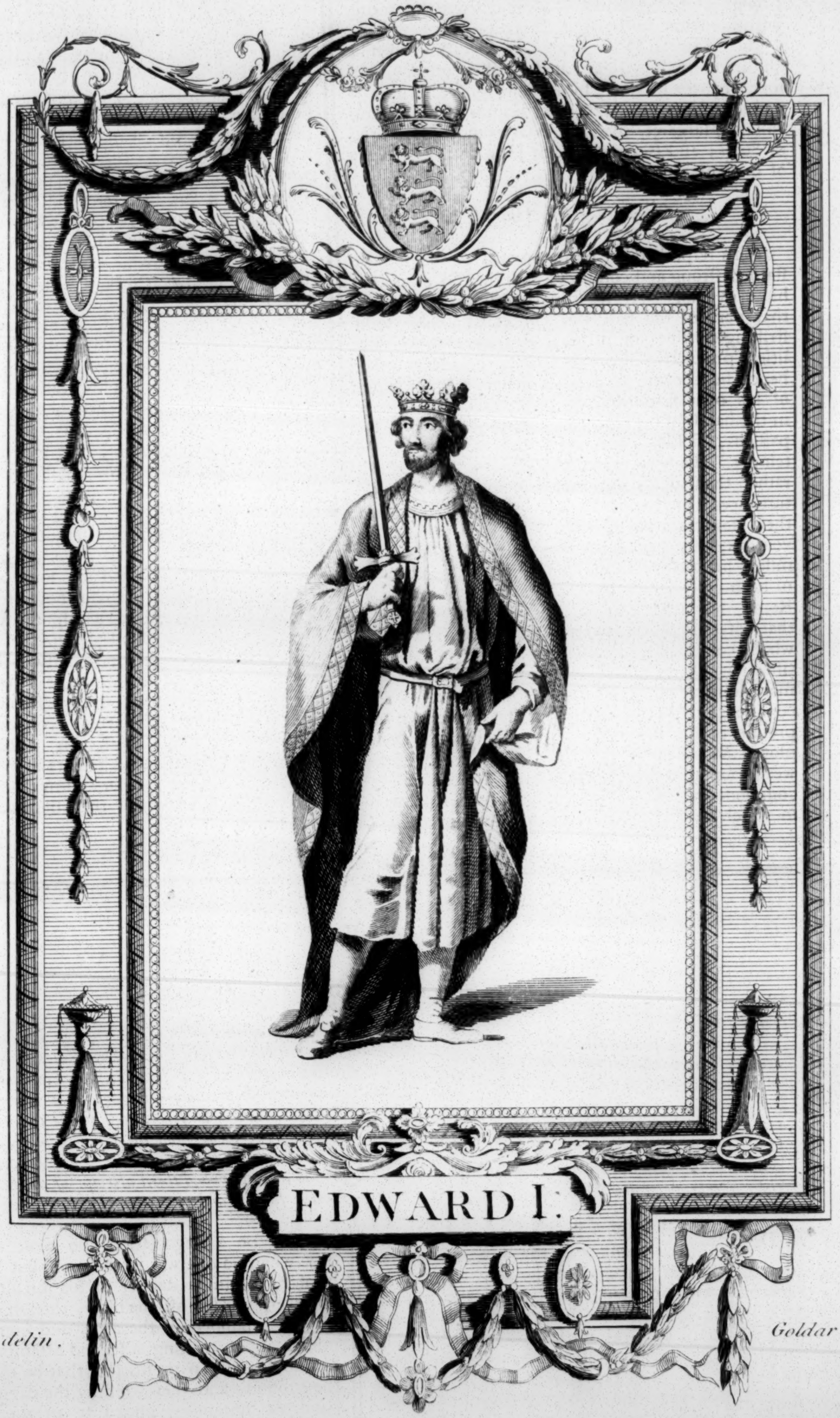
With reſpect to his perſon it was of the middle ſtature, ſtrong and compact; and the lid of one of his eyes hung over in ſo extraordinary a manner, that part of the ball was concealed. The moſt ſtriking outlines of his character were mean abilities, productive of an incapacity for government; hence he became as much a priſoner in the hands of his own favourites, as when detained a captive in the hands of his enemies. He was a ſlave to his paſſions; fickle, capricious, and violent in his temper. To which cauſes ought to be aſcribed, rather than to his arbitrary principles, all the diſturbances that happened in his reign; and from theſe ſources aroſe his attachment to foreign favourites; his negligence in obſerving his promiſes; his paſſive ſubmiſſion to the arbitrary will of his miniſters; his abject ſlavery to the court of Rome; his little courage, and leſs conduct; with that eaſy ſimplicity, adapted to a private ſtation, which continually induced him, for a preſent gratification, or a little preſent eaſe, to ſacrifice the more ſolid advantages ariſing from the truſt and confidence of his people. Greedy of money, but profuſe in his expences, he was perpetually employed in pillaging his ſubjects, or laviſhing his wealth upon worthleſs minions. Inſtead of accommodating himſelf to the embarraſſed ſituation in which he found his revenue had been left by the military expeditions of his uncle, the diſſipations of his father, and the uſurpation of the barons, he was tempted to levy money by irregular exactions, which, without enriching himſelf, diſguſted the whole nation. If he had few public virtues, he had alſo few perſonal vices. Addicted to no kinds of debauchery, we hear of neither his amours nor acts of intemperance. Gentle and merciful in his diſpoſition, he was never guilty of any act of cruelty; but contented himſelf with puniſhing the rebels in their effects, when he might have deluged the ſcaffold with their blood. He was of ſo eaſy a diſpoſition, as to be always governed by thoſe about his perſon. An extreme fondneſs for his flatterers and friends, precluded an affection for his people, whom he ſeemed to deſpiſe, as if they were only made to contribute to his pleaſure, by giving him unbounded ſupplies; thus making his arbitrary will, or rather that of his miniſters, the rule of his actions; which ſpread a general diſcontent among his ſubjects, and encouraged their leaders, from different motives, to riſe in defence of thoſe privileges they derived from their anceſtors. However, one truth may be drawn by way of inference, which ought ever to be thankfully acknowledged as a divine mercy by every Engliſh Proteſtant, that the people of this country have derived the moſt valuable bleſſings from their weakeſt ſovereigns. The envied liberties we now enjoy, are owing chiefly to the glorious ſtruggles of our fore-fathers in this and ſome ſucceeding reigns. The devotion of Henry III. has been highly extolled by ſome writers; upon what good ground we do not pretend to ſay. Being once engaged in a diſpute with Lewis of France, concerning the preference between ſermons and maſſes, he replied, in anſwer to what was urged in favour of the former, "I had rather have one hour's converſation with a friend, than hear twenty elaborate diſcourſes pronounced in his praiſe." We ſhall finiſh this picture with obſerving, that his ſlender talents and natural propenſities would have ſecured him that happineſs in a lower ſtation, of which they deprived him when ſeated upon a throne.

CHAP. II.

EDWARD I.

Returns from Paleſtine, where he had performed ſeveral important actions—On his arrival in England is crowned with great pomp—His firſt acts of civil government—His military exploits, whereby Wales is ſubjected to the crown of England—Is umpire between Bruce and Baliol, two competitors for the crown of Scotland, and decides in favour of the latter—Reduces Scotland to the form of an Engliſh province—Engages in a war with France, and afterwards with Scotland—Raiſes money by ſeveral illegal means—Is forced to ſign the two charters—Obtains a bull from the pope, to abſolve him from his oath to obſerve them; and afterwards finally eſtabliſhes the ſame without compulſion—Diſputes between him and France referred to the pope—The Scots, headed by Wallace, again revolt—They are again ſubdued, and Wallace ſuffers as a traitor—A third attempt of the Scots to recover their liberty under Robert Bruce, who is put to flight—Death, family, and character of Edward.

A. D. 1272. EDWARD, ſurnamed Longſhanks, at the time of his father's death, was engaged in the holy wars. The Saracens were preparing to beſiege the city of Acon in Paleſtine, when the prince arrived to the relief of the place; and purſuing the enemy, obtained ſeveral ſplendid, though not deciſive victories over them. The rapid ſucceſs of his arms at length ſtruck the infidels with terror, and determined them to attempt the deſtruction of an intrepid warrior, againſt whom they deſpaired of maintaining a ſucceſsful oppoſition in the field. One of the followers of the Old Man of the Mountain, who were then called Aſſaſſins, having procured admittance to the prince, under colour of carrying on a negociation, he took an opportunity when no one was in the room but Edward and himſelf, to aim a dagger at his breaſt. Edward, however, warded off the blow, though in ſo doing he was wounded in the arm; and perceiving the infidel about making a ſecond attempt, he ſtruck him ſo forcibly with his foot that he threw him on the ground; and then wreſting the dagger from his hand, he inſtantly plunged it in the barbarian's heart. But the wound Edward had received ſoon exhibited alarming ſymptoms, it having been given by a poiſoned weapon. The prince made his will, and waited the approach of death with a degree of compoſure truly heroic. But an Engliſh ſurgeon who attended him, upon the appearance of a mor-



EDWARD I.

Wale delin. *Goldar ſculp.*

He was Born *June 16.1239*—Aſcended the Throne *Novr. 16.1272*—Conquered Scotland *1209* *and brought to* England *their* Coronation Chair *&c*—Died *of a Flux at* Burgh *upon the Sands in* Cumberland *July 7.1307 and was* Buried *at* Weſtminſter. *And in the Year 1774 some* Antiquarians *found his Corpse unconsumed tho buried above 400 Years.*—

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tification, by making deep inciſions, and cutting away the mortified fleſh where he judged it to be neceſſary, reſtored his patient to perfect health in little more than a fortnight.

Shortly after his recovery, Edward, convinced that it would be impoſſible with his handful of men to oppoſe, with any hopes of ſucceſs, the numerous armies of the Saracens, liſtened to the offers of peace tendered him by the ſultan of Babylon, with whom he concluded a peace for ten years, ten months, and ten days. After having ſigned this treaty, he embarked the remains of his little army and paſſed over to Sicily. Here he received the news of his father's death. The ſorrow he expreſſed on that occaſion, demonſtrated at once his tenderneſs and filial affection. Advice arrived a few days after of the death of his infant ſon, who died at Acon, in Paleſtine. This loſs, however, affected him much leſs than the former; and the king of Sicily expreſſing a ſurprize at this difference of ſentiment, Edward told him, that the loſs of a ſon he might hope to repair, but that of a father was irreparable.

The Engliſh nobility in the mean time, immediately on the death of Henry, apprehending danger from delay, repaired to the high altar at Weſtminſter, where they ſwore allegiance to prince Edward; and then ſummoned a parliament to provide for the ſafety of the kingdom. The government was veſted in the hands of Walter Giffard, archbiſhop of York; the earl of Cornwal, ſon of Richard, king of the Romans; and Gilbert de Clare, earl of Glouceſter. Theſe guardians of the realm entered upon their high office, without being diſturbed with oppoſition from the people, or faction among themſelves. The military genius of Edward, his ſucceſs in ſubduing the inſurgents, his moderation in ſettling the kingdom, had procured him great eſteem, blended with affection, among all orders of men. The higheſt opinion was entertained of his merit; and all ranks among the people wiſhed earneſtly to ſee him on the throne of his fathers.

A. D. 1273. Having paid the tribute of grief to the memory of his much lamented parent, Edward ſet out for England; and paſſing through Chalons in Burgundy, he was invited by the prince of that country to ſhew his dexterity at a tournament he was then preparing to celebrate. Edward, who excelled in thoſe martial exerciſes, did not decline the opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf in that great aſſembly of nobles. But the engagement became a ſerious affair. Edward ſignalized his courage and addreſs in arms. The glory he acquired excited envy. Foiled in every attempt, the French knights were exaſperated, and made a furious attack upon the Engliſh. The French were, however, repulſed; yet not without a conſiderable effuſion of blood. This rencounter obtained the name of the Little Battle of Chalons. From Chalons, Edward proceeded to Paris, where he did homage to Philip for the dominions he held in France. From thence he marched to Guienne, and reſtored tranquility to that province, which had for ſome time been in confuſion.

A. D. 1274. Having ſettled all affairs on the continent, he paſſed over into England, where he was received with the moſt joyful acclamations by his ſubjects, and ſolemnly crowned with a ſplendid magnificence at Weſtminſter on the nineteenth of Auguſt, by Robert, archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the preſence of Alexander III. king of Scotland, the duke of Brittany, and all the Engliſh peers.

Edward began his reign, with correcting thoſe diſorders which his father's looſe adminiſtration had introduced into all parts of the kingdom. He reſolved to diminiſh the power of the great, and to give protection to the inferior orders of the ſtate, by an exact diſtribution of juſtice, and a rigid execution of the laws. He cauſed ſeveral uſeful ſtatutes to be enacted, in a parliament held at Weſtminſter. He made ſtrict enquiries into the conduct of all the judges, and inferior magiſtrates, and diſplaced ſuch as were negligent or corrupt. Thus introducing juſtice and order in the room of oppreſſion and violence. The adulteration of the coin was one of the various diſorders to which the nation was ſubject, and the imputation of this crime fell upon the Jews; two hundred and eighty of whom were hanged in London alone, beſides thoſe who ſuffered in the other parts of the kingdom. By bribing the king's council in the latter end of the late reign, the Jews had been admitted to almoſt all the privileges of denizens. They purchaſed houſes, lands, and manors. Theſe, with the goods of great numbers of them were confiſcated and ſold. To prevent its being ſuſpected, that the guilt of the ſufferers chiefly conſiſted in their wealth, the king ordered a moiety of the money thus raiſed, to be diſtributed among ſuch as were willing to be converted to Chriſtianity; but very few of them were induced by this golden bribe to ſacrifice the religion of their fathers. Some time after, Edward, prompted by rapacity, reſolved to free the land entirely of that hated race, and with one graſp to ſeize all that belonged to them. He left them only money ſufficient to bear their expences into foreign countries: but the inhabitants of the cinque ports, filled with the avidity of their ſovereign, robbed them of this ſmall pittance, and even threw many of them into the ſea: a crime for which the king, who would be the ſole plunderer in his dominions, inflicted on them a capital puniſhment. It is ſaid, that no leſs than fifteen thouſand Jews were at this time ſtripped of their effects and baniſhed. The extreme exigences of the ſtate, in conjunction with the poverty of the crown, was probably the cauſe of this egregious tyranny exerciſed againſt the Jews. An evil which Edward alſo endeavoured to remove by more honourable expedients. He introduced a ſtrict frugality in the management of his revenue: he prevailed on his parliament to grant him a fifteenth of all moveables: he obtained from the pope a grant of the tenth of all eccleſiaſtical revenues for three years; he engaged the merchants to conſent to a perpetual tax of half a mark on every three hundred ſkins: he likewiſe iſſued commiſſions to ſearch into all encroachments on the royal demeſne. The commiſſioners, in the execution of their office, began to carry matters too far againſt the barons, by calling in queſtion titles to eſtates, which for ſeveral generations had deſcended from father to ſon. Earl Warrenne, a nobleman who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the royal cauſe during the late reign, being deſired to ſhew his title deeds, he drew his ſword, ſaying, that William the Baſtard had not conquered the kingdom for himſelf alone: that his anceſtor was a joint adventurer in the enterprize, and he was reſolved to maintain what had from that time remained unqueſtioned in his family. The king, ſenſible of the danger of proceeding too far, very prudently deſiſted from making any further enquiries of that nature.

A. D. 1276. Edward now undertook an enterprize more ſuited to his active diſpoſition. Llewellin, prince of Wales, had, during the late reign, employed every expedient to promote the ſucceſs of the barons. Being at preſent cloſely connected with the Montford family, he refuſed to repair to the court of Edward and to pay him homage. The haughty ſpirit of the Engliſh monarch could not brook ſuch an inſult, and he determined to reduce to obedience this refractory vaſſal.

Llewellin kept up a ſecret correſpondence with his former friends, and in order to ſtrengthen his intereſt with them, paid his addreſſes to Eleanor, a daughter to the late earl of Leiceſter. The young lady, who was at France, where ſhe had taken refuge on the death of her father, embarked for Wales, under the care of her brother Aumeri; but being detained in her paſſage near the iſles of Sicily, the betrothed princeſs was ſent to the court of Edward, where ſhe was detained a priſoner of ſtate; but her brother was committed to Corf-caſtle. Soon after deputies arrived from Llewellin, offering to ranſom the princeſs, whom he aſſerted to be detained in violation of the law of nations. But Edward refuſed to ſet Eleanor at liberty, unleſs Llewellin would engage to make reparation for all devaſtations committed by him on the coaſt of England, and reſtore all the caſtles he had taken. Llewellin refuſed the conditions, and hoſtilities immediately commenced between them; but the operations of the firſt campaign were of little conſequence, neither Edward, nor Llewellin heading their troops in perſon.

A. D. 1277. Summer no ſooner approached than Edward led his army into Wales. As there was no proportion between the forces of Edward and thoſe of the Welch, the latter retired to thoſe inacceſſible mountains, which had hitherto, during many ages, defended his predeceſſors againſt all the attempts of the Saxon and Norman conquerors; and he accordingly retreated to the hills of Snowden, determined to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity. But Edward, equally cautious as brave, entering by the North with a formidable army, penetrated into the heart of the country; and having carefully explored every road in his rout, and ſecured every paſs, approached the Welch army in its laſt retreat. Deſtitute of magazines, cooped up in a narrow corner, both they and their cattle were expoſed to all the horrid attacks of famine; and Llewellin, without being able to make one effort for his independence, was at laſt obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion, and receive the terms impoſed on him by the victor. He bound himſelf to pay fifty thouſand pounds as a compenſation for damages; to do homage to the crown of England, in which all the barons of Wales, except four near Snowden, were to join; to relinquiſh the country between Cheſhire and the river Conway; to ſettle on his brother Roderic a thouſand marks a year, and five hundred on David; and to deliver ten hoſtages for ſecurity of his future ſubmiſſion. On Llewellin's performing the other articles, Edward remitted the payment of the fifty thouſand pounds, which, from the poverty of the country, he was probably unable to raiſe. Complaints however ſoon aroſe on the ſide of the vanquiſhed; their conquerors, inſolent on obtaining ſo eaſy a victory, oppreſſed the inhabitants of the diſtricts that were yielded to them: the lords of the Marches committed with impunity all kinds of violence on their Welch neighbours; new and ſevere terms were impoſed on Llewellin; and Edward, when that prince attended him at Worceſter, exacted a promiſe, that he ſhould retain no perſon in his principality who might be diſagreeable to the Engliſh monarch: beſides theſe, other inſults were offered both to the Welch and their prince, which raiſed their indignation, and made them determine rather to encounter every danger, than to ſnbmit to ſuch oppreſſions. David alſo, Llewellin's brother, perceiving the abject ſtate to which his country was reduced, made peace with his brother, and promiſed to concur with him in defending the public liberty. Exaſperated at the unjuſt treatment of their haughty victors, the Welch flew to arms, and Edward, not diſpleaſed with an opportunity of rendering his conqueſt abſolute, ſummoned all his military tenants, and advanced into Wales with an army much too powerful to allow them any reaſonable hopes of victory.

The Welch at firſt, from the ſituation of their country, gained ſome advantages over Luke de Tony, one of Edward's captains, who with a detachment had paſſed the Menaw; but ſoon after Llewellin had the misfortune to be ſurprized by Mortimer, when a battle enſuing he was ſlain, with two thouſand of his men. His head, together with the news of the victory, were ſent to the king. We could wiſh for the credit of the Engliſh to omit recording, that Edward ordered the head to be ſent to London, where, with all the brutiſh inſolence of national rancour, it was conveyed as a pageant through the ſtreets, and at laſt crowned with a ſilver circle, in contempt of a prophetical tradition, which ſaid, that Llewellin's head ſhould ride down Cheapſide, encircled with a ſilver diadem. It was next placed upon a pillory, from whence it was conveyed to the Tower of London, crowned with ivy, in ridicule of the prophecy, which ſaid, that Llewellin ſhould wear the crown of Brute.

A. D. 1283. David, who ſucceeded him in the principality, was never able to collect an army ſufficient to face the Engliſh: he was chaſed from mountain to mountain; hunted from one retreat to another; obliged to uſe various diſguiſes in order to conceal himſelf; and was at laſt diſcovered in his lurking place, having been betrayed by ſome of his domeſticks. About the end of the ſummer he was brought priſoner to Rothland-caſtle, where the Engliſh monarch then reſided. Upon this occaſion Edward behaved with a cruelty, that has ſtained his character. He ſent him to Shrewſbury in chains, brought him to trial before the peers of England, and cauſed this ſovereign prince, for defending by arms his own hereditary authority, and the liberty of his country, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, as a traitor.

After this unjuſtifiable execution, the Welch made no farther efforts to ſupport the fallen ſtate of their liberty. The nobility delivered up their caſtles, and the whole country was annexed to the crown of England. It is glorious for the memories of this brave people, that after ſo long a ſtruggle for freedom, they fell into dependence indeed, but not into ſlavery, and that their dependence bears rather the appearance of union with friends equally tenacious of freedom with themſelves. Edward now having ſettled the government of Wales, divided part of its lands among his barons. He ſent Rhees ap Vaughn, who had ſurrendered, a priſoner to the tower; and built two caſtles, one at Aberconway, and another at Caernarvon. In order to reconcile the Welch to his government, he left his queen, when near her time in the caſtle of Caernarvon, where ſhe was delivered. Upon which event, having aſſembled the Welch, he promiſed to give them a prince of unexceptional character; a Welchman by birth, and one who could ſpeak no other language. Having teſtified their joy with loud acclamations, the infant was produced, and inveſted in preſence of the people with the principality of Wales. Edward's eldeſt ſon, Alfonſo, dying ſoon after, the infant, prince Edward, became heir to the crown of England, and from this time Wales gave a title to the eldeſt ſon of the Britiſh monarchs.

A. D. 1286. The tranquillity of the whole kingdom, after the ſettlement of Wales, being firmly eſtabliſhed, Edward paſſed over to the contident, in order to make peace between Alphonſo, king of Arragon, and Philip the Fair, who had lately ſucceeded his father, Philip the Hardy, in the poſſeſſion of the crown of France. He continued abroad about three years, and during the greater part of the time was employed in ſettling this intricate negotiation, which was at laſt happily terminated by the labours of the Engliſh monarch, whoſe virtues were revered in every part of Europe. On his return to England, he found that during his abſence many diſorders had prevailed from the corruption of the judges. In order to remedy thoſe abuſes, the king ſummoned a parliament, and brought them to a trial. Two only were found innocent. The proofs againſt the reſt were ſo clear, that they were all depoſed, and fined in large ſums to the amount of one hundred thouſand marks. The two judges, who were found on the ſtricteſt examination innocent, were John de Martingham, and Elias de Bokingham, both clergymen. While Edward was thus employed in regulating the diſorders that had crept into the ſtate, he loſt his beloved queen Eleanor, the fond partner of all his diſtreſſes in Paleſtine. She died at Hodeſby, in Lincolnſhire, on the twenty-ninth of November, leaving the king overwhelmed with the moſt poignant ſorrow. Her remains were carried to Weſtminſter, and interred with great funeral pomp. At every place where her body reſted, and where dirges were ſung for her ſoul, Edward cauſed ſtone croſſes, on which her arms were engraven, to be erected to her memory. Some of theſe have remained to this day, but greatly defaced.

A. D. 1290. As the affairs of Scotland form a very intereſting part in the tranſactions of this and ſome following reigns, it will be neceſſary here to give a conciſe account of the ſtate of that kingdom at this period.

Alexander III. who had married the ſiſter of Edward, died in 1286, by a fall from his horſe, at Kinghorn, without leaving any male iſſue, or any other deſcendant than Margaret, daughter of Eric, king of Norway, married to Margaret daughter of Alexander, king of Scotland. This princeſs, who was commonly called the maid of Norway, though a female, an infant, and a foreigner, had through her grandfather's care, been acknowledged ſucceſſor by the ſtates of Scotland; and on the death of Alexander, the ſteps which had been previouſly taken appeared ſo juſt and prudent, that ſhe was acknowledged queen of Scotland, without any of thoſe diſorders in the kingdom, that might naturally have been apprehended to enſue. The biſhops of St. Andrew's and Glaſgow, the earls of Fife and Buchan, and James, ſteward of Scotland, who were appointed her guardians, entered peaceably on the adminiſtration; and the infant princeſs, under the protection of Edward, her great uncle, and Eric her father, who exerted themſelves on this occaſion, was firmly ſeated on the throne of Scotland. This event ſeemed of the utmoſt importance to Edward, who built upon it a project of uniting in his ſon, the whole iſland into one monarchy. To promote this great end, he intended a marriage between Margaret and the prince of Wales, his eldeſt ſon. The friendſhip which had for ſome years prevailed between the two nations, greatly facilitated this ſcheme, which appeared ſo favourable to the grandeur and happineſs of both kingdoms; and the ſtates of Scotland readily conſented, that their young queen ſhould be educated in Edward's court. Jealous however of the liberty and independency of their country, they took care, before they threw themſelves into the arms of ſo powerful a monarch, to ſtipulate the following conditions.

1. That the Scots ſhall enjoy all their privileges and immunities, both eccleſiaſtical and civil; ſaving the rights of the king of England, or any other perſon on the Marches, or elſewhere.

2. That if Edward and Margaret ſhould die without iſſue of the body of Margaret, the kingdom ſhall revert, intire, free, abſolute, and independent, to the next immediate heir.

3. That in caſe of the death of prince Edward, without iſſue of the body of Margaret, her majeſty's perſon ſhall be remitted in like manner free and independent to Scotland.

4. That no perſon, either of the clergy or laity, ſhall be compelled to go out of the kingdom, to aſk leave to elect, or preſent thoſe they have elected; nor to do their homage, fealty, and ſervices; nor to proſecute law ſuits; nor in a word to perform any thing uſually done in Scotland.

5. That the kingdom of Scotland ſhall have its chancellor, officers of ſtate, courts of judicature, as before; and that a new ſeal ſhall be made and kept by the chancellor; but with the ordinary arms of Scotland, and the name of none but the queen of Scotland engraved upon it.

6. That all the papers, records, privileges, and other documents of the royal dignity of the crown and kingdom of Scotland, ſhall be lodged in ſome ſecure place within the kingdom, at the pleaſure of the nobility, whoſe ſeals ſhall be appended to them, and there kept, till either the queen ſhall return to her own kingdom, or ſhall have heirs to ſucceed her.

7. That all parliaments, when called to treat of matters concerning the ſtate or inhabitants of Scotland, ſhall be held within the limits of the kingdom.

8. That no duties, taxes, levies of men, &c. ſhall be exacted in Scotland, but ſuch as being uſual in former times, ſhall conſiſt with the common intereſt and good of the nation.

9. That the king of England ſhall oblige himſelf and his heirs, in a bond of one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, payable to the church of Rome, and to be applied to the ſupport of the cruſades in the Holy Land, to make reſtitution of the kingdom in the caſes aforeſaid; and that he ſhall conſent that the pope reſtrain him and his heirs, by excommunicating them, and interdicting their kingdom, to both the above reſtrictions, and payment of the ſaid ſum of money, if he or they do not ſtand to the premiſes.

10. That Edward, at his own expence, ſhall procure the pope to confirm theſe articles, within a year after the conſummation of the marriage; and alſo that within the ſame time, the bull of his holineſs ſhall be delivered to the eſtates of the kingdom of Scotland.

We cannot conceive, that two nations could have treated more on a footing of equality, than Scotland and England maintained, during the whole courſe of this tranſaction; and notwithſtanding Edward gave his aſſent to the article, reſpecting the future independency of the Scottiſh crown, with "a ſaving of his rights;" this reſerve gave no alarm to the nobility of Scotland, becauſe thoſe rights having been hitherto little heard of, had occaſioned no diſturbance, and becauſe the Scots had ſo near a proſpect of ſeeing them entirely abſorbed in the right of their ſovereignty.

A. D. 1291. The above articles having been ratified, the biſhop of Durham was appointed the queen's lieutenant in Scotland; and the earl of Warrenne, with the dean of York, two Scottiſh commiſſioners, embarked for Norway. In their return with the young princeſs, they were unfortunately overtaken by a dreadful ſtorm, and driven into an Iſle of the Orkneys, where ſhe died. Thus were all the hopes formed on this coalition fruſtrated, and Scotland involved in all the calamities that attend a diſputed ſucceſſion.

The principal competitors for the Scottiſh crown were Robert Bruce, and John Baliol, both deſcended in the female line from the brother of that William who had been taken priſoner by Henry II. Bruce was the ſon of one of the youngeſt daughters of the earl of Huntingdon, William's brother; and Baliol was the ſon of Devergilda, the only daughter of the eldeſt. The former was therefore one degree nearer the common ſtock; but the latter had a preferable title, according to the law of primogeniture. The Scots, who were at this time a groſs and ignorant people, were little qualified to diſcuſs the claims of theſe competitors. The parliament was divided; and if they had determined the diſpute by a plurality of voices, the competitors were ſo powerful, that there were little hopes of a ſubmiſſion to their deciſion; the animoſities of the parties would in all probability have been heightened, and the nation plunged into all the horrors of a civil war. It was therefore reſolved to refer the conteſt to the king of England, who had already ſhewn himſelf an able and impartial arbitrator in contentions between different princes of Europe, and was ſufficiently powerful to compel the unſucceſsful claimant to ſubmit to this ſentence. The claimants were now reduced to three, John Baliol, Robert Bruce, and John Haſtings; and their contentions made way for the execution of Edward's deſigns; who having his ambition fired, reſolved to lay hold of the preſent favourable opportunity of reviving the claims of the kings of England, to a feudal ſuperiority over Scotland, imagining that if this pretenſion was once ſubmitted to, the abſolute ſovereignty of that kingdom would ſoon follow. Edward pretended to act with the moſt cautious circumſpection in this buſineſs. He had taken a previous reſolution, yet, with a ſpecies of conſummate policy and artifice, he directed that proper enquiries ſhould be made into the validity of each claim, which might enable him to form a judgment on the queſtion; but to enforce his own proofs, he marched towards the borders of Scotland with a powerful army, and ſummoned the barons of that kingdom to meet him at Norham-caſtle, ſituated on the ſouthern banks of the Tweed.

The barons were in the higheſt degree alarmed and diſguſted on receiving this ſummons, yet they did not think it would be prudent to diſpute the matter with a prince of Edward's power. They therefore met him at the time and place appointed, where he produced what he called his proofs of his own claims, in preference to thoſe of any other of the candidates; which grounds of his pretended ſuperiority, he had extracted from numerous records, kept in monaſteries down from the time of Edward the Elder. The Scotch parliament were ſo confounded at a claim of which they had hitherto formed no idea, and which they conceived to be founded in manifeſt injuſtice, that they remained ſilent. Their ſilence the king interpreted into a conſent to the legality of his demand; and having declared that he acted as ſovereign lord of Scotland, he addreſſed himſelf to the ſeveral competitors for the crown, demanding that they ſhould acknowledge his juſt claim. All the claimants over-awed by his preſence, and influenced by the fear of his power, behaved with the greateſt obſequiouſneſs. Robert Bruce was the firſt who recogniſed his right of ſuperiority over Scotland, and the reſt, when required, made a like acknowledgment with ſeeming willingneſs, though Baliol was the laſt who gave his aſſent. This being done, Edward gave orders, that Baliol, with thoſe who adhered to him, ſhould chooſe forty commiſſioners, and Bruce, with his adherents, forty more. The king added twenty-four Engliſhmen to theſe, and then directed theſe hundred and four commiſſioners to examine the cauſe, and make the report to him, promiſing to give his determination in the following year. At the ſame time he pretended, that it was neceſſary to have all the fortreſſes of Scotland put into his poſſeſſion, alledging, how vain it would be for him to pronounce any ſentence, without having power to enforce it. The demand was complied with both by the parliament and the claimants, and Edward returned to England.

A. D. 1292.

The titles of Baliol and Robert Bruce, whoſe claims appeared to be beſt founded among the competitors to the crown of Scotland (the number of whom ſome writers have aſſerted to have been twelve) were the ſubject of general diſquiſition, as well as of debate among the commiſſioners.

The queſtion was ſimply this, "Whether Baliol, who was deſcended from the eldeſt ſiſter, but farther removed by one degree, was to be preferred before Bruce, who was actually the younger ſiſter's ſon?" The ſentiments of the people of that age were much the ſame, reſpecting right of inheritance, as prevail at the preſent period throughout the greater part of Europe; ſo that the commiſſioners appointed to examine into this buſineſs, concurred in opinion with the moſt able lawyers, that the claim of Baliol was better founded than that of his competitor; on which Edward determined in favour of Baliol, and he was put in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Scotland, and all its fortreſſes, which had before been ſurrendered to the king of England, to whom the new Scotch king ſwore allegiance and did homage.

The new king of Scotland was ſcarcely ſeated on his throne, when he found, that he was more a vaſſal than a ſovereign; for Edward inſtead of exerting his rights of ſuperiority with moderation, encouraged all appeals to England; ſhewing thereby his determination of ſtretching his royal prerogative to its utmoſt extent, and to enforce his whole authority at once, inſtead of reducing the Scots to the Engliſh yoke by gentle gradations. He obliged Baliol himſelf, by ſix different ſummonſes, on trifling occaſions, to repair to London; denied him the privilege of defending his own cauſe by a procurator; and compelled him, as if he had been a private perſon, to appear at the bar of his parliament. By this treatment, Edward plainly intended to excite Baliol to take up arms againſt him, in order that he might ſeize upon his kingdom, under the colour of puniſhing him for his treaſon. The artifice in part ſucceeded; for Baliol, though a prince of gentle diſpoſition, was ſo highly incenſed, that he reſolved on his return to Scotland, at all hazards, to free himſelf from the bondage under which he groaned, and a war ſoon after breaking out between England and France, he took that opportunity of attempting a recovery of his liberty.

A. D. 1293.

It happened that an Engliſh and Norman ſhip met off the coaſt, near Bayonne, and both of them wanting water, their boats were ſent to land, and the crews of each coming at the ſame time to the ſame ſpring, a quarrel aroſe about who ſhould have the water firſt. A Norman attempted to ſtab with his dagger an Engliſhman, who grappled with him, threw him down, when falling, as it is ſaid, on his own dagger, he was ſlain. Trifling as this ſcuffle may appear with reſpect to England and Normandy, it was ſufficient to kindle a bloody war, and involve a great part of Europe in the quarrel; for the Norman mariners carried their complaints to the French court, when Philip, without enquiring into the fact, or demanding redreſs, ordered them to take their revenge, and not trouble him any more about it. The Normans thus encouraged, ſeized an Engliſh ſhip, and hanging ſeveral of the crew along with ſome dogs on the yard arm, in the preſence of their companions, diſmiſſed the veſſel, and told the mariners they might inform their countrymen, that vengeance was now taken for the blood of the Norman killed at Bayonne. When the news of this barbarous act, accompanied with ſuch deliberate inſult, reached the cinque ports, their mariners, highly enraged, without complaining to the king, retaliated in like manner upon all French veſſels without

out diſtinction. On the other hand, the French attacked, in return, the ſhips of all Edward's ſubjects, either Engliſh or Gaſcon, while the ſovereigns taking no notice, ſeemed to continue indifferent ſpectators. The Engliſh entered into private aſſociations with the Iriſh and Dutch ſailors; the French with the Flemiſh and Genoeſe. The animoſity on both ſides becoming daily more violent and barbarous, a Norman fleet of two hundred ſail, ſteering to the ſouth for wine and other commodities, ſeized all the Engliſh ſhips they met with in their paſſage; plundered them of their cargoes, and hanged the ſeamen. The inhabitants of the Engliſh ſea-ports no ſooner heard this, than they fitted out a fleet of ſixty ſail, ſtronger and better manned, and waiting for the return of the enemy, ſunk, deſtroyed, or took the greateſt part of them. No quarter was given; and the Norman fleet being employed in tranſporting a conſiderable body of ſoldiers from the ſouth, the French are ſaid to have loſt on this occaſion twenty thouſand men. Philip the Fair now diſpatched an envoy to demand reparation, and Edward ſent to Philip the biſhop of London, to accommodate the quarrel; but the French being loſers refuſed all the expedients that were offered; in conſequence of which the ſhips and cargoes of the merchants on both ſides were confiſcated; the Engliſh continued their depredations in the channel, and the Gaſcons on the weſtern coaſt of France. Philip cited Edward, as duke of Guienne, to appear in his court at Paris; and Edward ſent thither his brother Edmund, Earl of Lancaſter, to prevent, if poſſible, the ravages of a bloody war. Jane and Mary, the queen dowager of France, pretended to interpoſe their good offices, telling Edmund, that the moſt difficult circumſtance to adjuſt, was the point of honour with Philip, he being affronted with the injuries committed againſt him, by his ſub-vaſſals in Guienne; but if the king of England would conſent to give him Seiſin and poſſeſſion of that province, he would eſteem his honour fully repaired, would engage to reſtore Guienne immediately, and be eaſily ſatisfied with reſpect to all other injuries. Edward was conſulted, who conſidering his deſign upon the Scots as a more important concern, and indulging his favourite paſſion for ſubduing that people, ſuffered himſelf to be deceived by ſo barefaced an artifice: he therefore ſent orders to his brother, to conclude and ſign a treaty with the two queens: Philip ſolemnly promiſed to execute his part of it; and recalled the citation, for the king's appearance in the court of France; but no ſooner was the French monarch in poſſeſſion of Guienne, than the citation was renewed; upon which Edward was condemned for non-appearance, and by a ſentence in form, Guienne was declared to be forfeited, and annexed to the crown of France.

Thus egregiouſly over-reached, Edward was equally aſhamed and enraged; having fallen into a ſnare, not unlike that he had ſpread for the unwary Scots. Senſible of the difficulty of recovering Guienne, where he had not kept a ſingle place in his hands, he endeavoured to compenſate for that loſs, by forming alliances with ſeveral European princes, who were to attack France on different ſides, and thus divide the forces of that kingdom. With this view he entered into a treaty with Adolphus of Naſſau, king of the Romans, Amadæus, count of Savoy, the Archbiſhop of Cologne, the counts of Luxemburgh and Guelders, the duke of Brabant and count of Barre, who had married his two daughters Margaret and Eleanor: but theſe alliances proved extremely burdenſome, and of no ſervice. In the mean time Philip took advantage of the growing jealouſy which ſubſiſted among the ſeveral powers of Europe, of Edward's greatneſs. He formed a ſecret alliance with John Baliol, king of Scotland; whereby that ſtrict union commenced, which, during many ages, was maintained by mutual intereſts and neceſſities, between the French and Scottiſh nations. Baliol confirmed this alliance by ſtipulating a marriage between his eldeſt ſon, and the daughter of Philip de Valois.

A. D. 1296.

Edward had experienced the difficulties of raiſing money on his ſubjects without their conſent, and therefore purſued the method pointed out by Leiceſter during the late reign. He ſummoned two deputies from every borough, in order to procure their leave to the levying of the neceſſary taxes on the people. "It is an excellent rule," ſaid Edward, in the preamble of his writ, "that what concerns all, ſhould be approved by all." A ſentiment worthy the conſideration of a Houſe of Commons in this more enlightened age. Nor did Edward ſtop here. He ſummoned alſo deputies from the inferior clergy, and theſe formed a lower houſe of convocation. They however refuſed to obey the king's writ, leſt it ſhould be conſtrued as an acknowledgment of their having ſubmitted to the authority of the temporal power. It was therefore agreed, that the king ſhould iſſue his writ to archbiſhops, who ſhould in conſequence ſummon the clergy. The king intended theſe deputies with the prelates, to have formed one eſtate of the kingdom; but this expedient rendered it neceſſary for the eccleſiaſtics to meet in two houſes of convocation, under their reſpective archbiſhops. The Engliſh parliament, for they might juſtly be now ſo called, being met, the barons and knights granted the king an eleventh of their moveables, the burgeſſes a ſeventh, and the clergy a tenth. Edward employed theſe ſupplies in making preparations againſt his northern neighbour. About this time he received intelligence of the treaty between Philip and Baliol; and though vexed at this concurrence of a French and Scottiſh war, he reſolved not to encourage his enemies by a puſillanimous behaviour, or by ſubmitting to their united efforts, without any vigorous exertions on his part. He therefore ſummoned Baliol to perform the duty of a vaſſal, and to ſend him a ſupply of forces againſt an invaſion from France, with which he was threatened. He next required that the fortreſſes of Berwick, Jedborough, and Roxborough, ſhould be put into his hands as a ſecurity during the war. He again cited Baliol to appear in an Engliſh parliament, ſummoned to meet at Newcaſtle; and when none of theſe ſucceſſive demands were complied with, he marched northward at the head of a powerful army, conſiſting of thirty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe. The Scottiſh nobility, who had very little reliance on the ſpirit and vigour of their prince, aſſigned him a council of twelve noblemen, in whoſe hands the ſovereignty was lodged; and who put the kingdom in the beſt poſture of defence the preſent diſtractions would admit. The Scotch army was more numerous than that of Edward's, being compoſed of forty thouſand infantry, and five hundred horſe, but they wanted both diſcipline and experience; and what was ſtill of more conſequence, diſſentions prevailed among the leaders. From theſe alarming appearances ſeveral of the Scottiſh nobility, among whom were Robert Bruce, father and ſon, the earls of March and Angus, prognoſticated the ruin of their country, and made their ſubmiſſion to Edward, who now paſſed the Tweed at Coldſtream without oppoſition. Berwick was taken by aſſault, and above ſeven thouſand of the garriſon put to the ſword; the governor, Sir William Douglas, was taken priſoner. Earl Warrenne was then diſpatched, at the head of ten thouſand men, to beſiege the caſtle of Dunbar, defended by the flower of the Scottiſh nobility.

The Scots, ſenſible of the importance of this place, which, if taken, muſt lay their whole country open to the enemy, advanced with their main body, under the command of the earls of Buchan, Lenox, and Mar, in order to relieve it. Warrenne, not diſmayed by the great ſuperiority of the enemy, marched out to give them battle. The Scots could not ſupport the furious charge of the Engliſh: they were ſoon broke, and driven with great ſlaughter from the field. Above twenty thouſand are ſaid to have fallen by the ſwords of the Engliſh. Dunbar ſurrendered the next day to Edward, who then brought up the main body of his army, and purſued his conqueſts without any further oppoſition from Baliol's army. The caſtles of Roxborough, Edinburgh, and Sterling, ſubmitted after a feeble reſiſtance; and all the ſouthern parts of the kingdom were ſoon brought under ſubjection to the Engliſh. And in order to reduce with more facility the northern diviſions, whoſe inacceſſible ſituation ſeemed to promiſe more ſecurity, Edward ordered a ſtrong reinforcement of Welch and Iriſh, who being accuſtomed to a deſultory kind of war, were better qualified to purſue the Scots into the receſſes of their lakes and mountains. But the ſpirit of the nation was already broke by their misfortunes, and the timid Baliol, diſcontented with his own ſubjects, abandoned all thoſe reſources, which his people might yet have poſſeſſed in their extremity. He haſtened to make his ſubmiſſion to Edward, expreſſing the deepeſt ſenſe of his diſloyalty to his liege lord, and made a ſolemn and irrevocable reſignation of his crown into the hands of that monarch. Edward now marched northward towards Aberdeen and Elgin, without meeting an enemy. No Scotchman approached him, but to pay him ſubmiſſion and homage: even the turbulent highlanders, ever refractory to their own princes, endeavoured to give him early proofs of their obedience: and Edward having brought the whole kingdom to a ſeeming ſtate of tranquillity, returned to the ſouth with his army. There was at this time in the abbey of Scone, a famous ſtone, on which the kings of Scotland uſed to be ſeated during the ceremony of inauguration, and which was called by the vulgar, Jacob's pillow. Upon it are engraved the following Latin verſes:

Ni fallat fatum, Scoti hunc quocunq; locatum,
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.

In Engliſh:

If truth there be in what old prophets ſay,
Where'er this ſtone is found, the Scots ſhall ſway.

Edward having got this palladium of Scotland, to which popular ſuperſtition paid the higheſt veneration, into his poſſeſſion, he ordered it to be placed on a chair in the abbey of Weſtminſter, where it remains to the preſent day. At the ſame time he deſtroyed all thoſe records and monuments of antiquity, which might preſerve the memory of the independency of the kingdom, and refute the Engliſh claim of ſuperiority. The great ſeal of Baliol was broke, and that prince carried priſoner to London, and committed to cloſe cuſtody in the Tower. Two years afterwards he ſubmitted to a voluntary baniſhment into France, where, without making any further attempts for the recovery of his throne, he died in a private ſtation. Earl Warrenne was left governor of Scotland; Engliſhmen were appointed to all the chief places of truſt; and Edward, flattering himſelf that he had attained the completion of his wiſhes, by the final reduction of Scotland, returned with his victorious army to England.

The ambitious ſpirit of Edward could not reſt ſatisfied even with ſuch a conſiderable acceſſion of power. He was mortified at finding his attempt to recover Guienne had not been equally ſucceſsful. He had ſent thither his brother, the earl of Lancaſter, with an army of ſeven thouſand men, who at firſt gained ſome advantages over the French at Bourdeaux; but being ſeized with a diſtemper, he died at Bayonne; and the command devolved on the earl of Lincoln, who was unable during the reſt of the campaign, to perform any thing worthy of notice. Edward finding the diſtance of Guienne rendered all his efforts againſt that province feeble and uncertain, reſolved to attack France in a more vulnerable quarter; and with this intent he married Elizabeth, his daughter, to John, earl of Holland, at the ſame time he entered into an alliance with Guy earl of Flanders, ſtipulating to pay the ſum of twenty-five thouſand pounds, and propoſed with their united forces to invade the dominions of Philip. He flattered himſelf, that when he appeared at the head of the Engliſh, Dutch, and Flemiſh armies, reinforced by his German allies, he ſhould compel the French monarch to accept of a peace, on condition of his reſtoring Guienne. But in order to ſet this great machine in motion, conſiderable ſupplies were neceſſary; and Edward, without much difficulty, prevailed on the parliament to grant him a twelfth of all the moveables of the barons and knights; an eighth from all the boroughs; and likewiſe a fifth of the moveables of the church: but he met with an oppoſition from this quarter, at the head of which was the archbiſhop of Canterbury, whereby all his meaſures, for the preſent, were diſconcerted. Pope Boniface VIII. having ſucceeded Celeſtine, had reſolved to carry his dominions over the temporal power, to as great a height as any of his predeceſſors; and on aſcending the papal throne, had iſſued a bull, prohibiting all princes from levying taxes upon the clergy, without his conſent, and all clergymen from ſubmitting to them, under the penalty of excommunication, in caſe of diſobedience. When therefore a demand was made on the clergy of a fifth of their moveables, they ſheltered themſelves under this bull, and pleading conſcience refuſed to comply. The king, on this repulſe, did not chooſe to proceed immediately to extremities; but after prohibiting all rent to be paid them, and cauſing their granaries to be locked up, appointed a new convocation to confer with him upon his demand. The king hoped a little reflection would have brought the clergy to obedience; but Robert de Winchelſea, archbiſhop of Canterbury, told him, in the name of the whole body, "That the clergy owed obedience to two ſovereigns, the one ſpiritual, the other temporal; but their duty bound them to a much ſtricter attachment to the former than the latter; nor could they comply in oppoſition to their ſpiritual ſovereign." Edward, though highly enraged, concealed his reſentment; but told them, that as they refuſed to aſſiſt the civil power, they were unworthy to receive any benefit from it; and he would therefore put them out of the protection of the laws. This was immediately put in execution. Orders were iſſued to the judges, to receive no cauſes which the clergy brought before them; to hear and determine ſuch only in which they were defendants; to do juſtice to every man againſt them, but to do them juſtice againſt no one. The clergy were ſoon reduced to a miſerable ſituation. The want of ſubſiſtence would not permit them to remain in their own houſes or convents; and if they went abroad to obtain ſupport, they were robbed of their horſes and clothes, inſulted by every ruffian, and unable to obtain redreſs from the moſt violent inſults. The primate himſelf was attacked on the highway, ſtripped of every thing about him, and reduced to the neceſſity of boarding with only a ſingle ſervant, in the houſe of a country clergyman. Meanwhile the king remained an indifferent ſpectator of all theſe acts of violence, and conniving at his officers in any immediate injury on the prieſts, took ample vengeance on them for refuſing to comply with his demands. This politic, though harſh treatment, at laſt broke the ſpirits of the clergy. The whole province of York, which was moſt in danger from the Scots, had voted from the firſt a fifth of their moveables; and now the biſhops of Ely, Saliſbury, and ſome others, made a compoſition for the ſecular clergy within their ſees; and agreed, inſtead of paying a fifth, by which they would have diſobeyed the pope, to depoſit a ſum equivalent to it in a church appointed, from whence the king's officers took it. Many convents and clergymen made a payment of a like ſum, and received the king's protection; and very few eccleſiaſtics in the kingdom appeared willing to ſuffer this new ſpecies of perſecution, for the ſake of their religious privileges.

But the ſum granted by parliament was not ſufficient to anſwer the king's neceſſities, and that raiſed by the clergy came in ſlowly. Edward, therefore, to obtain farther ſupplies, had recourſe to the moſt arbitrary and oppreſſive meaſures. He limited the merchants in the quantity of wool allowed to be exported; and, at the ſame time, forced them to pay him a duty of forty ſhillings a ſack, which was computed to be much above the fifth of the value. He ſeized all the reſt of the wool, as well as all the leather in the kingdom, and diſpoſed of them for his own benefit. He required the ſheriffs of each county to ſupply him with two thouſand quarters of wheat, and as many of oats, which he permitted them to ſeize where they could find them. The cattle, and other articles neceſſary for ſupplying his army, were taken away without the conſent of their owners; and though he promiſed to pay an equivalent for all thoſe commodities he had plundered from the people, they ſaw but little probability of his ever performing his engagements. By ſuch illegal acts he ſhewed a diſregard to the principles of the feudal law, by which all the lands of his kingdom were held, in order to increaſe his army, and to enable him to ſupport that great effort which he propoſed to make againſt France; for he required the attendance of every proprietor of land, poſſeſſed of twenty pounds a year, even if he held not of the crown, nor was obliged by the tenor of his eſtate to perform any ſuch ſervice.

Notwithſtanding the great perſonal regard entertained in general for the king, theſe violent proceedings raiſed murmurs among all orders of men; and it was not long before ſome of the great nobility, jealous of their own privileges, gave both countenance and authority to theſe complaints. Edward having aſſembled an army on the ſea-coaſt, which he propoſed to ſend into Gaſcony, while he himſelf in perſon intended to invade Flanders, would have put thoſe forces under the command of Humphrey Bohun, earl of Hereford, the conſtable, and Roger Bigot, earl of Norfolk, marſhal of England. But theſe two noblemen refuſed to execute his orders, affirming, that they were only obliged by their office to attend his perſon in the wars. A violent altercation enſued; and Edward, in the height of his paſſion addreſſing the conſtable, exclaimed, "Sir earl, be gone, you ſhall either go or hang." "By God, Sir king," replied Hereford, "I will neither go nor hang;" and immediately drew off, in company with the marſhal, and above thirty other conſiderable barons. The king, being thus oppoſed, laid aſide his deſign of an expedition againſt Guienne, and aſſembled the forces which he himſelf intended to take into Flanders. But the two earls, irritated by the conteſt, declared, that none of their anceſtors had ſerved in that country, and refuſed to perform the duty of their office in muſtering the army. Edward, now thinking it prudent to proceed with moderation, inſtead of attainting the earls, appointed Thomas de Berkley, and Geoffrey de Greyneville, to act as conſtable and marſhal. He then endeavoured to reconcile himſelf with the church; and taking the primate into favour, made him, in conjunction with Reginald de Grey, tutor to the prince, whom he intended to make guardian of the kingdom during his abſence. He even condeſcended to aſſemble a great number of the nobility in Weſtminſter-Hall, to whom he made an apology for his paſt conduct, pleading the urgent neceſſities of the crown; his extreme want of money; his engagements both from honour and intereſt to ſupport his allies abroad; promiſing, if he ever returned in ſafety, to redreſs all their grievances, and to make full ſatisfaction to his ſubjects for all their loſſes. Meanwhile he intreated them to ſuſpend their animoſities; to judge of him by his future conduct; to remain faithful to his government; and, ſhould he periſh in the preſent war, to preſerve their allegiance to his ſon.

The two earls, by theſe prudent meaſures, were convinced, that it would be very imprudent in them to carry their reſentments farther than they were warranted by the laws of their country. They therefore contented themſelves with drawing up a remonſtrance, which was preſented to the king at Winchelſea, when he was ready to embark for Flanders. Edward again promiſed them redreſs as ſoon as he returned to England; and added, that he hoped thoſe nobles who had declined leading his army, would make no attempts upon his crown or kingdom during his abſence. However, the barons were far from being ſatisfied with the king's verbal declarations; and he had hardly landed on the continent, before the conſtable and marſhal inſiſted on a confirmation both of the great charter, and the charter of the foreſts. Edward was very deſirous of putting it off till his return; but the parliament, which had been aſſembled at London by his order, joined with the diſcontented barons, and the two charters being ſent over to Flanders, the king confirmed them in preſence of all the prelates and nobility in his army: yet ſo great was his reluctance and reſentment on account of this compulſive act, that a ſhort time after he applied to the pope to abſolve him from his oath touching this matter.

A. D. 1298.

Edward did not land in Flanders till the ſeaſon was too far advanced for executing any plan of importance. The earl of Flanders, who had joined in a league with Edward, ſoon experienced the reſentment of the French monarch. Liſle, St. Omer, Courtray, and Ypres, were already wreſted from him; and many more of the principal places in his dominions were threatened with the ſame fate. The arrival of Edward, indeed, put a ſtop to the ſucceſs of Philip; but the two kings, inſtead of venturing a deciſive battle, agreed to a truce for two years; and entered into mutual engagements of ſubmitting their differences to the arbitration of the holy ſee: yet as both monarchs were jealous of their prerogative, they took care to inſert in the reference, that they did not ſubmit their differences to his deciſion, from any right the pope might pretend by virtue of his pontifical character, but merely by their own conſent as to a private perſon. The pope ſoon gave his ſentence, which ſeemed to have been dictated more by paſſion than cool judgment. He commanded not only a reſtitution of Guienne, but alſo the places that had been taken from the earl of Flanders. Philip was deſirous of comprehending John Baliol and the Scots in this treaty; but this was abſolutely refuſed by Edward. At laſt the two monarchs compromiſed the matters in diſpute, by making mutual ſacrifices to each other.

Edward abandoned his ally, the earl of Flanders; and Philip gave up the Scots. This is not the only time the intereſts of allies have been ſacrificed on the altar of ambition. The ſentence of Boniface was, however, regarded, and the treaty cemented by a double marriage; that of Edward with Margaret, Philip's ſiſter; and that of the prince of Wales with Iſabella, daughter of the French monarch.

In the mean time the affairs of Scotland took an unexpected turn. Edward had not been fortunate in the choice of thoſe in whoſe hands he had intruſted the civil adminiſtration. Warrenne, earl of Surry, to whom the chief authority had been delegated, was, indeed, a man of prudence, virtue, and abilities; but his ill ſtate of health obliged him to return to England. At his departure the reins of government were delivered to William de Ormeſby, chief juſticiary, and Creſſingham, the treaſurer. The former was diſtinguiſhed by the rigour and ſeverity of his temper; and the latter by his avarice. Perſons of ſuch characters were ill adapted to the taſk for which they were employed; and a very ſmall military force was at the command of theſe miniſters, to ſecure their precarious authority. Inſtead of making uſe of lenient meaſures to reconcile the Scots to the yoke, they treated them as a conquered people; and made them feel the full weight of the ſervitude under which they were oppreſſed. This exaſperated the whole nation; and the Scots reſolved on another effort for the recovery of their liberties.

William Wallace, a gentleman of ſmall fortune, but deſcended from an antient family, was one of the firſt who undertook the defence of his country. He was of gigantic ſtature; remarkable for heroic courage, and diſintereſted magnanimity; patient to a miracle under the extremes of hunger, heat, and cold; without inſolence when ſucceſsful; his genius always dictating the means of combating fortune, and his temperance always improving her favours. By his example he effected, what he could not preſcribe by his power. The love of his country commanding his paſſions, though of themſelves impetuous; and his duty controlling his ambition, though naturally unbounded. He had retired to the woods, to avoid the vengeance of the government; and put himſelf at the head of a ſmall choſen band, who had fled from the tyranny of the Engliſh. The fame of his exploits increaſed the number of his followers, which daily ſwelled, and were indefatigable in harraſſing their oppreſſors. Wallace now put his little band in motion, with a view of attacking the governors; but Ormeſby and Creſſingham, apprized of his intentions, fled into England. Elated at this ſucceſs, the Scots flew to arms; and ſome of the principal barons, among whom were the biſhop of Glaſgow, the earl of Carrick, with the families of Stuart and Douglas, who openly countenanced the party of Wallace.

Warrenne, earl of Surry, was now ſufficiently alarmed, and endeavoured to recover by the celerity of his motions, what he had loſt by neglect. He entered Annandale, and came up with the Scottiſh army at Irvine, before they were ſufficiently formed. The number of his forces conſiſted of forty thouſand men. Many of the Scotch nobles, alarmed at their ſituation, and thinking it would be in vain to oppoſe the Engliſh, made their ſubmiſſion, and obtained a pardon. Nevertheleſs Wallace, at the head of a choice body of followers, who had all bound themſelves by an oath never to lay down their arms till they had effected the liberty of their country, retired before the capitulation was ſigned, and poſſeſſed themſelves of an advantageous poſt above the monaſtery of Cambuſkenneth, in the neighbourhood of Stirling. Warrenne having continued his march, diſcovered the enemy on the oppoſite bank of the Forth; but at the ſame time perceived the danger of attacking them in this poſition, eſpecially as a bridge over the Forth was ſo narrow, as hardly to admit two men a-breaſt. Sir Richard Lundy, a Scotchman of birth and family, but a firm adherent to the Engliſh, deſired a party of five hundred horſe, and a proportional body of foot, might be put under his command, promiſing to paſs the river at a ford a few miles above, and to fall on the rear of the enemy, in order to divert their attention while the main body of the army paſſed the bridge. This prudent deſign was rejected by the continual ſolicitations of the impatient Creſſingham, who being actuated both by perſonal and national animoſities againſt the Scots, urged the earl of Surry to attack them immediately; exclaiming loudly againſt all delays as expenſive and diſhonourable. Warrenne, who conſidered theſe reflections as cenſures upon his own conduct, iſſued out his orders for the army to paſs the bridge. But he paid dear for his temerity. Wallace allowed ſuch a number of the Engliſh to paſs over as he was confident he could conquer; and then attacked them with ſuch fury, that they were all cut to pieces, or puſhed into the river, where they periſhed. Near five thouſand men fell in this action. Creſſingham was among the ſlain; whoſe memory being extremely odious to the Scots, they flayed his dead body, and made girths and ſaddles of his ſkin. Warrenne, after this defeat, finding the remains of his army which had been ſpectators of the deſtruction of their countrymen quite diſpirited, was obliged to march ſouthward, and retire into England.

Wallace was now declared regent of the kingdom, during the captivity of Baliol, and the Scots flocked from all parts to join his ſtandard; when, finding that unfavourable ſeaſons, and the deſtructive ſword, had produced a famine in Scotland, he perſuaded his army to march into England, to which propoſal of their brave general they joyfully conſented; and the caſtles of Roxborough and Berwick, after a feeble reſiſtance, opened the Scots a free paſſage into Northumberland; on which Wallace, invading the northern counties during winter, laid every place waſte with fire and ſword; and having extended the fury of his ravages on all ſides without oppoſition as far as the biſhopric of Durham, he marched back into his own country loaded with ſpoils, and crowned with honour.

Edward, informed of theſe events, haſtened his return to England, in order not only to wipe off this diſgrace by his activity and valour, but to recover Scotland, the ſovereignty of which he always conſidered as the chief glory of his reign. On his return, he endeavoured to appeaſe the murmurs of his people by conceſſions and promiſes. He ordered a ſtrict account of the quantity of corn, and other commodities which had been violently ſeized before his departure, to be taken, in order that the owners might receive ſatisfaction; he reſtored to the citizens of London the privilege of chuſing their own magiſtrates, which had been taken from them in the latter part of his father's reign; having aſſembled a parliament at York, he ſigned voluntarily the two charters, together with additional ſtatutes in favour of liberty, which he ordered to be read publicly for the ſatisfaction of the whole nation. This was done with great formality; and the biſhop of Carliſle denounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt all perſons who ſhould dare to violate the two great charters.

Theſe popular acts made him entire maſter of his ſubjects affections. They appeared to have but one heart; and flocking to his ſtandard, the king found himſelf at the head of one hundred thouſand fighting men. It was impoſſible for the Scots to oppoſe Edward, ſupported by ſuch an army, without a perfect union among themſelves; but this was far from being the caſe. Diviſions and envy had taken place among that unhappy people. The noblemen, deſcended from the royal line, inſtead of looking upon the patriotic virtues of Wallace with admiration, and joining in a glorious emulation in the ſervices of their country, threw out the moſt ungenerous reflections upon his conduct, and even charged him with a deſign of ſeizing the crown. They choſe rather to behold their country groaning under the yoke of perpetual bondage, than ſee themſelves eclipſed by a perſon of inferior birth. Wallace ſaw the fatal conſequences that muſt attend theſe diviſions. That brave man, dreading leſt inteſtine diſcords ſhould ruin the common cauſe, reſigned his authority; retaining only the command of his choſen followers, who being accuſtomed to victory under his banner, refuſed to follow any other leader into the field. The liberty of his country, not a love of power, or the cravings of ambition, had called him from his private ſtation; and the real patriot willingly ſacrificed the latter to preſerve the former. On his reſignation, the chief command of the army devolved on the ſteward of Scotland, and Cummin of Badenoch, men of high birth, under whom the nobility more willingly reſolved to defend their country. The two commanders collecting their forces from every quarter, fixed their ſtation at Falkirk, where they propoſed to wait for the Engliſh; and Wallace was at the head of his own band which acted under his command. The army of the Scots were compoſed of pikemen in the front, and the intervals between their three diviſions were interlined with archers. Dreading the advantage the Engliſh might obtain by the great ſuperiority of their cavalry, they endeavoured to ſecure their front by palliſadoes tied together with ropes.

When Edward arrived in ſight of the Scots, he was pleaſed with having an opportunity of endeavouring to finiſh the war by one deciſive ſtroke; and having divided his army alſo into three bodies, led them to the attack. It was begun by the Engliſh archers, who poured a ſhower of arrows upon the enemy. The Scottiſh bowmen, unable to ſupport the fury of the Engliſh, were driven from the field of battle with great ſlaughter. The archers purſued their advantage; and pouring in their arrows among the pikemen threw them into diſorder, which was improved by the cavalry, and a general rout enſued, attended with the moſt dreadful carnage.

It is impoſſible to fix, with any certainty, the exact number that fell in this remarkable battle. Some hiſtorians make the amount not leſs than fifty, and others ſixty thouſand; but there are thoſe who have reduced the account to twenty thouſand. This may be affirmed with truth, that the Scots never ſuffered a greater loſs, nor ever experienced a defeat that ſeemed pregnant with more deſtructive conſequences. This memorable battle of Falkirk was fought on the twenty-ſecond of July, one thouſand, two hundred, and ninety-eight years after the birth of Chriſt.

Wallace, by his military ſkill and preſence of mind, amidſt this general rout, kept his troops together; and having croſſed the Carron, which during the engagement lay in his rear, marched leiſurely along the bank of that ſmall river, which protected him from the enemy. Young Bruce, who had hitherto ſerved in the Engliſh army, appeared on the oppoſite ſide of the river; and, diſtinguiſhing the Scottiſh hero by the height of his ſtature, and his majeſtic port, called out and deſired a ſhort conference with him. He now repreſented to Wallace the fruitleſs and ruinous enterprize in which he was engaged; and endeavoured to perſuade him to bend at leaſt his inflexible ſpirit to the ſuperior merit, and ſuperior fortune of Edward. He inſiſted on the unequal conteſt between a weak ſtate deprived of its head, and agitated by internal diſcord; and a powerful nation, conducted by the moſt martial monarch of the age, poſſeſſed of every reſource either for drawing out the war, or puſhing it with the utmoſt vigour. If the love of his country was the only motive for his perſeverance, his obſtinacy could have no other tendency than that of prolonging her miſery. If he carried his private views to grandeur and ambition, he would do well to reflect, that if even Edward ſhould withdraw his army, it ſufficiently appeared from paſt experience that ſo many haughty nobles, proud of the pre-eminence of their family, would never ſubmit to perſonal merit, whoſe ſuperiority they were leſs inclined to regard as an object of admiration, than as a reproach and injury to themſelves. In anſwer to theſe exhortations Wallace replied, that if he had hitherto acted alone in the character of the champion of his country, it was only becauſe no ſecond, or, what he much rather wiſhed, no leader had yet appeared to place himſelf in that honourable ſtation: that the nobility alone were to blame, and particularly Bruce himſelf, who, uniting dignity of family to perſonal merit, had deſerted the poſt which the powerful calls of nature and fortune invited him to aſſume: that the Scots, with ſuch a leader, would, by their unanimity and concord, ſurmount the difficulties, great as they were, under which they at preſent laboured; and, notwithſtanding their late loſs, might hope to oppoſe, with ſucceſs, the utmoſt power and abilities of Edward: that heaven itſelf could not preſent a more glorious earthly prize before the view, either of ambition or virtue, than the joining in one object, the defence of national independence with the acquiſition of royalty; and that as the intereſt of his country could never be promoted with the ſacrifice of liberty, he himſelf was fully reſolved to prolong, to the utmoſt of his power, not her miſery, but her freedom; and was deſirous that his own life, as well as the exiſtence of the nation, might be brought to a period, when they could no otherwiſe be preſerved than by receiving the chains of a haughty conqueror. Theſe ſentiments made a deep impreſſion on the generous mind of Bruce. They were inſtantly conveyed from the breaſt of one hero to that of the other. Repenting of his engagements with Edward, he directed his attention to the honourable path Wallace had pointed out to him, and ſecretly reſolved to lay hold of the firſt opportunity of embracing the cauſe of his oppreſſed country.

Enraged at their late defeat, the Scots ſtill maintained the conteſt for liberty; but being fully ſenſible of the great inferiority of their ſtrength, they endeavoured to procure aſſiſtance from France; yet in vain they implored the protection of Lewis, who had abandoned them to the fury of their conqueror by his late treaty. However, they were more ſucceſsful in their application to Boniface. That pontiff, who ſeemed determined to carry the power of the papal chair to the moſt extravagant height, wrote a letter to Edward; in which, after confuting the pretenſions of that monarch to the ſuperiority of Scotland, advanced claims ſtill more abſurd in their room. He aſſerted, with a ſingular degree of confidence, that he, the pope, was true liege lord of Scotland; that his right was derived from the moſt remote antiquity. Edward, aſtoniſhed and offended, was at firſt diſpoſed to treat the pontiff's letter with contempt; but fearing the blind zeal of the people might occaſion diſorders in the nation, and interrupt his deſigns upon Scotland, he wrote an anſwer to the pope's epiſtle, wherein he advanced claims at leaſt as chimerical as thoſe of his holineſs. He deduced the ſuperiority of England over Scotland from the time of Brutus the Trojan, who, he ſaid, firſt founded the Britiſh monarchy in the days of Eli and Samuel. He laid it down as a fact, confirmed by antient records, that the kings of England had often made grants of Scotland to their ſubjects, and had dethroned their monarchs as vaſſals, when they rebelled againſt them. He recited, with great oſtentation, the homage which William had done to Henry II. but mentioned not the abolition of that extorted deed by Richard I. Theſe pretenſions, abſurd as they were, one hundred and four barons, aſſembled at Lincoln, confirmed. They alſo agreed to ſend them to Boniface; but took particular care to prevent this act from affording the ſmalleſt pretext for his holineſs to make it the foundation of any claim to a ſuperiority over England. They therefore annexed a poſitive declaration, that though they were willing to ſubmit theſe proofs to him as a man, they did not authorize him to act the part of a judge. "The crown of England," added they, "is free, nor will we ſuffer even the king himſelf to relinquiſh its independency." A ſentiment which ſhould be engraven on the memory, and cheriſhed among the immutable laws of nature in the breaſt of every Engliſhman.

A. D. 1303. Notwithſtanding Edward had obtained ſo complete a victory as that of Falkirk, the reduction of Scotland was far from being perfected. After the Engliſh army had reduced the ſouthern provinces, the want of proviſions obliged them to retire in 1299, and to leave the northern counties in the hands of the natives. Wallace continued at the head of a conſiderable party; and freſh forces joining them, they made incurſions into the ſouthern counties, which Edward imagined he had ſubdued. An army was now formed under Cummin, who had been appointed regent on the reſignation of Wallace. Theſe marched to Bigger, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. John de Seagrave, whom Edward had left guardian of Scotland, aſſembled all the Engliſh forces in that kingdom to oppoſe the Scots; but perceiving it would be difficult to procure the neceſſary quantity of proviſions for their ſubſiſtence in a body, he ſeparated them into three diviſions: the firſt was commanded by himſelf in perſon; the ſecond by his brother; and the third by Sir Robert Neville. The regent, taking advantage of this ſeparation, advanced, under cover of the night, to attack Seagrave's diviſion, which lay at Roſlin, about ſixteen miles from the Scottiſh camp. When dawn appeared, the Engliſh diſcovered Cummin's forces in full march to attack them; but it was too late to make the neceſſary preparations; ſo that the Scots fell upon them before they could form in order of battle, and obtained an eaſy victory; a few only eſcaped by flying to the ſecond diviſion, informing them at once of their defeat, and the approach of the enemy. The commander inſtantly drew up his men, and led them on directly to revenge the death of their countrymen. The Scots, elated with the victory they had lately acquired, ruſhed upon them with great intrepidity; and the Engliſh, animated by an eagerneſs of revenge, maintained a brave reſiſtance. The conteſt was bloody, but terminated in favour of the Scots, who broke the Engliſh, and chaſed them to the third diviſion, which was advancing in a haſty march to ſupport their companions. The Scots, already exhauſted by fatigue, and their ranks conſiderably thinned by the two former actions, would willingly have declined the engagement. They pleaded the exceſſive labours they had already undergone; they pointed to their wounds; and deſired to retire while it was yet in their power. Cummin, who knew that a retreat was now impoſſible, reminded them of the glorious cauſe for which they were fighting, the tyranny of the Engliſh, the glory of their anceſtors, and the diſgrace of ſlavery. Tranſported with renewed vigour by the perſuaſive arguments of their general, and the followers of the camp arming themſelves with the weapons of their ſlaughtered enemies, they ſtood boldly the ſhock of a third engagement, and with the utmoſt difficulty obtained the victory. The event was not, however, inglorious to Neville; for he reſcued Seagrave, who had been taken priſoner in the firſt action, and retreated, though driven off the field, in excellent order. Thus the Scots obtained three victories in one day, the fame of which, added to the favourable diſpoſition of the people, ſoon enabled the regent to take all the fortreſſes in the ſouth.

The arduous undertaking of the conqueſt of Scotland was now to be performed over again by Edward, and he prepared for it with the utmoſt vigour. His forces being aſſembled at Roxborough, he advanced into the heart of that kingdom at the head of an army, againſt which the Scots were unable to make any reſiſtance. A powerful fleet at the ſame time coaſted the ſhores, and ſupplied the army with neceſſary proviſions. The enemy had no other reſource than to fly for ſafety to the mountainous parts of their country; while Edward marched ſecurely to the utmoſt boundaries of the iſland, laying waſte the country wherever he came. The only oppoſition he met with was from two or three caſtles: even the intrepid Wallace, though he watched narrowly the motions of the Engliſh army, found few opportunities for diſplaying his valour. Stirling caſtle indeed reſiſted during the whole winter; nor capitulated till the month of July in the following year. The capture of this fortreſs completed Edward's fourth expedition, and third conqueſt of Scotland.

A. D. 1305. However, there remained one obſtacle to be removed before the monarchy of Scotland could be ſaid to be aboliſhed. The gallant Wallace was yet unconquered. A few of his faithful adherents attended him from mountain to mountain, ſtill maintaining that independence, which was their boaſt and pride, the great object of their purſuit, and their final hope, ſhould victory attend their arms. But their hopes were blaſted by one baſe act of treachery. Edward had iſſued a general pardon to all who had carried arms againſt him. The publication of this cauſed a conſiderable deſertion in the hitherto faithful band of Wallace; in conſequence whereof, he was obliged to wander from one part of the country to another, in order to keep himſelf concealed from the vigilant eyes of his enemies. At laſt that brave patriot, that true friend of his country, who determined, amidſt univerſal ſlavery, to maintain his freedom, was betrayed into the hands of Edward by Sir John Monteith, his pretended friend, whom he had informed of the place in which he concealed himſelf. The king, whoſe natural bravery ought to have induced him to reſpect that quality in an enemy, ſubmitted to the dictates of barbarous policy; and with a view of over-awing the Scots by an example of unjuſt ſeverity, ordered him to be conducted in chains to London. The undaunted hero, worthy of a better fate, proceeded thither through prodigious crouds, aſſembled to gaze on the man who had filled the whole country with terror. The day after his arrival in London, he was brought to trial in Weſtminſter-hall, where he was placed upon an elevated ſeat, and was crowned with laurel, which he truly deſerved in honour of his merit, by way of (diſgraceful meanneſs in his judges!) deriſion and inſult. On his being accuſed of treaſon, he pleaded not guilty; affirming, it was equally abſurd and unjuſt to charge him with being a traitor to a prince, whoſe ſovereignty he had never acknowledged: that he was a free-born native of an independent nation; and as he had never ſworn fealty to Edward, he was not ſubject to the laws of England. But his plea being over-ruled by the court, he was found guilty, and ſentenced to be executed as a traitor. This ſevere ſentence was carried into full execution; and after this brave man had ſuffered, the divided parts of his body were hung up in four of the principal cities of England.

Reader, let us here pauſe a little. A ſingle tear from the humane heart and pitying eye, will not be thought too great a tribute, I know it will not, by every generous Briton, over the fate of an honourable Scotchman, whoſe only crime ſeems to have been a brave and determined oppoſition to one, whom he deemed a rapacious invader of his country's freedom.

A. D. 1306. But this political ſacrifice of the injured ſufferer, did not anſwer the purpoſe for which it was deſigned by Edward. The Scots, already diſguſted at the innovations introduced into their laws and government by the ſword of their conqueror, were now exaſperated by the injuſtice and cruelty exerciſed upon Wallace. All the envy, which during his life-time had attended that gallant leader, being now buried in his grave, he was univerſally regarded as the champion of Scotland, and the patron of her expiring independence. The people, ſtimulated by reſentment, were every where diſpoſed to take arms againſt the Engliſh government; and it was not long before a more fortunate leader appeared, who, after ſome ſtruggles, conducted them to victory and to liberty.

Robert Bruce, the ſon of that Robert who had been one of the competitors for the crown, had, at his father's death, ſucceeded to all his pretenſions; and the deceaſe of John Baliol in France, about the ſame time, together with the captivity of Edward, his eldeſt ſon, ſeemed to open an extenſive field to the genius and ambition of this young nobleman. He had obſerved, that the Scots, when the right to the crown had failed in the males of the antient royal family, had been divided into nearly equal parties between the houſes of Baliol and Bruce, and that a concurrence of circumſtances had tended to wean them from the former. He therefore hoped that the Scots, who from want of a leader had been ſo long expoſed to the oppreſſions of their enemies, would unanimouſly reſort to his ſtandard, and ſeat him on the vacant throne. This young nobleman opened his mind to Cummin, with whom he was ſtrictly intimate, and found him, as he imagined, to be of the ſame ſentiments. But on the departure of Bruce, who attended Edward to London, Cummin, who had either diſſembled with him, or from reflecting more coolly, reſolved to make a merit of betraying him, and revealed the ſecret to the king. Edward did not however immediately commit Bruce to priſon, becauſe he intended to ſeize, at the ſame time, his three brothers, who reſided in Scotland; and contented himſelf with ſetting ſpies upon him, who were ordered to watch ſtrictly all his motions. A nobleman, in Edward's court, Bruce's intimate friend, was informed of his danger; but not daring, while he was encompaſſed with ſo many watchful eyes, to hold converſation with him, he had recourſe to a device which he hoped would give him ſufficient warning of his danger. He ſent him by a ſervant a purſe of gold, and a pair of gilt ſpurs; which he pretended to have borrowed of him, truſting in his friend's ſagacity to diſcover the meaning. Bruce took the hint, and contrived the means of his eſcape. In a few days he arrived at Dumfries, in Anandale, and had the happineſs to find there a great number of the nobility of Scotland, and among the reſt, John Cummin, his treacherous friend. He informed them that he was come to live or die with them, in defence of the liberty of his country, and hoped with their aſſiſtance, to redeem the Scots from the indignities they had ſo long ſuffered, under the tyranny of their imperious maſters; that the ſacrifice of the juſt claims of his family, was the firſt injury which had prepared the way for the ſlavery that enſued; and by reſuming them, he afforded the joyful proſpect of recovering their antient and hereditary independence, from the fraudulent uſurper: that all their paſt misfortunes had ſolely proceeded from their diſunion; and they would ſoon appear formidable to their enemies, if they would now follow the ſtandard of their lawful prince, who knew no medium between death and victory: that their valour and their mountains, which, during ſo many ages, had protected their liberty from all the efforts of the Roman empire, would ſtill, if they were worthy of their generous anceſtors, be ſufficient to defend them againſt the Engliſh tyrant: that it did not become men, born to the moſt antient independence known in Europe, to ſubmit to the will of any maſters; but that it was doubly fatal to receive thoſe, who being irritated with the higheſt animoſity, would never think themſelves ſecure in their uſurped dominion, till they had exterminated all the ancient inhabitants; and that being reduced to this dreadful extremity, it were better for them to die at once, like brave men with ſwords in their hands, than always to dread, and at laſt undergo, the fate of the brave, but unfortunate Wallace, whoſe merit, in the generous defence of his country, was at laſt rewarded by the hands of an Engliſh executioner. The manly ſentiments conveyed in this ſpeech, which was delivered with all the ſtriking advantages of oratory, aſſiſted with a noble deportment, and all the winning graces of youth, rouſed in the minds of his audience the principles of revenge; who declared their reſolution of ſeconding his patriotic deſigns, and aſſerting the undoubted rights of the nation, againſt their common oppreſſors. Cummin alone, who had ſecretly taken his meaſures with the king, oppoſed this general determination; endeavouring to ſet before them the folly of an attempt, pregnant with deſtruction, being againſt the power of England, governed by a prince of uncommon abilities; he added, that nothing but the moſt rigorous puniſhment could be expected, if they again broke their oaths of fealty, and ſhook off their allegiance to the victorious Edward. Theſe inſinuations were little reliſhed by Bruce and his adherents. He had already been informed of Cummin's treachery, and ſaw the certain failure of all his ſchemes from the oppoſition of ſo powerful a leader. He was therefore determined to remove this obſtacle to his ambition at the expence of his virtue. Accordingly he followed Cummin on the diſſolution of the aſſembly; attacked him in the cloiſters of the Grey-friars; ran him through the body; and left him for dead. Sir Thomas Kirkpatric, one of Bruce's friends, aſking him ſoon after if the traitor was ſlain; "I believe ſo," replied Bruce. "And is that a matter," replied Kirkpatric, "to be left to conjecture? I will ſecure him." Then drawing his dagger, he ran to the altar, and ſtabbed Cummin to the heart. Hence the family of Kirkpatric took for the creſt of their arms, which they ſtill wear, a hand with a bloody dagger, with this motto, "I will ſecure him." This deed of violence, which was then conſidered as a noble atchievement of patriotic virtue, revived the ſpirit of the nation. Bruce and his adherents, who were now more than ever objects of Edward's reſentment, had only the alternative to conquer or periſh. They now ſaw that ſucceſs muſt depend alone on their determined valour. The Scots embraced with ardour the pleaſing hopes of recovering their liberty. The Engliſh were again driven out of the kingdom, except thoſe who had taken refuge in places of ſtrength; and Bruce was ſolemnly crowned king of Scotland, in the abbey of Scone, by the biſhop of St. Andrews.

Edward, though far advanced in life, felt his boſom glow with an ardent deſire of revenge. He diſpatched Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, with the lords Robert Clifford, and Henry Piercy, at the head of a body of forces, to protect the few remaining friends of his government in Scotland, while he himſelf prepared to ſupport them with the whole force of his army. Bruce had collected a conſiderable number of raw, undiſciplined troops, who were encamped at Methven, in Perthſhire, without ſuſpecting the approach of an enemy. Pembroke ſurpriſed them in the night; and the Scots were completely routed. Bruce made a moſt gallant reſiſtance; was thrice thrown from his horſe, and as often remounted by the good conduct of Sir Simon Frazer; but at length was obliged to retreat, with a few of his adherents, and take ſhelter in the weſtern iſles. Several perſons of diſtinction, who were taken priſoners, among whom are numbered Frazer the earl of Athol, and Sir Chriſtopher Seton, were immediately executed as traitors.

A few days after this event Edward arrived in Scotland, to triumph, not to conquer; for the poor natives in general ſubmitted to him, and he had little to do but to puniſh their ſuperiors. He therefore divided his army into two bodies, ſending one to the north, under the command of the prince of Wales, aſſiſted by the earls of Lancaſter and Hereford. Theſe took Bruce's caſtle at Kildommy, where they made priſoners his queen and ſiſter, with many of his principal followers. After this expedition, the prince and his father met at Perth, and all Scotland was once more reduced under the power of Edward; yet no ſubmiſſions could appeaſe his hatred of thoſe who had made any reſiſtance. The executions he ordered were numberleſs. His reſentment even drove him to unmanly fury. Lady Mary Campbell, ſiſter to Bruce, and the counteſs of Buchan, he encloſed in wooden cages, and hung over the walls, the one at Roxborough, and the other at Berwick, as a ſpectacle for the rude populace. However, Edward, notwithſtanding ſo many ſacrifices were daily offered to his ambition, was very uneaſy on account of Bruce. This prince lay concealed for ſome time in the iſle of Raughrin; whence he ſent Sir James Douglas and Sir Robert Boid to acquaint his friends, that he was ſtill alive: and theſe taking up arms, he ſecretly put himſelf at their head, and cut off a convoy intended for an Engliſh corps in that county. His followers being by this exploit equipped with arms, and furniſhed with proviſions, he attacked the caſtle of Tunberry, which he took, and obliged lord Piercy, who commanded in thoſe parts, to retire to the ſouthward. This action was performed by a body of only four hundred men. The king was now at Carliſle, when he ordered Thomas and Alexander, two of Bruce's brothers, who were taken in an attempt to invade Galloway, to be executed. He was exaſperated to find his ſchemes diſconcerted by a handful of wretches, miſerable in every reſpect that can render life deſireable, except in the love of liberty and heroic actions. He could not think of the re-appearance of Bruce, but with the greateſt uneaſineſs: his reflections preyed upon his ſpirits, and the pain they cauſed daily increaſed. The affairs of Scotland were much altered ſince the time he had formed the laſt ſcheme for its eſtabliſhment. Severity and lenity had been equally ineffectual; and neither power nor policy could extinguiſh the ſpark which ever exiſt in minds leſs fearful of death than dependence. In vain was every corner of the two kingdoms filled with ſanguinary executions, or dreadful impriſonments. The ſhackled bodies and mangled limbs of the Scots inſpired their unſubmitting countrymen with revenge inſtead of terror; and late as the ſeaſon was, the king found it neceſſary to order the earl of Pembroke, and Lord Lorn, with a body of veterans, to advance in ſearch of Bruce and his party.

To theſe painful mortifications was added an affliction in his own family, which afforded Edward an affecting proof, that happineſs will not frequently attend the ſteps of policy, wiſdom, power, and human greatneſs. He beheld, with concern, the profligacy of his ſon, the prince of Wales, who was entirely guided by Gaveſton, his young Gaſcon favourite. Edward had ſeveral times endeavoured in vain to break the infamous connection, and to reclaim his ſon, ſometimes by paternal admonitions, at others by puniſhments bordering on ſeverity. But a freſh inſult being now offered to the biſhop of Cheſter, the king reſolved to proceed in a legal manner againſt the favourite, and it was determined that Piers Gaveſton ſhould, in three months, embark for France, and never more return to England, without the king's permiſſion or command; at the ſame time he ordered him a penſion of one hundred marks a year, on condition that both he and the prince ſhould ſolemnly ſwear to obſerve the ſentence pronounced againſt them.

A. D. 1307.

Bruce, bleſſed with a genius that taught him to improve under afflictions, and to riſe ſtill greater from defeat, perceiving that the force of the enemy was far ſuperior to his own, intrenched himſelf on the brow of a hill; but obſerving the highlanders, under Lord Lorn, fetching a compaſs round the eminence by which he muſt ſoon have been ſurrounded, he divided his little army into three bodies, and ordered them to march different ways, but all to rendezvous, by a certain time, in the wood of Glantroule, near Cumnock. This retreat being happily performed, Bruce found his army conſiderably increaſed by the acceſſion of new friends, and he obtained ſeveral advantages over the enemy, though his whole force did not exceed a thouſand men. With theſe however he knew ſo well how to chooſe his ground, and watch his opportunity, that he defeated the earl of Pembroke, and attacked a party under the earl of Glouceſter, with ſo much reſolution, that after a bloody diſpute, that nobleman was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle of Ayre, till he ſhould be relieved by Edward. This gleam of ſucceſs raiſed the Scots from deſpair. The fire of freedom ran from breaſt to breaſt, and Bruce, in a ſhort time, found his army increaſed to ſeveral thouſands, by which he became a dangerous, becauſe a deſperate enemy.

On the other hand Edward made preparations for invading Scotland, with more fury than ever. He reſolved to give no quarter to the Scots; but lived not to carry his cruel purpoſe into execution. He had for ſome time been afflicted with a dyſentery, which had weakened him exceedingly; yet his eagerneſs to finiſh the reduction of Scotland ſuffered him not to continue at Carliſle. His army being aſſembled, he cauſed himſelf to be removed by eaſy journeys, unable to march above two miles a day. Arriving at a place, called Burgh, upon the ſands in Cumberland, he found nature too weak to proceed any farther. He took to his bed; and his dying ejaculations, if we may credit a cotemporary writer, were worthy of a repentant Chriſtian.

Having enjoined his ſon and ſucceſſor, with his laſt breath to proſecute the enterprize, and never to deſiſt till Scotland was ſubdued, he expired on the ſeventh of July, in the ſixty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign, exceedingly reſpected and beloved by his ſubjects.

By his firſt wife, Eleanor of Caſtile, he had four ſons; but Edward his heir and ſucceſſor was the only one who ſurvived him. He had likewiſe by the ſame conſort eleven daughters, ſix of whom died in their infancy. Eleanor was married to Henry, duke of Bar; Joan to Gilbert Clare, earl of Glouceſter, and afterwards to Ralph de Monthermez; Margaret to John, duke of Brabant; Elizabeth to John, earl of Holland, and afterwards to Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford; Mary was a nun at Ambreſbury. By his ſecond wife, Margaret of France, he had two ſons; Thomas, earl of Norfolk, Edmund, earl of Kent; and a daughter, named Eleanor, who died in her childhood.

In this reign, Matthew of Weſtminſter, a Benedictine monk, compiled his hiſtory of England, to whoſe labours ſubſequent hiſtorians have been greatly indebted.

The tribute paid to Rome, of a thouſand marks a year, to which John had ſubjected the kingdom, in doing homage to the pope, had ſince his time been regularly paid; but the vaſſalage was conſtantly denied; and that court, for fear of giving offence, had not much inſiſted on it. This money was not called by the name of tribute, but that of *cenſus*. Edward paid it always with great reluctance; having ſuffered it at one time to be in arrear for ſix years, and at another for eleven.

In ſome former reigns the taxes had partly conſiſted of ſcutages, or ſums to exempt the vaſſals of the crown from their attendance in military ſervices, and partly in ſuch a proportion of moveables as the parliament thought fit to grant: but in this reign ſcutages were entirely dropped, and the king, in lieu thereof, had, from time to time, duties upon exportations and importations; the moſt conſiderable of which was generally laid by parliament upon wool.

Character of Edward I.

He was well qualified to captivate the populace by his exterior appearance; being upon the whole, notwithſtanding the remarkable length and ſlenderneſs of his legs, of a graceful perſon, and dignified aſpect; having regular features, with ſtrong, piercing black eyes. But his ſolid underſtanding, and thoſe political virtues, which greatly overbalanced his private and public vices, were of that caſt, as could not fail to gain him the approbation of all men of ſenſe. Endued alike with perſonal bravery, and political courage, he had the ſpirit to undertake, and reſolution to accompliſh, ſome of the moſt difficult and dangerous enterpriſes, that ever were attempted by any Engliſh monarch. The projects which he formed were more regularly conducted and more conducive to the ſolid intereſt of his kingdom, than thoſe undertaken in any preceding reign. He reſtored authority to the government, diſordered by the weakneſs of his father; he maintained the laws againſt the efforts of his turbulent barons; he fully annexed to his crown the principality of Wales; and he took the wiſeſt and moſt ſpirited meaſures for reducing Scotland to a like condition. The equity of his attempts upon that kingdom has been juſtly queſtioned; but when it is remembered, that the union of the two kingdoms muſt have been attended with the moſt ſolid advantages to both, we ſhall perhaps be more inclined to praiſe, than cenſure his conduct. At the ſame time it muſt be confeſſed, that if his character ſhould be thought exceptionable in this particular, his country obtained the moſt permanent benefits from his heroic virtues; and he was conſidered all over Europe as the flower of chivalry. Nor was he leſs famous for his civil than his military abilities. The improvements he made in the Engliſh law were ſo great, that he received the appellation of the Engliſh Juſtinian; as under him the civil policy of England was not only purged from the pollutions of former reigns, but refined, enlarged, and confirmed. The numerous ſtatutes paſſed in this reign, relating to the chief points of juriſprudence, became conſtant and durable laws, that ſtill ſubſiſt; while the regular order maintained in his government, brought the judges to a certainty in their determinations. Sir Matthew Hale, on mentioning the ſudden improvements of the Engliſh laws, in the time of Edward I. aſſerts, that, till his days, they had not received any conſiderable amendments. He aboliſhed the office of juſticiary, who he thought poſſeſſed too much power; and divided the court of Exchequer into four diſtinct courts, which managed each its reſpective branch of buſineſs. He firſt eſtabliſhed the office of juſtice of the peace; repreſſed robberies and diſorders of every kind; and encouraged trade, by giving merchants an eaſy method of recovering their debts. He reduced by wiſe expedients the exorbitant power of eccleſiaſtical authority, and treated the function according to merit of character. Their poſſeſſions were unalienable, and perpetually augmenting: he therefore prevented them from making new acquiſitions by the ſtatute of mortmain. But what will ever render the name of this prince dear to the Engliſh, was his eſtabliſhing the houſe of Commons, by ſummoning two deputies from every borough, conformable to the example of the earl of Leiceſter. By this means the boroughs became of importance to the ſtate; and the mechanics and tradeſmen, whom the feudal ſyſtem had placed in a deſpicable point of view, acquired the honour of being one of the branches of the legiſlature; trade was encouraged, and men of property thought it no diſgrace to engage in the commerce of their country. With this pleaſing ſcene we could wiſh to cloſe the hiſtory of this great monarch. A painter might here take the liberty of drawing a vail over his foibles; but it is the duty of an impartial hiſtorian, to weigh even the character of an Edward, in the balance of ſtrict juſtice; and we muſt confeſs, that in the beginning and latter end of his reign, his amiable qualities, and beneficent actions were ſullied by ambition, reſentment and cruelty. To extend his power ſeems to have been his grand ſpring of action, without regard to the juſtice of means, or the effect of cauſes. Theſe are too evident from his bloody and expenſive war with Scotland; his ſeverities towards Llewellin and Wallace, heroes, whoſe laudable efforts againſt ſlavery and dependence, muſt endear their names to the lateſt poſterity; and his rigid treatment of all who oppoſed his will, or obſtructed his arbitrary deſigns. Yet theſe blemiſhes appear what ſhadows are to lights, appendages in every good picture, and which ſerve as foils to ſet off his more ſtriking virtues. If his acts of tyranny and oppreſſion draw our attention on one ſide; let us on the other behold his penetration, diſcernment, ſoundneſs of judgment, perſonal valour, refined policy, and circumſpection of conduct. Let us view him introducing a new face of things by the wiſdom and vigour of his government. Above all, let us behold this prince as laying the foundation for that ſpecies of government, which is ſtill the glory and boaſt of this iſland, and we cannot with-hold from him that reſpect and cordial eſteem, with which his ſubjects treated him, and to which he is juſtly entitled.

CHAP. III.

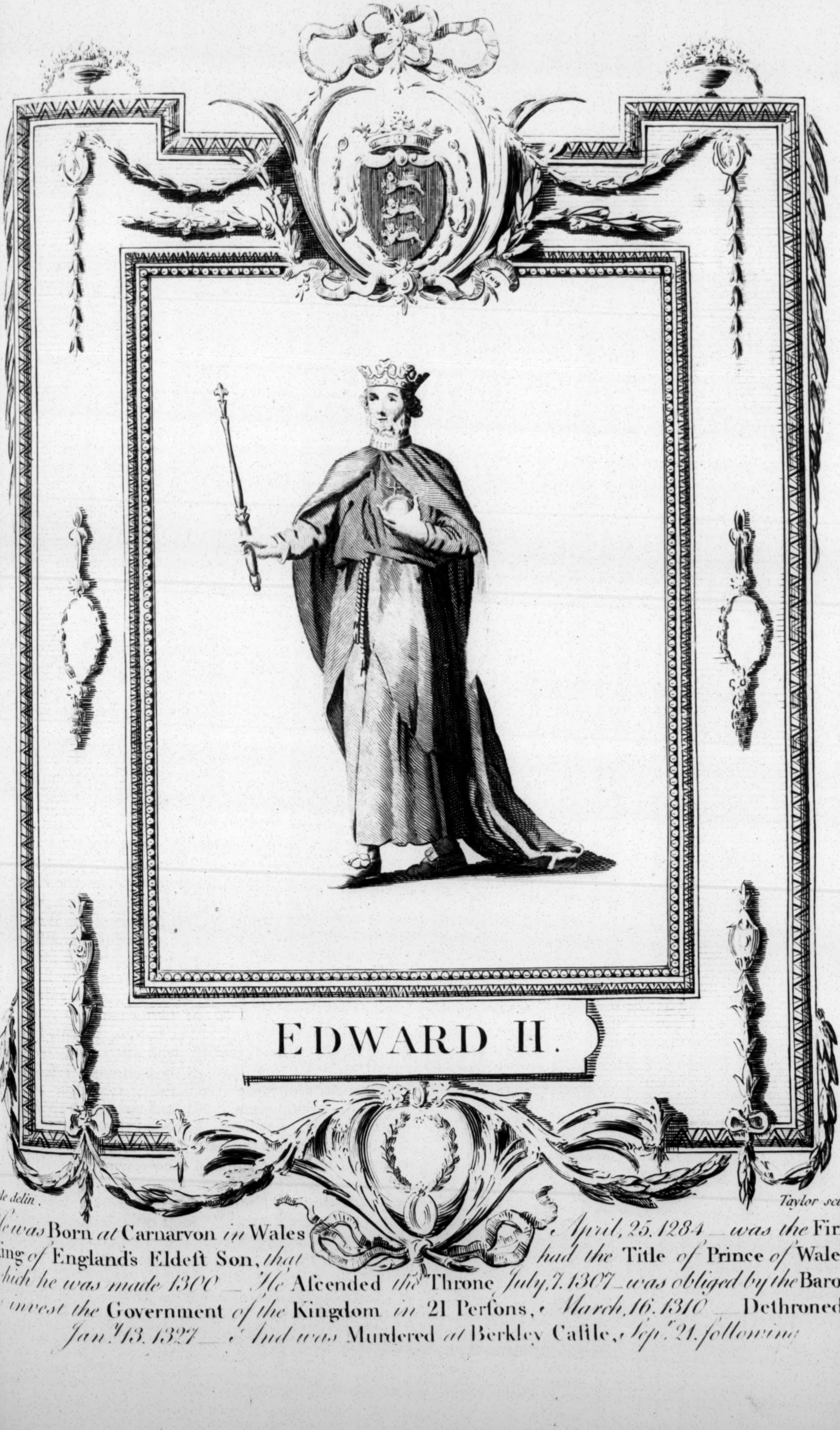
EDWARD II.

Neglects the injunction of his dying parent, by not proſecuting the war with Scotland—Recalls Gaveſton, his firſt favourite, whom the barons beſiege in Scarborough, takes priſoner, and cauſe his head to be ſtruck off by an executioner—Bruce effectually ſecures the crown of Scotland, and eſtabliſhes the tranquillity of his kingdom—Hugh le d'Eſpenſer, or Spencer, Edward's ſecond favourite—His weak paſſion for this young nobleman—A confederacy of the barons, who oblige the king to baniſh his favourites—Edward having defeated his barons, recalls the two Spencers—Queen Iſabella's averſion to them, and love for Mortimer, engage her in a conſpiracy againſt the king—The two Spencers hanged—Edward retires to Wales, where for a time he conceals himſelf—Is committed cloſe priſoner in the caſtle of Kennilworth, dethroned, and cruelly murdered—His character.

A. D. 1307. EDWARD II. ſurnamed Caernarvon, from the place of his birth, was, on his acceſſion, about twenty-three years of age. He aſcended the throne of his illuſtrious father, at a time when public affairs wore a moſt pleaſing aſpect; when harmony univerſally prevailed; for the people were fond of the ſon, through the veneration in which they held the memory of his beloved parent. They had formed the moſt flattering expectations of enjoying both tranquillity and happineſs under the government of their young prince; but they ſoon perceived, that all their hopes were built on a chimerical foundation, and that the pleaſing proſpect was merely deluſive; for this Edward was born to obey, not to govern; and wanting both the abilities and ſpirit of his father, he was unable to ſupport the regal authority over a proud and turbulent nobility. A ſcepter ſwayed in ſuch feeble hands could but become contemptible. His father, on his death bed, had charged him to purſue the enterprize againſt Scotland with the utmoſt vigour. "Carry my aſhes before you," ſaid he to his ſon, "the rebels will never be able to ſupport the ſight of them." But Edward's ruling paſſion was far from being of the heroic kind. Being at Carliſle, he ordered a rendezvous of his troops, who were ſtill on their march, at Dumfries in Scotland, where they made a gallant appearance; yet this was not done with a view of carrying his father's deſigns into execution; for he had advanced but a little way into that kingdom, when he returned with precipitation, and diſbanded his forces. Nor was this the only inſtance in which Edward violated his filial engagements; for immediately on his return from Scotland, he recalled his favourite Gaveſton, and even before his arrival, preſented him with the earldom of Cornwal, which would have been a ſufficient proviſion for a prince of the blood. Piers Gaveſton was a Gaſcon knight, diſtinguiſhed by the elegance of his perſon, a fine mien, an eaſy carriage, which conſtituted his chief merit; yet with theſe qualifications, accompanied with lively ſallies of wit, he gained an entire aſcendency over the weak mind of young Edward, while his vices threatened the deſtruction of the ſtate. On his arrival, one of our writers ſays, the king ignobly careſſed him, with all the ardour of love that nature directs to a female beauty. However this may be, it is certain, the king appeared to covet the poſſeſſion of royalty for no other reaſon than that he might ſhower down his favours on this worthleſs minion. Honour, faith, promiſes, intereſt, and even decency, vaniſhed before this inſolent foreigner. He cauſed him to be married to his own niece, the earl of Glouceſter's ſiſter; and among other favours, he made him a preſent of thirty-two thouſand pounds, which the late king had allotted for the ſupport of a hundred and forty knights, who had engaged to carry his heart to Jeruſalem. By his advice Edward removed from their offices the chancellor, treaſurer, judges, and barons of the Exchequer, and filled their places with his followers. Langton, biſhop of Litchfield, was impriſoned, and the temporalities of his ſee ſequeſtered; while Gaveſton being appointed great chamberlain and ſecretary of ſtate, governed the kingdom as prime miniſter.

Edward now ſummoned a parliament at Northampton, to regulate his father's funeral, together with his own marriage and coronation. A ſubſidy was granted for defraying expences; and an order was made, that the baſe coin which would not paſs in the late reign, ſhould be current all over the kingdom. The body of the late king, which had been carried to Waltham-abbey, was now removed to Weſtminſter-abbey, where it was buried with the uſual ceremonies, and a plain ſtone monument, erected to his memory, is to be ſeen to this day. Theſe rites performed, Gaveſton, before the king's departure for France, was appointed guardian of the realm, with full powers to diſpoſe of all vacant places and benefices. It is no wonder that the barons ſhould be offended at the favours thus laviſhed on a foreigner of inferior birth; who inſtead of endeavouring by his moderation to diſarm envy, diſplayed with the utmoſt oſtentation his power and influence. He was vain glorious, profuſe, and rapacious. Hence his enemies daily multiplied, and nothing was wanting but time to cement their union.

A. D. 1308. After a ſhort paſſage, Edward landed at Bologne, where, having done homage to the king of France for Guienne and Ponthieu, his marriage with the princeſs Iſabella was ſolemnized with great ſplendor, in preſence of Philip, king of France; Lewis, king of Navarre; Charles, king of Sicily, and the king of the Romans. On his return to England with his queen, their coronation was performed in Weſtminſter-abbey by the biſhops of Saliſbury, Wincheſter, and Chicheſter, commiſſioned by the archbiſhop of Canterbury who was prevented by ſickneſs from attending at the ceremony. But a difficulty aroſe, previous to its performance, which greatly alarmed Edward. The barons, incenſed at the inſolence of his favourite, who affected to treat them with the moſt mortifying contempt, refuſed to aſſiſt at the coronation, unleſs Gaveſton was baniſhed the kingdom. Edward promiſed to redreſs all their grievances, provided they would not force him to delay the ceremony; and the barons, in return, agreed to ſuſpend their reſentment. But the minion was ſo far from profiting by theſe national marks of diſguſt to his perſon and conduct, that he appeared with the moſt oſtentatious pomp in the proceſſion, in which he carried the crown of St. Edward before the king. The ceremony was no ſooner over, than the king renewed all the proofs of that fond attachment to his unworthy favourite, who became intoxicated with power, and looked down on the nobility with ſupercilious contempt. Nor did even the queen eſcape the attacks of his pointed ridicule. Iſabella, finding that not only her huſband's capacity required that he



EDWARD II.

Wale delin. Taylor sculp.

He was Born *at* Carnarvon *in* Wales *April, 25. 1284 — was the* Firſt King *of* England's Eldeſt Son, *that had the* Title *of* Prince *of* Wales, *which he was made 1300 — He* Aſcended *the* Throne *July, 7. 1307 — was obliged by the* Barons *to invest the* Government *of the* Kingdom *in* 21 Perſons, *March, 16. 1310* — Dethroned. *Jany 13. 1327 — And was* Murdered *at* Berkley Caſtle, *Sepr 21. following*

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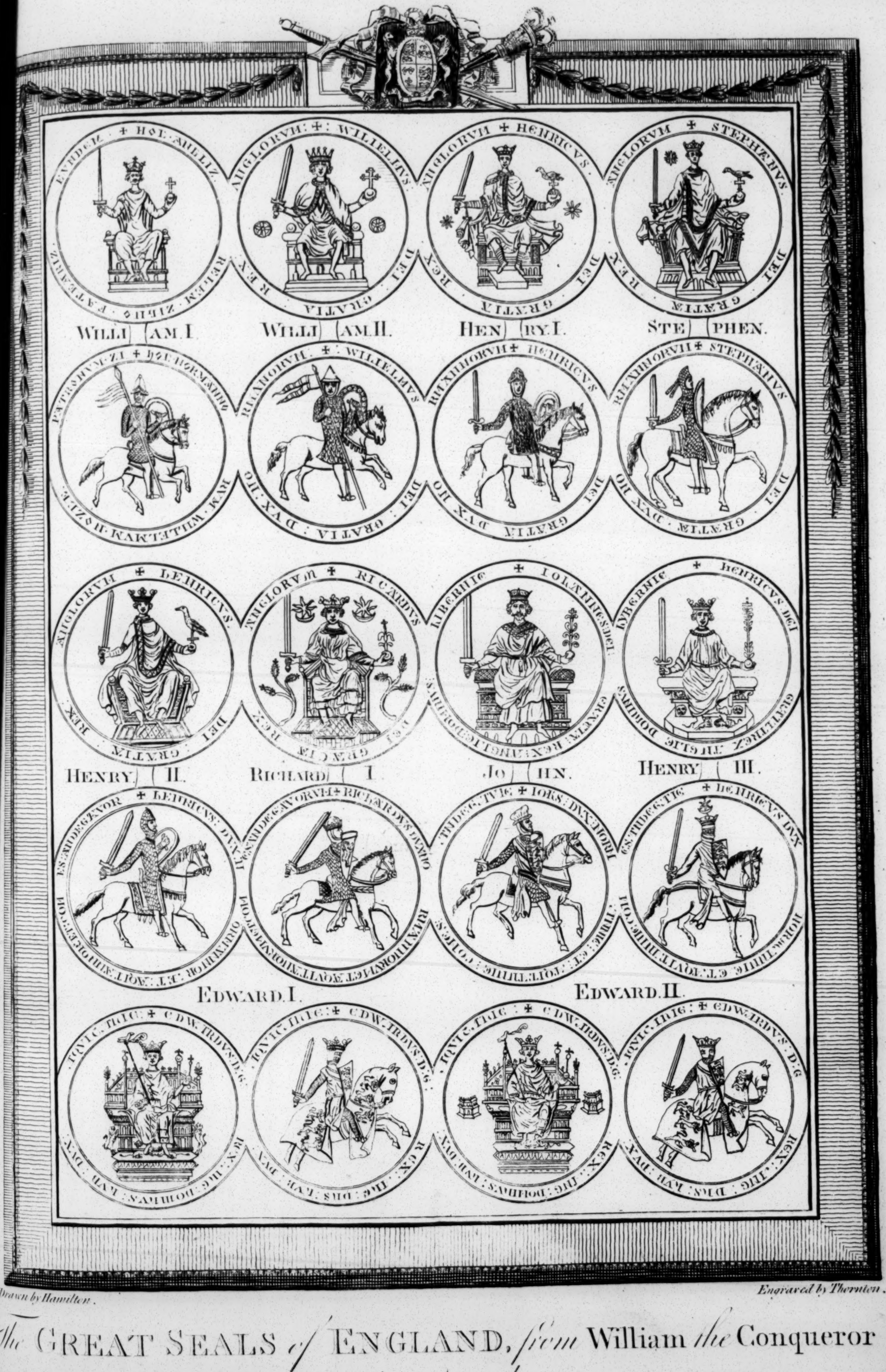
WILLIAM I.
WILLIAM II.
HENRY I.
STEPHEN.
HENRY II.
RICHARD I.
JOHN.
HENRY III.
EDWARD I.
EDWARD II.

Drawn by Hamilton. Engraved by Thornton.

The GREAT SEALS of ENGLAND, from William the Conqueror to Edward II., Accurately taken from the Original Impreſsions.

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he ſhould be governed, but that his temper inclined him to it, thought ſhe was beſt intitled to the office; and harboured in her breaſt a mortal hatred to the man who had ſupplanted her. She was therefore glad to ſee the nobles uniting againſt Gaveſton; while he, perceiving that ſhe hated him, wantonly inſulted and provoked her.

Thomas, earl of Lancaſter, couſin-german to the king, one of the moſt opulent and powerful ſubjects in England, became head of that party of the nobles who deſired the depreſſion of this arrogant minion. The aſſociated barons bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath never to deſert each other, till the deteſted object of their hatred was baniſhed the kingdom. A parliament having been ſummoned at Weſtminſter, Lancaſter and his party, determined not to miſs ſo favourable an opportunity, came thither with an armed retinue; inſiſted on the baniſhment of Gaveſton; and demanded, that he ſhould abjure the realm before Midſummer; even the biſhops, in caſe of his refuſal, pronounced him excommunicated. Edward found it would be in vain to reſiſt, and therefore complied with their demands: but inſtead of ſending him to Gaſcony, the place of his birth, as the barons expected, the king appointed him lord lieutenant of Ireland; attended him as far as Briſtol when he ſet out for his new government; and conferred on him lands and honours both in Gaſcony and England.

Edward was inconſolable for the loſs of his favourite, and had recourſe to every expedient that might have a tendency to ſoften the barons, and pave the way for his return. In order to this, he conferred the high office of hereditary ſteward upon the earl of Lancaſter: the earl of Lincoln was bought off by other conceſſions, and earl Warrenne was mollified by civilities, promiſes, and valuable grants; ſo that Gaveſton's inſolence being no longer apparent, became leſs the object of general reſentment; and the king, finding matters ſufficiently prepared to anſwer his purpoſe, applied to the court of Rome, and obtained a diſpenſation from that oath which the barons had compelled Gaveſton to take, that he would for ever abjure the realm. By theſe lenient applications the anger of the nobles was appeaſed, and the whole aſſociation receded from their reſolution, except Guy, earl of Warwick. Edward, having obtained the completion of his wiſhes, recalled his abſent darling; and went as far as Cheſter to receive him, on his firſt landing from Ireland. He flew into his arms with tranſports of joy; and, having a little before gained the formal conſent of the barons in parliament for his re-eſtabliſhment, ſet no bounds to his extravagant fondneſs and infamous careſſes. This unmanly conduct of the king, rekindled the ſparks of popular odium againſt Gaveſton; who, forgetting every thing that was paſt in the embraces of his ſovereign, and blind to thoſe cauſes which had excited the reſentment of the barons againſt him, reſumed his wonted oſtentation and inſolence; and with a view to ſecure a ſtrong party in his favour, diveſted many people of their places, beſtowing them on his adherents; by which means he incurred the implacable hatred of thoſe whom he had deprived of their poſts, without gaining any real advantage, or ſtrengthening his own intereſt. His preſumptuous behaviour revived the animoſities of his enemies, who vowed revenge, particularly the earl of Lancaſter, from ſome private injury he had received; yet Gaveſton affected to contemn their reſentment, and the firſt nobleman in the kingdom were not exempted from the laſh of his ſatyrical reflections.

A. D. 1310. The barons, therefore, enraged at his public miſconduct and perſonal ridicule, re-united their councils for his deſtruction; and the king, dreading the conſequences of this union, renewed his proclamation, prohibiting the barons from coming to parliament in armour. This precept they obeyed; but at a parliament ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter, they appeared with numerous retinues all armed, reſolving to compel the king to redreſs the grievances of the nation. With this view they propoſed to elect twelve perſons, who ſhould, till the term of Michaelmas in the following year, have authority to enact ordinances for the regulation of the king's houſhold, and for the government of the kingdom; and that the ordinances ſhould thenceforth, and for ever, have the force of laws; alſo, that the ordainers ſhould be allowed to form aſſociations for their ſtrict and regular obſervance. The king at firſt ſcrupled to grant their petition, which was indeed equivalent to a command, and a plain indication that he was utterly incapable of holding the reins of empire himſelf; but the barons threatening to proceed to extremities, he thought it moſt prudent to ſubmit; and iſſued a commiſſion, empowering the prelates, earls, and barons, to elect proper perſons for making the propoſed regulations. Theſe ordinances required ſheriffs to be men of property; aboliſhed the practice of iſſuing privy-ſeals for the ſuſpenſion of juſtice; prohibited the adulteration of coin; reſtrained the practice of purveyance; excluded foreigners from the office of farming the revenue; revoked all the grants of the crown; and ordered all payments to be made regularly into the Exchequer. By theſe it was enacted, that the church ſhould enjoy her privileges; that the two great charters ſhould be obſerved; that no prizes ſhould be taken by the king's officers without the owner's conſent; that none ſhould be entruſted with certain offices, but ſuch whoſe lands were ſufficient to anſwer for their actions; that parliaments ſhould be held annually; that all perſons proſecuted unjuſtly, and acquitted, ſhould be entitled to damages; that none ſhould be appealed maliciouſly, or outlawed in counties where they had no lands or tenements; that they ſhould neither forfeit their eſtates, nor loſe their lives, provided they ſurrendered themſelves to ſtand trial; that pardons for robbery, and other felonies, ſhould not be granted without good reaſon, but deemed void, unleſs agreeable to the king's oath, the courſe of law, and the cuſtom of the kingdom; that the king ſhall not leave the realm, nor declare war againſt any prince or potentate, without the conſent of the barons; that on his quitting the kingdom without their conſent, a guardian of the realm ſhall be appointed by the parliament, who ſhall alſo nominate the chief officers of ſtate, of the houſhold, of the revenue; in a word, all perſons employed under the crown, in any part of his majeſty's dominions; that the power of making war, or aſſembling the military tenants of the crown, ſhall no longer be ſolely veſted in the king, nor be exerciſed without the conſent of the nobility. That, (which particularly grieved the king) all evil counſellors ſhall be removed from the king's perſon, particularly Henry de Beaumont, and his ſiſter the lady Veſey, who had obtained grants from the king diſhonourable to the dignity, and prejudicial to the prerogatives of the crown. That whereas Piers Gaveſton had given evil counſel to his majeſty; removed all perſons of integrity and abilities from the public offices, and ſupplied their places with his own worthleſs creatures; embezzled the king's treaſure; impoveriſhed the realm, by obtaining unreaſonable grants, and procuring blank charters, which he filled up according to his own pleaſure; protected robbers; arrogated to himſelf regal power and dignity, and formed combinations inconſiſtent with the law of the land; he ſhould for theſe miſdemeanors, abjure the realm for ever, before the firſt of November; and if found in any part of his majeſty's dominions after that day, ſhould be treated as a public enemy. That all perſons in office ſhould take an oath to obſerve theſe ordinances; and that one biſhop, two earls, and as many barons, ſhould be choſe in every parliament to receive complaints againſt the king's miniſters, and others who ſhould violate theſe laws, and to puniſh offenders at diſcretion. The commiſſion concluded with declaring, that all this was done for the glory of God, the ſecurity of the church, and the advantage of the whole nation. In return for the royal condeſcenſion, the barons ſigned a declaration, in which they acknowledged that they owed theſe conceſſions to the royal bounty; promiſed that they ſhould never be drawn into precedent; and engaged that the power of the ordainers ſhould expire at the time ſtipulated. Edward, after allowing a parliamentary ſanction to be given to the above articles, ſecretly proteſted againſt them; declaring, that ſuch as ſhould be found prejudicial to either the king or his kingdom, were to be held as not ratified and confirmed; and the parliament was no ſooner diſſolved, than, repairing to York, where he was no longer under the controul of the barons, he repealed the article relative to the exile of his favourite as being unjuſt, and contrary to his coronation oath. After this imprudent act, he invited Gaveſton to return from Flanders, whither he had retired, declaring that he had been illegally baniſhed, and openly reſtored him to his former authority and credit. The barons, exaſperated at the king's having thus violated his engagements, renewed their confederacies againſt his odious favourite with redoubled zeal. The earl of Lancaſter was at their head: Guy, earl of Warwick, joined the confederacy with great warmth: Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, and Humphry Bohun, earl of Hereford, the conſtable, and added to it a great acceſſion of power and intereſt; even earl Warrenne, who had hitherto ſupported the royal cauſe, joined the diſcontented barons; and Robert de Winchelſea, archbiſhop of Canterbury, being of the ſame party, both the clergy and the people were united in the ſupport of the ſame common cauſe. The earl of Lancaſter inſtantly raiſing an army, marched to York, from whence Edward had removed to Newcaſtle: he then marched thither in purſuit of him; and the king had but juſt time to make his eſcape to Tinmouth, where he embarked on board a ſhip, and with his favourite arrived at Scarborough. In this fortreſs he depoſited the object of his affections; which, being well ſupplied with proviſions, was thought impregnable. Edward now proceeded by ſea; and landing at Knareſborough, went to York, in hopes of levying an army ſufficient to ſupport him againſt the forces of his enemies.

A. D. 1312. In the mean time while the king was thus employed, who found the people not inclined to join his ſtandard, Pembroke laid ſiege to the caſtle of Scarborough. Gaveſton, ſenſible of the bad condition of his garriſon, and want of proviſions, was obliged to capitulate on the nineteenth of May, having firſt ſtipulated that he ſhould remain in Pembroke's hands for two months, during which time means ſhould be uſed for bringing about an accommodation; but if the terms propoſed by the barons ſhould not be accepted, the caſtle ſhould be reſtored to him in the ſame condition as when he ſurrendered it. Pembroke having now the public enemy in his power, conducted him to the caſtle of Dedington near Banbury, where he left him, probably by conſent of the confederates, with a feeble guard, under pretence of preſſing buſineſs. But, before he returned, Gaveſton was carried off by the earl of Warwick, who, together with the earls of Lancaſter, Arundel, and Hereford, in violation of their engagements, cauſed him to be beheaded by the hands of a common executioner on the firſt of July. Edward having received the news of this affecting event, burſt into the moſt violent tranſports of grief, and ſuffered ſuch agitations as muſt have endangered his life, had not his mind been ſupported by determinations of revenge. His anguiſh became loud and impetuous; he denounced vengeance againſt the murderers of his beloved Gaveſton; and inſtantly made preparations for war in all parts of the kingdom. Having ſummoned a parliament to meet in Auguſt, he repaired to Dover, where he fortified the caſtle, received the oath of allegiance from the barons of the cinque ports, and then returning to London, aſſembled a conſiderable body of forces. But the barons, proclaiming tournaments in different counties, levied ſuch a number of troops as exceeded the royal army. The earl of Lancaſter at their head advanced towards London; and a civil war muſt have followed, had not the earls of Richmond and Glouceſter, with the pope's nuncio, and the French ambaſſador, interpoſed their good offices. A treaty was ſet on foot by their mediation, and a ſafe conduct granted to the earl of Hereford, and the lords Clifford and Botetourt, to appear at court, in order to treat about an accommodation. About this time the queen, being delivered at Windſor of her eldeſt ſon Edward, the king was ſo elated, that he ſeemed to have forgot the loſs of Gaveſton. He ſent to inform the barons, that he would conſent to any thing they could reaſonably aſk. They demanded, that all the ordinances, without exception, ſhould be confirmed; and that a full pardon ſhould be granted for the murder of that traitor Gaveſton, for thus they called him. Edward at firſt rejected this condition; but the treaty was at laſt concluded on the following terms, that the barons ſhould come before the king in Weſtminſter-hall, and aſk pardon on their knees; that all Gaveſton's effects, which had been ſeized at Newcaſtle, ſhould be reſtored; that they and their adherents ſhould have a full pardon for every thing that was paſt, under the ſanction of parliament; that a like pardon ſhould be granted to that unhappy favourite's friends and adherents; and that immediately after the pacification, a ſupply ſhould be granted for carrying on a war with Scotland.

A. D. 1314. Tranquillity being thus reſtored between the king and his barons, it was now determined to ſend a powerful force againſt the Scots, who, taking advantage of the troubles in England, had made inroads into the northern counties, and committed the moſt dreadful ravages. The whole military force of the kingdom was aſſembled; and Edward put himſelf at the head of a powerful army, which, according to Scottiſh writers, amounted to an hundred thouſand men. Bruce, whoſe army was inferior in numbers, endeavoured to ſupply by art, what he wanted in ſtrength. He choſe the field of battle with the utmoſt prudence; and made the neceſſary preparations for receiving the Engliſh. He poſted his army at Bannock-burn, about two miles from Stirling, having a hill on his right flank, and a moraſs on his left. In the front of his camp ran a ſmall river, the banks of which, and the bed of the ſtream, he filled with ſharp ſtakes; and cauſed the ſame to be placed in deep pits which were dug a little beyond the oppoſite bank, covering them over with turf. The van of the Engliſh army reached the neighbourhood of the Scottiſh camp in the evening of the twenty-fourth of June, and a ſmart ſkirmiſh enſued between two parties of cavalry. The Engliſh were led by Henry de Bohun, a younger brother of the earl of Hereford, and the Scots by Bruce in perſon. The conteſt was very bloody; and decided at laſt in favour of the Scots by the valour of Bruce, who, riding up to Bohun, cleft his head with a battle-axe, in ſight of both armies. The Engliſh retreated, and night put a ſtop to the reinforcements which were marching to their relief; otherwiſe the action had become general. As ſoon as the morning appeared, each ſide prepared for the dreadful conflict. The wings, compoſed of cavalry, were commanded by the earls of Glouceſter and Hereford, and the king himſelf led the centre or main body. Bruce drew up his forces, conſiſting chiefly of foot, in three lines, and a body of reſerve. The centre was commanded by himſelf; the right wing by his brother Edward; the left by Randolph, and the body of reſerve by Sir James Douglas. When the Engliſh army was on the point of engaging, a diſpute happened between the earls of Glouceſter and Hereford with regard to making the firſt attack upon the enemy. The former claimed this poſt of honour by cuſtom, and the latter as conſtable of England: but the earl of Glouceſter, impatient of controul, ſprung forward to the charge, and fell into the covered pits; by which imprudent ſally of youth his whole ſquadron was thrown into confuſion, many of the horſes being ſtaked in a terrible manner, and he himſelf periſhed. Several of the concealed trenches had been diſcovered during the ſkirmiſh in the evening; and the king, in order to prevent a ſimilar misfortune, gave orders for a body of infantry to take a circuit round the moraſs, and to attack the main of the Scottiſh army in flank; and during the confuſion of that unexpected attack, the cavalry were to have forded a paſſage of the river, and fallen ſword in hand on the embarraſſed enemy.

Notwithſtanding this diſaſter, the Engliſh archers advanced againſt the right wing of the enemy, and galled them ſo effectually with their arrows, that they began to give way; which Sir James Douglas perceiving, he fell ſuddenly upon the rear of the Engliſh with ſuch impetuoſity, that they were routed with great ſlaughter. Mean while the center, commanded by Edward, moved on againſt the main body of the Scots, and met with a warm reception from Bruce, who fought in the front of the line with amazing valour. The Engliſh were diſheartened by the great loſs they had ſuſtained; when they obſerved on the heights towards their left, what they imagined to be another army marching leiſurely to ſurround them. This was nothing more than a number of waggoners and ſumpter boys, whom Bruce had ſupplied with military ſtandards, which at a diſtance gave them the appearance of a numerous body of forces. The Engliſh, ſtruck with a panic, fled with the utmoſt precipitation, and Bruce obtained a complete victory. Edward was hurried off from the field of battle by his attendants to Stirling caſtle; but the governor refuſing him admittance, he fled to Dunbar, where he was cordially received by Patric, earl of Marche, an old and faithful adherent of his family. In this obſtinate action great numbers of the Engliſh were killed, as well in the purſuit as the field; and more would have ſhared the ſame fate, had not the Scots been particularly attentive to the plunder, which is ſaid to have amounted to the value of two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. Forty principal barons, with a multitude of knights, were taken priſoners; and the number of ſlain, according to Scottiſh hiſtorians, amounted to ſeven hundred lords, knights and eſquires; but according to other accounts, there were about one hundred and fifty-four killed of the former, and near twenty thouſand of the latter. Of the Scots, between four and five thouſand were ſlain in the field of battle. Bruce treated all his priſoners with the greateſt humanity. He ſent the bodies of the earl of Glouceſter and lord Clifford to the Engliſh monarch; he diſmiſſed lord Monthermer, for whom he had a particular friendſhip, without ranſom; he exchanged the earl of Hereford and other noblemen, for his wife, his daughter, and ſiſter, the earl of Mar, and the biſhop of Glaſgow; and he cauſed the ſlain in battle to be decently interred. Edward, diffident of his ſecurity at Dunbar, embarked on board a ſmall veſſel and landed at Berwick, whence he repaired to York, and convened a parliament to conſider of the ſtate of the nation.

A. D. 1315.

This deciſive battle of Bannockburn, ſecured the independency of Scotland, by fixing Bruce on the throne; but Edward, inſtead of calling forth the united force of the whole nation to vindicate its honour, trampled upon it ſtill more by attaching himſelf to a new favourite. This was Hugh le d'Eſpenſer, or Spencer, a young man deſcended from a noble family, and an Engliſhman by birth. He poſſeſſed all the exterior accompliſhments of perſon and addreſs, neceſſary to engage the affections of Edward; but wanted that prudence and moderation which alone could have ſupported him, when ſurrounded by dangerous enemies. He was at firſt forced upon the king by the earl of Lancaſter as chamberlain of the houſhold, in which capacity he ſo ingratiated himſelf with Edward by his obſequious behaviour, that he gained the ſame aſcendency over him, which Gaveſton had formerly poſſeſſed. His father, who had alſo acquired a conſiderable ſhare in the adminiſtration, was venerable for his age; and during his whole life had been reſpected for his wiſdom, his valour, and his intrepidity. Young Spencer had no ſooner ſucceeded Gaveſton in the king's affection, than he began to exerciſe a moſt arbitrary ſway in the direction of public affairs, and from a dependent, became the rival of Lancaſter. He had married Eleanor, one of the co-heireſſes of Gilbert de Clare, earl of Glouceſter, and in right of this lady enjoyed the greateſt part of Glamorganſhire. But his ambition and avarice induced him to encroach on the ſhares of the other ſiſters, and even uſurp the lands of other proprietors. He ſeized the caſtle of Newport from Hugh de Audley, who had married one of his ſiſters-in-law, and afterwards compelled him to grant a conveyance confirming his poſſeſſion; he likewiſe prevailed on the king to reſume the grants of ſome caſtles he had beſtowed on Roger de Mortimer, and appropriated them to himſelf. But the moſt exceptionable part of his conduct was his diſpute with John de Mowbray, who had married Aliva, daughter of William de Barouſe, lord of Gower. By a ſpecial deed, this nobleman had granted the lands and honours of Gower to his daughter Aliva, and his ſon-in-law Mowbray, and to their heirs, with the remainder to Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, and his heirs. By virtue of this grant, Mowbray took poſſeſſion, without any licence from the king, of whom it was held *in capite*; and young Spencer made uſe of this pretence to obtain judgment, by which the lands were forfeited.

Incenſed at this violation of their privileges, the lords of the Marches were determined to humble the pride of this overbearing minion. The earls of Lancaſter and Hereford, Audley, Roger de Clifford, the two Mortimers, with many others, flew to arms, and demanded peremptorily the baniſhment of the two Spencers. The king refuſed to comply. Upon which they marched to London, and preſented to parliament an accuſation againſt his two miniſters and favourites. The Spencers were condemned to baniſhment, without a ſingle crime being proved againſt them; and upon their ſubmitting quietly to their ſentence, the barons diſbanding their army, ſeparated to their ſeveral caſtles. But the patient acquieſcence of Edward, to the demands of his turbulent ſubjects, ſo weakened his authority, that others thought they might without impunity deſpiſe it.

A. D. 1321. The queen having occaſion to paſs by Leeds in Kent, belonging to lord Badleſmere, diſpatched one of her ſervants, to acquaint him of her intention of lodging there that night, but ſhe was refuſed admittance, and ſome of her attendants were killed. This inſult upon a princeſs, who was herſelf an enemy to the Spencers, not one of the confederates juſtified, and the king aſſembled an army to puniſh the offender. He took his caſtle, and put the governor with ſeveral of the garriſon to the ſword. Having now ſome forces on foot, Edward ventured to recal his favourites, and reſolved at the ſame time to attack their enemies. He therefore haſtily advanced to the Marches of Wales, and found them entirely unprepared for reſiſtance. Many of the barons in thoſe parts, ſtrove to appeaſe him by ſubmiſſion, on which he ſeized their caſtles, and cauſed their perſons to be committed to cuſtody. Lancaſter, in order to prevent the total ruin of his party, ſummoned his vaſſals, declaring he had entered into an alliance with the king of Scotland, and had received a promiſe of a reinforcement, under the command of Randolph, earl of Murray, and Sir James Douglas. Being ſoon after joined by the earl of Hereford, he advanced with all his forces againſt the king, who having aſſembled an army of thirty thouſand men, was much ſuperior to his enemies in number. Young Spencer now returned to England, and preſented a petition, ſetting forth the illegality of the ſentence pronounced againſt him, and offered to vindicate his innocence againſt all oppoſition. He was therefore committed to cloſe cuſtody, and his eſtate taken into the royal protection, till the affair ſhould be decided by a judicial proceſs. His petition was referred to the inſpection of the prelates belonging to the province of Canterbury, who condemned the ſentence as illegal and unjuſt; upon which Hugh was ſet at liberty, and again admitted into the king's council.

A. D. 1322. The earl of Lancaſter, encouraged by the hope of a powerful aſſiſtance, took poſt at Burton upon Trent, in order to defend the paſſage of that river; and to prevent Edward croſſing it, a ſtrong party was placed on the bridge, which they maintained three days ſucceſſively againſt the attacks of the royal army. At length the king forded the river; and Lancaſter reſolving to give him battle, advanced with great confidence and alacrity; but on perceiving the vaſt ſuperiority in point of numbers, he was intimidated, and retreated towards Borough-bridge, in order, if poſſible, to reach the borders of Scotland. But Sir Andrew Harcla, governor of Carliſle, ſuſpecting his deſign, poſted himſelf with a body of troops, to diſpute his paſſage over the river Eure, ſo that Lancaſter found himſelf reduced to the wretched alternative of venturing an engagement, or of ſurrendering himſelf a priſoner to Harcla. He choſe the former: but the earl of Hereford being ſlain in the firſt charge, and Sir Roger de Clifford dangerouſly wounded, the reſt of the troops fled with great precipitation, and Lancaſter was taken priſoner, with about one hundred barons and knights. The next day, after having been removed from York to his own caſtle, which had ſurrendered to the king without oppoſition, he was arraigned in the caſtle-hall before the earls of Richmond, Pembroke, and ſeveral others, who found him guilty of appearing in arms againſt the king, and condemned him to be hanged, drawn and quartered; but the ſentence was afterwards changed, in conſideration of his being a prince of the blood. This noble earl now experienced the ſame indignities, which had before been practiſed upon Gaveſton. He was dreſſed in mean apparel, placed upon a mean horſe without a bridle, and a hood upon his head. In this ignominious manner he was conducted to an eminence in the neighbourhood of Pomfret, amidſt the ſcoffs of the rabble, and there beheaded, on the twenty-third of March. Thus fell Thomas, earl of Lancaſter, one of the moſt powerful barons in the kingdom. Lord Badleſmere, the principal promoter of this inſurrection, Gifford, Cheney, Fleming, and about eighteen others, were afterwards executed at Canterbury, Windſor, Glouceſter, and London, *in terrorem*, for a terror to the country: many were confined in priſon, and others fled from the kingdom. The king's friends were rewarded out of their eſtates. Harcla, in particular, received for his ſervices a large grant, with the earldom of Carliſle. He ſoon after forfeited his eſtate with his life, for carrying on a treaſonable correſpondence with the king of Scotland. But the greateſt part of the forfeitures to the crown were ſeized by young Spencer, whoſe rapacity had no bounds. Hence many of the barons were much diſpleaſed at ſo partial a diviſion of the ſpoils; and the envy againſt the king's minion roſe to a greater height than ever, which wes increaſed by his uſual inſolence, enflamed by ſucceſs which impelled him to commit many acts of violence and injuſtice. He thus became ſtill more the object of popular averſion, and all the relatives of the attainted barons vowed ſecretly revenge, which conſtituted the ſource of future convulſions. Things being in this ſtate of confuſion, there could be little room to hope for ſucceſs in foreign wars; whence Edward, having made another fruitleſs attempt upon Scotland, found it neceſſary to conclude a peace of thirteen years. And though Bruce's title to the crown was not acknowledged in that treaty, he was ſatisfied with ſecuring the poſſeſſion of it for ſo long a time. He had bravely expelled all the attacks of England; and carried the war both into that kingdom and into Ireland; and his throne was firmly eſtabliſhed, not only by force of arms, but in the affection of his people: yet he muſt naturally feel ſome inquietude, while at war with a kingdom, which, however divided by faction, was greatly ſuperior both in riches and in number of people. At the ſame time this truce was the more ſeaſonable to England, as the nation was then threatened with the danger of entering into a war with France.

A. D. 1325. Charles the Fair, third ſon, and the third ſucceſſor of Philip the Fair, ſummoned Edward to do him homage for his province of Guienne. Spencer, who ſaw all the conſequences that might attend his own authority during the king's abſence, would not conſent to his leaving the kingdom. It was likewiſe the unanimous opinion of parliament, that it was improper for the king to go abroad in perſon, but that ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to the court of France, requeſting, that the homage might be delayed to a more convenient opportunity. Charles refuſed to poſtpone the ceremony, and ſent a body of troops to attack Guienne. In this dilemma, the fertile imagination of Iſabella furniſhed her with an expedient for removing all difficulties, and putting it in her power to be revenged on the younger Spencer, whom ſhe deteſted as a rival in the affection of her conſort. She propoſed that the king ſhould reſign the ſoveriegnty of Guienne to his ſon, and that the prince ſhould be ſent to Paris, to perform the required duties of a vaſſal. This device concealed a ſnare imperceptible by the Engliſh council, Edward and Spencer were charmed with the queen's contrivance, and the young prince was ſoon after ſent to Paris. Iſabella had now gained her point, and determined, by accompanying her ſon, to make uſe of her good fortune by procuring the deſtruction of her enemies. Edward and his minion were ſoon convinced of the egregious blunder they had committed, in truſting the heir apparent to the crown in the hands of an ambitious woman. Iſabella, on her arrival in France, had found there a great number of fugitives, who had belonged to the earl of Lancaſter's party, and mutual hatred of Spencer ſoon created a ſecret friendſhip between them, and that princeſs. Among the reſt was Roger Mortimer, a powerful baron of the Welch Marches, one of the leaders of the late rebellion, who had fortunately made his eſcape out of priſon to France. This young nobleman, with the graces of perſon and addreſs, in a ſhort time engaged the affections of the queen, who ſacrificed to a vicious paſſion every ſentiment of honour and fidelity to her huſband. The exiled barons daily reſorted to her court, where Mortimer lived with her in the utmoſt intimacy. Edward, informed of this intrigue, ordered the queen to return; but in anſwer ſhe declared her reſolution of continuing in France, till the Spencers ſhould be baniſhed England with infamy and diſgrace. This declaration procured her popularity among the Engliſh, and covered her intrigues with a vail of decency.

A. D. 1326.

Every lenient method having been tried in vain, to bring the queen to a ſenſe of her duty, reſource was had to the pope, who readily engaged in the cauſe of the injured Edward. His holineſs wrote a very preſſing letter to the king of France, inſiſting, even on pain of excommunication, that the queen of England ſhould be ſent back to her huſband. Charles was ſo affected by this menace of the pontiff, and much more by the ſhameful commerce carried on between Mortimer and his ſiſter, that he was determined to ſupport her openly no longer. Having for ſome time expected this event, Iſabella had formed an alliance with William, count of Hainault and Holland, to whoſe daughter ſhe had contracted her ſon, the prince of Wales; who in return promiſed her an aſylum in his dominions, and to aſſiſt her with a body of troops. She retired therefore directly into Hainault, where ſhe was received with the ſtrongeſt marks of kindneſs and reſpect. The utmoſt diſpatch, and every probable expedient were now uſed for raiſing a body of forces to attend the queen and the young prince to England. Three thouſand men were now enliſted in her ſervice, placed under the command of John, the count of Hainault's brother. With theſe ſhe ſailed from Dort, and landed without the leaſt oppoſition on the coaſt of Suffolk, with the earl of Kent, who accompanied her, on the twenty-fourth of September. Soon after her landing, ſhe was joined by the earls of Norfolk and Leiceſter, two princes of the blood, with all their followers. The biſhops of Lincoln, Hereford, and Ely, added not only the authority of their characters, but brought with them their vaſſals; and even Robert de Watteville, whom the king had ſent to oppoſe her in Suffolk, ſurrendered up to her all his forces. Iſabella, to give the greater appearance of juſtice to her cauſe, renewed her declaration, that her only purpoſe was to deliver the king and nation from the tyranny of the Spencers, and of chancellor Baldoc, their creature. This proclamation had the deſired effect: it allured the populace, and the prince in her army, made the barons think themſelves ſecure.

At this time the king was at London, where he made a vain attempt on the citizens to eſpouſe his cauſe. Perceiving that no reliance could be placed on their loyalty, he ſet out for the weſtern parts of England, flattering himſelf that he ſhould there meet with better ſucceſs, that his ſubjects, in ſuch an obſcure corner, would commiſerate his diſtreſs, and ſupport their king againſt the unnatural rebellion of an implacable woman. Edward had no ſooner left London, than popular rage broke out with the utmoſt violence againſt his miniſters. The outrageous mob not only plundered, but murdered thoſe who were moſt obnoxious to them: among theſe was the biſhop of Exeter, whom they ſeized as he was paſſing through the ſtreets, beheaded him, and threw his body into the Thames. They gained poſſeſſion of the Tower by ſurprize, and then agreed to ſhew no mercy to thoſe, who ſhould dare to oppoſe the prince and queen Iſabella. The ſame ſpirit ſpread throughout England, and filled the few perſons who ſtill adhered to the unfortunate king with the utmoſt terror.

The foreign forces, under John de Hainault, with the earl of Kent, purſued the king to Briſtol, and inveſted the caſtle, which the elder Spencer, who had been left governor thereof, would have defended to the laſt extremity; but the garriſon infected with the diſloyalty of the times, mutinying againſt him, delivered him up to his enemies. Not the leaſt reſpect was paid to this venerable nobleman. All his former ſervices, with his virtues, were alike forgotten; and though near ninety years of age, he was condemned without trial, and hanged on a gibbet; after which his body was cut to pieces and thrown to the dogs. Thus the common dictates of humanity, with the laws both human and divine, were ſacrificed to the unjuſt reſentment of a ferocious nobility!

Edward, purſuant to his reſolution, had embarked for Ireland, but being driven back by contrary winds, he endeavoured to conceal himſelf in the Welch mountains. However by the force of all-powerful gold, the difficulty of diſcovering his retreat was ſoon removed: and the king was taken at Caerfilly in Glamorganſhire, with the younger Spencer, Baldoc the chancellor, and a few domeſtics; all the reſt of his ſycophant courtiers having deſerted him in the midſt of his misfortunes. The king was committed to the care of the earl of Leiceſter, and confined in Kenilworth caſtle. His favourite, the young Spencer was executed without any form of trial, with the moſt ſhocking circumſtances of barbarity and inſult. Chancellor Baldoc, being a prieſt, was ſent to the biſhop of Hereford's palace in London, where he was aſſaulted by the populace, who uſed him with unſpeakable cruelty, and being thrown into Newgate, ſoon expired, from the ſevere treatment he had received from the populace.

A. D. 1327.

A parliament was now ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter, and on the day appointed the houſe was ſurrounded by the people, inveighing againſt the king and his adherents. The biſhop of Hereford having declared aloud, that the queen could not again cohabit with Edward, without the moſt imminent danger of her life, put the queſtion, Whether they would have the father or the ſon for their king? Deſiring them to conſider the alternative of their choice, and give their anſwer the following day in the afternoon. When they were aſſembled, the few adherents of the king, over-awed by the clamours without doors, and the influence of faction within, kept a profound ſilence; and on repetition of the queſtion, it was reſolved that young Edward ſhould be raiſed to the throne; accordingly the lords did homage to him; after which he was conducted into Weſtminſter-hall, and preſented to the multitude as their ſovereign, the archbiſhop addreſſing them in the words of the old adage, *Vox populi, vox Dei eſt,* "The voice of the people is the voice of God;" and the biſhop of Hereford harangued them to the ſame purpoſe. Silence being commanded, the prince was proclaimed king, and his inauguration ſolemnized. Some of the prelates refuſing to ſwear fealty, they were forcibly conveyed by the mob to

Guildhall, and there compelled, not only to take the oath, but ſolemnly promiſe to maintain and defend the privileges of the city of London. But it was not ſufficient for the queen, to have ſeized the perſon of the king, it was alſo thought by her neceſſary, that he ſhould reſign his ſceptre. As young Edward's authority could not be eſtabliſhed, while his father remained unimpeached, it was reſolved formally to depoſe that unfortunate monarch. To this end, writs were iſſued to return eight and forty members from north and ſouth Wales, in order to ſtrengthen Mortimer's party. On the ſeſſion of parliament, ſix articles of impeachment were drawn up by the biſhop of Wincheſter, againſt the friendleſs king, importing his incapacity for government, apparent from his being biaſſed by wicked miniſters, to his own diſhonour and the prejudice of his ſubjects; his purſuit of objects unworthy of his dignity; his neglect of adminiſtration; his want of military capacity, from whence reſulted the loſs of Scotland, together with the territories in Gaſcony and Ireland: his diſtreſſing moſt holy church, by proſecuting and impriſoning eccleſiaſtics; and finally the tendency of his general conduct to the utter deſtruction of the kingdom. Theſe articles having been read in preſence of the prince, ſeated on the throne, it was reſolved, that young Edward ſhould aſſume the reins of government, and that Edward II. ſhould no longer be ſtiled king of England, but Edward of Caernarvon, the king's father. When the ſentence was paſſed, the queen ſhed a few ſtrained tears, and even affected to ſwoon at the declaration of her huſband's depoſition: the young prince alſo, as he had been tutored, refuſed accepting the crown without his father's conſent. To obviate this objection, the parliament deputed three biſhops, two earls, with the ſame number of barons, abbots and juſtices, to go to Kenilworth, and acquaint the king with their reſolution. The biſhops of Hereford and Lincoln were ſent to converſe with him before the deputies arrived, in order to prepare him for the approaching change of his condition. They adviſed him after many profeſſions of regard and attachment, to reſign voluntarily his crown, aſſuring him, on a compliance, of the moſt honourable treatment, and of the bad effects which would inevitably reſult from a refuſal, as the parliament were determined, in that caſe, to exclude all his children from the ſucceſſion, and place a ſtranger on the throne of his anceſtors. This inſinuation awakened all the fondneſs of a father in the ſoul of the unfortunate Edward: he pauſed; he ſhed tears to the remembrance of his fallen ſtate; conſented to admit the deputies; and retired to his chamber. When they entered, the commiſſioners proceeded to read the articles of impeachment, and demanded his immediate reſignation. Edward deeply affected with the thought of being hurled from the ſummit of human grandeur, was unable to ſtand the ſhock: his ſpirits forſook him, and he had fallen to the ground, had not the biſhop of Lincoln ſupported him in this dreadful moment of conflicting paſſions. On recollection of his ſpirits, ſenſible that arguments and remonſtrances would now be ineffectual, thanking them for the honour done his ſon, the timid Edward proceeded to the ceremony of reſignation, by delivering to the commiſſioners, the crown, ſceptre, and other enſigns of royalty, which had been brought thither for that purpoſe; and Sir William Truſſel, who acted as procurator for the parliament, renounced in their name all future allegiance and homage. The deputies on their return to London, having made their report to parliament, Iſabella revived from her hypocritical dejection, and the prince agreed to his own elevation. Accordingly the uſual proclamation at an acceſſion was made throughout England; and the prince, after having been knighted, was crowned, on Sunday, the fifth of February, by Walter, archbiſhop of Canterbury, in preſence of the principal nobility of the kingdom.

It was impoſſible to prevent theſe atrocious acts of violence from opening the eyes of a deluded people. The perfidy and infidelity of the queen; her impudent hypocriſy; her more infamous commerce with Mortimer; changed the current of popular odium. Iſabella and her paramour were regarded with horror, while the fate of Edward was generally deplored. A ſcene of majeſty in diſtreſs attracted the pity, the compaſſion, the tears of every humane heart. Leiceſter, now earl of Lancaſter, felt all the power of tender ſympathy: and therefore treated his priſoner with reſpectful kindneſs. The queen and her adherents knew the power, and dreaded the effects of Engliſh compaſſion. They foreſaw all the fatal conſequences to themſelves, ſhould Edward be reſtored to the ſeat of power. They could but know their own black deeds of guilt; yet were not eaſy without adding the horrid crime of premeditated murder to their black catalogue. They therefore removed Edward from Kenilworth to Berkley caſtle, in Glouceſterſhire, where he was committed to the care of Sir John Gurney, and John de Montravers, who treated him with cruelty and inſolence; but the goodneſs of Edward's conſtitution ſupported him under theſe afflictions, till orders arrived from the queen and Mortimer, to finiſh the inhuman tragedy. Theſe deteſtable wretches, in compliance with the orders of their more deteſtable abettors, hurried him about from one caſtle to another, in order to elude his friends endeavours for his releaſe, and in the courſe of theſe migrations, treated him with the moſt barbarous indignities. They contrived horrid noiſes to prevent his natural repoſe; they compelled him to eat the moſt diſguſtful food; they lodged him in a damp tower, not only expoſed to the inclemencies of the weather, but alſo the ſtench of human carcaſes, piled on the roof of his chamber: the wretched apartment in which he lay, was generally overflowed with water, and he was ſubjected to perpetual inſults from the meaneſt ſlaves, who were encouraged to treat him in that unworthy manner. It is ſaid, that one day, when the king was to be ſhaved, they ordered dirty water to be brought for that purpoſe from a ditch, when deſiring that it might be changed, and being refuſed this poor requeſt, he burſt into tears, and ſaid, that in ſpite of them he would be ſhaved with warm water. The queen and Mortimer, who were the inſtigators of theſe inhuman tortures, finding them ineffectual, and apprehenſive of condign puniſhment, ſhould the truth reach the ears of young Edward, reſolved to anticipate ſuch a diſcovery by the immediate murder of the old king, for which a moſt execrable expedient was contrived. The two villains, to whom the unhappy Edward was committed, having received their orders, entered his chamber at midnight, and the ruffians who attended them, held him down with a table, which they threw upon him, and thruſt into his fundament a red hot iron, inſerting it through a horn, in order to prevent any external marks of violence upon his perſon. But the guards and ſervants were ſufficiently apprized of the bloody deed, by the ſcreams with which the king, in ſuch unutterable agonies, filled the caſtle. Theſe proclaimed to the world the infernal practices of an adulterous woman, and her vile lover; and though no wound or blemiſh appeared on the ſkin, the muſcles of the face were ſo diſtorted, as plainly to ſhew the exquiſite agonies he had undergone. Thus periſhed this weak and unhappy prince, on the twenty-firſt of September, in the forty-third year of his age, and twentieth of his reign. His body was interred without enquiry, in the abbey of St. Peter, in Glouceſter.

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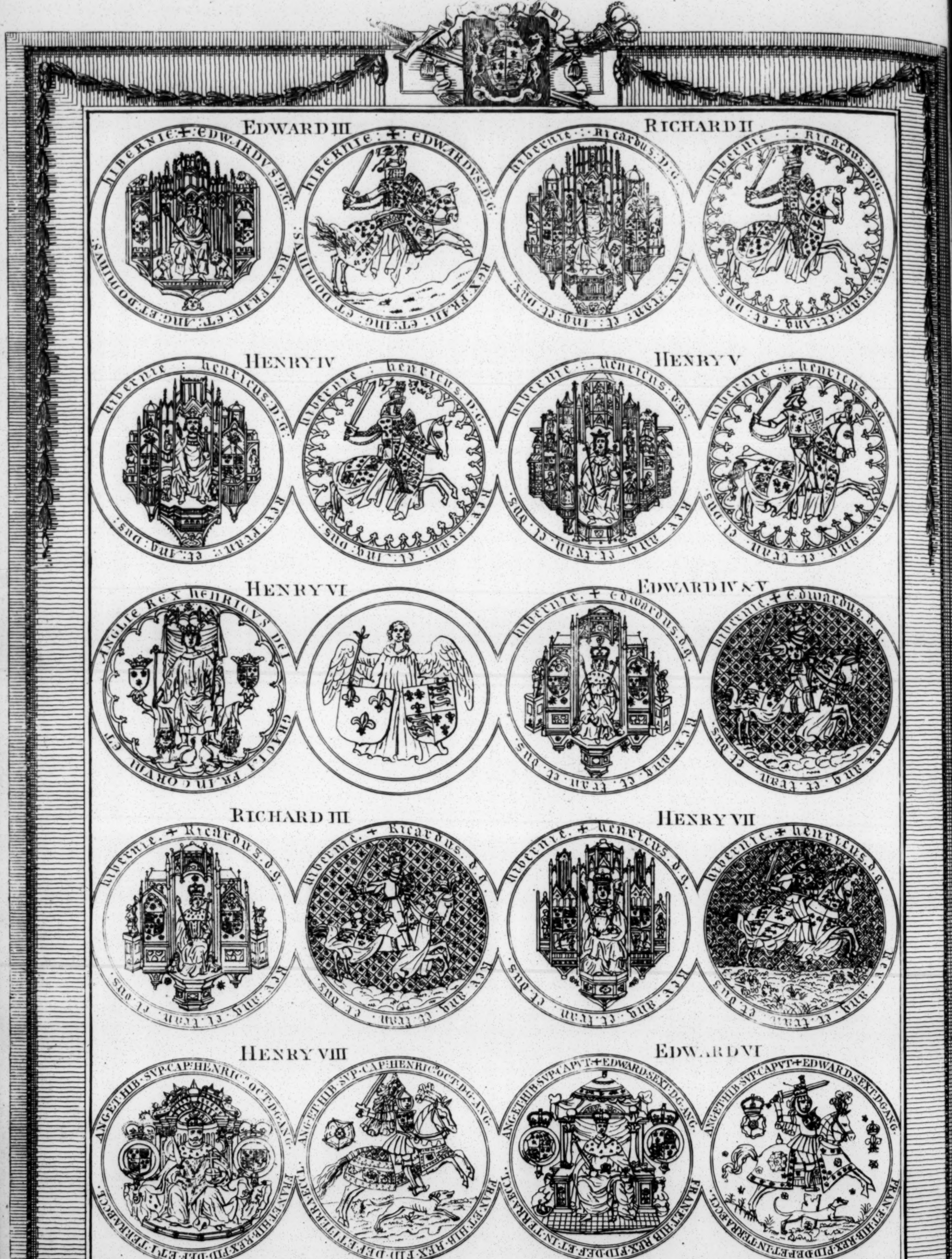
EDWARD III
RICHARD II
HENRY IV
HENRY V
HENRY VI
EDWARD IV & V
RICHARD III
HENRY VII
HENRY VIII
EDWARD VI

Drawn by Hamilton *Engraved by Thornton*

The GREAT SEALS of ENGLAND from Edward III. to Edward VI.

(Accurately taken from the Original Impreſsions.)

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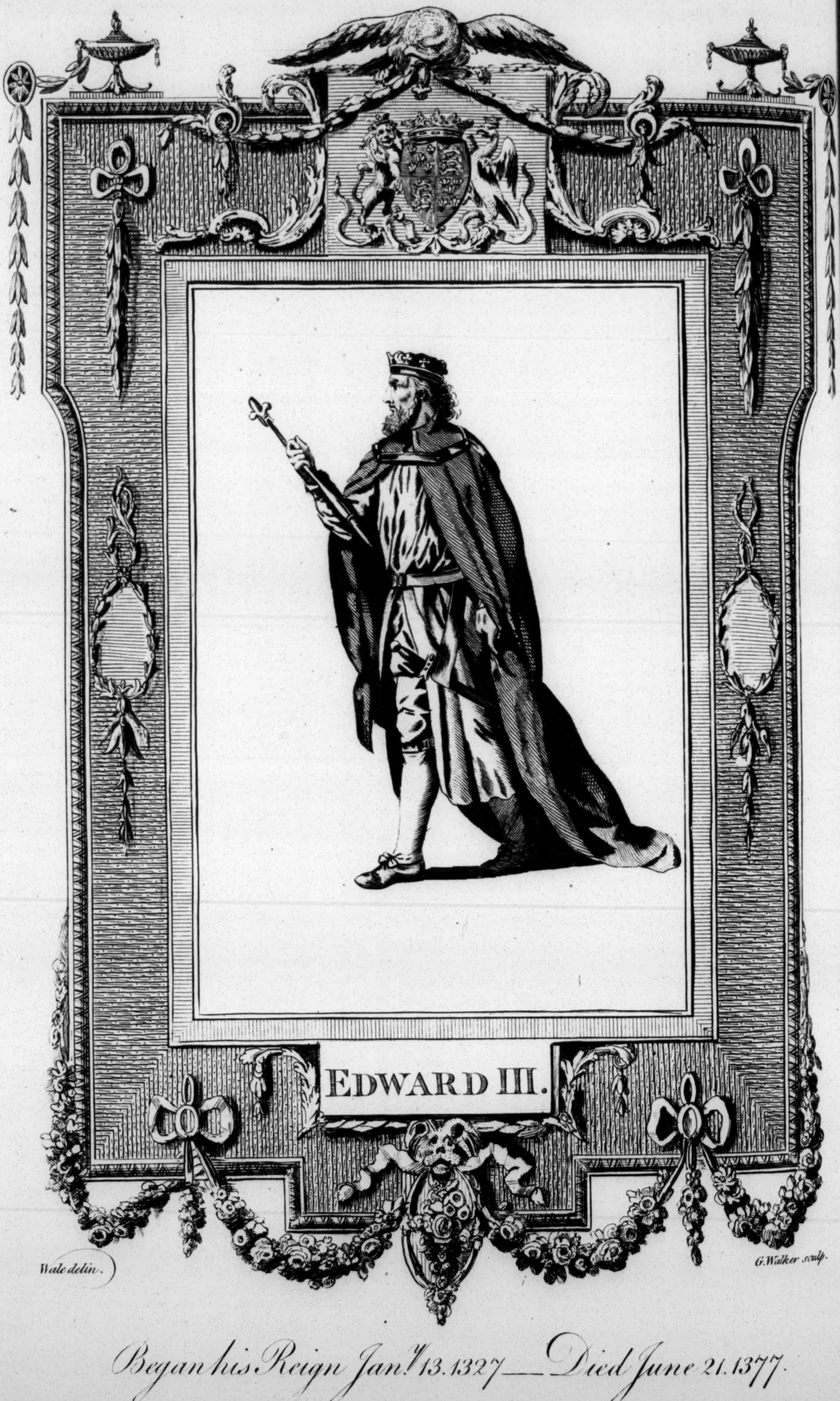


Wale delin. G. Walker sculp.

Began his Reign Jany 13. 1327 — Died June 21. 1377.

Montravers and Gurney, his executioners, were the ſubjects of general deteſtation; and when the queen loſt her power, and a revolution took place in favour of her ſon, they were obliged to provide for their ſafety by flight. At length Gurney, being ſeized at Marſeilles, was put on board a ſhip, in order to be carried to England; but by ſecret orders was executed at ſea. Montravers, after having been ſeveral years in Germany, found means to perform ſervices for Edward III. on account of which he was pardoned.

Edward II. by his queen Iſabella of France, had two ſons, and two daughters, namely, Edward his eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor; John, created afterwards earl of Cornwal, who died young at Perth; Jane, married to David Bruce, king of Scotland; and Eleanor, eſpouſed to Reginald, count of Guelders.

During this reign, England was afflicted with a moſt grievous famine. The parliament alſo endeavoured to regulate the price of proviſions. Two pounds eight ſhillings of our preſent money for the beſt ox not fed with corn; if fed with corn, three pounds twelve ſhillings. A fat hog of two years old, ten ſhillings: a fat wether, unſhorn, five ſhillings: if ſhorn, three ſhillings and ſix-pence: a fat gooſe, ſeven-pence halfpenny: a fat capon ſix-pence: a fat hen three pence: two chickens three-pence: four pigeons, three-pence: two dozen of eggs three-pence.

Character of Edward II.

He is ſaid to have reſembled his father in the lineaments of his face, as well as in the exact elegance and ſymmetry of ſhape; having a majeſtic and noble ſtature, and a deportment altogether engaging and agreeable; and he followed his example in a ſtrict obſervance of conjugal duties, to which he met with a very ungrateful return, in the vicious profligacy of an adulterous abandoned woman: but the qualifications of his mind bore no kind of proportion to his bodily perfections; for he was deficient in foreſight, in judgment, and in courage. His mental debility urged him to a conduct that had all the appearance of infatuation. Being a ſlave to his own paſſions, he too readily committed to others the weight of that government which he had neither the ability nor inclination to ſupport. Of a warm and benevolent heart, he was ſtrongly inclined to friendſhip; of weak and narrow intellects, he had not diſcernment to chooſe a friend; of a lazy and indolent diſpoſition, he took up with the firſt that chance threw in his way; and when he had fixed his choice, he could never be perſuaded to withdraw his attachment. The grand ſource of that univerſal contempt which he incurred, was an ill-founded and obſtinate affection for favourites. This incorrigible paſſion, prompted him to ſuch a ſuſpicious deportment, accompanied with thoſe arbitrary meaſures of his miniſters, as rouſed the ſpirit of a free people, which, inflamed by the intrigues of an infamous queen, involved him, his minions, and all their adherents in one common ruin. To theſe cauſes have been attributed all the calamities that beſel him in his life, and the untimely death to which he was at laſt brought. Hence a ſtriking example is left on record to ſucceeding princes, of the dire effects of gratifying private paſſions, in oppoſition to the will or intereſt of the public; while at the ſame time is exhibited, in glowing colours, the fatal conſequences of relying on the guidance of any one individual, in the important affairs of government. If the ſtrong attachment of Edward to Gaveſton was not the reſult of unnatural inclination, of which it is our duty to acknowledge, not the leaſt ſhadow of poſitive proof is to be found in the records of authentic hiſtory; yet it will be acknowledged, he might have placed his regard on more deſerving objects; at leaſt, he might have avoided thoſe weak expreſſions of womaniſh fondneſs, which laid the ground of vulgar ſuſpicion, and an imputation of other crimes, of which his favourites were alone guilty. His tragical death ought not to be aſcribed to the barons; for Mortimer and the queen only could have ſuch reaſons, as to involve themſelves in ſo black a crime. Had theſe wretches ſuffered the degraded monarch to live, he probably might have excuſed the parliament having excluded him from the throne; and happy would it have been for him, could he have been allowed to deſcend into a private ſtation, which, being of a harmleſs diſpoſition, he was beſt qualified to fill; but viewed in the glaſs of truth, under the character of an Engliſh monarch, we cannot but conclude, that he was deſtitute of all thoſe noble endowments of mind that are neceſſary for guiding the wheels of government, and to form only the outlines of a great prince.

CHAP. IV.

EDWARD III.

A regency is appointed; but the chief authority engroſſed by the queen dowager, and her favourite Mortimer—The young king's expedition againſt the Scots—The earl of Kent tried and executed—Mortimer is ſeized, and experiences a ſimilar fate—Edward takes the reins of government into his own hands—A war with Scotland renewed—Edward lays claim to the crown of France, and makes war with that kingdom—A great naval victory obtained over the French at ſea—Domeſtic occurrences—A war with France continued—The glorious battle of Creſſy, in 1346*—The famous ſiege of Calais—War with Scotland renewed—The king of Scotland, David Brace, made priſoner—The gallant battle of Poictiers, in* 1356, *in which king John of France is taken priſoner—The glory which Edward, prince of Wales, called the black prince, gained by this victory—The ſtate of France—That kingdom again invaded; and the war is terminated by the peace of Bretagni—The conditions and effects of this peace—King John of France comes over to England, and dies in the Savoy—The black prince undertakes an expedition into Spain—His death, with that of the king—Character of Edward* III.

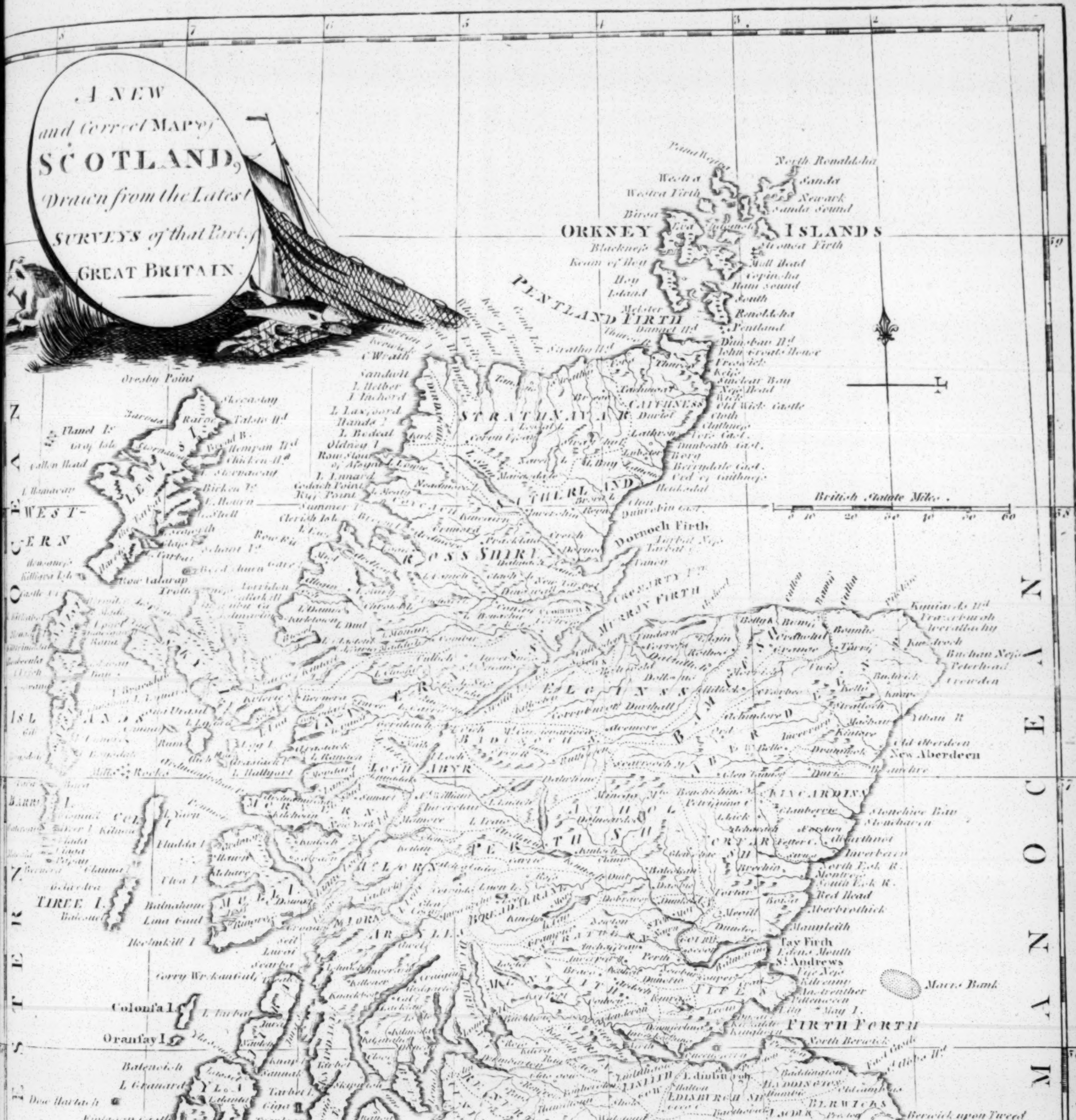
A. D. 1327. EDWARD III. ſurnamed of Windſor, being raiſed to the throne during his minority, the parliament appointed a regency, conſiſting of five biſhops, three earls, and four barons, to ſuperintend the adminiſtration of public affairs; and the earl of Lancaſter reſtored to the dignity of high ſteward, was entruſted with the guardianſhip of the king's perſon. But the chief authority was engroſſed by Iſabella, queen dowager, and her favourite Mortimer. The laſt, having obtained a reverſal of his ſentence, was reſtored to his lands and honours, to which were added the eſtates of the earls of Arundel and Winton, in North Wales. The queen likewiſe obtained from parliament a grant of twenty thouſand pounds, to pay her debts, and the ſame ſum as an annual jointure, together with all the treaſures of the two Spencers, the earl of Arundel, and of Baldock, the chancellor. The French ſubjects were all releaſed, and their effects reſtored; hoſtilities ceaſed in Guienne; and peace was eſtabliſhed between France and England. Public rejoicings were made on this occaſion, which were interrupted by advice from the frontiers, that a body of Scots had made an attempt to ſurprize the caſtle of Norham, though without ſucceſs; for by the vigilance of Sir Robert Mannors, the governor, they were obliged to retire with conſiderable loſs. The Engliſh regency endeavoured in vain to procure a peace; Bruce being determined, though bending under the weight of years and infirmities, to take advantage of Edward's minority, and the unſettled ſtate of the kingdom. He was ſoon at the head of a numerous army, aſſiſted by his two moſt experienced generals, Murray and Douglas. Theſe gallant officers had been long bred in the field of military action. Their forces were trained in the ſame ſchool, inured to the ſame hardſhips, and perfectly qualified from their manner of life, for a deſultory war. The whole equipage of the troops, except a body of about four thouſand cavalry, well armed, conſiſted of a bag of oatmeal, as a ſupply in caſe of neceſſity, which each ſoldier carried behind him, together with a thin plate of iron, upon which he baked his cakes. But his ordinary ſubſiſtence was the cattle which he ſeized, in cooking which he was remarkably expeditious: after flaying the animal, the Scots placed the ſkin upon ſome ſtakes, hanging looſe in the form of a bag, which, thus ſuſpended, ſerved them as a cauldron for the boiling their victuals. Soldiers like theſe, wholly unincumbered, who could attack or retreat from their enemy at pleaſure, were well adapted to carry their ravages into the northern counties. To chaſtiſe their inſolence, and check their progreſs, the Engliſh miniſtry aſſembled an army of near ſixty thouſand men. Edward, glowing with military ardour, even in theſe his early years, placed himſelf at their head, and marched without delay from Durham in ſearch of the enemy. He ſet out in the middle of July, ſuppoſing they might be ſomewhere between Durham and Carliſle; but he could perceive no ſigns of an enemy. The flame and ſmoak of burning villages pointed out plainly the place where they were encamped; yet upon haſtily marching thither, he found them gone, and by new marks of devaſtation, diſcovered that they had moved to a diſtant place. Having for ſome time haraſſed his army in this fruitleſs ſearch, he advanced to the northward, and croſſed the Tyne, with a reſolution of waiting for them in their return homewards, and of taking ample vengeance on them for all their depredations. But their frequent incurſions had ſo much waſted the country, that it was impoſſible for him to obtain ſubſiſtence for his army; and he was obliged to change his operations and return to the ſouth. All track of the enemy was now loſt; and though he promiſed to any one who ſhould bring him an account of their motions, a reward of one hundred pounds a year, he remained for ſeveral days inactive from his not knowing where to find them. At length he received intelligence, that they were encamped on a declivity of a hill, beyond the river Were. Edward advanced againſt the enemy; when approaching them, he found they had choſen their ground with ſuch judgment, that it would be the utmoſt raſhneſs to croſs the river in their front, and attack them in their preſent ſituation. The young king, impatient for revenge and glory, challenged them, if they dared, to meet him in the open field. This bravado Douglas could ill brook, and was inclined to accept the challenge; but he was over-ruled by Murray, who returned in anſwer to Edward, "That he never, in any of his operations, took the advice of an enemy." The king therefore kept his preſent ſtation, oppoſite to the Scots, expecting that he ſhould be able to reduce them by famine, having received intimation, that their proviſions were nearly expended. This being really the caſe, the Scots decamped at midnight, marched ſome miles higher up the river; and encamped on the brow of another hill, flanked by a wood. The Engliſh no ſooner were informed of their retreat, than they followed them, ſtill keeping on the north ſide of the river, and poſted themſelves on another hill, oppoſite to that which the Scots poſſeſſed.

While the two armies lay in this poſition, an incident happened which had almoſt proved fatal to the Engliſh. Douglas having got the word, and an exact delineation of the Engliſh camp, entered it ſecretly in the night, with a body of two hundred reſolute ſoldiers, and advanced as far as the royal tent, with a deſign of ſurpriſing and carrying off the perſon of the king; but in that critical moment, the chaplain and chamberlain, who ſacrificed their lives to his ſafety, alarming the guards, Douglas was immediately ſurrounded, and eſcaped with much difficulty, by cutting a paſſage through thoſe who oppoſed him. The Scottiſh army decamped ſoon after in the dead of night, and having marched with the utmoſt expedition, by the way of Carliſle, they reached their own country without further loſs. Edward, on entering the place where the Scots had encamped, found only ſix Engliſhmen, whom the enemy, after having broke their legs, had tied to trees, in order to prevent their carrying any intelligence to their countrymen. The king was much chagrined at his being thus diſappointed in his firſt campaign; and knowing it would be in vain to purſue the enemy, he retired to York, where he diſbanded the greateſt part of his forces. However, the marks of bravery he had diſcovered in this enterprize, were extremely pleaſing to his troops, and regarded by the nation as ſure indications of an illuſtrious reign. The general cenſure fell upon Mortimer, who was now an object of public deteſtation; and every meaſure purſued by him only tended to increaſe the hatred of the people againſt him and queen Iſabella.

A. D. 1328.

A parliament having been ſummoned at Lincoln, they granted the king a ſupply for the proſecution of the Scottiſh war, and to defray the expences of his marriage with Philippa, ſecond daughter of William, count of Holland and Hainault. This princeſs arrived in England with a very ſplendid retinue. When approaching London, ſhe was met by the mayor and aldermen in their formalities, who expreſſed their affection for their ſovereign by a ſervice of plate; and a ſolemn proceſſion of the clergy introduced her into the city. From thence ſhe ſet out for York, where the king then reſided, and the nuptials were ſolemnized with great magnificence.

Mortimer, who at this time uſurped the whole of ſovereign authority, had taken no care to ſecure for himſelf a place in the council of regency, nor did he in any public meaſures conſult either with the princes of the blood, or with the nobility; hence all the envy which had attended Gaveſton and the two Spencers, now fell on this favourite of the queen. He ſaw his danger; and ſenſible of the increaſing hatred of the people, thought it neceſſary to ſecure a peace upon any terms. His commiſſioners therefore, with thoſe appointed by Bruce, began their conferences at Newcaſtle. As the claim of England to the government of Scotland, was the principal cauſe that excited the animoſities between both nations, Mortimer conſented to reſign this pretenſion, and to acknowledge Robert an independent


A NEW
and Correct MAP of
SCOTLAND,
Drawn from the Latest
SURVEYS of that Part of
GREAT BRITAIN.
ORKNEY ISLANDS
North Ronaldsha
Sanda
Westra
Westra Firth
Sanda Sound
Birsa
Stronsa Firth
Hoy
Mull Head
South Ronaldsha
Pentland
PENTLAND FIRTH
Dunkan Hd
Dungsby Hd
John o Groats House
CAITHNESS
STRATHNAVAR
SUTHERLAND
ROSS SHIRE
Cape Wrath
Dornoch Firth
Cromarty Firth
MURRAY FIRTH
British Statute Miles
10
20
30
40
50
60
Kinnairds Hd
Frazerburgh
Buchan Ness
Peterhead
Old Aberdeen
New Aberdeen
KINCARDIN
Stonehive Bay
Stonehaven
Montrose
Red Head
Aberbrothick
Tay Firth
Dundee
St. Andrews
Marrs Bank
May I.
FIRTH FORTH
North Berwick
Bass
Edinburgh
EDINBURGH SH
BERWICK SH
Berwick upon Tweed
Holy I.
Coquet I.
ROXBURGH SH
Newcastle
Tyne R.
PART
OF
ENGLAND
Carlisle
GERMAN OCEAN
WESTERN OCEAN
LEWIS
Stornaway
Skye
Rum
Eigg
Coll
TIREE I.
MULL
Colonsa I.
Oransay I.
ILA
Jura
Kintyre
ARRAN
Bute
Ailsa
CARRICK
KIRKCUDBRIGHT
WIGTON
Whithorn
Mull of Galloway
PERTH SH
ATHOL
ANGUS
BAMF
ELGIN
LOCHABYR
BADENOCH
INVERNESS
ARGYLE
LORN
FIFE
LANERK
AIR
DUMFRIES
Perth
Stirling
Glasgow
Dumbarton
Greenock
Hamilton
Peebles
Dumfries
SHETLAND ISLANDS
Brassa Sound
Mousa
Note these Islands are placed here because they are in a higher Latitude than what the Scale of this Map will admitt
Longitude West from London
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
55
56
57
58
59
60

BRITISH 290062 MUSEUM

ſovereign: in return for which, Robert ſtipulated to pay thirty thouſand marks to England. Thus a treaty was concluded, and even ratified by parliament, on ſuch terms, which Bruce, at any other juncture, could never have obtained, after a ſeries of ſucceſs. It excited univerſal clamour in the kingdom. The people expreſſed their reſentment in the ſtrongeſt terms. They declared openly that ſuch a peace was neither honourable nor neceſſary; that thoſe who concluded it, had baſely ſacrificed both the blood and treaſure of the nation to private views; and that the queen, who under pretence of her late huſband's incapacity, had uſurped his authority, ſufficiently diſcovered, how unable ſhe herſelf was to hold the reins of government. Nor did Mortimer, who treated his ſuperiors with the moſt ſupercilious contempt, eſcape the ſhafts of public diſpleaſure. The barons were highly incenſed at the arrogance of this inſolent upſtart. Lancaſter, Norfolk, and Kent formed a confederacy for their mutual ſafety; with whom were united the new archbiſhop of Canterbury, with the prelates of London and Weſtminſter; theſe held private conferences at London, reſolving to exhibit articles of impeachment againſt the favourite; to enquire into the king's death, and to demand a reſumption of the forfeited eſtates granted to the queen-mother and her minion, to the great detriment of the royal revenue. Mortimer, ſuſpecting their deſigns againſt him on ſummoning them to parliament, ſtrictly prohibited them, in the king's name, from coming with an armed force. The three earls, when they drew near the city of Saliſbury where the parliament was appointed to meet, found, that though in obedience to the king's command, they had brought with them only their uſual retinue, Mortimer and his partizans were attended with all their followers in arms; and, apprehending ſome dangerous deſigns againſt their perſons, they turned back, aſſembled their vaſſals, and were returning with an army to take vengeance on Mortimer; but Kent and Norfolk deſerting the common cauſe, Lancaſter was obliged to ſubmit, and, by the interpoſition of the prelates, the quarrel ſeemed to be for the preſent appeaſed. It was agreed that all grievances ſhould be redreſſed, and all errors corrected, in the enſuing parliament, which however the king found an excuſe to poſtpone. He had been ſummoned by Philip de Valois, then reigning king of France, to do homage for the dominions he held of that crown. Accordingly he ſailed
A. D. 1329. from Dover in May, and, having performed the ceremony of homage at Amiens, returned to England in June. During his abſence died that brave commander and ſteady patriot Robert Bruce, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and twenty-third of his reign; the tranſactions of which have convinced poſterity how perfectly he underſtood the art of war, the true intereſts of his country, and the genius of his people. Through his inſtructions his generals acquired their martial and political knowledge; yet all they could do after his death, was to preſerve a few faint remains of his glory.

A. D. 1330. Mortimer now proſecuted all who preſumed to blame his conduct, or oppoſe his meaſures; he even rendered the king inacceſſible to any but his own adherents, and prevented the earl of Lancaſter himſelf, who had been entruſted with the care of Edward's perſon, from conferring with him on the affairs of the nation. The earl of Kent, for his bold oppoſition to unconſtitutional meaſures, was marked for deſtruction by that vileſt of miniſters. The ſimplicity of this upright nobleman, rendered it eaſy to practice upon him; therefore Mortimer and his emiſſaries perſuaded him, that his brother, king Edward was ſtill alive, and confined ſecretly in priſon. The earl, too readily giving credit to their inſinuations, formed the deſign of reſtoring him to liberty, and replacing him on the throne. With this intent, having carried on his preparations for ſome time, he was at length impeached by Mortimer of high treaſon before the parliament, where none but the miniſter's friends attended, and was condemned to loſe his head. The principal author of this tragedy, with the queen-dowager his abettor, fearing the young king would be unwilling to have his uncle ſuffer, hurried on the affecting cataſtrophe: but ſo deteſtable did this barbarous ſentence appear in the eyes of the public, that not a man could be found abandoned enough to ſtrike the blow; for the day after his ſentence, when the earl was brought upon the ſcaffold, the common executioner refuſed to perform his office, ſo much was he beloved by the people; nor could any one be found to ſupply his place till the evening, when the ſentence was executed by a felon from the Marſhalſea, who, as a reward for his ſervice, received a free pardon for all the robberies and other offences he had committed.

But a crime of ſo deep a die as that of murder, could not remain long unpuniſhed. The earth would not cover the victim's blood; and this laſt inhuman action filled up the meaſure of Mortimer's iniquities, and rendered him univerſally deteſted. All parties forgetting their former animoſities, conſpired the deſtruction of this inſolent and perfidious miniſter. Nor did this object of the people's abhorrence eſcape the diſcerning eye of Edward, who had expreſſed great concern for the death of his uncle, and did not now conceal his averſion to the baſe inſtrument of that earl's untimely end. The king was now in the eighteenth year of his age, extremely diſſatisfied at being held in bondage by the haughty Mortimer. This reverſe of affection was no ſooner known, than thoſe who had acceſs to his majeſty vied with each other in divulging the particulars of his abandoned life, and arbitrary proceedings. But Edward, though determined to deprive Mortimer of his power, yet, being encompaſſed by that miniſter's emiſſaries, found it neceſſary to uſe the utmoſt caution and ſecrecy in his endeavours to bring him to exemplary puniſhment. He imparted his deſign to lord Montacute; and that nobleman engaged the lords Clifford and Molins, Sir John Nevil of Hornby, Ufford, and others, who all promiſed their aſſiſtance; and it was reſolved to ſeize Mortimer during the ſeſſion of parliament, which was ſummoned to meet at Nottingham. To effect this it was propoſed, that the king ſhould occupy the caſtle of Nottingham, wherein the queen-mother and Mortimer lodged; but on their arrival, they found the caſtle already filled with the attendants of Iſabella and her favourite, one or two apartments only being left for the king, and a few of his train. This caſtle was ſituated upon a rock which was inacceſſible; all other parts were ſtrictly guarded; the gates were locked up every evening, and the keys carried to the queen: hence it appeared ſufficiently evident, that it would be impoſſible to execute their purpoſe without the aſſiſtance of Sir William Eland, the governor of the caſtle. Lord Montacute was therefore ſent to ſound and gain him over to their party. This was effected with great facility, that gentleman joyfully embracing an opportunity of teſtifying at once his affection for the perſon of his ſovereign, and his abhorrence of thoſe, who, by their infamous conduct, had brought their country to the brink of deſtruction. By his direction, the king's aſſociates were admitted through a ſubterraneous paſſage, which had been contrived for privately conveying proviſions and ſtores into that fortreſs. The entrance was level with the meadows, and a way winded up through the rock to the caſtle. The above nobleman, conducted by Eland, proceeded after him in ſearch of their prey; and ſuddenly entering the chamber adjoining to the queen's apartment, they found Mortimer, with the biſhop of London and others of his party, in cloſe conſultation; and after having ſlain Sir Hugh Turpliton, and Richard de Monmouth, who drew their ſwords in Mortimer's defence, took him priſoner. The queen hearing the noiſe, and readily gueſſing the nature of the buſineſs, called aloud in French to the king, whom ſhe ſuppoſed to be at their head, "Fair ſon! Fair ſon! have pity on the gentle Mortimer." But receiving no anſwer to her intreaties, ſhe ruſhed into the room, and earneſtly intreated them to do no injury to his perſon, for he was a worthy knight, her dear friend, and well-beloved couſin. They however took him away, and conveyed him from the caſtle through the ſame paſſage by which they aſcended, which to this day is known by the name of Mortimer's hole. This exploit was conducted with ſuch diſpatch and privacy, that the guards were not alarmed, and the people of the town knew nothing of the tranſaction till the next morning, when two of Mortimer's ſons, and ſeveral of his adherents, were apprehended by the royaliſts. All the priſoners were committed to the Tower of London; and the king iſſued a proclamation, ſignifying that he had taken the government into his own hands, and would redreſs the grievances of the people. He then repaired to Leiceſter, where he iſſued writs for a new parliament to meet at Weſtminſter, where all perſons who had received injuries from the late adminiſtration were invited, in order to obtain ſatisfaction. At this parliament, articles of impeachment were exhibited againſt Roger de Mortimer, who was accuſed of ſetting the queen-dowager at variance with her huſband; of procuring exorbitant grants to the prejudice of the royal revenue; of embezzling the king's jewels and treaſures; of conſpiring to deſtroy his majeſty's beſt friends; of obtaining pardon for two hundred Iriſhmen, who had baſely murdered many of the king's liege ſubjects; of aſſuming the regal power, and uſurping the adminiſtration; of inſulting the prelates, aſſembled in the parliament at Saliſbury; of perſuading to march, in an hoſtile manner, againſt the earl of Lancaſter and other peers who had tarried at Wincheſter; of impoſing exceſſive fines on that nobleman and others, contrary to the capitulation of Bedford; of having procured the death of the late king; of having deceived the earl of Kent into a conſpiracy to reſtore that prince; of ſecreting, for his own uſe, twenty thouſand marks of the money paid by the king of Scotland; and of having repaired to parliament with an armed force, diſturbed their deliberations, and threatened ſeveral members with death. Theſe facts were ſo notorious, that without examining witneſſes, or hearing his defence, he was found guilty of high treaſon, and condemned, as a traitor, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered: which ſentence was executed on the twenty-ninth of November, at a place called the Elmes, about a mile from London, where his body hung two days on a common gibbet; an awful example, to warn future favourites not to deſpiſe public juſtice, which ſooner or later will lay her iron hand upon them, when, by an abuſe of power they run counter to the principles of good government, and are only intent upon the gratification of their private paſſions. The noblemen who had aſſiſted in ſeizing Mortimer, were rewarded; the attainder of the earl of Kent reverſed; and Richard, earl of Arundel, reſtored to the honours and poſſeſſions of his father. The queen-dowager was confined to her houſe at Riſings, in the neighbourhood of London, and her revenue reduced to four thouſand pounds a year. The king conſtantly viſited her once or twice a year during her life; but ſhe never recovered the leaſt degree of power or authority in the ſtate.

A. D. 1331.

Edward had no ſooner aſſumed the reins of government, than he applied himſelf to redreſs all grievances, that had ariſen either from the want of authority in the crown, or the late abuſes of it. All who were put in office by Mortimer were diſcharged, and others put in their places. The king iſſued writs to the judges, enjoining them to adminiſter impartial juſtice, without paying the leaſt regard to any arbitrary orders ſent from the miniſtry. The kingdom was infeſted with numerous bands of robbers, who, taking advantage of the late commotions, had ſet the power of the magiſtrates at defiance, and exerciſed, with impunity, their lawleſs depredations. They were even openly protected by the great barons, who employed them againſt their enemies. It was therefore previouſly neceſſary to deſtroy this alarming connection, before the evil could be removed. Edward therefore exacted a ſolemn promiſe from his barons, aſſembled in parliament, to break off all connections with ſuch malefactors as a diſgrace to nobility. He alſo iſſued a proclamation, forbidding all juſts and tournaments, which ſerved as a plauſible pretence for aſſembling armed men, to the diſturbance of public tranquillity, and the terror of peaceable inhabitants. After taking theſe public meaſures, he marched in perſon againſt the banditti, and, by his courage and activity, the more powerful troops were broken; many were taken and executed; and great numbers flew to the continent for ſafety. The miniſters of juſtice followed the royal example. They were indefatigable in diſcovering, and ſtrict in puniſhing criminals. By theſe ſalutary methods the diſeaſe was removed, and travellers paſſed from one part of the kingdom to the other without moleſtation.

Here we may fix the period of England's miſeries, from the guilt of rebellion, regicide, and unnatural murder; as well as the date of her glory, from kingdoms conquered, ſovereigns captives, and nations relieved, always ſupported by a juſt and equitable adminiſtration at home. The ſatiſfaction ariſing from the proceedings of the late parliament to all kinds of people, made Edward ſenſible of the importance of his always living in amity with his barons and repreſentatives of the people. He ſaw that he had been directed wiſely in putting a ſtop to all ſanguinary proſecutions. This induced all parties to concur in ſupporting his government; nor was he, like moſt of his predeceſſors, afraid of meeting his people in parliament.

Having thus eſtabliſhed authority at home, the government of Edward became once more formidable to its neighbours. The brave Robert Bruce, whoſe death we have noticed in due place, left his ſon David, a minor, under the guardianſhip of Randolph, the brave earl of Murray. In the late treaty with England it had been ſtipulated, that both the Engliſh, who inherited eſtates in Scotland before the commencement of the wars, and the Scotch nobility, who enjoyed lands in England, ſhould be reſtored to their reſpective poſſeſſions: but though Edward had nearly executed his part of this article, Robert, obſerving that the lands claimed by Engliſhmen were more numerous and valuable than the others, was either unwilling to admit ſo many ſecret enemies into his country, or found it difficult to wreſt from his own followers the poſſeſſions they had obtained as the reward of their dangers and fatigues, and therefore protracted the performance of his part of the ſtipulation. The Engliſh barons thus diſappointed, reſolved to obtain what they had a right to demand; and having great influence in the north, their diſcontent was ſufficient to ſhake the throne of a young prince, who was as yet too young to ſway a ſcepter. Edward Baliol, ſon of John, who was crowned king of Scotland, had for ſome time after his father's deceaſe, been detained as a priſoner in England; but having obtained his liberty he went to France, and reſided on a patrimonial eſtate he poſſeſſed in Normandy, without the leaſt thought of laying claim to the crown of Scotland. He was univerſally conſidered as a private perſon, and had been committed to priſon on being accuſed of a private offence. Lord Beaumont, who in right of his wife had a claim to the earldom of Buchan in Scotland, found him in this ſituation; and thinking him a proper inſtrument for his purpoſe, prevailed on the king of France to reſtore him to liberty, and brought him over to England.

On his arrival, the Engliſh nobles reſolved to vindicate their rights by force of arms, and applied for aſſiſtance to Edward; but he had ſufficient reaſons which prevented his openly countenancing their deſigns; for in the treaty with Scotland he had been made to enter into a bond to pay the pope twenty thouſand pounds, if he violated the peace within four years; and that time not being elapſed, he made no doubt but that his holineſs would demand the penalty. Beſides, on every demand which had been made of reſtitution to the Engliſh barons, the regent of Scotland had always acknowledged the juſtice of their claim, and founded the delay on plauſible pretences. The king therefore reſolved to make uſe of the ſame artifice, and not proceed to open violence. He ſecretly encouraged the undertaking of Baliol, conniving at his levying forces in the north, and countenancing thoſe nobles who were willing to join him. Two thouſand five hundred men were raiſed by Umfreville, earl of Angus; the lords Talbot, Moubray, Stafford, Beaumont, Ferrers, Fitzwarren, and Wake, and the command given to Baliol. As they ſuppoſed the frontiers would be guarded, they reſolved to proceed by ſea; and A. D. 1332. embarking at Ravenſpur in the beginning of Auguſt, reached the coaſt of Fife. Scotland was at this time in a very feeble condition. Murray had lately paid the debt of nature; and Lord Douglas, diſdaining a life of indolence, had paſſed over into Spain, where he was ſlain in a battle againſt the Moors. Donald, earl of Marre, who was of inferior abilities, had ſucceeded him in the regency; and the young king was unable to defend a throne, which all the abilities of his father were neceſſary to acquire and maintain. The Engliſh fleet no ſooner appeared, than Sir Alexander Seyton, at the head of the Fifeſhire militia, oppoſed their landing; but he was routed and ſlain with nine hundred of his followers. Baliol advanced to Dumferling, where he ſeized a magazine of arms, which he diſtributed among thoſe who joined his banner in Scotland. Theſe were only a ſmall number of his partizans, the Scotch being greatly prejudiced againſt a prince ſupported by the Engliſh. Reviewing his little army, he found they fell ſhort of three thouſand men; whereas the regent had encamped at Gladſmuir with forty thouſand; while an advanced guard poſted themſelves by the ſide of the river Erne, to diſpute the paſſage with the Engliſh. Truſting to their great ſuperiority of numbers, and the depth of the river, they lay in a very ſupine manner; a circumſtance which induced Baliol to ford the river in the night, at a place called Dupling. Having ſucceeded in this attempt, he ſurprized and attacked the enemy with ſuch impetuoſity, that they were routed before the morning. The earl of Marre, who lay at a diſtance with the main army, was for reducing the Engliſh by famine; but Robert, earl of Carrick, naturally headſtrong and impetuous, treated his propoſal as the effect of treachery or cowardice. In conſequence of which theſe ferocious chiefs ruſhed forward to charge the Engliſh with the utmoſt precipitation, while their men ran after them in great diſorder, not regarding ſome broken ground, which threw their ranks into diſorder. Men and horſes tumbled over one another; and the ſecond diviſion preſſing upon the firſt, threw the whole into confuſion. Baliol, to prevent their rallying, immediately advanced with his troops, who chaſed them off the field with a terrible ſlaughter. Above twelve thouſand Scots fell in this engagement; among whom were the regent himſelf; the earl of Carrick, a natural ſon of the late king; the earls of Athol and Monteith; and the lords Hay, Keith, and Lindſey; yet the loſs of the Engliſh was very inconſiderable; it is ſaid to have been only about thirty men.

Elated with this ſucceſs, Baliol advanced to Perth, which he entered without oppoſition. Finding this place well ſtored with proviſions, he repaired the fortifications. The neceſſity of this precaution ſoon appeared; for it was ſcarcely executed, when he found himſelf beſieged by Patrick Dunbar, earl of March, and Sir Archibald Douglas, with his army, which being recruited, amounted again to forty thouſand men, who were determined to block up Baliol, and reduce him by famine. To effect this, orders were diſpatched to John Crabbe, a Flemiſh ſailor, to deſtroy the Engliſh fleet, ſtationed at the mouth of the Tay, for the convenience of ſupplying the army with proviſions. Crabbe attacked them; but inſtead of demoliſhing the enemy, all his own veſſels were either burnt or taken. The Scottiſh generals now perceived it would be in vain to continue the blockade of Perth; retiring therefore from the ſiege, they diſbanded their forces for want of pay and ſubſiſtence; and the kingdom was, in effect, ſubdued by a handful of men. Intimidated by the ſucceſs of the Engliſh arms, nor leſs by the loſs they had ſuſtained, the Scots gave over all farther thoughts of reſiſtance, and Baliol was crowned king of Scotland at Scone, on the twenty-ſeventh of September. A. D. 1332. David, the late king, with Jane, ſiſter to Edward, his betrothed wife, retired to France, where they were graciouſly received by Philip. A truce was alſo propoſed to Baliol; to which he readily conſented, in order that he might aſſemble a parliament, with a view of having his title recognized by the whole nation.

However, notwithſtanding this truce, A.D. 1333. Baliol, having diſmiſſed the greateſt part of his army, was attacked ſuddenly, and routed near Anan, by Sir Archibald Douglas. John Baliol, his brother, was ſlain, and he himſelf was obliged to fly into England, driven from his throne by as ſudden a revolution, as that by which he had obtained it. During the ſhort time Baliol enjoyed his crown, perceiving it would be impoſſible for him to retain it without the protection of Edward, he ſent ſecretly to that prince, offering to pay him homage, and to marry his ſiſter Jane, provided a diſpenſation from the pope could be obtained, her nuptials with David Bruce not having yet been conſummated. Edward had willingly accepted the offer; and now, ambitious of gaining his ſuperiority over Scotland, which he had loſt by the treachery of Mortimer, openly declared for Baliol, and made preparations to reinſtate him by force in his loſt ſeat of power. The Scots, elated with their late ſucceſs, had made incurſions into Cumberland; which furniſhed Edward with a ſufficient pretence for recommencing hoſtilities againſt them. Accordingly he ſent orders for this purpoſe to Sir Anthony Lacy, who defeated the invaders, and compelled them to return to their own country with great precipitation.

The king in the mean time having appointed a rendezvous of his army at Newcaſtle upon Tyne, opened the campaign in the beginning of May, with the ſiege of Berwick, where he commanded in perſon. That place being conſidered, as it is now, the key of Scotland, Douglas furniſhed it with a ſtrong garriſon, under the joint command of Sir William Keith, and Patrick Dunbar, earl of March, governor of the caſtle. Theſe gallant officers made a brave defence. The ſiege continued near two months; when great part of the fortifications being demoliſhed, the garriſon agreed to capitulate if not relieved in five days. Theſe terms were no ſooner made known to the Scottiſh army, which was preparing to invade Northumberland, than Sir Archibald Douglas, in compliance with the requeſt of the garriſon, marched to the foot of Halidown-hill, a little to the north of Berwick, in ſight of the Engliſh army; where he drew up his forces in four diviſions, commanded by the principal nobility of Scotland. The Engliſh were poſted upon an eminence. They were alſo drawn up in four ſeparate bodies, and flanked with archers. In this poſition Edward waited the attack of the enemy, who, on the thirteenth of July began to aſcend the hill with great intrepidity; but the ſteepneſs of the aſcent, the weight of their armour, the inceſſant ſhowers of arrows diſcharged from the bows of the Engliſh, and the large ſtones rolled down upon them, ſoon checked their career. They halted; and their general, being that moment transfixed with an arrow, fell lifeleſs to the ground. Diſmay, confuſion, and diſorder, now ran through the ranks of the Scottiſh army. Edward, taking advantage of this favourable opportunity, ordered lord D'Arcy, at the head of a body of light armed infantry, to charge them in flank, while he himſelf attacked their front with a choice brigade of veterans. The Scottiſh knights, to render the action more deſperate, had diſmounted from their horſes: but the impetuous attack of the Engliſh, led on by their brave ſovereign, was more than equal match for their furious valour. Incapable either of making reſiſtance, or of having recourſe to flight, being ſurrounded on all hands, a horrible carnage enſued; the remainder who eſcaped the ſword, ſought their ſafety in flight; but little quarter being given in the purſuit, all the principal nobility were either ſlain or taken priſoners. The loſs of the Scots, according to the moſt probable computation, amounted to thirty thouſand; while on the part of the Engliſh, it is ſaid, only one knight, one eſquire, and thirteen privates, fell in this memorable action. The town of Berwick ſurrendered next day, according to agreement, and Edward executed all the articles of capitulation with great punctuality. The Scottiſh inhabitants had time granted them to remove their effects; but thoſe who took the oaths of allegiance to the king of England, were permitted to ſtay. Patrick Dunbar entered into Edward's ſervice, who in conjunction with Henry Lord Piercy, was intruſted with the guardianſhip of Lothian and Galloway; the crown of Berwick upon Tweed was annexed to the crown of England; and Edward leaving a conſiderable body of forces with the new king of Scotland, to complete its reduction, returned to England. It was impoſſible for the Scots, in their preſent unhappy ſtate, to oppoſe the power of Baliol. Their chief nobility loſt, their army diſſipated, their king in France, their regent ſlain, what could they attempt with any proſpect of ſucceſs? Submiſſion was their only reſource. When therefore Baliol marched through the whole country, all the caſtles, except Dumbarton, Urquhart, and two or three others, which were ſuppoſed to be impregnable, ſurrendered at the firſt ſummons.

A. D. 1334.

In February, a parliament aſſembled, in conſequence of writs from Baliol, at Edinburgh, when he was acknowledged king; the ſuperiority of England over Scotland was alſo ſolemnly confirmed, and Berwick, Dunbar, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and all the ſouth-eaſt counties of Scotland, were declared to be for ever annexed to the crown of England. To theſe humbling conditions the Scots were obliged to ſubmit, but at the ſame time they were ſwearing fealty, determined, the firſt opportunity that offered, to break through theſe, and their bonds and allegiance, while the conduct of the king greatly ſtrengthened both their reſolution and reſentment: for David, earl of Athol, the lords Beaumont and Talbot, were put in poſſeſſion of the eſtates they claimed in Scotland; Henry de Piercy was gratified with the caſtle of Lochban, which belonged to the earl of Murray; and grants were made to other Engliſh noblemen, at the expence of Scottiſh proprietors. Theſe impolitic meaſures rendered the perſons thus deprived of their poſſeſſions, deſperate, and implacable enemies to Baliol; nor could the Scots in general eſteem a prince, who had ſhamefully reſigned that independence, to maintain which ſo much blood and treaſure had been expended. The Engliſh troops therefore were no ſooner returned to their own country, than they flew to arms. Sir Andrew Murray was elected regent, who defeated Baliol in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes. In the mean time application had been made for ſuccours to Philip, king of France, who ſent a body of troops to their aſſiſtance; by which means they over-ran and reduced all the northern parts of Scotland,

A. D. 1335.

Baliol being thus again brought into moſt diſtreſsful circumſtances, Edward was obliged to aſſemble an army and march into Scotland to his relief. Having entered by the way of Berwick, he made a conſiderable progreſs, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition. At his approach the enemy abandoned all the plains, and retired to the mountains and faſtneſſes of their country. Several ſkirmiſhes however happened between the Scots, and ſtraggling parties of the Engliſh; in one of which the late created regent was taken priſoner. During Edward's ſtay at Perth, he detached a body of forces, under the command of his brother, John of Eltham, and Sir Anthony Lacy, to ravage the weſtern counties, which were moſtly inhabited by the adherents of Bruce. The Scots, who thought themſelves ſufficiently ſtrong to face a part of the Engliſh army, preſented their whole force in order of battle. A bloody engagement enſued; victory was for ſome time doubtful, but at laſt declared in favour of the Engliſh; and a great number of Scots periſhed in the field of battle. The friends of Bruce were ſo intimidated by this defeat, that they determined to ſubmit to Edward. Accordingly a treaty was concluded on the following terms: "That the Scottiſh noblemen ſhould have the benefit of a general amneſty, that they ſhould enjoy their lands, honours and offices in Scotland, and be reſtored to thoſe of their Engliſh poſſeſſions that had been forfeited; that the Kirk and boroughs ſhould enjoy all their privileges; that none but natives ſhould be put into public offices, except in ſome particular caſes, where their king, Baliol, might ſee reaſon to exert his prerogative in behalf of perſons of a different nation: To which were added by ſome of Bruce's party, who at firſt refuſed to accede to this treaty; that Edward Baliol ſhould enjoy the crown of Scotland during his natural life, but on his demiſe, David Bruce ſhould ſucceed him on the throne, and in the interim be maintained honourably at London. An end being thus apparently put to hoſtilities, Edward ordered the fortifications of Perth to be repaired, and the caſtles of Edinburgh and Stirling to be rebuilt. He alſo appointed the earl of Athol guardian of the northern part of the kingdom, and returned to England at the head of the greater part of his army.

Yet the Scots, notwithſtanding they had ſigned the above articles of their ſubmiſſion, were ſtill farther than ever from being broken, or ſubdued; nor did they wait long for a plauſible pretence and opportunity of ſhaking off a yoke, to which neceſſity alone had compelled them to ſubmit. The earl of Athol, whoſe talents were ill adapted to govern ſuch a turbulent ſet of people, inſtead of applying ſoothing lenients, treated them with rigour; and imprudently beſieged the caſtle of Kildrummy, which ſtill refuſed to open its gates, and wherein the regent's wife had for ſecurity ſhut herſelf up. The earl of Marche and Sir William Douglas haſtened immediately to the relief of that fortreſs, fell upon the beſiegers with the utmoſt impetuoſity, and routed them with great ſlaughter. The earl of Athol himſelf was one among the numerous ſlain. The ſtandard of war was now again diſplayed; but before any farther hoſtilities were committed, by the mediation of his holineſs and the king of France, a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities was agreed to till the ninth of May, in the enſuing year; which truce was conſidered as a prelude to a general peace.

A. D. 1336.

Conferences, in the ſpring, were opened at Newcaſtle, whither Sir William Douglas, Sir William Keith, and Robert Louther, repaired, on the faith of a ſafe conduct, which was alſo granted to ſix other commiſſioners of the ſame nation, deputed by David Bruce, to aſſiſt at the negociation. The commiſſioners, in 1336, entered upon buſineſs; but the French envoys, agreeable to the inſtructions they had received from their court, under the diſguiſe of mediators, ſtarted ſuch difficulties as they knew would render the negociation ineffectual. Philip had already ſupplied the Scots with a conſiderable aſſiſtance both of men and money. He now publicly declared, that he would never abandon the cauſe of Bruce, but ſupport him to the utmoſt of his power. Elated by theſe promiſes, and exaſperated againſt the invaders of their country, the Scottiſh deputies inſiſted on ſuch exorbitant terms, that the treaty was broken off, and both ſides reſolved to renew hoſtilities immediately after the expiration of the truce. Edward, foreſeeing the reſult had continued his military preparations, and had been very careful to conciliate the affections of his ſubjects, by ſeveral popular acts; whereby he ſo endeared himſelf to his people, both clergy and laity, that they readily granted him large ſubſidies, for ſupporting the conqueſts he had made in Scotland, and finally to reduce that nation under the Engliſh government. Thus ſupplied, he ordered his military tenants to repair to the north, and conferred the chief command of his army on Henry, ſon to the old earl of Lancaſter. Having received advice, that Murray, the regent, had reduced the caſtles of St. Andrew's and Bothwel, he repaired immediately to Berwick, where being joined by a body of troops, he proceeded to Perth. Juſt before his arrival, the enemy made a deſperate aſſault upon Stirling-caſtle, in which attack Sir William Keith was ſlain; but being repulſed in this attempt, with great loſs, and hearing of Edward's approach, they abandoned that enterprize, as well as the ſiege of Lochendoris, and retired to their faſtneſſes to avoid an engagement.

The king continued his march through Athol to Inverneſs, and thence by Elgin, through the ſhire of Murray, which he laid deſolate. The town of Aberdeen was reduced to aſhes; and having proceeded northward to the extremity of Scotland, he returned to Perth, having left the country a wild and dreary waſte. The king now repaired to England, and ſummoned a parliament on the twenty-third of September, to meet at Nottingham, where ſeveral ſalutary laws were enacted; after which he returned to Scotland, where his preſence was again required. On his departure the regent had taken the field, and reduced ſeveral caſtles which Edward had fortified; and his brother John, whom he left with Baliol to command his forces, died at Perth, during his abſence. Murray, on the king's approach, retired to the foreſt of Platon, where he continued in the ſeaſon of winter; ſo that Edward's military exploits amounted to no more, than burning and waſting the open country; while the Scots, encouraged amidſt their misfortunes, by promiſes of relief from France, ſupported their ſpirits; and a war being likely to break out between England and that kingdom, they had reaſon to believe, that this would prove a great diverſion in their favour. Nor did Edward neglect any neceſſary precautions, in preparing for this expected event. He commiſſioned Geoffrey de Say, one of his admirals, to equip a ſtrong fleet, and aſſert his dominion of the Engliſh ſea, which his predeceſſor had always maintained, and in particular to deſtroy the gallies of France, ſhould they attempt to approach the coaſts of England or Scotland.

A. D. 1337.

We are now entering upon a period of hiſtory, productive of very ſtriking events, therefore it will be neceſſary to give a particular account of the ſources from whence they ſprung. During the ſpace of nine hundred years France had been governed by males only, and none in the female line had ever reigned on that throne. Of the late kings, Philip the Fair, on his demiſe, left three ſons, Lewis Hutin, Philip the Long, and Charles the Fair, and one daughter, who was Iſabella, the preſent queen dowager of England. Lewis Hutin, at his death, left one daughter, which he had by Margaret, ſiſter to Eudes, duke of Burgundy, and the queen, being at the ſame time pregnant, Philip the Long, his younger brother, was appointed regent till it might be known whether ſhe ſhould be delivered of a ſon or daughter. The child was a male; but living only a few days, Philip the Long was proclaimed king. The duke of Burgundy oppoſed his ſucceſſion, avowing the right of his niece to the crown of France; upon which the ſtates of that kingdom excluded her by a ſolemn act; and at the ſame time excluded all females for ever from ſucceſſion to the throne of France. On the demiſe of Philip, who left three daughters, his brother, Charles the Fair, without the leaſt diſpute from a ſingle claimant, ſucceeded to the crown. The reign of this prince was equally ſhort with that of his predeceſſor; and at his death, Charles left only one daughter; but the queen being pregnant, the next male heir was appointed regent, with a declared right of ſucceſſion, ſhould the child prove a female. This regent was Philip de Valois, couſin-german to the deceaſed king; who was the ſon of Charles de Valois, brother of Philip the Fair. The queen being delivered of a daughter, the regency ended, and Philip de Valois, the preſent reigning monarch, was unanimouſly ſeated on the throne. Hence it is evident, that through a long ſeries of years, the French would not permit their crown to deſcend to a female; from an opinion derived originally from a maxim in the Salic law; (being a law of an antient tribe among the Franks) though the clauſe in that law does not, by the confeſſion of the beſt antiquaries, bear the ſenſe commonly ſtrained from it.

But Edward, notwithſtanding the excluſion of females had taken place in France, and the cuſtom was eſtabliſhed by a long chain of precedents, imagined, that in right of his mother he had a juſt claim to the crown of France, in oppoſition to the cuſtom of excluding females, which had acquired equal authority with the moſt expreſs and poſitive law. To ſhew the futility of this pretenſion it was urged, that each of the laſt three kings of France, had daughters who were ſtill alive, and who, ſuppoſing his claim to be well founded, ſtood before him in the order of ſucceſſion. In anſwer to which, Edward who was more of an able general, than a learned civilian, was under the neceſſity of aſſerting, that though Iſabella, his mother, who was, on account of her ſex, incapable of ſucceeding, he himſelf, who inherited through her, was liable to no ſuch objection; not conſidering, that allowing the validity of this plea, yet it was more favourable to Charles, king of Navarre, who was deſcended from the daughter of Lewis Hutin, and immediate ſucceſſor of Philip the Fair. Indeed his claim was ſo thoroughly diſavowed by all France, that to inſiſt upon it, was pretending to make a conqueſt of that kingdom. This Edward ſeriouſly intended; and was determined to attack France, and to wreſt the ſceptre from the hand of Philip de Valois, which he ſtill declared to belong to him, as the ſon of Iſabella, ſiſter to Charles the Fair. In this reſolution he was encouraged by Robert d'Artois, deſcended from the blood royal of France, who having been condemned in conſequence of a forgery he had committed, took refuge in England. Inſpired with a moſt implacable deſire of revenge againſt Philip, by whom he had been deprived of his dominions, and proſecuted with the utmoſt violence, Robert now endeavoured to ſtimulate Edward to declare war againſt France, in favour of his title to that crown; and the king was more eaſily prevailed upon to liſten to his ſuggeſtions, from his having reaſon to complain of Philip's conduct with regard to Guienne, and from that monarch's having not only given protection to David Bruce, but openly aſſiſted the Scots in their ſtruggles for independence. Philip was no ſooner informed of the council given by Robert d'Artois, than he iſſued a ſentence of felony againſt him; which declared every vaſſal within or without the realm, involved in the ſame predicament, who ſhould give countenance to that traitor. This menace wanted no comment; and war with France now ſeemed inevitable. The French indeed had made incurſions into Guienne, ſeized ſeveral caſtles, and threatened a ſpeedy reduction of that province.

Edward therefore ſummoning a parliament during Lent, laid before them the nature of his differences with Philip, and the ſteps he had taken toward an accommodation; and the nation in general ſeemed very deſirous of revenging the hoſtilities which the French had committed: whereupon the biſhop of Lincoln, with the earls of Saliſbury and Huntington, were appointed to finiſh the progreſs Edward had made in contracting foreign alliances; in order to divert the arms of the French monarch from Guienne, and at the ſame time to attack his dominions with a proſpect of ſucceſs. Accordingly, treaties were concluded both in the low countries, and on the frontiers of Germany, with the count of Hainault, the duke of Brabant, the archbiſhop of Cologne, the duke of Guilders, the marquis of Juliers, the count of Namure, with ſome others, who engaged to furniſh the king with a ſtipulated number of troops, which were to be maintained at the expence of England. The acceſſion of Flanders was alone wanting to render this confederacy ſufficiently formidable, which Edward procured by an extraordinary addreſs. The Flemings, by cultivating arts and manufactures, began to emerge from that ſtate of vaſſalage in which the common people had been univerſally involved in the feudal ſyſtem. By commerce they acquired riches, and by riches obtained a ſhare of independence. They had driven the earl of Flanders into France, and put themſelves under a leader of their own choice, one Jacob Ardevelt, a brewer of Ghent, who governed them with unlimited authority. To him Edward applied, and never courted the aſſiſtance of any ally with ſo much aſſiduity, as he did that of this Flemiſh merchant. Ardevelt, on the other hand, proud of theſe advances from the king of England, and perceiving that the Flemings were inclined to form connections with the Engliſh, from whom they received the materials of their woollen manufactures, readily embraced Edward's intereſt, and invited him over into the Netherlands. About the ſame time Edward received from the emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, the title of "Vicar of the Empire," that he might have a right to command the princes of Germany; and to remove the ſcruples of the Flemings, who were vaſſals of France, aſſumed the title of king of France, and challenged their aſſiſtance for dethroning Philip de Valois, who had uſurped his kingdom.

A.D. 1338. In the beginning of February, a parliament was ſummoned, from whom the king obtained a conſiderable ſubſidy, for carrying on a war. He then borrowed a large ſum of money for preſent uſe, and equipped an armament with the utmoſt expedition. Having committed the guardianſhip of the kingdom to his eldeſt ſon Edward, and after taking proper precautions for ſecuring the peace during his abſence, he embarked at Orewell, on the ſeventeenth of July, with a fleet of three hundred ſail, accompanied by his principal nobility, and after an eaſy paſſage, arrived at Antwerp. But finding that his allies were not ready to take the field, his military operations were deferred to the enſuing year. Edward, intending to paſs the winter in Brabant, ſent for his queen to Antwerp, where, in the month of November, ſhe was delivered of a third ſon, named Lionel, who was afterwards created duke of Clarence. Philip had made prodigious preparations againſt the Engliſh; and his allies were more powerful; whereas thoſe of Edward were at once very ſlow in their motions, and irreſolute in their meaſures, having no object in view but his money, which was now nearly exhauſted.

A. D. 1339. Such a loſs of time was very prejudicial to Edward's finances, who was now obliged to borrow large ſums at exorbitant intereſt, and even pawn his queen's jewels for ſecurity. His operations were ſo retarded by this, and other difficulties, that he could not take the field, till the twentieth of September, when he marched againſt the French army, with which Philip lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Peronne. The two monarchs continued a week within ſix miles of each other; and on Wedneſday, the twentieth of October, Edward ſent a herald to Philip, deſiring him to appoint a day for a general engagement. The French king having pitched upon the following Friday, both armies were drawn out early in the morning, in order of battle, the Engliſh and their allies not exceeding fifty thouſand men, and the enemy amounting to almoſt double that number. After having ſtood facing each other the whole day, both ſeeming to decline an engagement, they retired to their reſpective camps, and appeared again the next morning in the ſame diſpoſition. In the afternoon the French retreated to their quarters, which they fortified with trenches and the boughs of trees; while Edward wheeled off to a more convenient ſituation, and informed Philip by meſſage, that he would wait for him all Sunday. The French king was deſirous of engaging, but his council repreſenting the imprudence of riſquing his crown on the iſſue of a battle, with an enemy, whom the ſeaſon would ſoon compel to withdraw his forces, having fortified his frontier towns, he returned to Paris; and Edward, informed of his retreat, permitted the

Germans to retire, while he with his own troops retired to Bruſſels. Thus ended a fruitleſs campaign, in his preparations for which Edward had contracted a debt of three hundred thouſand pounds, and anticipated moſt of his revenue: but he had too much ſpirit to be diſcouraged by the firſt difficulties of an enterprize, and was therefore anxious to retrieve his honour by more ſucceſsful exploits.

In this interval of his abſence from England, Sir Anthony Murray, guardian of Scotland, reduced all the fortreſſes on the north ſide of the Tay, and defeated a party of four thouſand Engliſh, commanded by lord Henry Montford, who loſt his life in the engagement. The earl of Dunbar having taken the field with Murray, his caſtle was beſieged on all ſides by lord Henry Plantagenet, Angus, and Arundel, and gallantly defended by the earl's counteſs, who receiving a reinforcement, ſoon after Montfort's defeat, the Engliſh noblemen raiſed the ſiege, in order to advance to the relief of their countrymen. They accordingly ſent two large detachments from the main army by different routes, under the command of William Talbot, and lord Richard Montague, who were defeated at Panmuir, in Angus, and Talbot taken priſoner. The caſtles of Edinburgh, Stirling and Coupar, were now the only places of conſequence remaining in the hands of Baliol. On the firſt of theſe Sir William Douglas had made an unſucceſsful attempt; ſoon after which Bruce's party ſuſtained an almoſt irreparable loſs, in the death of their guardian, in which office he was ſucceeded by Robert Stuart, who was connected with David by the ties of blood. He reduced the town of Perth; and William Bullock, governor of the caſtle of Coupar, betraying his truſt, ſurrendered up that fortreſs to the Scots.

Edward now determined to form a cloſe connection with the Flemings, and therefore promiſed to reſtore them to the poſſeſſion of Liſle, Douay, and Bethune, provided they would cordially engage in his intereſt, and the twenty-third of January enſuing, was, by mutual conſent, appointed for ratifying the agreement. With the ſame view he alſo formally took upon him the title of king of France, and quartered the French with the Engliſh arms, aſſuming the motto, *Dieu et mon droit*, "God and my right;" alluding to his deſign of ſupporting his pretenſions to the crown of that kingdom. This bold ſtep induced all the Flemings as one man to declare in his favour. He now called a council of allies, when the operations on opening of the next campaign were ſettled; and having entered into engagements with the duke of Brabant, to ſtay in the low countries till the war was finiſhed, he now offered ſufficient reaſons for his paſſing over to England; and promiſing, on his word of honour, to return in perſon, the duke conſented to his departure.

A. D. 1340. He no ſooner arrived in England, than writs were iſſued for aſſembling a parliament at Weſtminſter, who ſhewed an uncommon alacrity in aſſiſting their ſovereign; for Edward obtained an unuſual grant for two years, of the ninth ſheaf, lamb, and fleece, on the eſtates of the nobles; and from the burgeſſes, a ninth of their moveables, at their true value. They alſo granted a duty of forty ſhillings on each pack of wool exported; the ſame on every three hundred wool-fells; and on every laſt of leather for the ſame term of years. But being ſenſible this ſupply would come in ſlowly, they agreed, that twenty thouſand packs of wool ſhould be immediately granted, and their value deducted from the ninth's which were afterwards to be raiſed. To this generoſity they added a becoming attention to their own independency; for to obviate any conſequences that might accrue from Edward's title of king of France, they declared that they owed him no obedience as king of France, and that the two kingdoms ſhould for ever remain diſtinct and ſeparate. As this was a matter of too great importance for Edward to neglect, he publiſhed a full, clear, and ſatisfactory declaration on that ſubject. Theſe tokens of affection on the part of his people, juſtly merited a grateful return from Edward; accordingly he granted a full remiſſion of all debts due to the crown, and of all proſecutions of foreſt treſpaſſes: to which he added a confirmation of the two charters, and of the franchiſes of the boroughs; with ſeveral wholeſome regulations, for redreſſing the grievances of his ſubjects.

While Edward was preparing for his ſecond expedition againſt France, advice was received from the duke of Guelders, that Philip had aſſembled a powerful fleet to intercept him in his paſſage. Orders were therefore given by his two chief admirals, Morley and Crab, for collecting the whole naval force of his kingdom, to the number of two hundred and ſixty ſail. This fleet was well manned with the utmoſt diſpatch; and Edward embarked for the continent, attended by a conſiderable body of land forces, and the principal nobility of England, ſetting ſail from Orewell on the thirteenth of June. A few days after their departure, the French fleet was diſcovered lying at anchor in the harbour of Sluys, to the number of four hundred ſail, and manned with forty thouſand men. In the morning of Midſummer-day, they had advanced about a mile without the harbour, and appeared drawn up in three ſquadrons. Upon which, the king's admirals made the ſame diſpoſition, ſtationing the largeſt ſhips in the firſt diviſion, provided with archers and men at arms. The ſecond were ordered to keep at ſome diſtance to windward, and prevent the firſt from being incloſed by the enemy; and the third was reſerved for the protection of the tranſports, loaded with baggage and warlike implements. The line being thus formed, they hauled upon a wind, in order to gain the weather-gage; then bearing down upon the enemy, a fierce and bloody action enſued, which laſted from ten in the morning, till ſeven at night. The ſhips engaged yard-arm to yard-arm with incredible fury, and the nobles and brave knights exerted all their martial abilities, in order to ſignalize themſelves under the eye of their ſovereign, who animated them by his own example. The Engliſh archers, who excelled all Europe in their profeſſional ſkill, made terrible ſlaughter among the French and Genoeſe; while the men at arms, boarding their veſſels, attacked them with ſuch fury, that multitudes leaped into the ſea, to avoid the horrors of the aſſault. The firſt diviſion of the French was now nearly defeated, and the ſecond thrown into great confuſion. In this critical moment, the Flemings ſailed out of their ports and joined the Engliſh. This reinforcement determined the fortune of the day. Falling in with the ſhattered ſquadrons of the enemy, they bore down the feeble remains of oppoſition; and victory in all her glory, was ſeen triumphing by the ſide of Edward. Two French admirals, with upwards of twenty thouſand men were ſlain, and two hundred and thirty of their largeſt ſhips taken. The king was ſlightly wounded in the thigh, and his loſs, it is ſaid, amounted to about four thouſand men, who fell in this memorable naval engagement. He paſſed the night on board his ſhip, and landed the next day at Sluys, whence he marched to Ghent, where to render his joy complete, he found his queen juſt delivered of a ſon, called John, who was afterwards created duke of Lancaſter.

This important victory increaſed both the renown and authority of Edward among his allies, who aſſembled their forces with great expedition; whereby he was enabled to advance to the frontiers of France, at the head of above one hundred thouſand men, chiefly foreigners. Beſides theſe, the Flemings, who amounted to fifty thouſand men, under the command of Robert d'Artois, laid ſiege to St. Omer's; but being chiefly compoſed of manufacturers and tradeſmen, unacquainted with war, they were routed by a ſally from the garriſon, and ſeized with ſuch a panic, that they diſperſed, and never ventured to appear again in the field. In the mean time, Edward with his army had laid ſiege to Tournay, then reputed one of the moſt conſiderable cities in Flanders. It contained above ſixty thouſand inhabitants, and was defended by a garriſon commanded by the braveſt of the French nobility, who were reſolved to periſh under the ruins of the city, rather than open its gates to the enemy, notwithſtanding that enemy was Edward III. This brave prince, finding that every aſſault proved unſucceſsful, turned the ſiege into a blockade, in hopes of reducing the city by famine. At the end of ten weeks, Philip advanced within a few leagues of the Engliſh army, not with an intention of bringing on a deciſive action, but of being ready to aſſiſt the garriſon, whenever a favourable opportunity might offer. Edward, exaſperated at the ſmall progreſs he had made in this ſiege, ſent an herald to Philip, challenging him to decide their quarrel either by ſingle combat, or by fighting with one hundred men on each ſide, or by a general engagement. Philip replied, that he ſhould find means to drive his vaſſal out of his kingdom; that it did not become him to challenge his liege lord; that the duel was propoſed on very unequal terms, by offering to hazard only his own perſon; but if Edward would put the kingdom of England into the ſtake, he would accept the challenge.

While the two armies lay in this ſituation, and a general action was daily expected, Tournay, for want of proviſions, being reduced to great diſtreſs, Jane, counteſs-dowager of Hainault, endeavoured to produce a reconciliation between them. This princeſs was ſiſter to Philip, and mother-in-law to Edward. She had retired to a convent; but left her retreat to employ her good offices, with a view of putting an end to the animoſities between perſons ſo nearly related to her and to each other: yet her zeal could only effect a ſhort truce, which left both parties in poſſeſſion of their preſent acquiſitions, and put a ſtop to all farther hoſtilities on the ſide of the Netherlands, Guienne, and Scotland, till the following Midſummer. Soon after, the king of France prevailed on the emperor to revoke the title of imperial vicar, which he had conferred on Edward; whoſe allies alſo, diſappointed in their expectations, gradually withdrew from the confederacy; and that prince, not a little embarraſſed by a heavy load of debts, was obliged to return haſtily into England.

After a dangerous paſſage of three days, in a ſmall veſſel, he landed with his queen about the latter end of November at the Tower of London, which he found unguarded. He was ſo irritated with the ill ſucceſs of his military operations, and ſo much vexed and affronted by his foreign creditors, that he returned in a very ill humour, which ſpent itſelf upon all thoſe whom he thought merited his diſpleaſure. He committed to priſon the conſtable of the Tower, with all his ſubalterns, for their negligence. The biſhops of Chicheſter and Litchfield he turned out of their employments of chancellor and treaſurer: Sir John St. Paul, keeper of the privy ſeal, the ſheriffs, the collectors of the taxes, and other officers of the revenue were impriſoned, and a commiſſion iſſued to enquire into their defaults, for which they were ſeverely puniſhed; for the king attributed the bad ſucceſs of his expedition partly to their negligence. The primate, fearing the effects of his anger, retired to Canterbury, and took refuge under the privileges of his order. He accordingly convened a meeting of the clergy in that cathedral, and pronounced a general ſentence of excommunication againſt all, who, on any pretence, exerciſed violence on the perſon or goods of clergymen, or accuſed a prelate of treaſon, or any other crime, in order to make him incur the king's diſpleaſure. The clergy, thus headed by the primate, now formed themſelves into a regular combination againſt the king; and the archbiſhop, in a letter, went ſo far as to aſſert, that there were two powers by which the world was governed, the holy pontifical apoſtolic dignity, and the royal ſubordinate authority; that the clerical was evidently the ſupreme, ſince prieſts were to anſwer for the conduct of kings themſelves at the divine tribunal. They were the ſpiritual fathers of all the faithful, and among the reſt of kings and princes; and, by a heavenly charter, were entitled to cenſure their tranſgreſſions, and to guide their actions. Edward little reliſhed theſe obſervations, ſo diametrically repugnant to his prerogative; and determined the primate ſhould feel the weight of his reſentment. He therefore ſent Nicholas de Cantaloup, with a public notary, to the archbiſhop, to warn that prelate to take care of his bonds, and either diſcharge them immediately, or croſs the ſea to Flanders, and reſide in that country till the money ſhould be paid. In the mean time he ſummoned the metropolitan to court, to render an account of the conduct of thoſe to whom he had intruſted the management of the public revenue. Stratford excuſed himſelf from appearing at court, where he ſhould be expoſed to the malice of his enemies; and ſaid, he would conſider the other part of his majeſty's propoſal. Upon this, an information was preferred againſt him in the court of exchequer, before which he was ſummoned to appear; but he refuſed to plead to a charge of ſuch importance, before any other juriſdiction than that of the lords ſpiritual and temporal aſſembled in parliament.

A.D. 1341.

A parliament being aſſembled, the primate was not permitted to take his ſeat till he put in anſwer to the charge exhibited againſt him in the exchequer. This being performed, he was admitted to his place; and on taking his ſeat declared, that he would not have preſumed to have appeared there, but for the honour of his ſovereign, and the good of the kingdom; and that he was willing to ſubmit to a parliamentary enquiry into his conduct, as one of his majeſty's principal miniſters. The whole aſſembly applauded this reſolution; and at the ſame time reſolving to ſet legal bounds to the royal prerogatives, they required a new confirmation of the great charter. They alſo framed a bill, whereby it was enacted, that the peers of the realm ſhould not be proceeded againſt and puniſhed, but by the judgment of their peers aſſembled in parliament; that the more important offices ſhould be filled by the king, with the conſent of his council and barons; that every ſeſſion theſe offices ſhould be reſumed by him, and the miniſters who filled them reduced to private perſons; that they ſhould in that condition anſwer before the parliament, to any accuſations brought againſt them; and that if they were any ways found guilty, they ſhould finally be diſpoſſeſſed of their dignities, and more ſufficient perſons be ſubſtituted in their place. Having obtained this important act, the parliament voted for the king's preſſing wants twenty thouſand ſacks of wool. Edward was no ſooner poſſeſſed of this ſupply, than he iſſued an edict, in which he aſſerted, that the ſtatute had been enacted contrary to law, and was prejudicial to the prerogatives of the crown which he had ſworn to defend; that he only diſſembled when he ſeemed to ratify it, but that he had

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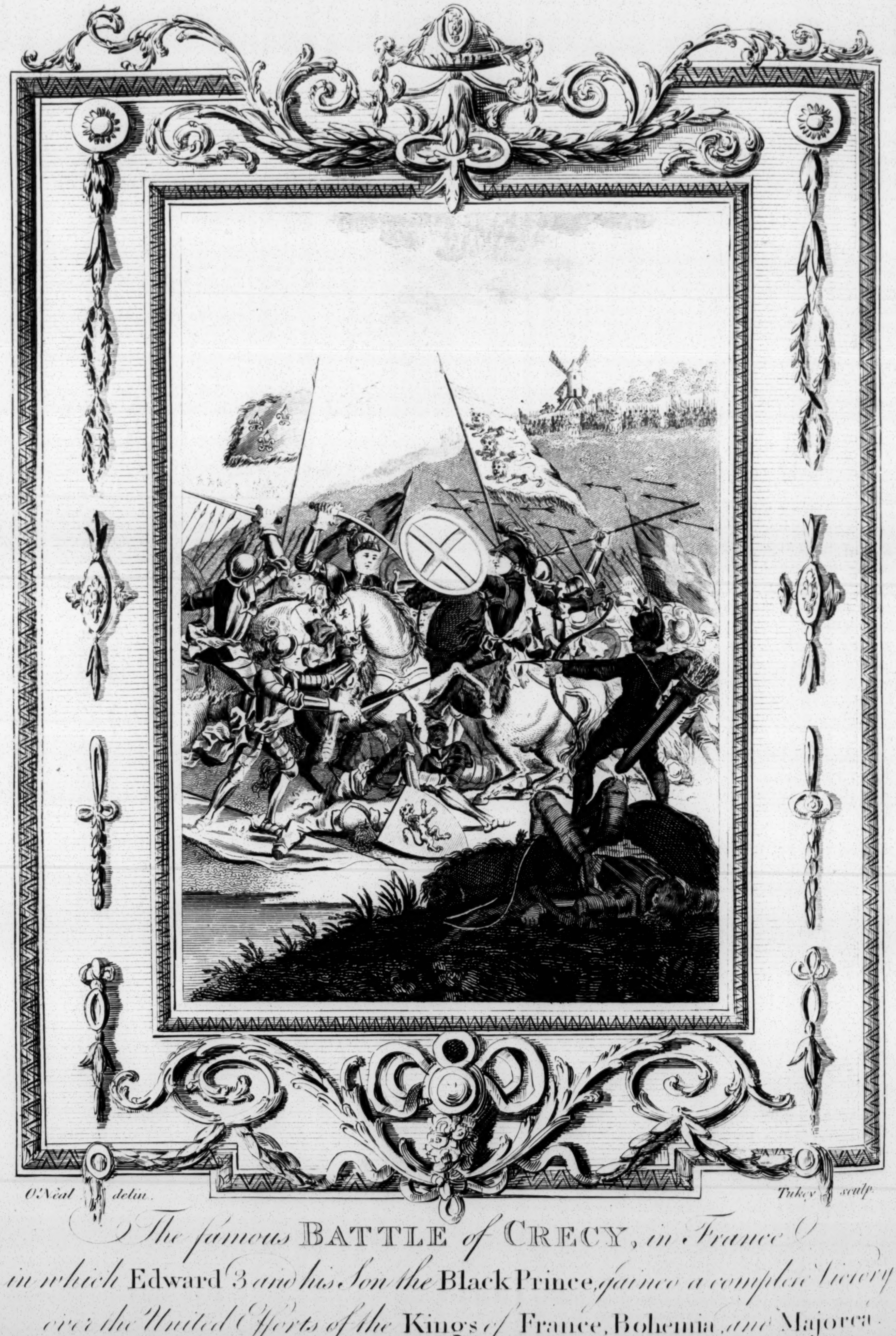

O'Neal delin. Tukey sculp.

The famous **BATTLE** of **CRECY**, in France
in which **Edward 3** and his Son the **Black Prince**, gained a compleat Victory
over the United Efforts of the **Kings** of **France**, **Bohemia**, and **Majorca**.

had never, in his own breaſt, given it his aſſent: he therefore annuls it, though he profeſſes himſelf willing and determined to obſerve ſuch of its articles as were formerly law. This arbitrary exertion of regal power, left all the laws at the king's mercy; yet future parliaments took not the leaſt notice of it; and two years after Edward recovered ſuch influence, as to obtain a legal repeal of thoſe parts of the act which were moſt diſagreeable to him.

But though, by thus temporizing, Edward had extricated himſelf from ſome of his moſt preſſing difficulties, yet his preſent circumſtances, in many reſpects, were far from being pleaſing. His claims on France and Scotland had involved him in a very expenſive war; his want of money had made him loſe moſt of his foreign mercenaries; he was deeply involved in debt, for which he was obliged to pay extravagant intereſt; while none of his military operations had been attended with the leaſt degree of honour or profit to the nation, except his naval victory; and, as an addition to theſe perplexing circumſtances, he received advice, that his German allies had deſerted his intereſt: but his aſpiring genius proved at laſt equal to his great undertakings; and an unexpected event about this time happened, which furniſhed him with an opportunity of attacking Philip in the very center of his dominions, with much leſs expence, and a greater probability of ſucceſs. John III. duke of Brittany, declining through age and infirmities, was ſolicitous to prevent thoſe diſorders, to which his ſubjects, at his death, might be expoſed by a diſputed ſucceſſion. Having no iſſue, and intending to leave his duchy to a daughter of his brother the count de Ponthievre, he reſolved to marry her to Charles de Blois, a prince who, in his judgment, appeared capable of repelling any attempts that might be made to diſturb the tranquillity of his country. As his family had inherited by a female ſucceſſion, he preferred the title of Ponthievre's daughter to that of the count of Montford, his brother by a ſecond daughter. However, he would not take this important ſtep without conſulting his ſubjects, who willingly concurring in his choice, the marriage was concluded, when all his vaſſals ſwore fealty to Charles and his ſpouſe as their future ſovereigns; among which number was the count de Montfort himſelf; yet on the death of his brother John, forgetting both his conceſſion and his oath, he engaged many of the moſt conſiderable barons to acknowledge his authority, and made himſelf maſter of Rennes, Nantes, Breſt, Hennebonne, and other important fortreſſes of the duchy; while Charles de Blois was ſoliciting the inveſtiture of the ſame at the court of France. Montfort was ſenſible he ſhould not be able to ſupport his pretended right, unleſs aſſiſted by ſome powerful ally; and therefore made a voyage to England, under pretence of eſtabliſhing his claim to the earldom of Richmond, which devolved to him on the death of his brother. Here he made Edward an offer of acknowledging, and of maintaining by a ſtrict alliance, his title to the crown of France, propoſing, at the ſame time, to do him homage as his liege lord. Edward, who immediately perceived all the advantages that might reſult from this offer, ſpeedily concluded a treaty with Montfort; and though their pleas, in regard to the preference of ſucceſſion by a male or female were directly oppoſite, yet their immediate intereſts formed a ſtrict connection between them.

When the latter returned to the continent, thinking his treaty with Edward a profound ſecret, he ventured to appear at Paris, with an intent of defending his cauſe before the peers. But he was ſoon convinced of the imprudent ſtep he had taken, Philip, at his firſt audience, told him plainly, that he had no right to the duchy; and reproached him for entering into an alliance with a prince, the profeſſed enemy of France; but he excuſed his viſit to the Engliſh court under the pretence abovementioned; and with reſpect to the duchy, he expreſſed his willingneſs to ſtand an impartial trial, and ſubmit to the judgment of his peers. Philip promiſed the trial ſhould be brought on in a fortnight; but commanded him in the interim to keep within the walls of Paris. From this injunction, Montfort concluded he had every thing to fear from the juſtice of Philip, and took a reſolution to effect an eſcape, while he had it in his power. Accordingly, diſguiſing himſelf in the habit of a burgher, he quitted Paris early in the morning, and reached Brittany in ſafety. The king, when informed of his eſcape, in a tranſport of rage inſtantly confiſcated the earldom of Montfort; at the ſame time by his ſole authority, he ordered the parliament of Paris, without proceeding through cuſtomary forms, to adjudge Brittany to Charles de Blois, whom, in order to execute the ſentence, he ſupplied with a numerous army, under the command of his eldeſt ſon John of Normandy. Montfort, unable to face the French forces in the field, ſhut himſelf up in Nantes; which, being beſieged, was, by the treachery of the inhabitants, delivered up to the enemy, who took Montfort priſoner, and conducted him to the caſtle of Louvre.

A. D. 1342.

This event might have determined the fate of Brittany, had not Jane of Flanders, counteſs of Montfort, bravely ſtood forth to ſupport the ſinking fortunes of her family. Affected with the captivity of her huſband, ſhe quitted thoſe domeſtic cares which had hitherto employed her thoughts; and having aſſembled the inhabitants of Rennes, then the place of her reſidence, ſhe preſented herſelf before them with her infant ſon in her arms, recommending to their care the illuſtrious orphan, the only remaining male of their antient princes, by whom they had been governed with parental indulgence. She laid before them the reſources that would ariſe from the alliance that had been formed with England. She earneſtly entreated them to make one vigorous effort againſt an uſurper, impoſed on them by an armed force, who in return would ſacrifice the antient liberties of Brittany to his protector; and ſhe aſſured them that in ſo juſt a cauſe, ſhe was willing to run all hazards. Deeply affected by her addreſs, the inhabitants and ſoldiers promiſed to ſupport her with their lives and fortunes. All the other fortified towns in the duchy took the ſame reſolution; and the utmoſt diſpatch was uſed to furniſh them with every thing neceſſary for making a reſolute defence againſt the enemy. The counteſs ſent her infant ſon to England, both as a place of ſafety, and to engage the king to embrace the intereſts of her family with the greater zeal, from his having ſuch a pledge in his poſſeſſion; after which ſhe repaired to Hennebonne, the ſtrongeſt fortreſs in Brittany, reſolving there to wait for the expected ſuccours from Edward.

Charles de Blois, anxious to obtain ſo important a fortreſs as Hennebonne, and more ſtill to take the counteſs priſoner, inveſted the place with a large army, which was defended by the counteſs in perſon with a bravery that would have done honour to the beſt general of the age. The French were repulſed in every attack, and perpetually harraſſed by ſallies from the caſtle. The counteſs was foremoſt in every danger, and headed her troops with undaunted intrepidity. One day, obſerving that the beſiegers in making an aſſault, had neglected to ſecure a diſtant quarter of their camp, ſhe ſallied out with two hundred cavalry, and ſet fire to their tents, baggage, and magazines. Preparing to return, ſhe found herſelf intercepted by a detachment from the main body of the enemy. Inſtantly taking her reſolution, ſhe ordered her men to make the beſt of their way to Breſt, where ſhe would ſoon meet them. At the time appointed, ſhe met at the place of rendezvous; increaſed her eſcort to five hundred men; returned to Hennebonne; and cutting her way through part of the enemy's camp, entered the town amidſt the ſhouts and acclamations of the garriſon. However, the repeated attacks of the beſiegers having at length made ſeveral breaches in the walls, a general aſſault was hourly expected; in which the garriſon, diminiſhed in their numbers, and extremely weakened, would probably have been overpowered. In this diſtreſſed ſituation, it was thought neceſſary to offer terms of capitulation; and the biſhop of Leon was actually ſent for that purpoſe to the camp of Charles de Blois: but the counteſs, who in theſe truly afflicting moments had aſcended a tower of the fortreſs, and with earneſt impatience was looking with languid eyes towards the ſea, obſerved a fleet of ſhips at a diſtance, bending their courſe toward her longing wiſhes. Immediately with rapturous joy, ſcarcely articulate, ſhe exclaimed, "Behold the ſuccours! The Engliſh ſuccours! No capitulation!" This fleet, which Edward had ſent for the relief of Hennebonne, had long been detained by contrary winds; which, when the French ſaw enter the harbour, they were confounded, and laid aſide their deſign of making a general aſſault. This reinforcement conſiſted of a body of men at arms, and ſix thouſand archers, commanded by Sir Walter Manny, a brave Engliſh officer. The courage of the garriſon was now revived; they readily joined the Engliſh in a ſally; drove the beſiegers from their poſts; and obliged them to retire with precipitation.

Notwithſtanding this ſucceſs, the counteſs was not able to take the field, being overpowered by numbers. She therefore repaired to England, to ſolicit more effectual ſuccours. Edward granted her a conſiderable reinforcement, under the command of Robert d'Artois, and the earl of Northampton. The counteſs herſelf returned in this fleet, which was attacked by a French ſquadron, commanded by prince Lewis of Spain. The brave heroine behaved with her uſual valour, and the action continued, till night put an end to the conteſt. A violent ſtorm ſeparated the two fleets, but the Engliſh reached Brittany in ſafety. The firſt attempt made by Robert was againſt Vannes, which he carried by aſſault, but was dangerouſly wounded; and, during his confinement, a party in the intereſt of Charles, attacked and took the place by ſurprize. Robert died ſoon after in his paſſage to England of his wounds.

Edward now undertook to defend in perſon the counteſs of Montfort. With this intent he aſſembled his army, embarked at Sandwich on the fifth of October, and, after a paſſage of two days, landed at Breſt. He formed three important ſieges at the ſame time; but by attempting too much, miſcarried in all. The duke of Normandy, with forty thouſand men, encamped in the vicinity of the Engliſh, and cut off their proviſions. In this dangerous ſituation, Edward liſtened to the mediation of the pope's legate, and a truce for three years was concluded on the following terms: that Vannes ſhould be ſequeſtered, till the expiration of the truce, in the hands of two cardinals, to be diſpoſed of by them in ſuch manner as they may think proper; that the Flemings ſhould be abſolved from the cenſures which the pope, at the inſtigation of the king of France, had denounced againſt them: that the places taken on both ſides ſhould remain in the hands of the preſent poſſeſſors, and the priſoners be ſet at liberty on paying their ranſoms: that the allies, both of France and England, ſhould be included in this treaty; and that the two kings ſhould exert their endeavours to prevent hoſtilities in Guienne, France, and Brittany.

A. D. 1343.

After the ratification of theſe articles, Edward embarked for England, and having eſcaped in a long and dangerous paſſage, landed at Weymouth on the ſecond of March, from whence he proceeded immediately to London. Neither of the monarchs were diſpoſed to obſerve the truce. Philip, whoſe coffers were nearly emptied, was deſirous of procuring the departure of Edward; and the motive of Edward was that of extricating himſelf from a very dangerous ſituation. It is no wonder, therefore, that the ſmalleſt incident was laid hold of as a pretence for recommencing hoſtilities. Soon after the king's arrival in London, a parliament was ſummoned to deliberate on the truce, as well as to take cognizance of the ſtate of the government, and provide for the ſafety of the nation. Theſe points were debated by the lords ſpiritual and temporal in the White-Chamber, while the knights of ſhires and burgeſſes took them under conſideration in the Painted-Chamber of the palace; and this is the firſt clear diſtinction we find on record between the two houſes, as it is at preſent maintained. Having maturely conſidered the ſubject, they voted the truce honourable, and recommended a treaty of peace as a deſirable object, provided it could be procured upon equitable terms; otherwiſe they propoſed to ſupport the arms of their ſovereign to the utmoſt of their power.

A. D. 1344.

In the beginning of Lent, conferences were to be opened at Avignon in the preſence of the pope; but were deferred on account of ſome infringements of the truce in Brittany, for which Philip delayed giving proper ſatisfaction. Theſe conferences in the end proved ineffectual; for the Engliſh commiſſioners inſiſted, as a preliminary on their maſter's right to the crown of France, and Philip declared, that Edward ſhould never hold one foot of land in France, but what he might poſſeſs in vaſſalage. In vain his holineſs endeavoured to prevail on both parties to relax in their pretenſions: they were equally obſtinate: and their mutual diſguſt being inflamed with perſonal rancour, all thoughts of a ſolid peace vaniſhed. Edward complained loudly of Philip's conduct, in having ſeized as many of the friends of Montford as fell into his hands; of whom ſome were confined in loathſome priſons, and others put to death. But his treatment of Oliver de Cliſſon, a gallant and brave officer, rendered his name odious. Cliſſon had been taken priſoner during the courſe of the war, and exchanged by Edward for lord Stafford, at the ſolicitation of his brother Amaury, who happened to be in the ſervice of the counteſs of Montfort. The preference given on this occaſion to Oliver over John de Leon, who was alſo his priſoner, and the circumſtance of his being attached to Montfort, excited the jealouſy of Philip, who was naturally cruel and ſuſpicious. He imagined, that Oliver had entered into ſome engagement with Edward, and on this mere ſurmiſe ordered him to be apprehended; which was no ſooner done, than the unfortunate nobleman, without any form of trial, was beheaded, and his body hung on a gibbet at Paris. Not a lioneſs, deprived of her whelps, could be more enraged, than the brave king of England was at this unjuſt tranſaction. The inhabitants of Brittany were ſo exaſperated, that they declared to a man for Montfort, and expelled the pope's garriſon out of Vannes. This confirming Philip in his cruel ſuſpicions, he now cauſed ſeveral other noblemen of

Brittany to be apprehended, and put them to death in the ſame infamous manner. Incenſed at theſe repeated acts of cruelty, Edward gave orders for beheading John de Leon, by way of repriſal, but was diverted from his intention by his couſin, the earl of Derby, who repreſented the iniquity of depriving an innocent perſon of life for the fault of another. Edward therefore ſending for his priſoner, generouſly gave him his liberty, bidding him go to Philip de Valois, upbraid him with his tyrannical behaviour, and tell him that Edward would not ſtain his reputation by imitating ſo bad an example; but by the aſſiſtance of almighty God, he will ſeverely puniſh the author of ſuch unparalelled barbarity: that having broke the truce, by the execution of ſo many brave men, the king of England renounced it, and conſidered him as an enemy to mankind.

Edward complained of Philip's behaviour with great emotion to his parliament, whom he conſulted on all occaſion; and they, entering cordially into his quarrel, granted him ſupplies for the renewal of the war. The counties were to pay a fifteenth for two years; boroughs a tenth; and the clergy agreed to give a tenth for three years. Enabled by theſe ſupplies to complete his military preparations, he ſent Henry, earl of Derby, the earl of Lancaſter's ſon, to commence hoſtilities in Guienne. This officer was one of the moſt accompliſhed noblemen in the Engliſh court; intrepid and humane; beloved by his friends, and dreaded by his enemies. Not ſatisfied with defending that province, he attacked the count de Liſle, the French general, at Bergerac, drove him from his intrenchments, and took the place. This ſucceſs animated the Engliſh; they made continual conqueſts with great rapidity, till they had reduced the greater part of Perigord.

A.D. 1345.

But the count de Liſle, while the earl of Derby was at Bourdeaux, aſſembled an army of ten or twelve thouſand men, inveſted Auberoche, which had lately fallen into the hands of the Engliſh. Derby haſtened to relieve the place; and reached Lilbourn. Here he halted all day, waiting the arrival of a reinforcement under the earl of Pembroke, and proceeded on his march in the night; ſo that in the morning he reached a wood two leagues diſtant from Auberoche. In this ſituation he continued the beſt part of the day, ſtill waiting for the expected reinforcement; when deſpairing of their arrival, he liſtened to the advice of Sir Walter de Manny, who propoſed to ſurprize the French at ſupper-time. His advice was followed with ſuch ſecrecy and ſucceſs, that the Engliſh entered one quarter of the French camp without reſiſtance: the enemy, ſeized with a panic, fled; and the counts de Liſle, Perigord, and Valentois, were taken priſoners in their tents, before they had time to recover their ſurprize. The confuſion was not however general; for while one quarter was filled with diſorder, the other, where the count de Cominges commanded, fled to arms, and advanced againſt the enemy. The Engliſh attacked them with incredible fury, and the engagement became very bloody; when the garriſon, alarmed by hearing the trumpets ſound a general charge, and diſcovering by the light of the dawn the Engliſh enſigns, ſallied out, attacked the French in flank, and had the honour of deciding the fate of the battle. Above ſeven thouſand fell in the action, and twelve hundred were taken priſoners, among whom were nine counts, and three hundred perſons of diſtinction. After this victory, the earl made a rapid progreſs in ſubduing the remaining French provinces. Monſegar, Villa Francke, Aiguillon, Angouleme, and Reole, with other places and fortreſſes, fell into his hands. Having put his army into winter quarters, he embarked for England, where he was honourably received. In June he returned to the continent, when he reduced every town and caſtle he inveſted, except Blaye, on which he made ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts. At length, the ſeaſon being far advanced, he put an end to his operations, and repaired to Bourdeaux. John de Montford about this time, having been confined almoſt four years, found means to make his eſcape, and paſſing over to England, where his wife then reſided, ſo affected the king with a recital of his treatment, that he determined to declare war with France without delay.

Montford having done homage to Edward, as king of France for Brittany, in the beginning of June, repaired thither, with a conſiderable body of forces, under the command of the earls of Northampton and Oxford, whereby he was enabled to reduce Dinan, and encouraged to inveſt Corentin, lately taken by Charles de Blois; but this competitor advancing with a numerous army, Montfort was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and retired to Hennebonne, where he died of a fever. The earl of Northampton again took the field; defeated Charles in a pitched battle neer Morlaix, and ſtormed Roche-derien; but winter coming on, he left the affairs of Brittany to Sir Thomas Dogworth, and returned to London.

A.D. 1346.

No ſooner was the French court ſupplied with money, than Philip made great preparations to oppoſe the ſucceſsful arms of the Engliſh. He collected a numerous army, the command of which he committed to his ſon, the duke of Normandy, aſſiſted by the duke of Burgundy; who marched to Guienne, which obliged the earl of Derby to ſtand on the defenſive. The duke of Normandy opened the campaign with the ſiege of Angouleme; the garriſon of which made a noble defence, but were at laſt reduced to great extremities. Lord Norwich, the governor, ſaw the impoſſibility of defending the place much longer; but being unwilling to ſurrender at diſcretion, had recourſe to ſtratagem, which ſaved his garriſon from being made priſoners of war. Aſcending the ramparts, he deſired a parley with the duke of Normandy. His requeſt was granted. When the duke approached the walls, Norwich requeſted a ceſſation of arms on the day following, which was the feaſt of the Virgin, to whom they both paid great devotion. The duke readily agreed to the propoſal; and the governor having ordered his forces to prepare their baggage, marched out the next day early in the morning, advancing towards the French camp; who, ſuppoſing they were to be attacked, flew to arms; but Norwich by a meſſenger reminded the duke of their agreement. "I ſee," replied the prince, "the governor has out-witted me; but let us be content with taking the place." The duke of Normandy, after having obtained additional ſucceſs in other attempts, inveſted Aiguillon, which, having a ſtrong fortreſs, and a brave garriſon, commanded by the earl of Pembroke, it ſeemed impoſſible to take by aſſault; he therefore propoſed to reduce it by famine; but before this could be effected, he was called to defend a diſtant part of the kingdom, againſt the ſucceſsful ravages of the Engliſh.

Edward, informed by the earl of Derby, of the danger to which Guienne was expoſed, equipped a very powerful armament; and appointed a general rendezvous at Portſmouth, on Midlent Sunday. But part of his fleet being diſperſed by a ſtorm, his departure was deferred till the middle of May, when he was prevented from putting to ſea by contrary winds. During this interval, the king was perſuaded to change his deſigns and plan of operations. Geoffrey d'Harcourt, who was obliged by the ill treatment of Philip to fly from his native country, and ſeek an aſylum in England, had long maintained, that in the preſent circumſtances of affairs, an expedition to Normandy would probably be attended with greater ſucceſs than one to Guienne; that the northern provinces would be found almoſt deſtitute of military force, the troops being drawn to the ſouth; that they were filled with flouriſhing cities, which would enrich the Engliſh by their plunder; and the neighbourhood of the capital, would render every victory of importance. Theſe reaſons, to which Edward had before given little attention, now made great impreſſion on his mind; and by reflecting on the diſappointments he had met with in his intended voyage to Guienne, he altered his firſt intentions, and reſolved to follow the advice of Geoffrey: he therefore ordered his courſe for Normandy; and ſailing from St. Helen's, with a fleet conſiſting of a thouſand ſail, landed at la Hogue, on the twelfth of July.

His army conſiſted of four thouſand men at arms, ten thouſand Welch infantry, ten thouſand archers, and ſix thouſand Iriſh. The Iriſh and Welch were light troops, fitter for doing execution in a purſuit, or in ſcouring the country, than for ſolid action. The only ſteady and regular forces were the men at arms; but theſe being cavalry, were not equal to good infantry, in the ſhock of a battle. Edward, on his landing, created the earl of Arundel conſtable of the army, and the earls of Warwick and Harcourt marſhals. Here he beſtowed the honour of knighthood on his eldeſt ſon, Edward, prince of Wales, ſurnamed the Black Prince, from the colour of his armour, now only ſixteen years of age; and the ſame honour he conferred on ſeveral young nobility. The king then ſent back the greater part of his fleet; and ordered the earl of Huntingdon, who commanded the reſt, to cruize along the coaſt, and deſtroy all the veſſels which the king of France had equipped in different ports, for an invaſion of England. This ſervice effectually performed, and having traverſed the ſea coaſts, he returned to la Hogue, in order to attend the motions of the army. In the mean time Edward refreſhed his troops, after their long confinement on board, and having divided them into three bodies, advanced towards Valougnes, and thence to Carentan, which opened its gates at his approach, St. Lo, Monteburg, and other places in the Contenton were plundered without reſiſtance; and continuing his march, he arrived in the neighbourhood of Caen, the capital of lower Normandy. Philip, anxious to preſerve this rich and populous city, ſent for its defence the count d'Eu, conſtable of France, and count Tankerville, at the head of a conſiderable body of forces. The townſmen, encouraged by the reinforcements they had received, ſallied out upon the Engliſh. The conſequence was what might naturally be expected, when undiſciplined multitudes attack a regular army, they were totally defeated; Tankerville and d'Eu were taken priſoners; the victors with the vanquiſhed entered the city together, and a dreadful ſlaughter enſued, without diſtinction of age or ſex; all fell a ſacrifice to the edge of the ſword. But Edward, deſirous of ſparing both his ſoldiers and the ſpoil, obliged the inhabitants to lay down their arms; ordering his troops at the ſame time, to plunder with more regularity and leſs hazard. The pillage continued three days; Edward reſerving for his own ſhare, the plate, jewels, ſilk, fine cloth, and fine linen; the remainder he beſtowed on his army; which was ſhipped, an immenſe booty, on board the fleet, lying at the mouth of the Orne, and the whole was ſent to England, with three hundred of the richeſt citizens, from whoſe ranſom the king expected to raiſe an additional profit.

This diſmal fate of Caen, but eſpecially the conſideration of its vicinity to Paris, threw all France into inexpreſſible conſternation; which was heightened by the march of Edward to Rouen, the capital of Normandy. Philip, not a little alarmed, appointed a general rendezvous of all his military power at Paris; from whence he proceeded for Rouen, breaking down all the bridges upon the Seine, between Paris and that city, in order to prevent the Engliſh from croſſing that river. Edward, hoping to take advantage of the general conſternation, continued his rout along the banks of the Seine, on the other ſide of which he ſaw Philip poſted with a numerous army, in ſuch a manner as to render a paſſage impracticable. To effect this, Edward laid the whole country towards Paris waſte, deſtroying every town and village he met with on his way. Some of his light troops extended their ravages even to the gates of Paris, and the Royal palace of St. Germain, with Ruelle, Nanterre, Vernon, Mullien, and Pont l'Arch, were reduced to aſhes within ſight of the capital. Yet theſe devaſtations could not provoke the wary French monarch to an engagement; whoſe deſign, Edward now perceived was to encloſe him, in hopes of attacking him on all ſides to advantage. To prevent this he advanced farther up the Seine; but by a countermarch ſuddenly returned back to Poiſſy, which the French had quitted in order to attend his motions; and having, with incredible celerity repaired the bridge, he cut to pieces a body of Picard militia left to guard it, paſſed over with his army, and advanced by quick marches towards Flanders. In his rout, he burnt the ſuburbs of Beauvais; and defeated, with great ſlaughter, the townſmen of Amiens, who were haſtening to reinforce the army of their ſovereign. But on approaching the river Somme, he found himſelf under the ſame difficulties as before, all the bridges being either broken down, or ſtrongly guarded; Godemar de Faye, with twelve thouſand men, appeared on the oppoſite ſide; and Philip was approaching him with an army of above one hundred thouſand men. In this perplexing ſituation, Edward offered a reward to any perſon who ſhould inform him of a paſſage over the Somme; on which a peaſant diſcovered a ford below Abbeville, where the bottom was ſound, and the ſtream not more than a foot in depth at low water. This diſcovery was very pleaſing to the Engliſh army: they decamped at midnight, and reached the ford about ſun-riſing the next morning, a little before the tide of flood made up the river. The place anſwered exactly the deſcription given of it by the peaſant; but they found the paſſage guarded by Godemar de Faye, who was ſtationed on the oppoſite bank. Neceſſity directed the conduct of the Engliſh; but the king, who in the day of battle always maintained a remarkable coolneſs, acted in this dangerous attempt with the ſame preſence of mind, as when drawing up his battalions in the abſence of an enemy. He ordered his archers to line the bank of the river, and to ply the foe inceſſantly with arrows; while, with calm intrepidity, he entered the river at the head of his third diviſion, calling out, "Let all who love me, follow my example." The French made a brave oppoſition; but the Engliſh were not to be intimidated by their moſt ſanguine efforts; animated by the preſence of their ſovereign, they returned their charge with double fury; cut in pieces the flower of their troops; and obliged the reſt to have recourſe to flight for ſafety. So narrow was Edward's eſcape, by his celerity and prudence, that Philip, with his vaſt army, arrived at the ford, while the rearguard of the Engliſh were paſſing; but the riſing of the tide ſtopped his career, and it is impoſſible to expreſs his vexation, when he beheld his victorious invaders purſuing their march with the utmoſt tranquillity.

Having determined to form the ſiege of Calais, Edward purſued that rout by ſlow marches, and halted the firſt night at the caſtle of Noyelle, whence he ſent detachments to burn Crotoye, and other towns in its neighbourhood. Next day he arrived at Creſſy. Here, being informed that Philip was purſuing him, as one whom he imagined fled before his arms; and perceiving the danger of expoſing his rear to the frequent attacks of the French cavalry, ſhould he proceed over the plains of Picardy; theſe weighty conſiderations made him form a reſolution of waiting for the enemy, and venturing a general engagement. With this fixed determination, he encamped on an eminence with a wood in his rear, placing the baggage waggons in his flanks, to ſecure them from the attacks of the enemy. Having reviewed his army, he held a council of war, who agreed unanimouſly with him in opinion. Their reſolution gave the king a particular pleaſure, as he had now an opportunity, by one glorious action, of recovering the earldom of Ponthieu, the inheritance of queen Eleanor, his grandmother. He could not diſſemble his ſatiſfaction; and concluded a ſpeech he made in the council, with theſe remarkable words, "God defend my right."

On the twenty-fifth of Auguſt, Edward, after having diſpoſed his army in excellent order, waited with great tranquillity for the arrival of the enemy, hoping that their eagerneſs to prevent his retreat, would hurry them on to ſome raſh and ill concerted meaſures; in which conjecture he was not miſtaken. He paſſed the night ſecurely with his officers, who he magnificently entertained, and, during their repaſt, diſcovered an unuſual gaiety of ſpirit. Early in the morning the king ſent for his ſon, the Black Prince, and ordered the army to be drawn up on the place appointed for the battle. The ground lay on the declivity of a hill, on the eaſt ſide of a large foreſt, having the river Maye, and the village of Creſſy, or Crecy on the left, and an intrenchment, with the baggage waggons already mentioned in the rear. He now divided his army, conſiſting of thirty thouſand men, into three lines. The firſt was commanded by the prince of Wales, or the Black Prince, having under him the earls of Warwick, Oxford, and Harcourt, the lords Stafford, Chandois, Delaware, Holland, Cobham, and other perſons of diſtinction. At the head of the ſecond line were the earls of Arundel and Northampton, with the lords Willoughby, Roos, Baſſet, Moulton, and Sir Lewis Tufton. Theſe two lines were formed in ſuch a manner as to ſupport each other; and the ſecond out-flanking the firſt, prevented its being ſurrounded by the enemy on the left, which was defended by a ſemicircular intrenchment terminating in the village of Creſſy. The third diviſion was commanded by the king in perſon, placed on the brow of the hill behind the other two lines. It conſiſted of ſeven hundred men at arms, ſix thouſand archers, and five thouſand three hundred billmen, under the command of the lords Mowbray, Mortimer, Dugworth, Sir Hugh Haſtings, and other brave officers. In this poſition Edward propoſed either to ſuccour occaſionally his other diviſions; to puſh any advantage againſt the enemy; or, in caſe of any misfortune, to ſecure a retreat. The behaviour of the king, and his gallant ſon the prince of Wales, expreſſed a calm intrepidity of invincible courage and manly reſignation. Edward, attended by two field marſhals, rode from rank to rank to animate his men. His appearance and addreſs diffuſed a martial ardour throughout his army; and the reſolution apparent in his countenance ſeemed to preſage approaching victory. He then ordered his men at arms to diſmount, that the horſes might not be fatigued ſhould an action commence, and his ſoldiers to be refreſhed with a plentiful meal; after which they laid down in their ranks on the graſs to repoſe, that they might be freſh and vigorous at the approach of the enemy.

In the mean time the French king, entirely confiding in the ſuperiority of his numbers, imagined every thing depended on forcing the Engliſh to a battle; and that, if he could once reach the enemy in their retreat, victory on his ſide muſt inevitably follow. He had made a haſty march from Abbeville in great diſorder; and after having advanced near two leagues, ſome officers whom he had ſent before to reconnoitre, returned with intelligence, that they had ſeen the Engliſh drawn up in admirable good order, and were waiting for his arrival with the greateſt tranquillity. The count de Balche, one of the beſt ſoldiers in Philip's army, adviſed him to defer the combat till the next day, when his men would be recovered from their fatigue, and might be diſpoſed in better order than their preſent precipitate march had permitted them to obſerve. Philip was convinced of the propriety of this remark, but the impatience of his nobility to attack the enemy rendered it of no effect. One diviſion preſſed upon another; orders to halt were not ſeaſonably conveyed to them all; the whole body was too large to be managed; thus they arrived very imperfectly formed into three lines, and already fatigued, within ſight of the enemy. The firſt line, conſiſting of fifteen thouſand Genoeſe croſs-bowmen, were commanded by Anthony Doria, and Charles Grimaldi; the ſecond was headed by count d'Alençon, brother to the king; and Philip commanded the third in perſon. Beſides the French monarch, there were three crowned heads preſent; the king of Bohemia, the king of the Romans, and the king of Majorca; together with all the great vaſſals of the crown of France. The army conſiſted of above one hundred and twenty thouſand men, more than four times the number of the Engliſh.

Yet theſe were far from being daunted at the ſight of ſuch a prodigious multitude; and Edward urged every motive that might have a tendency to inflame their natural valour: he pointed out to them the neceſſity to which they were at preſent reduced, and the certain deſtruction which awaited them, if, in their preſent ſituation, encloſed on all ſides in an enemy's country, they truſted to any thing but their own valour, or gave the French an opportunity of taking revenge for the many indignities they had lately received. He reminded them of the acknowledged ſuperiority they had hitherto maintained over all the detachments of the French army who had fallen in their way, and aſſured them, that the greater numbers of the enemy which at preſent menaced them with deſtruction, were more than compenſated by the order in which he had placed his own troops, and the reſolution he expected from them. He told them, that he requeſted nothing more than their imitating his own example, and that of the Black Prince; and as the honour, the lives, the liberties of all were now expoſed to the ſame danger, he was confident they would make one common effort to extricate themſelves from ſurrounding difficulties, and that their united courage would give him a glorious victory. Beſides this, and other neceſſary incentives, ſome hiſtorians have obſerved, particularly John Villani, that Edward placed ſome pieces of artillery in his front. This invention was at this time known in France as well as in England; but Philip, in his haſte to overtake the enemy, had probably left his behind him; and all his other movements diſcovered the ſame imprudent precipitation.

On the approach of the enemy, the Engliſh kept their ranks firm and immoveable. The battle was begun by the Genoeſe croſs-bowmen; but a ſudden ſhower having fallen a little before the engagement, their bow ſtrings were relaxed, and their arrows fell ſhort of their intended mark. The ſame misfortune had not attended the bows of the

Engliſh archers; who drew them from their caſes in which they were preſerved, and inſtantly poured ſuch a dreadful ſhower of arrows, that the Genoeſe, unable to endure the ſtorm, fell back upon the duke of Alençon's cavalry, and were put into diſorder. A ſecond well-aimed diſcharge threw them into the utmoſt diſmay. The duke, enraged at their cowardice, commanded his troops to put them to the ſword. At this inſtant, the Black Prince ordered ſome battalions of guards to advance, who charging them at that juncture, cauſed great confuſion in the firſt and ſecond lines of the French; but the duke of Alençon having diſengaged himſelf from the Genoeſe, and making a circuit with his cavalry, flanked the firſt battalion of Engliſh archers, and from their ſuperior numbers began to ſurround them. The earls of Northampton and Arundel now advanced with their line to ſupport their prince, who, ardent in his firſt feats of arms, ſet an example of bravery that was imitated by all his ſoldiers. However, the aſſiſtance thus afforded the prince, had eventually almoſt proved his ruin; for Philip, by that motion of the Engliſh, found an opening, at which he poured in a freſh body of troops to his brother's aid, who fell on the flank of the archers with ſuch fury, that they were obliged to open their ranks, and thus expoſe the prince to imminent danger. This being perceived by the earl of Warwick, he ſent a meſſenger to the king, with intreaties that he would diſpatch ſuccours for the relief of the Black Prince, who was now attacked both in front and rear. "Is he ſlain or wounded?" ſaid the king with great compoſure. Being anſwered in the negative, "Return to my ſon," added he, and tell him, "I reſerve the honour of the day for his bravery. I am confident that he will ſhew himſelf worthy of the honour of knighthood which I ſo lately conferred upon him; I ſhall not intermeddle; let my boy win his ſpurs by his own valour." This anſwer, when delivered to the prince in the hearing of his followers, inſpired the whole battalion with freſh courage. They cloſed their ranks, and attacked their aſſailants with redoubled vigour. Their whole line of cavalry being ſurrounded, were routed; the count of Alençon was among the ſlain; the men were killed or diſmounted; and the Welch infantry, ruſhing into the throng with their long knives, cut the throats of all who had fallen, not any quarter being allowed by the victors to the vanquiſhed.

Philip now advanced with the rear; but he found two lines of his army already defeated; yet the battle was now again renewed with great obſtinacy. The French monarch, his ſon Charles, with a great number of auxiliary princes, animating their ſoldiers to heroic deeds both by words and example; but the impetuoſity of the Black Prince bore down all oppoſition. Elated with the ſucceſs he had already obtained, and inſpired by his father's meſſage, he redoubled his efforts, nobly braving every attempt of the enemy: lances, ſpears, arrows, and ſwords, were indiſcriminately mixed: kings, princes, peers, generals, knights and common ſoldiers, ſhared the ſame fate, forming one promiſcuous frightful heap of ſlain. In vain did Philip attempt to adjuſt the confuſion that reigned in his own line; in vain he endeavoured to reanimate his drooping ſoldiers; their courage anſwered not that of their leader: he gave ſignal proofs of his capacity as a general; his valour was undaunted; but his efforts were too late. Having had his horſe killed under him, he was remounted; and though left almoſt alone, was reſolved to maintain the combat; when John of Hainault ſeizing the reins of his bridle, turned about his horſe, and led him off from the field of battle. The blind king of Bohemia, whoſe ambition had embroiled the greateſt part of Europe, enquiring about the fate of the day, was told, that the French would no longer face the Engliſh; that a great number of nobles were ſlain; that Charles had been put to flight, being dangerouſly wounded; that the Engliſh had made a dreadful ſlaughter; and that Philip himſelf, who was alſo wounded, had retired from the field of battle. Upon this information, he ordered the reins of his bridle to be tied on each ſide to the horſes of two gentlemen of his train, and that they ſhould lead him againſt the young warrior. Having exchanged two or three random ſtrokes, he fell, with his attendants, at the feet of the conqueror. Their dead bodies were afterwards found, with their horſes ſtanding by them. He wore on his creſt three oſtrich feathers, with this motto in German, ICH DIEN, *I ſerve*, which the Black Prince, and ſucceeding princes of Wales adopted, in remembrance of this unrivalled engagement.

Victory, to cloſe the bloody tranſactions of this important day, now blew her trumpet by the ſide of Edward; the ſtandard of France was beaten down; a horrid carnage, attended with a general flight, enſued; nor did the ſlaughter ceaſe, till darkneſs put an end to the deſperate conteſt. Edward, ſeeing the glorious work accompliſhed, deſcended from the hill, and running into the arms of the prince embraced him tenderly, ſaying, "My brave ſon, God grant you may perſevere in the courſe you have ſo glorioully begun! You are my ſon; for nobly have you acquitted yourſelf this day; well do you deſerve that crown to which you was born." The prince made no other reply than a low obeiſance, conſiſtent wirh that modeſty and moderation, which in his time were without example.

In this memorable action, which was fought on the twenty-ſixth of Auguſt, and continued from three o'clock in the afternoon, till the evening, John, king of Bohemia; James, king of Majorca; Ralph, duke of Lorrain; the counts of Alençon, Flanders, Blois, Vaudemont, Harcourt, Aumale, St. Pol, and ſeveral dukes of Bourbon and Lorrain; four-and-twenty barons, twelve hundred knights, fifteen hundred gentlemen, four thouſand men at arms, with thirty thouſand infantry, are ſaid to have fallen, by a moderate computation; whereas the loſs of the Engliſh did not exceed three knights, with very few of inferior rank; ſo great is the ſuperiority of prudence and conduct, over numbers and temerity! Philip, attended by only five knights and ſixty followers, was conducted to the caſtle of la Braye, about a league from Creſſy, where, having taken ſome refreſhment, he ſet out at midnight, and arrived ſafe at Amiens. Edward, who paſſed the night on the field of battle, ſent a detachment of two thouſand archers on horſeback, with five hundred lancemen, to ſcour the adjacent country. Theſe fell in, during a miſt, with a large party of the country militia, who, not knowing the fate of the day, were advancing to join Philip; but the Engliſh ſoon defeated them. A more conſiderable body of French, under the command of the archbiſhop of Rouen, and the grand prior of France, who were both ſlain, ſhared the ſame fate. In the mean time the king ordered ſome French ſtandards to be erected on the neighbouring eminences as a decoy to the enemy, and all who were allured to reſort to thoſe falſe ſignals, were put to the ſword without mercy. This unneceſſary ſeverity, and his orders iſſued before the battle to give no quarter, are repreſented by ſome as circumſtances that have tarniſhed the glory of this victory. In excuſe it is alledged, that the French king had given ſimilar orders to allow no quarter to the Engliſh; but the moſt probable reaſon aſſigned may be, that Edward, in his ſituation,

tion, thought it dangerous to be encumbered with priſoners. But if Edward refuſed mercy to the living, he treated the dead and wounded with great humanity; ordering the latter to be taken care of, and conſecrating the bloody ſpot for the burial of the former, attending in perſon the funeral of the nobility. The body of the king of Bohemia was ſent to his family.

Edward, though he drew the moſt ſolid advantages from the battle of Creſſy, was not ſo elated as to imagine himſelf in a condition to make a total conqueſt of France; he only propoſed to ſecure an eaſy entrance into that kingdom, which might afterwards open a way to the accompliſhment of future projects. He knew the great diſtance of Guienne; he had experienced the difficulty of penetrating on the ſide of the Low Countries, where he had loſt all influence ſince the death of Ardevelt, who had been dragged into the ſtreet, and cut to pieces by his enraged countrymen: having therefore continued three days on the field of battle, he led his victorious army to the gates of Calais, and inveſted that place on the third of September. It was governed by John de Vienne, a valiant knight of Burgundy, who knowing the place to be well ſupplied with plenty of ſtores, encouraged the garriſon to make a reſolute defence. Hence Edward being ſenſible it would be in vain to attempt gaining the town by ſtorm, propoſed to reduce it by famine. With this determination, having choſen a ſecure ſtation for his camp, he drew a circumvallation of entrenchments, cauſing huts to be erected for his ſoldiers; and furniſhed his army with all conveniences neceſſary to endure the rigour of the ſeaſon in their winter quarters. The governor, perceiving his intention, expelled above ſeventeen hundred uſeleſs mouths out of the town, whom the king ſuffered generouſly to paſs through his camp without moleſtation, and even ſupplied them with money to defray the expences of their journey. During this famous ſiege, many events happened to the honour of the Engliſh arms; and upon an impartial view of the whole period it will be found, that few years are recorded in the annals of hiſtory more glorious to England, than that at preſent under conſideration.

The duke of Normandy, having been recalled from Guienne, on the landing of Edward in that province; no army was left to oppoſe the progreſs of the earl of Derby: nor did this able general fail to improve ſo favourable an opportunity. He took Maribeau and Luſignan by aſſault. Taillebourg, St. Jean d'Angeli, and Poictiers ſurrendered at the firſt ſummons. Theſe acquiſitions opened him a free paſſage into the adjacent provinces, and he extended his incurſions to the banks of the Loire, ſpreading devaſtation through all that part of the French dominions. The counteſs of Montfort continued alſo to diſplay her heroic virtues in Brittany. Charles de Blois having inveſted the fortreſs of Roche de Rien, at the head of a conſiderable army; that place was of too much importance for the counteſs to ſuffer it to fall into the hands of the enemy, without attempting its relief. She therefore put herſelf at the head of her forces; and having received a reinforcement of Engliſh troops under the command of Sir Thomas Dagworth, attacked the French during the night, routed the whole army, and took Charles de Blois priſoner. This misfortune drew the counteſs of Blois from obſcurity, in whoſe right her huſband claimed the duchy of Brittany. She now took upon herſelf the government, and rivalled the counteſs of Montfort, her antagoniſt, both in the field and the cabinet. While theſe heroic ladies thus diſtinguiſhed themſelves, another princeſs of ſtill higher rank appeared in the liſt of military heroines.

A. D. 1342.

After having defended a long time their liberties againſt the Engliſh, the Scots recalled David Bruce their king. At the inſtigation of Philip, they now took the opportunity, during the abſence of Edward, to ravage the northern counties of England, which they entered with an army of fifty thouſand men, levying the moſt oppreſſive contributions, and committing the moſt dreadful diſorders in their march, which extended to the gates of Durham. Upon this occaſion queen Philippa ſet out for the north, and having collected an army of twelve thouſand men, led them againſt the Scottiſh invaders. Her army was divided into four bodies; the firſt commanded by lord Piercy; the ſecond by the archbiſhop of York and lord Neville; the third by the biſhop of Lincoln and lord Mowbray; and the fourth by Baliol in perſon. In this order they advanced towards Neville's croſs, near the city of Durham, where the army of Bruce lay encamped. A great number of perſons ſerved as volunteers on this occaſion, partly to expreſs their loyalty in the king's abſence, and partly to diſtinguiſh themſelves under the eye of the queen, who riding through the ranks, exhorted them to do their duty, and to be revenged on thoſe barbarous ravagers.

The Scottiſh army was drawn up in three lines, The firſt conſiſting of French auxiliaries, and the flower of the Scotch nobility, was commanded by the king in perſon; the ſecond by Robert, high ſteward of Scotland, and the earl of Marche, and the third by the earls of Murray and Douglas. The Scots had often been unfortunate in their pitched battles, fought with the Engliſh, but never did they receive a more fatal overthrow than the preſent.

The battle was begun on the ſeventeenth of October, by a body of croſs-bow men, who ſerved in the diviſion under Robert; but they were ſoon routed by the more experienced Engliſh archers. Robert perceived the ſuperiority of the latter, and preſſed on furiouſly with his men at arms, to begin a cloſe fight with the detachment under lord Piercy. The Engliſh archers opened immediately to the right and left, to let the enemy paſs, but cloſing again, galled them dreadfully with their arrows in flank, while they were engaged in front with the Engliſh infantry. Robert however maintained the fight with the greateſt obſtinacy; and it was for ſome time doubtful on whoſe ſide victory would declare. Baliol ſaw the furious conteſt, and led up his diviſion to the aſſiſtance of lord Piercy. The Scots now fighting an unequal combat, gave way, and betook themſelves to flight. Baliol, who was not deficient in military abilities, inſtead of purſuing the fugitives, wheeled ſuddenly about, and fell with the utmoſt impetuoſity on the flank of the diviſion commanded by the king. David fought with unqueſtionable bravery, and aſſiſted by his barons, made a noble ſtand againſt the Engliſh; but their ſuperior numbers, and military diſcipline, which was almoſt arrived to its zenith in that age, ſoon broke the whole diviſion, put them to flight, and took the king himſelf priſoner. The third diviſion, under the earls of Murray and Douglas, ſtill ſtood firm; till the whole force of the Engliſh was brought up in the attack, when they were alſo obliged to follow the flying remains of their ſcattered army. Murray was ſlain in endeavouring to rally his men, and Douglas was ſent to accompany his royal maſter. The field of battle was now in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh; and this victory might have determined the fate of Scotland, had not Robert rallied his men, and retreated in ſuch good order, that the fugitives had time to join him, and form a body which the victors did not think proper to purſue. This deciſive action proved equally to the honour of the queen, and the advantage of the nation. Fifteen thouſand, or according to ſome hiſtorians, twenty thouſand of the Scots were ſlain; among theſe, Sir Thomas Charteris, chancellor; Edward Keith, earl marſhal; and the lord Chamberlain, the earls of Sutherland, Monteith, Fife, Carrick, Murray, and Strathem, lord Douglas, the king, with ſeveral noblemen and perſons of diſtinction, were in the liſt of priſoners. Thirty-ſix of theſe, with David their king, were ſecured in the Tower of London, and Philippa paſſed over to the Engliſh camp before Calais, where ſhe was received with all the honours due to her rank, her merit, her late prudent meaſures, and glorious ſucceſs.

A. D. 1347. While the blockade of Calais was conducted with great circumſpection, it was defended with no leſs vigilance and bravery by the townſmen and garriſon. Philip, after the ſiege had continued near twelve months, being made acquainted with their diſtreſſed condition, approached the Engliſh with an army, which, according to the writers of that age, amounted to two hundred thouſand men. But he ſoon perceived it would be madneſs to attack them, without running on inevitable deſtruction, Edward having ſecured his camp with moraſſes, and exceeding ſtrong intrenchments: the French monarch therefore had recourſe to negotiation. He offered to cede Guienne, together with the earldom of Ponthieu. Theſe offers were rejected. Whereupon he challenged the king of England, to decide their quarrel in the open field. This was alſo refuſed, Edward being too prudent to riſk the whole upon the uncertainty of a ſingle combat. Thus diſappointed in all his views, to render ignominy complete, the French monarch left the victor to purſue his conqueſts, and diſbanded his numerous forces. The garriſon being left without hope of relief, almoſt wholly deſtitute of proviſions, reduced to the laſt extremity, deſired to capitulate. John de Vienne, fully convinced of the neceſſity of ſurrendering, appeared upon the walls, and having made ſignal to the Engliſh centinels, deſired a parley. Edward ſent to him Sir Walter Manny, whom the governor thus addreſſed, "Brave knight, I have been intruſted by my ſovereign with the command of this city. You have beſieged me almoſt a year; and I have endeavoured, as well as thoſe under me, to do our duty. You are acquainted with our preſent condition, periſhing with hunger, and without hopes of relief: I am therefore willing to ſurrender, and deſire, as the ſole condition, to inſure the lives and liberties of thoſe brave men, who have ſo long ſhared with me every danger and fatigue." Sir Walter informed the governor in anſwer, that he was well acquainted with his royal maſter's reſolution reſpecting this matter, and knew he would inſiſt on his ſurrendering at diſcretion; nor would he accept the proffered ſurrender on any other terms, than that the inhabitants, who had exaſperated Edward by their obſtinate reſiſtance, ſhould be ranſomed or puniſhed at pleaſure. "Is this," replied Vienne, "the treatment brave men are entitled to? Would not your maſter have expected the ſame conduct from an Engliſh knight with whom he had intruſted the defence of a citadel? The inhabitants of Calais have done nothing more than their duty, which ſhould pleaſe rather than offend the king of England, eſpecially ſo gallant a prince as Edward. But I will inform you, Sir, that if it is our fate to be devoted, we will not periſh unrevenged; and that we are not yet reduced to ſuch an abject ſtate, as ſhall prevent our ſelling our lives at a high price to the victors. Nature and humanity plead againſt ſuch unjuſt extremities; and I expect that you, Sir, will interpoſe your good offices in our behalf." Manny, ſtruck with the juſtneſs of theſe ſentiments, repreſented to the king, the dreadful conſequences that might reſult from ſo dangerous a precedent, ſhould he treat the inhabitants of Calais with unuſual rigour, which could not fail of increaſing the miſeries of war, already ſufficiently ſevere. At length Edward was perſuaded to mitigate the rigour of his proſcription, and inſiſted only, that ſix of the moſt ſubſtantial citizens ſhould be ſent to him, to be diſpoſed of according to his pleaſure; that they ſhould repair to his camp, carrying the keys of the city in their hands, with ropes about their necks, bare headed and bare footed, on which terms he conſented to indulge the reſt with a pardon. When theſe hard conditions were reported to the inhabitants of Calais, they were ſeized with a general conſternation and horror. The ſacrifice of ſix of their fellow citizens to certain deſtruction, for bravely diſtinguiſhing themſelves in the common cauſe, appeared even more ſevere than the general puniſhment, with which Edward had before threatened them. At laſt Euſtace de St. Piere, with a ſpirit worthy of an old Roman, ſtepped forward, and declared his willingneſs to ſuffer death for the preſervation of his fellow citizens. His generous example was followed by three of his relations; a fifth, a ſixth, preſented themſelves to ſuffer the ſame fate. Theſe ſelf-devoted victims appeared, in the manner preſcribed before Edward, marching through a melancholy croud of weeping friends. When they reached the Engliſh camp, they laid the keys at his feet. The king, more inclined to ſtrike terror than to carry his threats into execution, ordered the ſix burghers to be beheaded. The remonſtrances of his courtiers could not divert him from his purpoſe; but the voice of conjugal affection pleaded more ſtrongly in their behalf. The queen, then pregnant, fell on her knees, and with all the tender eloquence of love, implored their forgiveneſs. Edward could not withſtand the pleadings of ſuch a powerful mediatrix. Overcome by her tears, he relented; forgave the patriotic citizens; and after regaling them plentifully, ſuffered them to return to their diſconſolate relations. Edward, being now maſter of Calais, took every precaution in his power to ſecure his conqueſt. He knew that it would be impoſſible for him ever to make the inhabitants real friends to his government, and therefore obliged them all to leave the town, and repeopled it from England. This policy preſerved the place ſeveral centuries from reverting to the government of a French monarch.

A. D, 1348. By the mediation of the pope, Edward concluded a truce with Philip; but the terms were very ill obſerved, and he was very near loſing Calais, the ſole fruit of his victories, by the governor being corrupted. Aimery de Pavia, brave, but a ſtranger to every principle of honour, was intruſted with the command of this important place. Geoffrey de Charny, governor of St. Omer's, found means to open a negotiation with Aimery, who for the ſum of twenty thouſand golden crowns, promiſed to admit a certain number of French troops into the town; and the moſt proper methods were taken to inſure ſucceſs. Aimery's ſecretary informed Edward of this treachery, who ſummoned the governor to London; where having charged him with his crime, he promiſed him his life on condition of his turning the contrivance to the deſtruction of the enemy; and the Italian readily agreed to this double treachery. A day being appointed for the admiſſion of the French, Edward with about a thouſand men, under the command of Sir Walter Manny, departed ſecretly from London, taking with him the prince of Wales; and arrived at Calais the evening before the treacherous deſign was intended to be carried into execution. Having prepared for the reception of the enemy, Charny, the French general, no ſooner appeared, than a choſen band, which he had ſelected, was admitted at one of the poſterns by the governor, who received the ſtipulated ſum, and promiſed he would inſtantly open the great gate to the troops who were waiting without. All the French who had entered were immediately taken priſoners, while Charny was waiting with impatience for the ſignal to enter the town in triumph. At length the great gate opened, and the Engliſh ruſhed out under the banner of Sir Walter Manny, both Edward and the prince of Wales ſerving as volunteers. Charny was aſtoniſhed, but behaved with great bravery, and a bloody conteſt enſued. He drew up his men in a ſquare battalion, and maintained the fight till the break of day with the greateſt intrepidity. The king, who fought as a private man, obſerving a French gentleman fighting with ſingular valour, was ſtrongly inclined to engage with him in ſingle combat; ſtepping forth from his rank, he challenged Ribeaumont whom he knew by name, and a ſharp encounter enſued. Edward was twice ſtaggered by the Frenchman, and as often recovered himſelf with ſurprizing agility. Their blows were redoubled with equal fury on both ſides; and the victory remained long undecided, till Ribeaumont calling out to his antagoniſt, ſaid, "Sir knight, I yield myſelf your priſoner," delivering at the ſame time his ſword to the king. Charny in the mean time maintained the fight with great obſtinacy; but perceiving his retreat cut off by a detachment from the town, he ſurrendered at diſcretion. All the officers were conducted to Calais, where they were treated with great courteſy, being admitted to ſup with the prince of Wales and the Engliſh nobility. After ſupper the king entered the apartment, converſing familiarly with different priſoners, and in an obliging manner addreſſed himſelf to Charny, whom he reproached not for his treachery. He beſtowed the higheſt praiſes on Ribeaumont, whom he called the moſt valourous knight with whom he had ever been acquainted; and acknowledged, that he had never been in ſuch danger as when engaged in combat with him; then taking a ſtring of pearls which he himſelf wore, and throwing it over Ribeaumont's head, "Sir Euſtace," ſaid he, "I make you this preſent as a teſtimony of my eſteem for your bravery, and deſire you to wear it a year, for my ſake. I know that you are amorous, and take delight in the company of the ladies. Let them all know from whom you received this preſent. You are no longer a priſoner; I acquit you of your ranſom; and to-morrow you are at liberty to diſpoſe of yourſelf as you pleaſe."

A. D. 1349. It is not improbable but the regard which Edward ſhewed to the brave Ribeaumont, might occaſion the inſtitution of the antient order of the garter, which took place about this time. Authors are not agreed about this particular. Some think, according to a vulgar notion, it took its riſe from an affair of gallantry. They ſay, that Edward's miſtreſs, the counteſs of Saliſbury, happening to drop her garter while ſhe was dancing at a court ball, the king picked it up, and obſerving ſome of his courtiers to ſmile, as if he had not obtained this favour merely by accident, he cried out, *Honi ſoit qui mal y penſe*, i. e. "Evil to him, who evil thinks;" adding, that many who now laughed at the garter, ſhould be proud to have the honour of wearing it; that in order to make good his word, and perpetuate the memory of this event, he inſtituted the order of the garter, retaining the words above mentioned for the motto, and chooſing the garter for the badge of the order. Others ſuppoſe it owed it origin to an affair of a military nature. They pretend that Edward having revived the order of the round table, originally eſtabliſhed by prince Arthur, ſuch numbers of foreign warriors crouded to his court, as excited the jealouſy of the French king, with whom he was then at war; and who, in order to counterbalance the advantage accruing to his adverſary from this circumſtance, inſtituted an order of his own, which ſoon procured him a like number of warriors: but that monarch abuſing the confidence repoſed in him, and violating the laws of hoſpitality, ſeized ſeveral lords of the Engliſh party, who came among others to aſſiſt at the feſtival. That Edward informed of this proceeding, conſcious of the rectitude of his own intentions, and provoked at the perfidious conduct of his rival, cried out, *Honi ſoit qui mal y penſe*, and converted the round table into the order of the garter. That he choſe this badge in particular, either becauſe in the battle of Creſſy he had given garter for the word; or becauſe on that occaſion he had ordered his garter to be fixed to the end of a lance, as the ſignal for engaging; or, according to others, becauſe Richard I. at the ſiege of Acres in Paleſtine, intending to aſſault the place, diſtributed among ſome of his principal officers, certain leather ſtrings to be tied about their legs, the better to diſtinguiſh them from the enemy. The only concluſion we are able to draw from theſe conjectural plauſibilities, is, that Edward, in imitation of ſome other orders of the ſame honorary kind, both military and religious, eſtabliſhed in different parts of Europe, inſtituted that of the garter, probably as a token or pledge of regard, which he entertained for ſome particular perſon, blue, which is the colour of the garter, having been always reputed the emblem of friendſhip and fidelity. This order conſiſted at firſt of twenty-five perſons, beſides the ſovereign, and ſtill continues to be no leſs honourable than it was at its firſt inſtitution.

When this feſtivity and other rejoicings were ended, Edward, after depriving Aimery of his government, which he conferred on Sir John Beauchamp, returned to England, where he amply rewarded his brave followers, and companions in his heroic exploits.

A. D. 1349. The return of Edward to his court was with inexpreſſible pomp, where he was received as a being of a ſuperior nature. He had then many illuſtrious captives, beſides the king of Scotland, Charles de Blois, and the conſtable of France; and as he had a natural turn for magnificence, the winter was ſpent in grand tournaments, to which all his priſoners were invited. This gave them a very favourable idea of the Engliſh monarch, who appeared as amiable in peace, as he had been terrible in war. Indeed England now ſeemed to have attained her meridian of power. But the prodigious extenſion of commerce, the incredible influx of riches, joined to the natural plenty of the ſeaſons, introduced luxury, and threatened to revenge on the victors the cauſe of France. Refinements in the methods of living, dreſs, and furniture, became common. The plain ſide-boards, hitherto adorned with veſſels and other utenſils of wood, now glittered with gold and ſilver plate; and the native charms of the Engliſh ladies were heightened with the reflected rays of jewels and embroidery. But this was not all, it was an age of heroines. The queen of England, the counteſs of Montfort, and the lady of Charles de Blois, with many other of the moſt exalted ranks, had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the field; and thence private ladies affected, by an aukward imitation, diſtinctions foreign to their ſex. This prepoſterous cuſtom was encouraged by the manners of the court, the moſt ſplendid that had been ſeen during many ages in Europe. But the plague which ſoon after broke out in ſeveral parts, brought them back to a juſt ſenſe of what they owed to their own ſex, and to their duty. This dreadful viſitation of God firſt appeared in the northern parts of Aſia; and after ſpreading all over that country, continued its deſtructive progreſs from one end of Europe to the other. It then fell upon the weſtern parts of England from whence it proceeded to London, and raged with unremitting fury, near two years; ſo that hardly one tenth of the inhabitants ſurvived. Above fifty thouſand perſons periſhed in the capital only. This ſevere ſcourge of Providence rendered it neceſſary for the kings of France and England to prolong the truce concluded at Calais; neither the French or Engliſh being in a condition to renew hoſtilities. But the Scots taking advantage of the peſtilence, renewed their ravages in the northern parts of England, and carried back the contagion, together with a large booty, into their own country, where it made terrible havoc.

A. D. 1350. About this time died Philip de Valois, king of France, without being able to reſtore the affairs of France, which Edward, by his victories had thrown into extreme confuſion. He was ſucceeded by his ſon John, diſtinguiſhed by his many virtues, particularly a ſcrupulous honour and fidelity. His kingdom was filled with domeſtic commotions, and he wanted thoſe virtues of a public nature, which the turbulence of the times, and the ſituation of his affairs required. His relation, Charles king of Navarre, ſurnamed the Bad, threw the kingdom of France into diſorder, by aſſaſſinations and perfidy. He entered into a private treaty with the Engliſh, and even ſeduced the dauphin to engage in his intrigues; but that prince being at laſt convinced of the folly of ſuch deſtructive connections, invited the king of Navarre, and the noblemen of his party to an entertainment at Rouen, where they were all betrayed into the hands of John; though this treachery proved not deciſive in maintaining the royal authority.

The pope, having proclaimed a jubilee at Rome, complained, that hoſtilities prevented the paſſage of the devotees, who were deſirous of reſorting thither. But Edward, to prevent his people from being fleeced of their money by popiſh pageantry, reſtricted his ſubjects from repairing to Rome. This prohibition ſo incenſed the pope, that he even proceeded to threats; but Edward, deſpiſing his remonſtrances, not only repeated his former injunction, but commanded all his ſubjects beyond ſea, to return home immediately, on forfeiture of life and fortune.

The king of France ſpirited up the Spaniards to make captures among the Engliſh veſſels, a number of which trading for wine to Bayonne, they took and deſtroyed. Elated by this ſucceſs, they aſpired to more important deſigns, and equipped a powerful armament, with which they intended to make a deſcent upon England. The chief command was veſted in Charles de la Cerda, who ſailed up the Britiſh channel as far as Sluys in Flanders, deſtroying all the Engliſh veſſels that came in his way. Edward, being informed of his proceedings, aſſembled a fleet of fifty ſail, to intercept him in his return; and embarked at Sandwich with the Black Prince, the earls of Warwick, Northampton, Saliſbury, and a ſtrong body of Engliſh archers. The two fleets no ſooner came within ſight of each other, than a furious engagement commenced, off Winchelſea and Rye, on the twenty-ninth of Auguſt. Though the Spaniards had a great advantage in the ſize of their ſhips, the Engliſh bowmen plied them with arrows ſo effectually, that they could not ſtand their decks, and after an obſtinate reſiſtance, were entirely defeated. So humbled were they by this defeat, that they ſued for a truce of twenty years, which Edward granted for the benefit of commerce.

The plague being at this time greatly abated, the ſpirit of war revived, which ſeemed to have lain dormant under that calamitous affliction. The truces between France and England were only obſerved as far as ſubſervient to their reſpective intereſts, and now the French had formed a kind of blockade round Calais, by A. D. 1351. poſſeſſing themſelves of all the roads leading to that town, and cutting off the garriſon's communication with the adjacent country. The Engliſh governor, Sir John Beauchamp, determined to ſcour the country with a body of troops, conſiſting of five hundred. In one of his excurſions he was attacked by a ſuperior number of French; and though he behaved with the utmoſt bravery, yet being oppoſed by freſh numbers, he was at laſt ſurrounded and taken priſoner, and loſt the greateſt part of the detachment, notwithſtanding he killed the French commander with his own hand. He was ſucceeded in the government of Calais, by Sir Robert Herle, who in revenge for the captivity of his predeceſſor, over-ran the frontiers of Picardy and Artois. Hoſtilities now roſe to ſuch a height, that Edward ſent over the duke of Lancaſter, to carry on the war, which was continued with various ſucceſs for ſome time. Such was the ſtate of the diſpute, when hoſtilities again ſubſided by the renewal of the truce, in the negociation at Calais, where it was agreed, that the governors of frontier places ſhould take an oath to ſee it obſerved with punctuality: yet, notwithſtanding this precaution, acts of hoſtility were again commenced. The marſhal de Neſle was detached with a body of A. D. 1352. forces, to aſſiſt the partizans of Charles de Blois, and being joined by many noblemen of Brittany, formed a conſiderable army, with which he attacked Sir Walter Bentley, in the plains of Mairon. Though far ſuperior to the Engliſh in number, he met with ſo warm a reception, that his forces were routed, and himſelf, with fourſcore knights, five hundred gentlemen, and ſome thouſands of common ſoldiers, were left dead on the ſpot, and ſeveral noblemen taken priſoners.

A. D. 1353. England was threatened with a dreadful famine; but the people were ſeaſonably ſupplied with corn from Holland and Hainault, and by Edward's ſubjects in Ireland. At the ſame time the conferences for a definitive treaty were again opened, and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, with the duke of Lancaſter, were appointed to meet the French commiſſioners near Guiſnes. The treaty advanced ſo far, that Edward conſented to reſign his title to the crown of France, on condition that the duchy of Guienne, and province of Ponthieu, ſhould be reſtored to him as independent ſovereignties, and that the French ſhould cede to him the lands he had conquered round Calais, and the ſuperiority of Flanders, but theſe propoſals being rejected, both parties prepared to decide the diſpute by the ſword.

A. D. 1354. The pope ſtill laboured to effect a reconciliation between the two contending powers, but his intentions were fruſtrated by the French plenipotentiaries, who declared, that every gentleman in France would ſooner loſe his life, than conſent to a ſeparation of Guienne from the crown of that kingdom; the whole reſult therefore of the pope's negotiation, was a prolongation of the peace till Midſummer. This truce being expired, the duke of Lancaſter was appointed lieutenant for the king in Brittany; and the Black Prince, accompanied by the earls of Warwick, Oxford, Saliſbury, Suffolk, and other perſons of diſtinction, embarked with a numerous army at Plymouth, and landing at Bourdeaux, was joined by the moſt conſiderable part of the Gaſcon nobility. In conſequence of this junction, he began his march towards Armagnac, which together with Aſtarac, Cominges, la Riviere, he ravaged, plundering the inhabitants, and laying the villages and towns in aſhes. From thence he proceeded to Thouloſe, where the French army, exceeding his own in number, computed at threeſcore thouſand men, lay encamped,

camped, under the command of the counts of Armagnac and Foix, the prince of Orange, the conſtable of Bourbon, and the marſhal de Clermont. Having attempted in vain to bring them to battle, he paſſed the Garonne above the city, deſtroyed all the fine towns in the neighbourhood, and entirely ruined one of the moſt fertile countries in France. Having received intelligence that the French were poſted behind the Sauve, as if they intended to diſpute his paſſage, the Black Prince repaired thither; but on his approach, the enemy retired to Gimont, though not ſo expeditiouſly, but that the van of the Engliſh intercepted part of their rear, which was cut to pieces. He arrived before the place, with his whole army in the evening, and drew up his forces in order of battle; but the enemy had marched off in the night, leaving a ſtrong garriſon in the town, which being will provided for making an obſtinate defence, young Edward thought proper to decline the ſiege. Returning therefore to Bourdeaux, he put his troops into winter quarters.

The ſucceſs of the prince of Wales in France, diſpoſed his father to ſupport him again in the invaſion of that kingdom. Accordingly he ordered a rendezvous of his military tenents to be held at Sandwich, and landed the latter end of October at Calais, where he was joined by a thouſand men at arms from Flanders. He had under him his ſon Lionel, Henry duke of Lancaſter, and a great number of barons from the north: the border having been ſecured by a treaty granted to the Scots at their own requeſt.

A.D. 1355. On the ſecond of November, he advanced to St. Omer, where king John was poſted. That prince retiring from thence, he followed him to Heſdin; but finding there was not the leaſt proſpect of bringing him to an engagement, and winter being near, the king returned to Calais, where he diſmiſſed his foreign troops, and paſſed over to England, in order to oppoſe a threatened invaſion of the Scots. That nation, in violation of the truce, had ſurpriſed Berwick, and raiſed an army, in order to ravage the northern provinces. Edward, advancing as far as Haddington, burnt the towns and villages without ſeeing the face of an enemy; for the Scots had retired to their faſtneſſes, after having removed all their proviſions from the low lands, that the Engliſh might not find any ſubſiſtence. This precaution obliged Edward to retire to Roxburgh. Here Baliol, now grown old, and overwhelmed with infirmities, reſigned his title to the crown of Scotland in favour of the Engliſh monarch, who in conſideration of this ceſſion, granted him a penſion of two thouſand pounds for life; paid all his debts; and preſented him with five thouſand marks, as a recompence for his faithful ſervices.

A.D. 1356. Encouraged by his late proſperous campaign, the Black Prince took the field, in the month of July, at the head of two thouſand men at arms, ſix thouſand archers, and four thouſand infantry. The ſucceſs of this young warrior is at this day aſtoniſhing. He waſted Quercy, the Limoſin, and Auvergne, entered Berry, and took Vierzon by aſſault. Here he received the firſt intelligence, that the king of France was poſted at Chartres, with a prodigious army, collected from all parts of the kingdom. John, ſuſpecting that Edward intended to paſs the Loire, and join the duke of Lancaſter, who commanded a body of troops in Normandy, had diſpoſed his army in ſuch a manner, as to guard all the towns and paſſages on that river. Young Edward perceived it was impracticable to advance, and therefore reſolved to retreat to Bourdeaux. John, penetrating into his views, in order to intercept him, croſſed the Loire, and marched with ſuch expedition, that he overtook him in the neighbourhood of Poictiers. Young Edward, ſenſible that it was impoſſible for him to continue his retreat, prepared for a battle with all the courage and ſpirit of a hero, and with all the prudence of an old experienced commander. He poſted his handful of men in a place of difficult acceſs, where neither the enemies cavalry could attempt to pierce, nor their infantry attack him without great diſadvantage. At the end of a narrow lane, the only avenue by which the French could advance, he placed a ſquare battalion of the flower of the Engliſh archers; nor could the enemy avail themſelves of their vaſt ſuperiority of numbers till that corps was broken. Yet notwithſtanding this prudent arrangement, he was ſo ſtraitened for want of proviſions, that a few days muſt have ſtarved him into a ſurrender; but the French, confiding in their own valour, and numbers, demanded a battle with ſo much eagerneſs, that John did not think it prudent to check their ardour. He divided his army into three bodies: the firſt, and moſt advanced, was commanded by his brother the duke of Orleans: the ſecond, poſted on the left, was under the direction of the dauphin, aſſiſted by his brothers Lewis and John; while the king in perſon, accompanied by his youngeſt ſon Philip, commanded the third diviſion, or body of reſerve. It was propoſed to begin the attack by a ſquadron of three hundred horſe, dreſſed in complete armour, who were to be ſupported by all the reſt of the army diſmounted, except the Germain cuiraſſiers.

Juſt before the charge was ſounded, the cardinal of Perigord interpoſed his good offices, to prevent any further effuſion of blood; deſiring that he might be allowed to repair to the Engliſh camp, where he did not doubt of being able to perſuade the prince of Wales to ſurrender. John conſented, and the cardinal found young Edward ſenſible of the critical ſituation of his affairs, and willing to agree to any terms conſiſtent with his own honour and that of England. He offered to purchaſe a retreat to Bourdeaux, by reſigning all the conqueſts he had made, during this and the former campaign, and for the ſpace of ſeven years not to ſerve againſt France. This propoſal was haughtily rejected by John, who peremptorily inſiſted, that the prince himſelf, together with one hundred of the chief nobility in his army, ſhould ſurrender themſelves priſoners; on which conditions he promiſed a ſafe retreat to the Engliſh army. The Black Prince, with a true greatneſs of mind, which would have done honour to an old Roman, rejected the propoſal diſdainfully, declaring that England ſhould never be conſtrained to pay the price of his ranſom, and that he would rather ſacrifice his life, than conſent to ſuch infamous demands. This reſolute anſwer put an end to all thoughts of an accommodation. The ſword was to determine the important conteſt, and the next morning was to be the period of the lives of thouſands. No advantage was omitted by the Black Prince. He employed the night in ſtrengthening the poſt, he had ſo judiciouſly choſen, with new intrenchments; and detached a body of choſen men under the command of John de Greilly, with orders to make a compaſs round the hill, and keep himſelf concealed till the battle ſhould begin, and then to fall upon the French rear. He divided his troops into three diſtinct bodies, but ranged in ſo compact a manner, that they ſeemed to form only a ſquare battalion: the front was defended by a number of ditches and hedges; and the flanks were ſecured on one ſide by a ſteep hill, and on the other by a moraſs. The earl of Warwick was ſtationed on the ſide of the hill, with the troops which compoſed the van; the rear, commanded by the earls of Suffolk and Saliſbury, was poſted behind a hedge, about a ſtone's throw from the lane through
which

which the French muſt march to the attack. At the end of the lane was a pretty large gap, where young Edward took his poſt at the head of the main body, which extended itſelf among the vines and buſhes; the weaker part of the field being incloſed by the carriages and baggage-waggons.

About nine in the morning the ſelect body of men at arms entered the lane with great intrepidity; but were ſo galled by the Engliſh archers, who lined the hedges on each ſide of their paſſage, that one half of them fell before they reached the front of Edward's main body, when they were cut to pieces by an advanced party, commanded by lord Audley. The marſhals Clermont and Andrehen, who with a body of cavalry had advanced cloſe behind the men at arms to ſupport them, were greatly incommoded by the bodies of the ſlain, while the archers plied them without intermiſſion. When they had penetrated to the rear of the Engliſh, they met with ſo warm a reception from the earls of Warwick, Saliſbury and Suffolk, at the head of a detachment from the rear, that Clermont was killed on the ſpot, and Andrehen obliged to ſurrender himſelf priſoner; the fate of theſe noblemen, and the carnage that enſued, ſo terrified their followers, that they fled with the utmoſt precipitation. The firſt body of the French being thus routed, the dauphin advanced to the charge, though his men were greatly diſpirited; but they had no ſooner begun the attack, than John de Grielly, ſallying from his ambuſh, fell with the utmoſt impetuoſity upon their rear, and threw them into terrible diſorder: the Engliſh archers plied them with arrows, while another body of infantry with ſwords and battle axes, ruſhed upon them, and made a moſt dreadful ſlaughter. Bodenai, St. Venant, and Landas, to whom had been committed the care of the dauphin, carried him off, and thus ſet the example of a precipitate flight. The duke of Orleans, who had not been engaged, being ſeized with a like panic, followed the ſame route. Lord Chandois then calling out to the Black Prince, that the day was won, the young hero inſtantly charged the diviſion under the king with great fury. The king was in the vigour of manhood; the prince in the flower of youth; the former armed with a battle axe, the latter with a ſword; both atchieving feats of valour; the one preſſed forward for the prize of glory, the other exerted his utmoſt efforts, to retrieve by his valour what he had loſt by his imprudence. The ſtruggle was violent, the conteſt long and doubtful, the laſt ſcene blood and ſlaughter. All that had paſſed before ſeemed only an exerciſe of arms, in compariſon of what now enſued. The reſolution of the Engliſh was oppoſed to the raging fury of the French; their projected ſpears checked that fury, and well aimed arrows thinned the ranks of the enemy. The Black Prince, with unſpeakable courage fell on a body of German cavalry, placed in the front. The diſpute was warmly maintained; nor did the Germans give ground till their three leaders, with the conſtable of France, were ſlain. Being left without a commander they fled from the field of battle, leaving their ſovereign, with his young ſon Philip, expoſed to all the fury of the enemy. John now ſaw himſelf reduced to a ſmall battalion of faithful friends, who were continually leſſened by the ſwords of the Engliſh. Every moment the ranks were thinned around him: his nobles, one after another, fell by his ſide; his ſon, ſcarce fourteen years of age, received a wound, while fighting with great bravery by the ſide of his father. John himſelf who could wield his ſword but faintly, might eaſily have been ſlain, but every one was emulous of ſo noble a prize, and therefore, as they approached called out to him to ſurrender, and offered him quarter; but unwilling to yield himſelf a priſoner to any perſon of inferior rank, he called out, "Where is my couſin, the prince of Wales; to him only will I yield." Being informed that Edward was in another part of the field, he ſtill perſiſted obſtinately to defend himſelf, and ſeveral who attempted to ſeize him paid for their raſhneſs. At length Sir Dennis de Morbec, a knight of Artois, making his way through a croud of aſſailants, requeſted John to yield himſelf his priſoner; and the king, after being aſſured he was a knight, threw him his gauntlet, as a ſignal of ſurrender. His ſon was alſo taken with him.

Prince Edward, who had been carried to ſome diſtance in purſuit of the enemy, finding the field clear, ordered a tent to be pitched, and was repoſing himſelf after the toils of the battle. He was at the ſame time very anxious to know the fate of the king of France. Having ſent the earl of Warwick to bring him intelligence, that nobleman came happily in time to ſave the life of the captive king. The Engliſh had taken him by violence from Morbec; but the Gaſcons claimed as their right the honour of detaining him; and ſome brutal ſoldiers threatened to put him to death, rather than deliver him up. Both parties were overawed by the preſence of Warwick, who approaching the monarch with the greateſt marks of reſpect, offered to conduct him to the Black Prince. The behaviour of this noble perſonage was even, if poſſible, ſuperior to the abilities and bravery he had diſcovered in the time of action. Inſtead of indulging a ſupercilious pride, too commonly the attendant of youthful warriors, he came from his tent to meet the captive king with all the marks of a ſincere regard. Though only twenty-ſeven years of age, and elated by as extraordinary an inſtance of ſucceſs, as ever crowned the arms of any commander, he ſympathized tenderly with his misfortunes: he paid him the tribute of praiſe due to his valour; and aſcribed his own victory to the blind chance of war, or to a ſuperior Being, whoſe providence controuls all the efforts of human power and prudence. He ordered a magnificent repaſt to be prepared for him in his tent, and with the ſweeteſt affability, he even waited upon his royal priſoner, as if he himſelf had been one of his retinue; and when preſſed by the French monarch to ſit down, he declared with all the marks of genuine modeſty, "That it was not for a ſubject like him, to ſit in the preſence of royal majeſty." The French noblemen, who had been invited to the entertainment, were ſtruck with reverential awe at this inſtance of magnificence and true greatneſs of ſoul; and lamented the fate of their country, in being expoſed to the reſentment of an enemy of ſuch diſtinguiſhed abilities. He was indeed a ſhining example of moderation and humanity, and exhibited a ſublime ſympathy, rarely attendant on conqueſt. Even the elder Edward, brave as he was, degraded himſelf by the mean uſes he made of his victory, and their mercenary tendency; but the younger was truly great, without vanity, in conciliating the affection of his very captives.

This memorable victory was obtained by the battle of Poictiers, on the nineteenth of September, without the loſs of one perſon of diſtinction among the Engliſh; whereas the principal noblemen of France fell in the conteſt. Two dukes, nineteen counts, five thouſand men at arms, and about eight thouſand infantry, are ſaid to have been killed on the ſide of the French. Two thouſand men at arms were taken priſoners; among whom, beſides John, king of France, were three princes of the blood; the archbiſhop of Sens; the counts of Eſtampes, Vaudemont, and many other noblemen.

The generous conduct of Edward toward his noble priſoners was imitated by the whole army, who treated even the moſt inferior among them with tenderneſs and humanity. The ſpoils taken in

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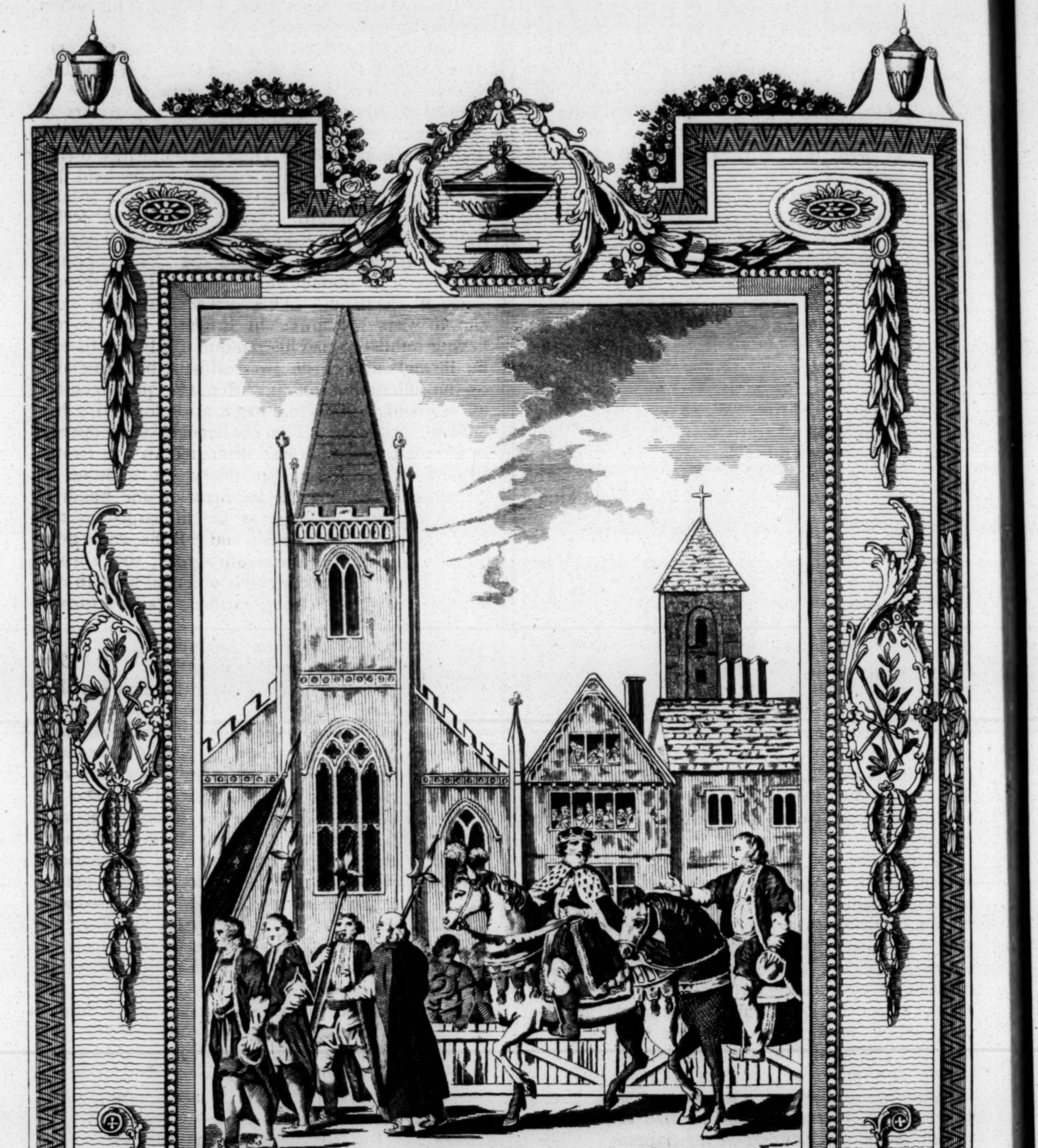


Wale delin. Noble sculp.

Edward *the* Black Prince (*eldest Son of* EDWARD III) *conducting*
the King *of* France *his* Prisoner *through the City of London*, 1356.

in the French camp were ſo great, that the meaneſt individual in the Engliſh army found himſelf placed beyond the reach of want during the remainder of his life. Indeed the ranſoms of the illuſtrious priſoners alone, were more than ſufficient for that purpoſe; though theſe were very moderate. The extent of the fortunes of all were conſidered; and no more was exacted from them than they could eaſily ſpare; nor were they without ſufficient means to ſupport their rank and families.

After a ſolemn thankſgiving in the Engliſh camp for their late victory, the moſt noble prince of Wales marched with his army to Bourdeaux; while the dauphin, haſtening to Paris, aſſembled the ſtates of the kingdom to concert meaſures for its defence, and to procure their aſſiſtance towards the ranſom of their ſovereign; but inſtead of complying with his requeſt, they entered into ſteps for humbling the power of the crown; and John, informed of their proceedings, deſired his ſon not to conſent to their inſolent demands, aſſuring him, that he had rather continue the priſoner of an honourable enemy, than live a ſlave to his own ſubjects.

A.D. 1357. Pope Innocent VI. affected with the captivity of the French king, ſent the two cardinals, Perigord and St. Vital to Bourdeaux, to mediate a peace; but failing in their negociations, they confined their requeſts to the obtaining a truce for two years. The Black Prince, ſincerely diſpoſed to heal the wounds both nations had received, readily joined his endeavours with thoſe of the legates; and wrote over to the king in ſuch preſſing terms, that his father ſent him full powers to act as he thought moſt conducive to his own honour, and the good of his country. The prince heſitated not a moment. He ſigned the peace at Bourdeaux, on the twenty-third of March, and then embarked with his noble priſoners, having ranſomed all his own men of the captors, for England; and landed on the twenty fifth of May at Sandwich in Kent.

He was received in every place through which he paſſed with the greateſt expreſſions of joy; but he refuſed many of the honours that were intended for him, deſiring that they might be transferred, with every mark of attention and civility, to the French monarch. At Southwark he was met by a thouſand of the principal citizens on horſeback; and the mayor diſplayed, on this occaſion, all the pomp of the city. The entry was very magnificent, and the proceſſion was attended by an innumerable concourſe of people of all ranks. John, attired in his royal robes, was mounted on a ſtately white courſer, remarkable for its ſize and beauty, as well as for the richneſs of its trappings. The Black Prince rode on the left hand of his priſoner, in his ordinary dreſs, on a ſmall black palfry, diſcovering, in the whole of his deportment, a ſtudious deſire to avoid every mark of diſtinction. The ſtreets through which they paſſed were adorned with plate, tapeſtry, trophies of war, colours, armour, fountains of wine, and temporary triumphal arches; a ſight infinitely more glorious than the vain parade of a Roman triumph, when the ear of folly was ſaluted with the rattling of chains, and the eye of pity oppreſſed with the dejected looks of enſlaved captives. The proceſſion laſted from three in the morning till noon. When arrived at Weſtminſter-hall, where the king of England ſat on his throne, ſurrounded by a ſplendid circle of nobles, he advanced a few ſteps to receive from the prince his royal priſoner, whom Edward addreſſed with the ſame reſpect as if he had been a neighbouring prince, who had come voluntarily to pay him a friendly viſit; and John in captivity received the honours of a king, which were refuſed him when ſeated on a throne. The French monarch behaved with ſo much propriety on this occaſion, as to ſhew himſelf truly deſerving the generous civilities that were ſhewn him; with which his nobles appeared much affected.

Immediately after this ceremony, the two cardinals arrived from the pope, to obtain, if poſſible, a definitive treaty; but finding Edward averſe to the terms propoſed, they demanded the arrears of the tribute that had been formerly paid to the ſee of Rome; but the king refuſed a compliance therewith, and plainly told them, that as he held his crown of God alone, he would never pay tribute to any power on earth. Awed by this bold declaration, they dropped the ſubject; and after having raiſed large contributions from the clergy, applied themſelves to obtain the liberty of David Bruce, king of Scotland. This prince had been now eleven years a captive in England, his ſubjects having refuſed to pay his ranſom. Edward, moved by the entreaties of the two cardinals, but eſpecially by the ſolicitations of his ſiſter, the queen-conſort of Scotland, agreed to a negociation for ſetting her huſband at liberty. The conferences were opened at Berwick, where it was ſtipulated in the treaty, that David ſhould be ſet at liberty, on condition of giving hoſtages for the payment of one hundred thouſand marks ſterling, to be diſcharged in ten years by equal payments; and till the whole debt ſhould be liquidated it was alſo agreed, that a truce ſhould ſubſiſt and be inviolably obſerved by both nations. This treaty being ratified, David returned to his kingdom.

A. D. 1358. The captivity of John produced in France an almoſt total diſſolution of civil authority; and occaſioned the moſt horrible and deſtructive confuſions. The dauphin, who was now eighteen years of age, naturally aſſumed the royal power; but though he had an excellent capacity, he had neither ſufficient experience nor authority to defend a ſtate, aſſailed at once by foreign powers, and ſhaken by internal faction. During this diſtracted ſtate of affairs in France, Edward chiefly employed himſelf in negociations with his priſoner; and John ſigned terms of peace, in which he conſented to reſtore all the provinces that had been poſſeſſed by Henry II. and his two ſons; and to annex them for ever to the crown of England, without any obligation of fealty or homage. But this treaty was rejected by the dauphin and the ſtates of France; and Edward, incenſed at their refuſal, threatened to viſit the dauphin at Paris on the expiration of the truce. His reſolution reſpecting an invaſion of France was no ſooner divulged, than a prodigious number of adventurers flocked to his ſtandard; and he croſſed the ſea to Calais with a very formidable armament, attended by the Black Prince, three other ſons, and a great number of nobility, on the twenty-eighth of October. Edward began his march from Calais A. D. 1359. on the fourth of November, at the head of one hundred thouſand men. This force the dauphin thought irreſiſtible, and he determined not to hazard a deciſive action. Leaving therefore the open country expoſed to the fury of the enemy, he employed himſelf in putting all the conſiderable towns in a poſture of defence: while Edward, in ſpite of deep roads and rainy weather, continued his progreſs through Artois and Picardy, till he reached Rheims in Champagne, where the kings of France were uſually crowned. Here he propoſed to be inveſted with the royal diadem of France, and the biſhops of London and Durham attended him to perform the ceremony; but finding the place well ſecured, he ſpent three months in a blockade without effect, and was obliged at laſt to raiſe the ſiege.

A. D. 1360. Early in the ſpring, Edward conducted his army into Burgundy when the duke, in order to preſerve his country from farther ravages, agreed to pay him one hundred thouſand nobles. He then directed his march towards the Nivernois, which eſcaped by a like compoſition. The Brie and the Gatinois he plundered with the utmoſt cruelty; and after a long deſtructive march, of ſome prejudice to his own troops, he appeared before the gates of Paris, burnt the ſuburbs, and fixed his head-quarters at Bourg-la-Reine. Here the king ſent a defiance to the dauphin, challenging him to battle: but this was rejected, the dauphin being too prudent to change his plan of operations; for Paris was in no danger either of an aſſault or a blockade; and Edward, being in the heart of a country he had waſted, was obliged to ſpread his troops into the provinces of Maine, Beauſe, and the Chartraine, which were abandoned to the fury of their devaſtations.

While the war was carried on in this deſtructive manner, the negotiations for peace were not interrupted; yet as the king ſteadily inſiſted on the full execution of the treaty he had made with John at London, which was as obſtinately rejected by the dauphin, there appeared little proſpect of an accommodation; but, by the repreſentations of the duke of Lancaſter, more moderate terms were introduced at the conferences between the Engliſh and French carried on at Bretigni in the Chartraine; and a peace was concluded on May the eighth, on the following conditions; that the king of England ſhoud renounce his pretenſions to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Touraine, and Anjou; and ſhould receive in exchange the provinces of Poictou, Xantongue, Perigord, the Limoſin, Agenois, Quercy, Bigone, Gauze, Angoumois, and Rovergne: that he ſhould enjoy theſe territories in the fulleſt manner, and without any feudal ſubjection or homage, together with Calais, and the ſovereignty of Guienne: that the diſpute between Charles de Blois and John de Montfort, with regard to the duchy of Brittany, ſhould be candidly diſcuſſed and referred to arbitration, under the ſanction of both kings; but if their good offices proved ineffectual, neither ſhould take any part in the quarrel, though the ſovereignty of Brittany ſhould be reſtored to the king of France, and John de Montfort to the poſſeſſion of all his eſtates in that kingdom: that the king of France ſhould renounce his alliance with the Scots, and Edward his connections with the Flemings. Forty hoſtages, among whom were two ſons of the French king, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, offered themſelves voluntary ſureties for the execution of theſe conditions. All points of difference being thus adjuſted, king John went over to Calais in July, and in October king Edward repaired thither, to receive the firſt payment of the ranſom, which amounted to ſix hundred thouſand gold crowns; but France had been ſo grievouſly exhauſted, that not above two thirds of the ſum could be raiſed, and hoſtages were delivered for payment of the remainder at Candlemas. The dauphin and his council repairing to Bologne, conferences were held on the late treaty; and by the conſent of all parties ſome clauſes of it were altered, and the whole was ratified by both kings at Calais, on the twenty-fourth of October. The next day John ſet out for Bologne, and Edward accompanied him about a mile from Calais, when they parted with demonſtrations of mutual eſteem; for the good diſpoſition of John rendered him ſo ſenſible of the generous treatment he had received in England, as entirely obliterated the memory of his rival's aſcendency over him. Notwithſtanding the terms of the late peace were very rigorous, John was poſſeſſed of ſuch integrity, that he reſolved to execute them at all hazards, and to employ every expedient in order to ſatisfy a monarch, who, though he had been his greateſt political enemy, had treated him with the utmoſt humanity and ſingular reſpect.

A. D. 1361.

This important buſineſs of a treaty between the two kingdoms being happily concluded, Edward returned to England in November, where the peace was celebrated with all kinds of rejoicings; and the articles ſoon after being laid before both houſes of parliament, were unanimouſly approved. But the great joy ariſing from this pleaſing event, was ſoon damped by the fatal conſequences of a dreadful plague which broke out at this period, and ſwept away great numbers, among whom were the lords Seymour, Mowbray, and other perſons of high diſtinction; but no one was ſo much regretted by the public as Henry, duke of Lancaſter, who was univerſally eſteemed and beloved for his many amiable qualities. His only ſurviving ſiſter became his heir, and had been ſome time married to John of Ghent, Edward's fourth ſon, who, in right of his brother-in-law, was ſoon after created duke of Lancaſter.

In order to reconcile his new ſubjects to the Engliſh government, Edward determined to put them under the immediate juriſdiction of the heir-apparent. Accordingly he conveyed his French dominions to his ſon, by executing a deed of aſſignment; and the Black Prince prepared for his embarkation. He had married his couſin, Joan of Kent, the young and beautiful relict of the late earl of Holland. This princeſs was daughter of Edmund, earl of Kent, who had been beheaded, in the beginning of the preſent reign; and for her exquiſite beauty ſhe was generally known by the appellation of the Fair Maid of Kent. The noble hero who had raiſed the honour of the Engliſh to ſo exalted a pitch, was now created prince of Aquitaine. He ſoon after croſſed the ſea, and fixed his reſidence at Bourdeaux, where he kept a ſplendid court, beloved and reſpected by all his ſubjects, who thought themſelves peculiarly happy in being governed by ſo great and generous a prince.

A. D. 1363.

The king of France, notwithſtanding his earneſt deſire of fulfilling his late engagements in the treaty with England, found inſurmountable difficulties from the unwillingneſs of thoſe who were to evacuate the places ceded to Edward, ſo that his two ſons, who were left as hoſtages, began to be tired of their confinement; and gave the king to underſtand, that they could contribute towards the removal of thoſe difficulties, if permitted to repair to Calais, where they ſhould be near the ſeat of negociation; they were therefore ſent thither, and allowed to ride about the country on their parole; but their endeavours proving ineffectual, the duke of Anjou ungenerouſly abuſed his liberty, and eſcaped to Paris. John ſeverely reprimanded him for this diſhonourable behaviour: he even determined to atone for the fault of his ſon, by going over to England in perſon, and by attempting to remove the obſtacles which impeded the full execution of the treaty. His council in vain endeavoured to diſſuade him from his deſign; his purpoſe was fixed, and every argument loſt its force. "If juſtice, honour, and good faith," ſaid he, "were baniſhed from the reſt of the world, they ought to be found in the breaſts of kings." This noble way of thinking, incompatible with the common maxims of policy, kept him fixed to his purpoſe: accordingly he embarked for England, where he met with a cordial reception, which his heroic integrity juſtly merited; and the kings of Scotland and Cyprus being then in London, Edward's court ſhone with reſplendent luſtre. John reſided at his former place of abode the Savoy, where,

A. D. 1364.

where, in the ſpring he fell ſick, and died on the eighth of April, in the fifty ſixth year of his age. During his reign, the crown of France had acquired conſiderable acceſſions, by obtaining the provinces of Dauphiny and Burgundy: but the latter province John diſmembered from the crown, by beſtowing it on his favourite ſon Philip, which afterwards proved the ſource of many calamities to France.

Charles, the dauphin, ſucceeded John in the throne, and contrary to the practices of the great princes of that age, reſolved never to appear at the head of his armies; and he is ſaid to be the firſt king in Europe that ſhewed the ſuperiority of judgement, foreſight, and policy, to raſh and precipitate courage. He began his reign with turning his arms againſt the king of Navarre, who was defeated by his general Bertrand de Gueſclin, a gentleman of Brittany, and obliged his enemy to accept of moderate terms of peace. But the chief obſtacle Charles met with in the ſettlement of the ſtate, proceeded from enemies of an inferior kind, who were rendered eminent for their crimes, and dangerous from their numbers. The numerous adventurers who had followed Edward's fortunes, having, after the treaty of Bretigni diſperſed into ſeveral provinces, and obtained the poſſeſſion of ſtrong fortreſſes, refuſed to lay down their arms. They aſſociated themſelves with bands of robbers, who were inured to violence and rapine; and under the name of Companions and companies, became the terror of the people. Theſe banditti were commanded by ſome Engliſh and Gaſcon gentlemen, particularly Sir Hugh Calverly, Sir Matthew Gournay, the chevalier Vert, and others, and their numbers, amounting to near forty thouſand, carried the appearance of regular armies. Several pitched battles were fought by theſe leaders with the troops of France, in which they were victorious; and in one of theſe, James de Bourbon, a prince of the blood, was ſlain. Charles, in the diſtracted ſtate of his kingdom, not being able to redreſs ſo enormous a grievance, was led by policy to ſend them into foreign countries.

A. D. 1366.

Peter, king of Caſtile, ſurnamed the Cruel, had incurred the univerſal hatred of his ſubjects, by filling, not only his own family, but the whole kingdom with murders and bloodſhed: his nobles daily fell victims to his ſuſpicions: from groundleſs jealouſy, he put to death ſeveral of his natural brothers; hence, as his enemies increaſed, they became the occaſion of freſh barbarities. Inſtigated by his miſtreſs, he threw into priſon Blanche de Bourbon his wife, the queen of France's ſiſter, whom he ſoon after diſpatched by poiſon, in order to marry his ſtrumpet. In conſequence of this, Henry, count de Traſtamare, roſe in arms againſt Peter; but, failing in his attempt, fled to France, where he was protected by Charles. Here he propoſed to enliſt the companies into his ſervice, not doubting but that by their aſſiſtance, added to his brother's arms, he ſhould ſoon be able to expel the tyrant from his throne. The French king, pleaſed with the propoſal, readily conſented, and ordered Gueſclin to conclude a treaty with thoſe banditti. Gueſclin quickly completed his levies; and being appointed their commander, took the field. He conducted his army to Avignon, the reſidence of the pope, and demanded, ſword in hand, not only an abſolution for his ſoldiers, but the ſum of two hundred thouſand livres. His holineſs readily promiſed the firſt; but making ſome difficulty with reſpect to the money, the general anſwered, "I believe that my fellows may make a ſhift to do without your abſolution, but the money is abſolutely neceſſary." His holineſs having obliged the inhabitants to pay one hundred thouſand livres, offered it to Gueſclin. He, however, refuſed to accept it. "I have no intention," ſaid he, "to oppreſs the innocent people. His holineſs and his cardinals alone can eaſily ſpare me that ſum out of their pockets. I therefore inſiſt on this money being reſtored to the owners; and ſhould they hereafter be compelled to pay, or be defrauded of it, I will return from the other ſide the Pyrenees, and oblige you to make reſtitution." The pope, knowing it would be in vain to contend with the ſword, paid him the ſum demanded out of his own treaſury; and the army, being enriched by the bleſſings and ſpoils of the church, continued their march, and ſoon drove the king of Caſtile from his dominions; while Henry aſſumed the title of king of Caſtile, and was acknowledged as ſuch throughout the whole kingdom. Peter having retired into Guienne, implored the protection of the Black Prince, who heartily engaged in his reſtoration; raiſed all the money he could borrow; and even melted down his own plate for the ſervice.

A. D. 1367.

Had the prince reflected on the unworthineſs of the perſon who ſolicited his aſſiſtance, he would probably have refuſed his requeſt; but conſidering, perhaps, only on this occaſion the honour of reſtoring a dethroned monarch, or, being weary of an inactive life, having obtained his father's conſent, he levied an army, and ſet out upon this expedition. Being joined by the banditti, and a conſiderable force from England, he began his march about the latter end of February, and advanced to Caſtile, where he attacked and routed Henry's army in ſeveral engagements; and after a complete victory, obtained at Naſara, re-eſtabliſhed the tyrant on the Caſtilian throne. Peter threw himſelf at the prince of Wales's feet, and thanked him for reſtoring him to his kingdom; but that hero raiſing him up, ſaid, it was to God alone he was indebted for the victory, and not to him, who was only a weak inſtrument in his hand; yet, notwithſtanding this appearance of gratitude, Peter deceived his benefactor, when he had no longer any need of his aſſiſtance. The prince reminding him of the money due to the troops, the Caſtilian pleaded inability, and dallied with him till the heats of Spain became exceſſive; when Edward, perceiving that his men daily periſhed by ſickneſs, was under the neceſſity of returning to Bourdeaux, where he was received in triumph amidſt the acclamations of his people. During his late campaign, the Black Prince, beſides a very dangerous diſorder, had contracted an enormous debt, which Peter ungenerouſly refuſed to pay. This obliged him to tranſgreſs the bounds of prudent policy. He impoſed on the French an unuſual and heavy tax, which was ſo diſagreeable to them, that many of their barons repaired to Paris, and there entered an appeal againſt the proceedings of the Black Prince, before the king of France as ſovereign lord. The king of France, who had been long deſirous of this, ſummoned the prince to appear in his court, to anſwer their complaints. Exaſperated at ſuch an inſolent and unjuſt citation, Edward anſwered, with all the ſpirit of an offended warrior, that he might expect his appearance at Paris, but it ſhould be with a helmet on his head, and a retinue of ſixty thouſand men. Charles was not, however, to be intimidated. He knew the declining years of Edward; the languiſhing ſtate of the prince of Wales's health; and the extreme animoſity which the inhabitants of the conquered provinces had expreſſed againſt the Engliſh, would act powerfully in his favour. He, therefore, reſolving to come to an open rupture with England, made preparations in private, formed an alliance with Caſtile, the earl of Flanders, and the princes of Germany, and attached to his intereſt the barons and citizens of Abbeville.

A. D. 1396.

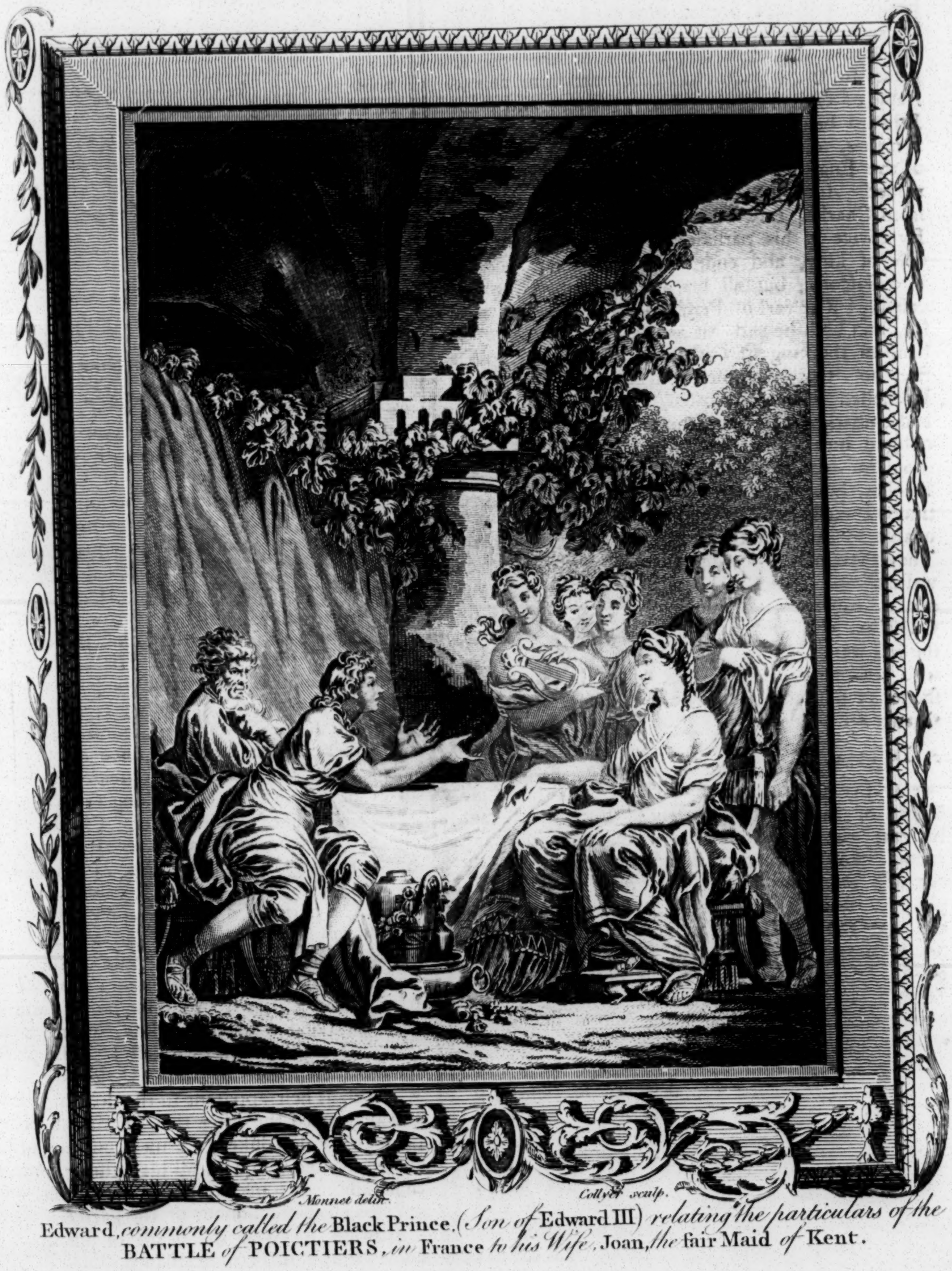
A. D. 1370. The firſt operations of war were commenced in Ponthieu, where the French met with very little oppoſition. Abbeville opened its gates to them. This example was followed by St. Vallery, Crotoy, Rue; and in a little time the whole country was reduced to ſubmiſſion. The dukes of Berry and Anjou, brothers to Charles, aſſiſted by du Gueſclin, invaded the ſouthern provinces, and daily made a conſiderable progreſs againſt the Engliſh. The ſtate of the prince's health would not permit him to mount on horſeback, or exert his uſual activity. In one action the brave Chandois was ſlain; in another, the great du Buche, who had ſucceeded him as conſtable of Guienne, was taken priſoner; and prince Edward being conſtrained, by his increaſing infirmities, to return to his native country, the affairs of the Engliſh in the ſouth of France were totally ruined. Incenſed at the injuries he had received from Charles, Edward meditated a ſevere revenge. By advice of his parliament he reſumed the vain title of king, and endeavoured to ſend ſuccours into Gaſcony; but all his attempts proved unſucceſsful. The earl of Pembroke was intercepted at ſea, and both he and his whole army fell into the hand of the king of Caſtile, who had fitted out a fleet for that purpoſe, and attacked him near Rochelle. Edward himſelf, with another army, had embarked for Bourdeaux; but contrary winds obliged him to lay aſide his enterprize. Thirty thouſand men, under the command of Sir Robert Knolles, however, marched out of Calais, and continued their ravages to the gates of Paris, but were unable to provoke the enemy to an engagement. They therefore proceeded on their march, laying waſte the provinces of Maine and Anjou; but part of the army being defeated by the conduct of du Gueſclin, who was now made conſtable of France, the reſt were ſcattered and diſperſed; and the few who returned, inſtead of reaching Guienne, took ſhelter in Brittany, whoſe duke had entered into an alliance with England.

A. D. 1374. The duke of Lancaſter began his march from Calais with an army of twenty-five thouſand men, and marched the whole length of France from Calais to Bourdeaux; but his rear was ſo harraſſed by flying parties of the enemy, and his foraging detachments ſo frequently cut off, that hardly half his army reached their place of deſtination. One province after another fell into the hands of the French, till only Bourdeaux, Bayonne, Calais, with a few other leſs important places, remained in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh; when the neceſſities of Edward obliged him to conclude a truce with the enemy till the firſt of May in the following year 1375.

Edward, beſides the mortification of loſing his foreign dominions, felt the decay of his authority in England; and from the ſeverity of ſome parliamentary remonſtrances, experienced the influence his preſent ill fortune had on the affections of his people. As an addition to his misfortunes, during this laſt war he loſt his queen. He had lived with her forty years in perfect union. She was univerſally lamented by the people, who had always found her ready to relieve them in their neceſſities, and the poor were great loſers by her death. But Edward, who during the vigour of his life had been employed in the purſuits of war and ambition, now, in the decline of life, had to encounter with ſevere mortifications. The paſſion for military glory, that fired his breaſt in the vigour of his age, was now extinguiſhed. In his old age he fell in love with Alice Pierce, who had been one of the ladies of the bed-chamber to Philippa, his late queen; and his paſſion had ſuch an aſcendant over him, that, in order to gratify her avarice, he countenanced ſeveral corrupt practices, which, in the vigour of life, he would have diſdained to patronize. He was wrought upon by this abandoned miſtreſs, to convey to her the jewels and moveables of the late queen: ſhe created and diſplaced miniſters at her pleaſure; and the king only thought of procuring her diverſions, which were daily made at a great expence. In ſhort, the doating Edward was guided juſt as her caprice and humour prompted; but this weak conduct gave ſuch general diſguſt, that the parliament preſented a ſpirited remonſtrance, and the imperious lady was baniſhed the court. The king alſo ſatisfied his parliament in another requeſt. The nation had entertained a jealouſy of the great power of John of Ghent, duke of Lancaſter, and apprehended he might ſeize the crown on the death of his father. Edward, therefore, to remove their fears, declared, in full parliament, Richard, ſon to the prince of Wales, his heir and ſucceſſor.

A. D. 1376. At this period died at Windſor, on the eighth of June, Edward prince of Wales, commonly called the Black Prince, ſincerely regretted by his father and the whole nation, who flattered themſelves with the proſpect of conſummate felicity, under the reign of ſuch an accompliſhed ſovereign. The character of this prince is truly amiable. His valour and military talents, which produced the admiration of all Europe, form only a part of his merit. He was an ornament of human nature, and is deſervedly the boaſt of the Engliſh nation. In public life he exhibited the brighteſt diſplay of genius, heroiſm, and magnanimity; in private, he afforded a matchleſs example of benevolence, candour, and equanimity. Generous, humane, affable, and pleaſed with rewarding merit wherever he found it. He gained univerſal eſteem, and was qualified to throw a luſtre not only on that rude age, but on the moſt ſhining period of antient and modern hiſtory. His affability in converſation, and his remarkable modeſty, can never be ſufficiently admired; and he was equally diſtinguiſhed by the ſubmiſſion and profound reſpect he paid his father, whom he never once diſobliged. His virtues were celebrated by his greateſt enemies. The news of his death, though long expected, was received with inexpreſſible grief. Charles of France, though his kingdom had ſuffered ſo ſeverely from his valour, gave a noble mark of his high eſteem for this celebrated hero. He cauſed a ſolemn ſervice to be performed for the repoſe of his ſoul, in the church of Notre Dame, and aſſiſted himſelf in perſon, with the principal nobility of France. The body of this renowned warrior was placed in a ſtately hearſe, drawn by twelve horſes, and carried through London to Canterbury, where it was interred agreeable to his own deſire. The parliament ſhewed their regard by paying their duty to his ſon Richard, as heir-apparent to the crown of England, and petitioned the king that he might be created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwal, and earl of Cheſter. He was veſted alſo with all his father's lands, except thoſe aſſigned to his mother as her dower, and ſoon after received the honour of the garter.

A. D. 1377. Edward ſurvived the death of his favourite ſon little more than a year. He retired to Eltham in Kent, where he diveſted himſelf of the cares of government, and buried his glory in the grave of voluptuouſneſs. John of Ghent being declared regent of the kingdom, ingratiated himſelf with the princeſs of Wales, who reſided with her ſon Richard, at Kennington in Surry: he alſo acted in concert with Alice, who had now regained her former influence. At her inſtigation, the regent impriſoned Sir Peter de la Mere, who had contributed to her diſgrace in parliament, and recalled thoſe whom the king had a little before removed from his perſon: ſeveral noblemen and prelates alſo were deprived of their poſts



Monnet delin. *Collyer sculp.*

Edward, *commonly called the* Black Prince, (*Son of* Edward III) *relating the particulars of the* BATTLE *of* POICTIERS, *in* France *to his Wife*, Joan, *the* fair Maid *of* Kent.

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on the ſame account. They choſe a new parliament of ſordid mercenary wretches, who could ſacrifice honour and conſcience to avarice and ambition; at the ſame time the infamous Alice was reſtored to her former privileges. The regent and his creatures now rioted in luxury, regardleſs of the public intereſt, and even ſuffered foreigners to infringe the liberties of the city of London, whoſe remonſtrances were treated with a ſupercilious contempt. This excited the reſentment of the populace, who plundered and deſtroyed the houſe of the lord-marſhal, and ſtripped the palace of the duke of Lancaſter of all its rich furniture; but the diſturbance was at length quelled by the interpoſition of the prince of Wales, and the biſhop of London.

The truce of France being expired, the militia were ordered to be ready to oppoſe an invaſion, for which preparations were thought to be making in France; but inſtead of embarking their forces for England, they inveſted the ſtrong fort of Outwick, in the neighbourhood of Calais, which ſurrendered almoſt without oppoſition. This was the laſt military operation in the reign of Edward, who was ſoon after ſeized with a malignant fever, attended with irruptions, which brought him to his grave. He died at Shene, near Richmond in Surry, on the twenty-firſt of June, in the ſixty-fifth year of his age, and the fifty-firſt of his reign. When no hope of recovery remained, his court ſycophants forſook him, as a bankrupt no longer capable of requiring their venal ſervices. Alice, his favourite, who took care of him in his ſickneſs, ſuffered few to enter his room. When he was dying, ſhe laid her hands upon every thing valuable ſhe could find, even the rings on his fingers, and then withdrew. No leſs ingratitude was ſhewn by his friends and chaplains, who all deſerted him, except one ſingle prieſt, who ſeeing him forſaken in his laſt agonies, approached the bed, and addreſſed to him ſome ſpiritual conſolations, to which the dying monarch endeavoured to reply, but his words were too inarticulate to be underſtood.

Edward had twelve children by Philippa of Hainault, his queen. Edward, ſtiled the Black Prince, his eldeſt ſon, who married his couſin Joan, commonly called the Fair Maid of Kent, daughter and heireſs of his uncle the earl of Kent, by whom the prince had only Richard, who ſucceeded in the throne. His ſecond ſon William of Hatfield, who died in his infancy. Lionel of Antwerp, duke of Clarence, who firſt married Elizabeth de Burgh, heireſs of William de Burgh, earl of Ulſter. After her death he married Violante, daughter to the duke of Milan, and died in Italy ſoon after the conſummation of his nuptials, without leaving any poſterity. John of Ghent, vulgarly called, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, from whom ſprung that houſe which afterwards filled the throne. He firſt married Blanche, daughter and co-heireſs of Henry duke of Lancaſter, to whoſe title he ſucceeded. His ſecond wife was Conſtance, eldeſt daughter of Peter the Cruel, king of Caſtile, in whoſe right he aſſumed the arms and title of that kingdom. After her death, he married Catherine Swinford, who had already bore him ſeveral natural children. Edward's fifth ſon, was Edmund de Langley, earl of Cambridge, conſtable of Dover-caſtle, and afterwards duke of York. William, ſurnamed, of Windſor, died an infant. Thomas of Woodſtock, his ſeventh ſon was created duke of Buckingham by Richard II. and afterwards duke of Glouceſter. Beſides theſe ſons, Edward had five daughters. Iſabella, married to Ingelram de Coucy, earl of Bedford. Joan, betrothed to the prince of Caſtile, but died in her journey to Spain. Blanche, who died in her infancy. Mary, married to John de Montfort, earl of Brittany. And Margaret, married to John de Haſtings, earl of Pembroke.

In this reign the celebrated John Wickliff began to declaim, in his ſermons, againſt the doctrine of the real preſence, pilgrimages, purgatory, monaſtic vows, and other ſuperſtitions of the church of Rome; and he ſoon had the good fortune to make a great many proſelytes, particularly the duke of Lancaſter. But notwithſtanding the protection of this powerful patron, he was cited to appear before the biſhop of London; and his tenets were ſolemnly condemned in an aſſembly held at Oxford. He eſcaped however the malice of his perſecutors, and died peaceably at his rectory of Lutterworth, in the county of Leiceſter. He was reputed a man of learning, and has the honour of being the firſt perſon in Europe who publicly called in queſtion thoſe doctrines, which had univerſally prevailed as undiſputed truths during many ages. His followers were called Wickliffites, and ſometimes Lollards.

A. D. 1385.

The moſt remarkable law paſſed in this reign, was that which limited the caſes of high treaſon to three heads, namely, the conſpiring againſt the life of the king; levying war againſt his perſon; and adhering to the king's enemies: but the bounds of this ſtatute have been ſince enlarged; and its ſimplicity almoſt deſtroyed by the nice diſtinctions of law luminaries, which they term conſtructive treaſon, of this we have had one or two recent inſtances in the preſent reign, which are ſtill freſh in every one's memory.

At this period the ſpirit of chivalry and gallantry was perhaps more prevalent, than in any age which either preceded or followed it. A diſpute having ariſen between the Engliſh and the Bretons, which of them had the faireſt miſtreſſes; they agreed to decide the quarrel in a ſolemn duel of thirty knights on each ſide. After a bloody combat the Bretons prevailed; and gained for their prize, full liberty to boaſt of their miſtreſſes beauties.

In this reign was introduced pieces of artillery, and the uſe of gunpowder in war, which has by degrees changed the whole art of war, and many circumſtances in the political government of Europe. The ignorance of that age in the mechanical arts, however, rendered the progreſs of new inventions very ſlow. The artillery firſt made were very clumſy, and managed with ſuch difficulty, that people were not immediately ſenſible of its uſe; but ſince that time, improvements have been continually making on theſe dreadful engines of deſtruction; which, though they appear to be contrived for the overthrow of empires, and the extirpation of the human race, have, in fact, rendered battles leſs bloody, and given to civil ſocieties a greater degree of ſtability. By the uſe of gunpowder, nations have been brought more to a level; conqueſts have been rendered leſs frequent and rapid; and perſonal ſtrength in warriors leſs neceſſary.

To Edward III. we owe the ſuperiority, which in his time the Engliſh began to obtain over the French, and which, ſhould their councils be directed by wiſe and honeſt men, it is hoped they will maintain to the lateſt poſterity. This politic prince baniſhed the uſe of the French language in pleadings and public deeds; for the king and nobility ſeem to have kept in remembrance their Norman extraction, till the wars with Edward and France inſpired the Engliſh with an antipathy to that nation.

In this age the parliament attempted to reſtrain luxury by ſome peculiar ſumptuary laws. It was enacted that no one ſhould be allowed either for dinner or ſupper above three diſhes in each courſe, and not more than two courſes. Servants were prohibited from eating fleſh meat or fiſh above once a day: and no man not worth one hundred per annum was permitted to wear gold, ſilver, or ſilk in his clothes.

Edward built the magnificent caſtle of Windſor, and the method of his conducting the work, may ſerve as a ſpecimen of the condition of the people of that age, and of the bleſſings of a more equal government, which we, of this age, ought thankfully to enjoy. Inſtead of alluring workmen by wages and contracts, he aſſeſſed every county in England to find him maſons, tilers, and carpenters, as if he had been levying an army. To which incident we may add, that in his reign was impoſed the firſt toll we read of in England for mending the highways; and this was for repairing the road from St. Giles's to Temple-bar.

The only exports during this reign were wool, hides, ſkins, leather, butter, lead, tin, and the like unmanufactured goods, of which wool was the moſt conſiderable. To introduce and promote the woollen manufacture, Edward gave protection to foreign weavers; and a law was enacted, prohibiting the wear of any cloth not made in England. Yet ſo little was the nature of trade underſtood by the parliament, that the exportation of woollen goods was prohibited, while the exportation of unwrought wool was not only allowed but encouraged. The exportation of manufactured iron was alſo prohibited by parliament.

Character of Edward III.

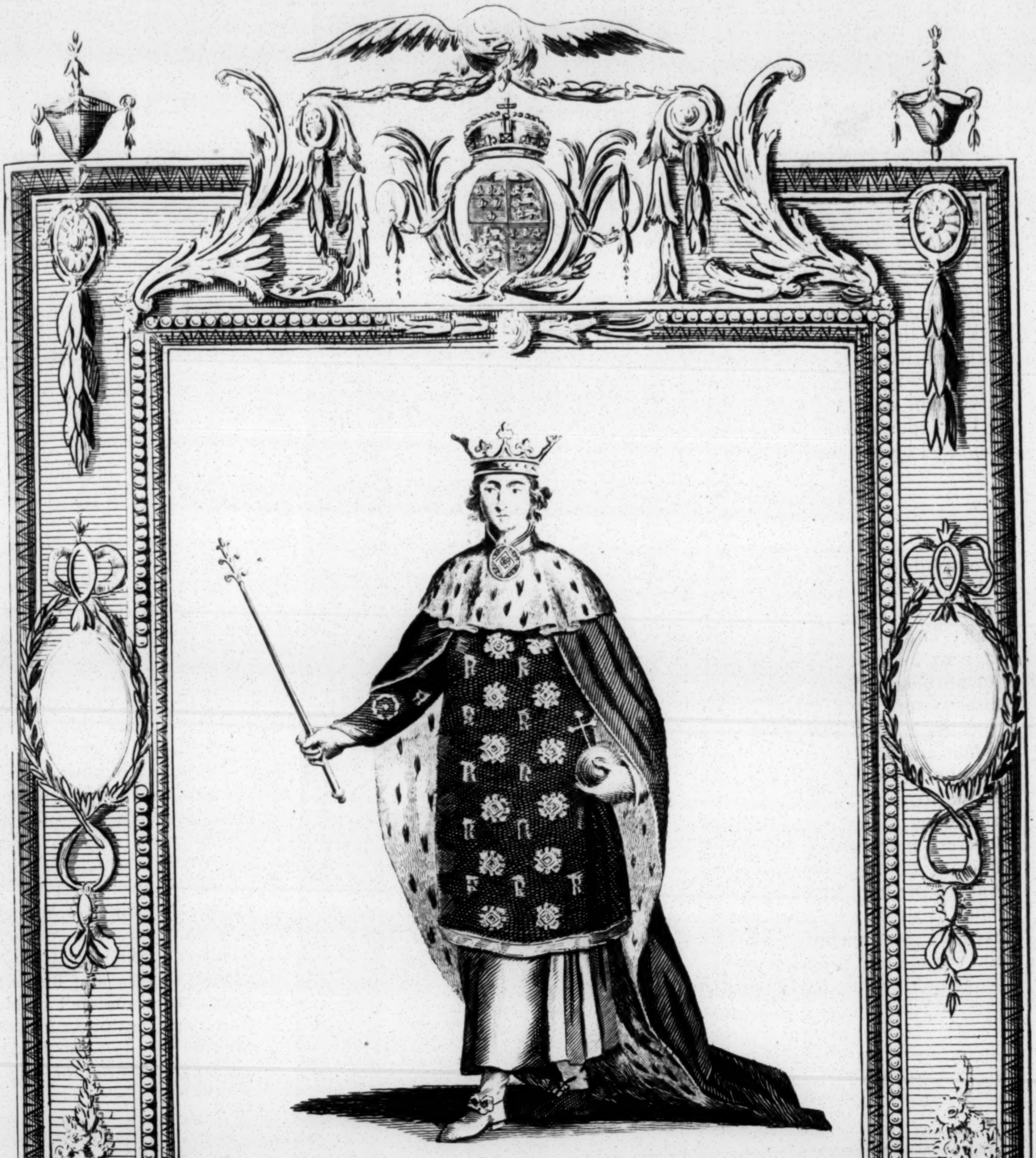
He was certainly one among the number of accompliſhed princes that have filled the Engliſh throne. The memorable tranſactions of his reign ſufficiently enhance his character, whether we conſider him as a warrior, a legiſlator, a monarch, or a man. In his ſtature he was about ſix feet high, of an elegant ſhape, and robuſt conſtitution: his limbs were finely turned; his eyes quick and piercing; his viſage ſharp and aquiline; and his whole air ſuch as commanded eſteem, and engaged affection. Nor were the qualities of his mind inferior to thoſe of his body. He was brave, active, and enterprizing; ſhrewd, ſenſible, and engaging; ſevere but impartial in the execution of juſtice; liberal, but not profuſe in his expences. Glory was his predominant paſſion; and it muſt be confeſſed, that he ſcrupled not to indulge it at the expence of humanity, the lives of his ſubjects, and the intereſt of his country. But it ſhould, at the ſame time be remembered, that he was a man, and therefore ſubject to errors; and that the diſtracted ſtate of affairs on the continent, and the jarring intereſts of its princes, concurred in flattering his ambition, and inſpired him with ideas, which, otherwiſe, he might never have conceived. He was no leſs diſtinguiſhed for his domeſtic government, and the prudence and vigour of his adminiſtration, which procured England a longer interval of domeſtic peace and tranquillity, than this nation had enjoyed in any former period. His court was magnificent and regular; and he was remarkably judicious in the choice of his ſervants, whether in the cabinet or the camp. His plans were concerted with prudence, and executed with alacrity. He was a patron of genius and learning; and his buildings, levees, and other circumſtances, ſufficiently evince his taſte for the liberal arts, very little attended to in that rude and uncultivated age. His affability and obliging behaviour to the good, and his rigour and ſeverity to the bad, gained him the affections of the people, at the ſame time that it curbed their licentiouſneſs. Never did king beſtow honours and rewards with more judgment, and greater regard to true merit. His valour and conduct rendered him ſucceſsful in moſt of his enterprizes; yet this ſucceſs was far from filling him with pride; for never did he ſhew greater humility than in the courſe of his victories, which he conſtantly aſcribed to the interpoſition of divine Providence. Poſſeſſed of the greateſt affability, his converſation was eaſy, and always accompanied with gravity and diſcretion. He was a friend to the poor, the fatherleſs, the widow, the oppreſſed, and unfortunate. In the beginning of his reign he made ſome encroachments on public liberty; but he ſoon learned to maintain, in general, the prerogatives of the crown, without invading the privileges of the people. Edward, in the general tenor of his conduct, was a friend to the conſtitution; though his paſſion for glory obliged him ſometimes to break through the rules which ought to reſtrain the royal prerogative. He always conſulted his parliament; by which means that aſſembly acquired a conſiderable acceſſion of authority during his reign; and the commons were no longer regarded with that indifference with which they had formerly been treated. Edward's glory received a new luſtre from that of his ſon the prince of Wales; and his happineſs was increaſed by his conſtant union with his queen. His religion was without ſuperſtition; his greatneſs, of terror; and his majeſty, of pride. Some errors, it is true, fell to his ſhare, the principal of which was ambition in extreme; yet his reign was one of the longeſt and moſt glorious that occurs in the hiſtory of England.

C H A P. V.

RICHARD II.

Richard, grandſon of Edward III. aſcends the throne in the eleventh year of his age—The government chiefly conducted by his three uncles, the dukes of Lancaſter, York, and Glouceſter—Progreſs of the war in France—A dangerous inſurrection under Wat Tyler and Jack Straw—Richard enters Scotland on the eaſt by Berwick; and the Scots, with their allies the French, enter England by the weſt—Factions and cabals of the barons, particularly the duke of Glouceſter, who expels the king's miniſters—The king reſumes his power—His attachment to favourites; particularly Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, and Michael de la Pole, a ſon to a merchant of London, who was created earl of Suffolk—His proceedings againſt thoſe noblemen who had held him in ſubjection, and whom he conſidered as his enemies—Duke of Lancaſter returns from baniſhment—Raiſes an army—Secures the perſon of the king—Who is ſolemnly depoſed—Impriſoned—And dies in Pomfret caſtle—His character.

A. D. 1377. RICHARD II. of Bourdeaux, ſon to Edward, the Black Prince, on the demiſe of his royal grandfather, aſcended the throne, without oppoſition, in the eleventh year of his age. Notwithſtanding his tender years, and the ſpecious pretenſions that might have been urged in favour of his uncle's claim, he was received by the Engliſh as their ſovereign, with the moſt cordial affection. The remembrance of his father's qualities, induced them to cheriſh this infant prince as deſcended from a ſtock whoſe atchievements had rendered their nation eminently renowned.



Wale delin. *Grainger sculp.*

He was Born *Jany. 6. 1367*—Succeeded *to the* Crown *June 21. 1377*—Resigned *his*
Crown *Septr. 29. 1399*—*was* Murdered *in* Pomfret Caſtle *Jany. 1400*—*and* Buried *at*
Langley *but afterwards removed to* Weſtminſter. —

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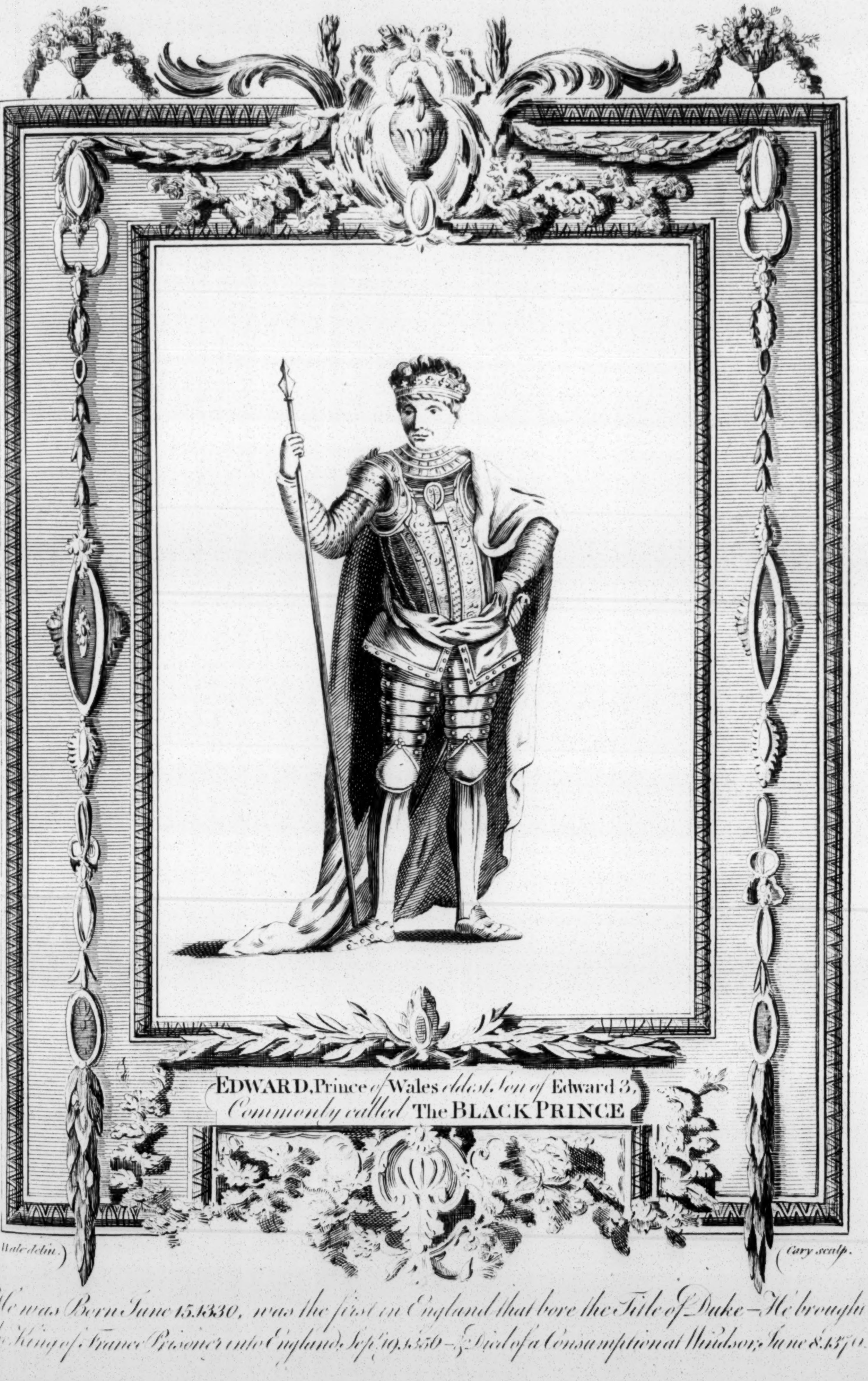

EDWARD, Prince *of* Wales *eldest Son of* Edward 3, *Commonly called* The **BLACK PRINCE**

Wale delin.

Cary sculp.

He was Born June 15.1330, was the first in England that bore the Title of Duke — He brough
the King of France Prisoner into England, Sep.r 19.1356 — & Died of a Consumption at Windsor, June 8.1376.

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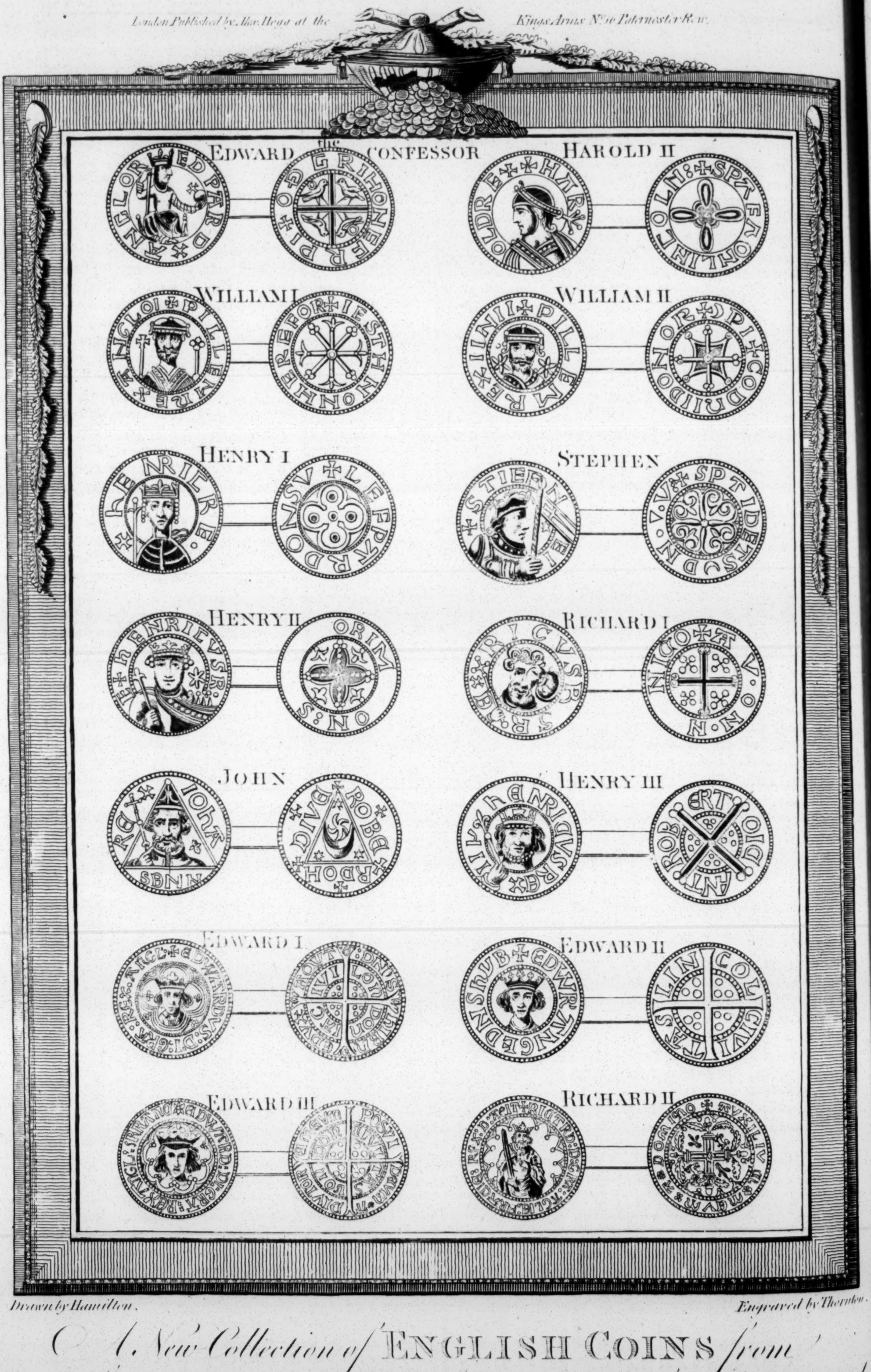

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR
HAROLD II
WILLIAM I
WILLIAM II
HENRY I
STEPHEN
HENRY II
RICHARD I
JOHN
HENRY III
EDWARD I
EDWARD II
EDWARD III
RICHARD II

Drawn by Hamilton.
Engraved by Thornton.

A New Collection of ENGLISH COINS from Edward the Confeſsor, to Richard II. Accurately taken from the Originals.

nowned. Even Lancaſter, imperious as he was, inſtead of endeavouring to ſupplant his nephew, was the firſt to do him homage. His example was followed by the mayor and citizens of London, who repaired to Kingſton upon Thames, where the young prince then reſided, and implored his favour and protection for their city, ſoliciting him to reſide in the metropolis, and aſſuring him they would venture their lives and fortunes in his ſervice. Richard, in compliance with their requeſt, the very next day made a magnificent entry into London, where every tongue overflowed with gratitude, every heart with affection. Every gazing eye fondly read the revival of Edward's virtues, in the diſpoſition, genius, and appearance of this royal infant. The people were ſo impatient to ſee their youthful monarch decorated with the enſigns of royalty, that the day was fixed for the fifteenth of July, when the ceremony was performed with great magnificence at Weſtminſter. On this occaſion we meet with the firſt mention in hiſtory of a champion, who appeared completely armed in Weſtminſter-hall, where his majeſty dined. He was attended by the high-conſtable, the marſhal of England, and preceded by the heralds. When the champion reached the middle of the hall, he threw his gauntlet on the ground, at the ſame time challenging all perſons whatſoever to ſingle combat, who ſhould dare to diſpute his majeſty's title to the crown. The origin of this cuſtom, which is ſtill preſerved, is however unknown; for though this is the firſt time it is mentioned by hiſtorians, it is certainly of a much earlier date; ſince Sir John Dimmock, who performed the office of champion at the coronation of this prince, was admitted to it by virtue of a right annexed to a manor he poſſeſſed in Lincolnſhire.

During the king's minority, the government was conducted by a council of nine, conſiſting partly of prelates, and partly of lay-peers: however, the chief authority was engroſſed by his three uncles, the dukes of Lancaſter, York, and Glouceſter; but the whole power of the crown reſted on the ſecret authority of Lancaſter, who was really the regent. Unpopular, and of a genius not adapted to any bold undertakings; yet being accuſtomed to govern during the latter part of the late reign, he took upon himſelf the adminiſtration of public affairs, notwithſtanding neither of the three brothers were named in the council of regency.

The truce concluded with France was now expired; but Charles, ſtill reigning monarch of that kingdom, had received no information of Edward's death, the Engliſh government having laid an embargo upon all ſhips as ſoon as that event was known; however, the French king was not leſs aſſiduous in his preparations, eſpecially thoſe by ſea, whereby he was enabled to ſend out a ſtrong navy, which being joined by that of Spain, amounted to one hundred ſhips, veſſels, and gallies. A ſquadron of this fleet had already landed, and burnt the town of Rye; from whence they ſailed to the Iſle of Wight, the whole of which they reduced, except the caſtle of Cariſbrook, which was bravely defended by Sir Hugh Tyrrel; while the inhabitants of the iſland were obliged to pay a large contribution, to prevent their houſes from being pillaged. Having ſucceeded in this expedition, they viſited ſeveral of the Engliſh coaſts, and burnt the towns of Haſtings, Portſmouth, Dartmouth, and Plymouth. They then landed a party of men in Suſſex, where they were oppoſed by the prior of Lewis, at the head of a few undiſciplined forces, which were eaſily defeated; and the prior, with two knights, being taken priſoners, were ſent to France. From them the French gained the firſt intelligence of Edward's death; and John de Vienne, admiral of France, immediately diſpatched an expreſs to his court with advice of this important event. By this time the earls of Cambridge and Buckingham had collected a body of troops, and appeared on the coaſt to prevent the enemy's landing. This was all that could be done; for the navy of England was in no condition to face the combined fleets of France and Spain. The whole nation was greatly alarmed; their coaſts inſulted; their commerce interrupted; and the people threw out many melancholy, though bitter reflections, on the fatal reverſe of their affairs. Nor was Charles leſs ſucceſsful by land than by ſea. He ſent one army into Picardy, under the command of the duke of Burgundy, and the mareſchal Blainville, who took the town of Ardreſs. They next made themſelves maſters of Ardwick and Vavelingen, all of them ſtrongly fortified, and of great uſe to prevent any excurſions from the garriſon of Calais. Sir Thomas Felton was at this time governor of Aquitaine for Richard; and another army of French was ſent into Gaſcony, under the duke of Anjou, and the mareſchal Sancerre. The firſt inveſted Bergerac, and John de Bueil was ſent with a detachment to bring up the artillery from Reole. Felton, who was employed in collecting forces, as ſoon as he had formed a ſufficient body of troops, threw himſelf between this detachment under de Bueil, and the main body of the French army at Bergerac, hoping to ſeize the artillery, and cut in pieces the detachment, before it could receive any ſuccours from the main body, but the duke of Anjou took his meaſures ſo well, that de Bueil's brother reached the detachment with a ſtrong reinforcement, before Sir Thomas arrived. They then gave battle to the Engliſh who were defeated; and Felton, who had been guilty of an unſeaſonable ſeverity in ſtriking off the head of the lord de Poimeres, and that of his ſecretary, was taken priſoner, with all his ſoldiers who had eſcaped the ſword. The whole French army then preſſed the ſiege of Bergerac with ſuch fury, that the place was ſoon after taken. This acquiſition ſo intimidated the neighbouring garriſons, that they made little or no reſiſtance; and it is computed, not leſs than one hundred and thirty-four caſtles were taken by the French in the courſe of this campaign. As a counterbalance to theſe heavy loſſes, Sir Hugh Calverly, governor at Calais, made an inroad into Picardy with a detachment of the garriſon, burned above twenty-ſix ſhips in the port of Bologne, laid the town in aſhes, and carried off a large booty. On his return to Calais he learned, that the garriſon of Merck, a caſtle of great importance in its neighbourhood, had delivered up that fortreſs to the enemy, in the abſence of Sir Robert Solle their governor; whereupon, Sir Hugh attacked the place ſo vigorouſly that he retook it, and hanged up all the garriſon as traitors. About this time Sir Thomas Piercy had the good fortune to fall in with a fleet of merchantmen, conſiſting of fifty ſail, part whereof belonged to the Flemings, and part to the Spaniards, laden with French merchandize. Piercy ſent a meſſage to the Flemings, deſiring them to ſeparate from the Spaniards; but this requeſt not being complied with, a ſharp diſpute enſued, in which the Engliſh commander took twenty-two ſail, and returned with great honour to England.

Such was the ſituation of public affairs, when, about Michaelmas, Richard held his firſt parliament. They were ſummoned to concert meaſures for oppoſing the progreſs of the French. The commons declined giving their opinion without the advice of the duke of Lancaſter; but on the arrival of that nobleman, they granted a conſiderable ſupply for the defence of the kingdom. The duke immediately took into his ſervice nine large ſhips belonging to Bayonne, with which he attacked a fleet of French merchantmen, and took fourteen veſſels laden with wine. But alderman Philpot was more ſucceſsful in the north; he fitted out a ſmall armament at his own expence, and ſailed in queſt of one Mercer, a Scottiſh mariner, who had greatly annoyed the Engliſh coaſters, engaged and took him, together with fifteen Spaniſh ſhips, which had entered into his ſervice. The Scots had not only made captures at ſea, but commenced hoſtilities by land, in violation of a truce lately concluded between the two kingdoms. They ſurprized and took the town and caſtle of Berwick; on which the earl of Northumberland marched with an army of ten thouſand men, and ſummoning the fortreſs to ſurrender, was anſwered by Ramſay, governor of the garriſon, that the place had been taken by virtue of a commiſſion from the king of France, in whoſe name he would defend it to the laſt extremity. Upon this an aſſault was immediately given; the place was taken; and all the Scots, one only excepted, were put to the ſword.

A. D. 1378. The duke of Lancaſter was employed in fitting out a powerful ſquadron, in order to retrieve the honour of the nation, and aſſert the empire of the ſea; and about the latter end of July arrived at St. Malo, where he deſtroyed a fleet of French and Spaniſh veſſels, laden with wines and other commodities. Then landing his troops, he inveſted the city, which was defended by a gallant officer, at the head of a powerful garriſon; but the conſtable of France, encamping with ſixteen thouſand choice troops in the ſight of the Engliſh, the duke thought proper to raiſe the ſiege, and to embark his forces. His miſcarriage in this expenſive enterprize, increaſed the hatred he had already incurred, and he was univerſally conſidered as the author of all theſe ill concerted meaſures. In the mean time the war with France was carried on with little ſucceſs, and leſs ſpirit.

A. D. 1379. Sir Hugh Calverly being recalled from his government of Calais, was, with Sir Thomas Piercy, appointed admiral of England. Their firſt exploit was taking a fleet of ſeven merchant ſhips richly laden, together with a large ſhip of war their convoy: nor was the earl of Saliſbury, who ſucceeded Sir Hugh in the government of Calais, leſs aſſiduous by land. But a ſcene now began to open in France, which might have been attended with great advantages to England, had it been properly improved. After the duke of Lancaſter had raiſed the ſiege of St. Malo, the French made themſelves maſters of the important fortreſs of Auray, ſo that nothing remained of the duke of Brittany's dominions, except Breſt, which was in the hands of the Engliſh, and commanded by Sir Thomas Knolles. But the king of France could not think himſelf ſafe while the Engliſh were in poſſeſſion of that important place, which afforded them a ready acceſs to the very heart of his dominions. He therefore gave orders for inveſting the town by land, while the Caſtilian fleet blocked it up by ſea. But the king of Caſtile dying about this time, the French were obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and Charles, exaſperated at this diſappointment, ſummoned the duke of Brittany to appear before his court at Paris. The peers being aſſembled, and the king ſeated on his throne, the duke was formally ſummoned; not appearing, the advocate general accuſed him of bearing arms againſt the ſtate, of his being a declared enemy to his ſovereign, and of his taking refuge in England. Having endeavoured to ſupport this charge, he propoſed, that the duke of Brittany ſhould be declared a rebel, attainted, and convicted of felony, and that his duchy ſhould be confiſcated and reunited to the crown. The propoſal, though ſtrongly oppoſed, was at laſt carried by a majority, agreeable to the king's wiſhes. The ſentence being obtained, Charles ſent the duke of Bourbon, with the mareſchal de Sancerre, at the head of a powerful army, to ſeize all the places of importance. Not a moment was to be loſt; and the duke having obtained aſſurances of being ſupported by England, was once more prevailed upon to throw himſelf into the arms of his ſubjects. This happened juſt as the admirals, Sir Hugh Calverly, and Sir Thomas Piercy, were returning from a ſucceſsful cruiſe againſt the French and Spaniards. Having landed in Brittany, they heard the diſcontent expreſſed by the people againſt the French, and the ardour of their wiſhes for the reſtoration of their duke. On their return they confirmed the accounts government had before received; upon which the duke immediately embarked on board the Engliſh fleet for his own dominions, where he was received with the moſt ſincere demonſtrations of joy. Three great towns, Dinant, Rennes, and Vannes, declared for him; the nobility flocked to him from all quarters, and his army every hour increaſed by a number of deſerters from the French ſervice. This ſucceſs induced the court of England to ſupport him with a conſiderable army. A very ſtrong fleet was fitted out under the command of Sir Hugh Calverly, and Sir Thomas Piercy, on board of which a great number of the beſt land forces in England, commanded by Sir John Calverly, were embarked. But the fleet had ſcarcely put to ſea, before they were overtaken by a furious ſtorm, in which thirty-five tranſports, together with Sir John Arundel's ſhip, were loſt, and above a thouſand men, with their general periſhed. This misfortune might have proved fatal to the duke of Brittany, had he not been effectually ſupported by the ſpirit of his own ſubjects. The duke of Bourbon found it impoſſible to ſtem the torrent; he was obliged to retreat, and the king of France, ſenſible that he had been too haſty in his meaſures, ſent du Gueſclin, to ſucceed the duke of Bourbon in command: but even that great general could perform no effectual ſervice, except ſcouring the country, and reinforcing the garriſon of St. Malo. While the conſtable continued at the latter, Sir Hugh Calverly with part of his fleet entered the mouth of the harbour, which being narrow, his rear was attacked by a ſquadron of French and Spaniſh ſhips. Sir Hugh inſtantly ſtood out to ſea, juſt at a time when the garriſon was reduced to the laſt extremity, defeated their ſquadron and brought his ſhips ſafe into the harbour of St. Malo. This exploit gave the conſtable a high opinion of Engliſh courage, and being a native of Brittany, the French court imagined that he did not act with his uſual vigour againſt the duke. In the mean time a peſtilence made dreadful havock in the north of England, and the Scots taking advantage of this calamity, made a furious irruption into that country, where they met with little reſiſtance, both the country and principal towns being almoſt depopulated; which gave the invaders an opportunity of committing the moſt ſhocking barbarities on the defenceleſs inhabitants.

A. D. 1380. Great preparations were now made, and events of the greateſt conſequences expected from the aſſiſtance of the duke of Brittany. The command of the army was conferred on the duke of Buckingham, who having landed at Calais, marched from thence into Brittany, without having met with any oppoſition. But in the interval the king of France was carried off in the flower of his age, and his ſon, Charles VI. who ſucceeded him, being a minor, a treaty of accommodation was concluded between France and the duke of Brittany: whereupon the earl of Buckingham returned to England. Not any actions of importance had hitherto been performed againſt France; yet the great expences attending ſeveral fruitleſs expeditions, had reduced the Engliſh treaſury to ſo low an ebb, that in order to raiſe neceſſary ſupplies, a new and extraordinary poll-tax was impoſed by parliament, of three groats upon every perſon in the realm, above the age of fifteen, to be levied in each town by collectors appointed for that purpoſe: and it was decreed, that in raiſing the tax, the wealthy ſhould aſſiſt the poor, according to the value of their eſtates.

This impoſition, added to the preſumptuous behaviour of the tax-gatherers, occaſioned one of the moſt ſingular inſurrections recorded in the annals of hiſtory. The people had already acquired, by an admiſſion into the legiſlature, a degree of independence, and given ſeveral indications of their deſire to break thoſe chains whereby they had long been ruled, under a haughty nobility. Enthuſiaſm alſo aſſiſted to ſtrengthen this deſire, and to make the commonalty acquainted with their own importance. John Ball, a turbulent but popular preacher, viſited various parts of the kingdom, and every where encouraged his levelling notions of equal right to all the goods of nature; and the tyranny of artificial diſtinctions, introduced by a few powerful rulers, in order to aggrandize themſelves, and degrade the more conſiderable part of the ſpecies. Theſe tenets were received and embraced by the populace, with the greateſt avidity, and kindled in their minds thoſe dangerous ſparks of ambition, which ſoon after burſt out into an open flame, and ended, which muſt ever be the reſult, in the deſtruction of their ſeducing leaders. The methods fixed upon to collect the tax, in their tendency, promoted the confuſion in the nation, which ſprung from the inflamed paſſions of a lawleſs multitude. The king farmed the tax to a ſet of rapacious collectors, who extorted the money with the utmoſt rigour, and thereby irritated the minds of the people to a higher degree. The inſurrection began in Eſſex, where a report was propagated, that the peaſants were doomed to deſtruction, their houſes to the flames, and their farms to plunder. While they were alarmed with this rumour, one of the perſons employed in collecting the tax, had entered into a diſpute with one Walter of Deptford in Kent, a tyler, known afterwards by the name of Wat Tyler, who refuſed to pay for his daughter, on account of her not being yet of the age aſſigned by the ſtatute. The brutal officer inſiſted on her being a full grown woman; and had the inſolence to proceed to acts of indecency, in order to diſcover, as he obſerved, the ſigns of her puberty; at which the father being juſtly enraged, was provoked to ſuch a degree, that he knocked out his brains with a tyling hammer. This action was applauded by the by-ſtanders, who exclaimed, that it was high time for the people to be revenged on their tyrants, and to defend their native liberty. Encouraged by the example of their friends in Eſſex, they inſtantly flew to arms, and the ſpirit of rebellion ſpread like a contagion, through the counties of Suſſex, Hertford, and Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Lincoln. It increaſed moſt rapidly, and the populace had thrown off all regard to their governors before they had the leaſt notice of their danger. Not only diſcontented peaſants, but all the debauched profligates, and deſperate villains in theſe counties, took the field on this occaſion; and being headed by Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, Hob Carter, and Tom Millar, the moſt audacious of their aſſociates, they committed all manner of outrages both in the perſons and property of the gentry, pulling down their houſes, putting to death all the juſtices and practitioners of the law, and burying all court-rolls and records.

A. D. 1381. When the ſeveral parties from different counties were collected together, they amounted to one hundred thouſand men, who on the twelfth of June, aſſembled at Blackheath, the place appointed for a general rendezvous. Ball, a principal incendiary, was remarkably aſſiduous in ſtirring up his hearers to madneſs and fury; and in conſequence of the harangues of this turbulent prieſt, which were well adapted to the underſtandings of his audience, houſes were demoliſhed, churches plundered, goals broke open, and every diſorder committed, that can be expected to proceed from an exaſperated, lawleſs multitude. As ſoon as the whole body was formed, they choſe Wat Tyler their general. The duke of Lancaſter was at this time on the borders of Scotland; the regular troops in the kingdom were very inconſiderable; ſo that the government was thrown into the utmoſt confuſion, as having every thing to fear from this lawleſs rabble. The princeſs dowager of Wales, returning from a pilgrimage to Canterbury, and paſſing through the midſt of them, they not only inſulted her attendants, but ſome of the moſt audacious among them kiſſed her, in order to ſhew their purpoſe of levelling all mankind; however they allowed the king's mother to continue her journey without attempting any farther injury. A council was now called in the Tower, and it was agreed, that a meſſage ſhould be ſent from the king, to demand the reaſon of ſuch a tumultuous meeting. The meſſengers were informed by the inſurgents, that they had aſſembled in that manner to ſettle the affairs of the nation; and if his majeſty was deſirous of being more particularly informed, he muſt repair in perſon to their camp. Richard was adviſed to comply with their requeſt. With this view the king ſailed down the river in his barge; but on his approaching the ſhore, ſuch ſymptoms of tumult and inſolence appeared, that Simon Sudbury, archbiſhop of Canterbury, the chancellor, and Sir Robert Hales, grand prior of the knights hoſpitallers, treaſurer of England, hurried him back to the Tower. The rebels, thus diſappointed, called aloud, Treaſon! Treaſon! Then proceeding to Southwark, they plundered ſeveral houſes, and murdered ſome Flemiſh merchants. They ſtruck off the head of every lawyer who unfortunately fell into their hands: even eccleſiaſtics, who belonged to ſpiritual courts, ſhared the ſame fate; it being one of Ball's maxims, that while there was any law no liberty could exiſt. However, amidſt all their acts of violence, they affected to preſerve an appearance of loyalty to Richard's perſon. They even took an oath for that purpoſe; but it contained an expreſs clauſe for excluding from the throne every perſon whoſe name was John, becauſe the duke of Lancaſter, whom they hated, was of that name. Nevertheleſs, that they might not injure their plauſible pretences for riſing, they paid ready money for every thing they received, and by that means rendered themſelves ſo very agreeable to the common people in and about London, that on their approach, the magiſtrates thought it prudent to open the gate of the bridge, and give them free admiſſion into the city, in order to prevent the ravages and murder they had begun in Southwark, being joined by the priſoners confined in the King's Bench and Marſhalſea. Being thus maſters of the city, they were joined by the populace; and going to the Savoy, the ſtately palace of the duke of Lancaſter, they burnt that ſuperb ſtructure, with all the jewels, plate, and rich furniture. One of the rioters being detected in endeavouring to conceal a piece of plate for his own uſe, was ſeized by ſome of his companions, and thrown immediately into the flames, boaſting, that they were not come as thieves, to enrich themſelves by plunder, but to redreſs the grievances of the nation, and reſtore a perfect equality among the people; this affected appearance of diſintereſtedneſs, it muſt be confeſſed, has raiſed them above the level of the miſcreants in 1780, and at that time increaſed their credit with the middling and lower claſſes of citizens: yet their execrable deſigns bordered upon folly in the extreme; and the liquor of which they drank very plentifully, in the houſes they plundered, carried their madneſs, thus inflamed, to a ſufficient height for executing any deteſtable project. From the Savoy they turned back to the Temple, where they burned all the records, books, and papers they could find, and laid the whole ſtructure in aſhes. The magnificent priory of St John, Clerkenwell, ſhared the ſame fate. After having performed theſe exploits, they divided themſelves into three bodies; one under their leader Jack Straw, marched to Heighberry, about two miles north of London, and reduced to aſhes a ſpacious edifice belonging to the knights of St. John. A ſecond body which conſiſted chiefly of the people of Eſſex and Hertfordſhire, proceeded to Mile-end Green; and a third diviſion, with Wat Tyler at their head, poſted themſelves in St. Catherine's, and about the Tower.

The Eſſex men, who had taken up their quarters at Mile-end, and who appeared the moſt reaſonable, ſent a meſſage to the king, with whom he was adviſed to treat in perſon. At the ſame time their companions on Tower-hill intercepted the proviſions intended for his majeſty, and loudly demanded the heads of the chancellor and the treaſurer. Though the archers and men at arms in the Tower were able to defend it againſt ſuch an undiſciplined and ill armed mob, they were ſo intimidated, that they could not even manage their arms; and Richard being afraid of exaſperating the rebels, by refuſing to grant them a conference, agreeable to their requeſt, found means to repair to Mile-end, notwithſtanding all the vigilance of Tyler. When arrived among the ſeditious rioters, the king accoſted them with great affability; told them he was their king, and came to redreſs all their grievances. In anſwer to this demand, they required to be freed from bondage, and particularly that of villainage, and that they, their heirs, and lands, ſhould for ever remain free; they requeſted likewiſe freedom of commerce in market towns, without toll or impoſt; and a general pardon for all offences. Theſe requeſts were immediately complied with. Charters being drawn up, were delivered to them, ſealed and executed the next morning; which condeſcenſion on the ſide of the king had ſo good an effect on the Eſſex-men, that they immediately returned to their ſeveral homes. In the mean time Tyler, at the head of his Kentiſh-men, demanded entrance into the Tower of London. Within this fortreſs were twelve hundred of the beſt troops in the kingdom, but the fear of famine, added to the terror of the princeſs, prevailed on the king to grant the rebels admiſſion, and the gates of the Tower were thrown open. Their behaviour now was truly inhuman. They dragged Simon Sudbury, archbiſhop of Canterbury, out of the fortreſs, and beheaded him with all the circumſtances of ſavage barbarity. The lord treaſurer, Sir Robert Hales, with Legg, the Flemiſh farmer of the land-tax, ſuffered the ſame fate. A franciſcan friar was put to death; and they made a merit of permitting the ladies to remain without being violated. Fifteen other perſons were maſſacred in cool blood; one of whom was the friar, becauſe he had been intimate with the duke of Lancaſter. Even the king's mother was treated with the greateſt indignities. Succeſs and ſhedding blood, inſtead of ſatiating, increaſed the ſanguinary diſpoſition of theſe brutiſh inſurgents. Every perſon of note was ſacrificed as a victim to their lawleſs barbarity. Lyons, a famous merchant, was murdered, and thirty Flemings, who had been dragged from the churches in and about London, had their heads ſtruck off in the open ſtreets.

At length Tyler, who now ſeemed to thirſt for blood, entertained thoughts of murdering the king, with all his nobility, and laying the city of London in aſhes. It appears that he only waited for reinforcements from Hertfordſhire, and the adjacent counties, in order to execute this inhuman reſolution; for when the king ſent to acquaint the rabble of the terms he had granted the Eſſex-men, and that they might enjoy the ſame advantages, the miſcreant Tyler inſolently replied, that he would embrace peace if he liked the conditions. Nay, ſo obſtinately did they perſiſt in their ſeditious proceedings, that they not only rejected three different forms of charters, but openly avowed their reſolution of not making a peace, without all laws were extinguiſhed, and they had the liberty of putting all lawyers to death. The citizens now too plainly ſaw their error, in admitting without reſiſtance ſuch a lawleſs multitude into the city. Walworth the mayor, and Philpot, one of the aldermen, promiſed to ſupport the king againſt the rebels, provided means could be found to amuſe them ſome time with propoſals for an accommodation. Richard therefore ſent Sir John Newton to Tyler, requiring him to meet the king, in order to conſider his objections to the charters. Having delivered his meſſage, the knight deſired Wat to make haſte, the king being then waiting for him in Smithfield, attended by the lord mayor and other officers of London. Tyler replied, he would come when he thought proper, and, probably now ſomewhat alarmed, he moved toward Smithfield, at the head of the inſurgents, with a very ſlow pace. Newton begged he would quicken his march. "Make "what haſte you pleaſe," replied the inſolent leader, "I ſhall take my own time." The true reaſon of this delay aroſe from his deſire of deferring the conference till the arrival of his expected reinforcement. But by this time the magiſtrates of London had joined their ſovereign with a large body of well-armed citizens; and Sir Robert Knolles had entered the city at the head of a thouſand veterans to act as occaſion ſhould require. When Wat Tyler came into Smithfield, Sir John Newton told him, that both duty and decency required he ſhould be uncovered in the preſence of his ſovereign; but the traitor was ſo highly offended, that he aimed a ſtroke at him with his dagger. Exaſperated at this inſolent attempt upon his life, Newton would probably have diſpatched the ruffian, had not the king interpoſed, and ſuddenly advancing, enquired of him what he had to requeſt? Tyler made ſuch extravagant demands, and delivered himſelf in ſo incoherent a manner, that the king could make no reply. He demanded that all antient laws ſhould be aboliſhed; that all bondmen ſhould be free; that all warrens, parks, and chaſes ſhould be laid open; and that every perſon ſhould have free liberty to fiſh, fowl, and hunt, in every part of the kingdom. He added ſeveral other particulars relative to his levelling plan, but in ſo confuſed a manner that they were not underſtood. The king not being able to comprehend the meaning of what this illiterate fellow had advanced, kept ſilence. This the demagogue conſidered as a contemptuous refuſal. He now diſcovered a gloomy ominous countenance, and appeared in all the diſorder which actuates a weak mind, when on the point of plunging deep into wickedneſs. The dagger ſhook as he graſped it; he ſhifted it from one hand to the other; he ſurveyed the royal perſon with all the ſymptons of irreſolute guilt, as if making a place where the blow might be mortal. At laſt he raiſed the dagger, and ſeized the reins of Richard's horſe. Walworth, who had with difficulty curbed his reſentment hitherto, was now ſo exaſperated at the behaviour of this audacious rebel, that, without conſidering to what danger he expoſed his maſter, he diſcharged ſuch a blow with his mace, at the head of the rebel,

bel, as ſtunned him, when Philpot laid him dead with his dagger, under the horſe's belly. Upon this the rebels, giving a dreadful ſhout, cried out, "Our captain is dead! revenge! revenge!" and immediately bent their bows. But Richard prevented the conſequences that might have been expected, by a conduct which ſhewed great boldneſs and prudence in a young prince not quite ſeventeen years of age. Inſtead of flying from, he, with admirable preſence of mind advanced towards the rebels, calling out to them in a reſolute tone, "What! will you kill your king? Give yourſelves no concern for the loſs of your leader. Follow me. I will be your captain, and will grant all your deſires." The rebels, overawed by his preſence, and not leſs by his magnanimity, implicitly followed him; and to prevent any diſorder that might have ariſen from their entering the city, he led them into the fields near Iſlington, where he was immediately joined by Sir Robert Knolles, and ſome thouſands of Londoners. The rebels were now ſo much diſcourged at the ſight of theſe troops, that, on the king's repeating his offer of granting them the ſame charter he had before given to the people of Eſſex, they threw down their arms, and implored the royal mercy. Sir Robert propoſed puniſhing the ringleaders with inſtant death on the ſpot; but the king granted them a free pardon, and diſmiſſed them all with the ſame charters their comrades had received. But at the ſame time he iſſued a proclamation, forbidding the citizens to hold correſpondence with the rebels, or to admit any of them within the liberties and walls of London.

Nevertheleſs, the death of Wat Tyler, and diſperſion of his followers, did not extinguiſh entirely the flames of rebellion. The inſurgents of Hertfordſhire, Suffolk, and Norfolk, ſtill continued their outrages; but the latter of theſe were attacked and routed by the biſhop of Norwich, and a great number of them ſlain in the purſuit. John Litteſter, or the dyer, who headed them, and his principal accomplices, being taken, were hanged as traitors, and the quiet of the county was ſoon re-eſtabliſhed. After this ſucceſs, the prelate marched into the counties of Cambridge and Huntingdon, where he reduced all the mutinous peaſants to their duty; and entering Suffolk, routed all the mal-contents in that diſtrict, who had committed terrible ravages. However, notwithſtanding the ill ſucceſs of other inſurgents, thoſe of Eſſex ſent deputies to the king, to procure a confirmation of their charter. But Richard's ſituation was now changed; for the nobility and gentry, finding themſelves to be the principal marks aimed at, had flocked to London with all their retainers, and Richard had taken the field with forty thouſand men. He therefore iſſued a proclamation, requiring all tenants to perform their accuſtomed ſervices; and then marched in perſon againſt the rebels of Eſſex, who, having been defeated in two battles, ſued for mercy. Theſe inſurrections being in a great meaſure ſuppreſſed, the charters of enfranchiſement and pardon were revoked; the peaſants were reduced to the ſame low condition as before, and commiſſions were iſſued for trying the ringleaders; among whom John Ball, the fanatic prieſt, and Jack Straw, with many of their accomplices, being convicted of high treaſon, ſuffered the puniſhment due to their crimes. From their fate, the people of this age may learn the invaluable eſtimation of their precious conſtitution and equal government, and not haſtily to engage in riots and popular inſurrections, which generally, if not always, end in their own deſtruction; for popular inſurrections, where they have no perſons of rank and diſtinction at their head, who have genius and influence to govern them, and to awaken their attention to the voice of reaſon, prudence, and humanity, degenerate into licentious mobs. The moſt daring, vicious, and abandoned, get the lead; cruelty and rapine become wanton ſports; all the laws of right, reaſon, nature, and juſtice are trampled under foot; and with whatever laudable views they may have been firſt actuated, every valuable purpoſe is ſure to be defeated; and the more upright in their intentions, will ſuffer equal puniſhment with thoſe knaves and fools who have deluded them. It is ſaid, that beſides thoſe inſurgents who fell with their arms in their hands, above fifteen hundred were put to death by the common hangman. Judge Treſilian was commiſſioned to take a circuit through the ſeveral counties, and try the guilty, the number of whom being great, he had an opportunity of indulging his naturally cruel temper by puniſhing the unfortunate, miſguided wretches, to whom he ſhewed no mercy. During theſe tranſactions, Richard proceeded to diſtinguiſh the magiſtracy of London, who had ſo well deſerved his favour. Walworth, lord-mayor, Philpot, and four other aldermen, were knighted; and the mayor had one hundred pounds a year, ſettled upon himſelf and his heirs. Shortly after theſe diſturbances, a treaty of marriage was concluded between the king, and Anne, ſiſter of Winceſlaus, king of Bohemia. The princeſs arrived in England a few days before Chriſtmas, and the nuptials were ſolemnized after the holidays. She was crowned at Weſtminſter with great pomp, and tournaments were held upon that occaſion.

A. D. 1382.

At this period, the ſtate of public affairs was no leſs unſettled on the continent than in England; and ſeveral events happened, which threatened to involve all Europe in confuſion. Conferences had been opened between England and France, but they were ſuſpended by an eccleſiaſtical diſpute that divided all Chriſtendom. On the death of Gregory X. the inhabitants of Rome inſiſted his ſucceſſor ſhould reſide in that city. This reſolution was ſignified to the college of cardinals, moſt of whom were natives of France; and theſe, in a formal inſtrument, proteſted againſt the validity of the election, ſhould any violence be offered to the conclave. On the day of election, the Romans became ſo reſolute, that the cardinals were awed into ſubmiſſion to their will; and the archbiſhop of Bari being choſen, aſſumed the title of Urban VI. but the French cardinals retiring to Naples, diſclaimed this election as extorted, and proceeded to a new choice, which fell upon the cardinal of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII. Urban, dreading the reſentment of ſo powerful a nation as France, and deſirous of ingratiating himſelf with the potentates of Europe, created twenty-nine cardinals in one day, among whom was Philip of Alençon, a prince of the blood of France. On the other hand, Clement preached up a cruſade againſt Richard and his ſubjects; while Urban not only fulminated his excommunications againſt all the adherents of Clement, but alſo ſent over a commiſſion to Henry Spencer, biſhop of Norwich, nominating him leader of a cruſade againſt the anti-pope, his rival. With this commiſſion the pope ſent him plenary powers, as his legate, to grant the ſame indulgences to all who engaged in this expedition, as to thoſe who carried arms againſt the infidels. The publication of this cruſade in England, anſwered the moſt ſanguine wiſhes of the pontiff. The nobility, gentry, clergy, and almoſt all ranks of people, engaged in it with the ſame ardour and alacrity, as if they had been going to fight againſt an enemy that threatened to put a period to the Chriſtian name. All ranks of both ſexes contributed largely towards the expence, even before the biſhop was empowered by the king to put the pope's ſcheme in execution. However, it was at length reſolved, by a parliamentary decree, that the biſhop of Norwich ſhould tranſport his troops to Calais and join the Flemings; upon which the biſhop began to aſſemble his forces, and was joined by a great number of volunteers, who embarked in the expedition from religious motives.

A. D. 1383. With theſe he paſſed over to Calais, where he landed on the fourth of May, and ſoon found himſelf at the head of fifty thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe. His firſt attempt was upon Gravelines, which he carried by aſſault. The inhabitants of Dunkirk, intimidated by this exploit, opened their gates to the victor. Caſſel, Furnes, Oſtend, and all the towns on the ſea coaſt, followed the example of Dunkirk. Alarmed at this progreſs of the biſhop, the count of Flanders, who was in the French intereſt, prepared to give him battle. Norwich, depending on the enthuſiaſtic diſpoſition of his followers, marched to meet the enemy, and a bloody battle enſued, in which the count was totally defeated, and ſeveral cities afterwards ſurrendered to the Engliſh. The king of France, at the head of one hundred thouſand men, now advanced to check the progreſs of the cruſaders; and the biſhop's forces, by the continual arrival of freſh ſupplies from England, being increaſed to ninety thouſand, he determined to hazard a battle with the French. But many of his volunteers and recruits were the very dregs of the people, at once ignorant of diſcipline, and impatient of command. Beſides, ſome mutineers in his army inſiſted, before they marched into France, on his attempting the reduction of Ypres, where they expected to acquire an immenſe booty. It was in vain to oppoſe their obſtinate determination; and the biſhop, contrary to his own judgment, was under a neceſſity of inveſting that place. The approaches were carried on with great intrepidity; yet the Engliſh were repulſed in ſeveral furious aſſaults, by which means they were ſo exaſperated, particularly the dregs of the people, that they rejected all military reſtraint, ravaged the adjacent country, and deſerted in ſuch numbers, that the biſhop, finding it impracticable to execute his deſign, retired to Dunkirk, leaving his artillery and ammunition in the hands of the enemy. Sir Hugh Calverly, and Sir Thomas Trivet, threw themſelves into Barbourg, which was immediately inveſted by the king of France; but thoſe gallant officers ſtood two deſperate aſſaults, in which the French were repulſed with great ſlaughter, and then obtained an honourable capitulation, by virtue of which they returned to Calais. Charles, marching to Gravelines, found the biſhop ſo reſolute in his defence, that he propoſed to treat for a truce.

Norwich, diffident of the courage of his cruſaders, demanded a ceſſation of hoſtilities for a certain number of days, at the expiration whereof he promiſed to give a definitive anſwer. The terms offered were, that he and his army ſhould have a free conduct to any place he ſhould name, and fifteen thouſand marks in ready money, provided he ſurrendered the town without diſmantling its fortifications. His requeſt being granted, he immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to England, preſſing, in the moſt earneſt manner, a ſufficient reinforcement of men and neceſſary ſupplies. Richard had by this time greatly degenerated from his father's virtues, by plunging into all exceſs of riot and debauchery. He was likewiſe ſurrounded with pernicious ſycophants, who inflamed inſtead of checking the tendency of his headſtrong paſſions, which knew no reſtraint. He had not one faithful counſellor to adviſe, remonſtrate, or make him ſenſible of the errors of his conduct. Riot and debauch ſurrounded his table, and made up the morning and evening of his days. The judgment he formed of his friends, was regulated by the meaſure of their adulations; he conſidered the prerogatives of royalty valuable only in their furniſhing out the gratifications of luxury and magnificence. When he received the biſhop's letter, his brain being heated with wine, he called for his horſe, and poſted alone from Daventry in Northamptonſhire to London, breathing deſtruction to France, and threatening to take in perſon the ſevereſt vengeance. In his cooler moments, however, he ſent for the duke of Lancaſter, and appointed him to take the command of an army deſtined to relieve Gravelines. But through the intemperance of the king, and the tardineſs of Lancaſter, the truce expired before they could embark, and Norwich was obliged to accept of the terms offered him by Charles. Accordingly he retired to Calais, from whence he embarked the wretched remains of his army for England. From this example of Richard's weak conduct, ſome idea may be formed of his capacity for government, and of the cauſe of thoſe diſorders which now ſullied the glory of England. The few prudent perſons who ſaw and bewailed them, were ſilenced by the humour of the times; and calamity only, as in theſe days, was the alone phyſician that could cure the madneſs of its authors. Extortion and rapacity, heats and diviſions, reigned in the city of London, and all received encouragement from the venality of the court.

The duke of Lancaſter was far from approving of the expedition of the biſhop of Norwich; but unfortunately, his own private affairs kept him from acting the part dictated by his better judgment. He ſaw his nephew ſurrounded by the moſt abandoned of mankind, who conſidered him as their property; yet he could not diſoblige them for fear of hurting his own intereſt. He therefore choſe to reſide at a diſtance from court, eſteeming a private retirement the true poſt of honour, and affected to apply himſelf in taking care of the nation's concerns in Scotland. The biſhop of London alſo reſigned the great ſeal, which was delivered to the ſon of a rich merchant, who ſupplied the king with money at an exorbitant intereſt, and by gratifying his follies, ſerved his own uſurious purpoſes, at the expence of his country's good. The king, by ſquandering his revenue on paraſites and pleaſures; and the queen, by profuſion to her needy countrymen, had exhauſted their finances. Their neceſſities, therefore, together with the ſituation of public affairs, requiring the interpoſition of a parliament, one was aſſembled at Weſtminſter on the firſt of November; and, in conſideration of the exigencies of the ſtate, they granted a conſiderable ſubſidy, notwithſtanding their diſapprobation of the king's proceedings.

The Scots having for ſome time A. D. 1385. paſt infeſted the northern counties, and intelligence being received, that, in conjunction with the French, they intended to invade England both by ſea and land, it was reſolved in parliament to raiſe a conſiderable army, and to grant a ſufficient ſubſidy for the defence of the kingdom. In the mean time, Charles preſſed the king of Scotland to collect his forces, and commence hoſtilities in the north; but that prince refuſed compliance, without certain information of the landing of the French in the ſouthern parts of England. But Robert, now king of Scotland, applied to the regency of Charles VI. for a body of cavalry, on which they ſent John de Vienne, admiral of France, with fifteen hundred men at arms, to ſupport the Scots in their incurſions againſt the Engliſh.

Richard, reſolving to march againſt the Scots in perſon, appointed a rendezvous of his forces at

Newcaſtle upon Tyne, where a great number of knights aſſembled to ſhare the glory of the king's firſt campaign. At the ſame time a fleet of tranſports attended the motions of the army, in order to ſupply it with proviſions, in caſe ſubſiſtence ſhould fail in Scotland. He now entered that kingdom by Berwick, at the head of ſixty thouſand men, while the Scots, as uſual, abandoned their country to be plundered; and the French commander expreſſing his ſurprize at this conduct, they let him know, that their cattle being driven into places of ſecurity, their houſes and goods were of little value, and they could eaſily repair the loſſes they ſuſtained in this reſpect, by an incurſion into England. In conformity to this policy, when Richard entered Scotland on the eaſt, thirty thouſand of the Scots, attended by the French, entered England by the weſt, extending their devaſtations through Cumberland, Weſtmoreland, and Lancaſhire, and returned unmoleſted with an immenſe booty. Mean while Richard advanced as far as Edinburgh, burning and deſtroying all the towns and villages on each ſide of him; but when his moſt experienced officers adviſed him to march towards the weſtern coaſt, in order to intercept the enemy in their return, he weakly rejected their counſel. His impatience to enjoy his favourite pleaſures, induced him to return with his army to England, having incurred much expence, and not performed any action worthy of notice. Soon after the Scots, finding in the kind of war to which they confined themſelves, that a heavy body of French cavalry was of little uſe, they treated their allies ſo ill, that they returned home greatly diſguſted with the country and its inhabitants. On the king's arrival at Weſtminſter he ſummoned a parliament, who granted a large ſubſidy, to enable the duke of Lancaſter to aſſiſt the king of Portugal, he having promiſed the duke, on that condition, to recognize his title to the crown of Caſtile. At the ſame time Richard conferred honours and preferments on his unworthy creatures and favourites, to the injury of the deſerving, and the diſpleaſure of his people, who on this account hated his perſon, and deſpiſed his government.

A. D. 1386. The French had long been jealous of the ſway the Engliſh bore in their country, and imagined a favourable opportunity now offered of wreſting the ſea-ports out of their hands; the duke of Lancaſter having carried all the flower of the Engliſh military force into Spain, in order to proſecute his empty claim to the crown of Caſtile. Great preparations were therefore made in France for an invaſion of England, as the moſt likely method of ſucceeding in their deſign. With theſe views, Cliſſon the conſtable was ſent into Brittany, where, in conjunction with that duke, he formed the ſiege of Breſt, ſtill poſſeſſed by the Engliſh. Another army, under the high-admiral of France, was ſent to block up Cherburg in Normandy; while a third was ordered to keep a watchful eye over the garriſon of Calais, and other places poſſeſſed by the Engliſh in Picardy. A prodigious fleet and army were collected at Sluys. All the nobility of France were engaged in this enterprize, and the Engliſh were kept for ſome time in perpetual alarms. The French army, when reviewed at Arras, conſiſted of eighty thouſand men at arms, with their followers on horſeback, beſides a vaſt number on foot. Twelve hundred and eighty-ſeven ſhips of all ſorts were ready at Sluys, to carry over this numerous army, and ſeveral warlike engines, of a new conſtruction, were put on board the fleet. All Europe fixed their attention on this amazing armament. The Engliſh were intimidated, particularly the city of London; the ports and harbours were put in a poſture of defence; the militia were ordered to the ſea-coaſt; a fleet put to ſea to watch the motions of the enemy; and all the beacons on the coaſt were prepared for giving an alarm, whenever they ſhould appear. Every prudent meaſure, which reaſon could ſuggeſt, was purſued with the utmoſt alacrity. But the ſafety of England was to ſpring from other cauſes, independent of human wiſdom, for which ſhe has frequently had reaſon gratefully to acknowledge the goodneſs of preſerving Providence. About the latter end of October the French forces were embarked, and the fleet ſailed out of harbour with a fair wind; but had not left the coaſt more than two hours, before a violent ſtorm aroſe, which diſperſed to different quarters the whole navy: part of which was driven back to Sluys; part either ſunk in the raging ocean, or were daſhed upon the rocks; and ſome of them were taken by the Engliſh. Thus, in a few moments, the mighty project of many days was rendered abortive.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the timidity and diſtraction which, at this period, prevailed in the Engliſh cabinet; nor ſcarcely to conceive the luxury and effeminacy which pervaded the Engliſh court. With a view of freeing himſelf from the ſubjection in which he was held by his uncles, Richard threw himſelf into the arms of Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, a young nobleman of an agreeable figure, but of very diſſolute manners, therefore more calculated to corrupt the prince, than to govern the kingdom. This favourite engroſſed the affection of Richard; and by gaining an aſcendancy over him, governed him with abſolute authority. Richard, ſetting no bounds to his partial fondneſs, created him marquis of Dublin, a title before unknown in England. He then made him duke of Ireland; and transferred to him for life the entire ſovereignty of that iſland. The king alſo gave him in marriage his couſin-german, the earl of Bedford's daughter; and though that lady was of an unexceptionable character, he ſoon after permitted him to divorce her, in order to marry a young Bohemian lady, who waited on his queen, with whom that nobleman had become enamoured. The whole attention of the court was turned to this favourite; all favours paſſed through his hands; and by his mediation alone, acceſs to the king could only be obtained. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, a prelate of worth and ability, was ſet aſide, and retired from public buſineſs; while the archbiſhop of York, without one amiable quality, engroſſed a great ſhare of the king's favours. Alexander Nevil, and judge Treſilian, who never wanted reaſons to juſtify what he knew would pleaſe his maſter, ſtood high in his eſteem. Michael de la Pole, the chancellor, lately created earl of Suffolk, was another of his favourites. He was poſſeſſed of great military talents, and had ſerved in the army with applauſe. He had alſo been employed in ſeveral embaſſies and treaties of peace, in all which he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his prudence, judgment and integrity. Yet the jealouſy of power produced great animoſities between the princes of the blood, and the chief nobility on the one hand, and between the principal favourite and his creatures on the other. The dukes of York and Glouceſter repined at their want of influence; diſcontent prevailed in the nation; and the people inſiſted on an impeachment againſt the earl of Suffolk. An impeachment was accordingly drawn up againſt Michael de la Pole, and Glouceſter undertook to carry it up to the houſe of lords. It was, however, thought proper to obſerve the appearance of decency at leaſt; and the commons ſent a meſſage by the ſpeaker to the king, importing, that unleſs the chancellor was removed, they could not proceed in the diſpatch of public buſineſs. Richard, who little expected a motion of this nature, received the addreſs with an indignation he could not conceal. He told the ſpeaker very ſharply, "That it would better become parliament to attend to the buſineſs for which they were ſummoned, than to concern themſelves with his ſervants;" and leſt his preſence ſhould be conſtrued as a ſanction to their proceedings againſt his favourite, he retired to his palace at Eltham in Kent. The parliament ſent a deputation, inviting him to return, threatening, in caſe of refuſal, to diſſolve and leave the kingdom, then in danger of a French invaſion, without voting any ſupply for its defence. The king, finding it impoſſible to divert the parliament from their reſolution, prevailed on the earl of Suffolk to reſign the great ſeal, which was delivered to the biſhop of Ely. The biſhop of Durham was removed from the office of treaſurer, which was conferred on the biſhop of Hereford, and John de Waltham was made keeper of the privy ſeal. But the commons, not ſatisfied with the removal of the chancellor, impeached him in full parliament of having purchaſed lands and tenements of the king under full value; of having applied to other uſes a tax granted for the protection of the ſea-coaſt, which had been ſhamefully neglected to the prejudice of the realm; of having purchaſed for himſelf and his heirs a grant of fifty pounds a year out of the cuſtoms of Kingſton upon Hull, which had been beſtowed upon the king's grandfather; of having, by falſe inſinuations, prevailed on the king to confirm the ſaid purchaſe; of having procured from the pope a penſion for his ſon John upon the hoſpital of St. Antony, to the prejudice of the high maſter; of having obtained divers charters, and pardons for murders, treaſons, felonies, and other crimes; and in particular, a charter of certain franchiſes to the caſtle of Dover, to the ſubverſion of the laws and the king's courts of judicature; and finally, of having enbezzled ten thouſand marks, which had been raiſed for the relief of Ghent, by which means that city was loſt, together with part of the money. Suffolk made ſo poor a defence by way of exculpation, that the king himſelf, who was preſent at his trial, could not help ſhaking his head, and ſaying, "Ah! Michael, Michael, ſee what thou haſt done!" Being convicted on clear evidence, he was committed to the cuſtody of the duke of Glouceſter, who, as conſtable of the kingdom, ſent him priſoner to Windſor-caſtle; and all his illegal grants and proceedings were annulled. Having made this example, Richard expected to recover the countenance of his parliament; but he was miſtaken; for they were determined to make a thorough reformation in the management of the revenues. They ſaw the miniſters grow rich amidſt national penury, and that there was a neceſſity for eſtabliſhing a committee of enquiry and reformation. Eleven noblemen were therefore nominated for this purpoſe; they were furniſhed with full powers for inſpecting the ſtate of the public revenue ever ſince the king's acceſſion to the throne; they were ſworn to adminiſter juſtice to every perſon in the courſe of this enquiry; and the king himſelf took an oath to abide by their determination. Nor was this all; it was ordained by the parliament, that whoever ſhould adviſe the king to make any revocation of the powers granted to the committee, even though his majeſty did not revoke them, ſhould, for the firſt offence, forfeit his eſtate; and for a repetition of the ſame, ſuffer death as a traitor. Theſe powers were confirmed under the great ſeal; the committee, conſiſting of eleven perſons, was eſtabliſhed; and the ſovereign power transferred to them for a twelvemonth. By this act of the ſtate, Richard, who had now attained the twenty-firſt year of his age, was, in reality, dethroned, and a kind of ariſtocracy eſtabliſhed; for though the commiſſion was limited to a twelvemonth, it was ſufficiently evident, that the intention of the party was to render it perpetual, and that it would be a difficult matter to wreſt the power from their hands. Richard, however, entered a proteſt againſt theſe acts of compulſion at the cloſe of the ſeſſion, declaring, that the prerogatives of his crown, notwithſtanding his late conceſſions, ſhould ſtill be deemed entire and unimpaired. The conſequence was a confederacy, which, in the end, occaſioned his depoſition. Mowbray, earl of Nottingham, the marſhal; Piercy, earl of Northumberland; Fitz-Alan, earl of Arundel; Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, and Montacute, earl of Saliſbury, were cloſely united with each other and the princes, both by friendſhip, and their antipathy to the minion; and being no longer kept in awe by the king's perſonal character, now truly contemptible, they ſcorned to ſubmit to his corrupt miniſters, and ran to the greateſt extremities in their oppoſition. On the other hand, Richard ſoon became ſenſible of the contempt into which he had fallen, by having his prerogative thus circumſcribed; and his favourites, who were yet allowed to remain about his perſon, did not fail to aggravate the injury that had been offered him: he therefore reſolved to ſeek the means, both of recovering his prerogative,, and of being revenged on thoſe who had invaded his authority. To this end he attempted to procure a favourable houſe of commons, by ſounding ſome of the ſheriffs, who being then returning officers, and alſo magiſtrates of great power in the counties, had a conſiderable influence in elections. But as they had moſt of them been appointed by his uncles, they were averſe to his deſigns.

A. D. 1387.

On this ill ſucceſs, the king applied to the lawyers and judges, and propoſed to them ſome queſtions, which they made no ſcruple of anſwering agreeable to his wiſhes. They declared, that the late commiſſion was derogatory to the royalty and prerogatives of his majeſty; that thoſe by whom it was procured, or who adviſed the king to conſent to it, were liable to capital puniſhment; that thoſe by whom he was compelled to ſign it, were guilty of high treaſon; that the king has a right of diſſolving parliaments whenever he pleaſes; that while the parliament ſits, it muſt firſt proceed upon the king's buſineſs; and that, without his conſent, they cannot impeach any of his miniſters and judges. This anſwer they ſigned in preſence of the archbiſhops of York and Dublin, Chicheſter and Bangor, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, and two other of the council. It was not long before the determinations of this ſecret council reached the ears of the duke of Glouceſter and his adherents, who reſolved to prevent the execution of the king's intentions. Having collected their forces, they marched towards London; and the king, on receiving intelligence of their deſign, haſtened thither, where he was received with great ſplendor by Bembre the lord-mayor, who undertook to raiſe fifty thouſand men for his ſervice. Next day the confederates arrived within three miles of London: but inſtead of entering the city, and proceeding to extremities, they wiſely preſerved a ſhew of moderation; profeſſed a deep ſenſe of the calamities conſequent on civil diſcord; propoſed ſchemes of accommodation; and by private emiſſaries inflamed the reſentment of the people againſt the king. It was currently reported, that under pretence of a pilgrimage to Canterbury, Richard intended to croſs the ſea, and deliver up Calais to the king of France, who, in conſideration of that ceſſion, had engaged to ſupply him with an army to ſubdue his rebellious ſubjects, and eſtabliſhed an arbitrary government upon the ruins of the Engliſh conſtitution. This report, which gained much credit from the late deciſion of the judges, gave juſt cauſe of offence to every lover of his country. The archbiſhop of York, with the neutral lords, endeavoured to effect an accommodation; and Richard at length conſented to an interview with Glouceſter and his aſſociates in Weſtminſter-hall. But at the time appointed for the conference, it was diſcovered that a body of armed men, under Sir Nicholas Bembre, were placed in ambuſh in order to apprehend them: the barons, therefore, refuſed to proceed, till the avenues were examined; in conſequence of which, the conſpirators immediately diſperſed. The lords then repaired to Weſtminſter-hall, and approaching the throne with great ſubmiſſion, fell on their knees, in which poſture they remained a conſiderable time, before the king bid Glouceſter riſe. The biſhop of Ely reprimanded them ſeverely, for preſuming to take up arms againſt their ſovereign, who, had he not been reſtrained by his royal clemency, would have cruſhed them to atoms. To this harangue of the prelate the lords made no reply, but ſtill retaining the marks of humility and ſubmiſſion, preſented a memorial, wherein they demanded that the archbiſhop of York, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, Robert Treſilian, and Nicholas Bembre ſhould be removed from his majeſty's council and preſence for ever, as traitors to their king and country. Having delivered this requeſt in writing, they threw down their gauntlets, challenging the accuſed to ſingle combat. Richard, alarmed at the reſolute and determined air they now aſſumed, laid aſide his imperious deportment, and anſwered their petition with great affability. He promiſed to redreſs their grievances, in the enſuing ſeſſions of parliament, exhorting them, in the mean time, to avoid all quarrels and diſſenſions. He then diſmiſſed them with aſſurances of paternal eſteem, and as a proof of his ſincerity, in a few days iſſued a proclamation, clearing the duke of Glouceſter, the earls of Arundel and Warwick, from the imputation of treaſon, which had been thrown upon them by the five perſons they challenged to combat, and requiring thoſe culumniators to anſwer their charge in parliament. The lords however ſtill kept on their guard, as they had obſerved ſeveral ſuſpicious ſymptoms in the behaviour of the king, who, though he had not ſuffered his favourites to appear at the interview, ſtill protected them at court, and was wholly governed by their advice. Their diffidence ſoon appeared juſtly founded; for in a ſhort time they heard, that the duke of Ireland had repaired to the Marches of Wales, where he was joined by Sir Thomas Molineaux, Sir Ralph Vernon, Sir Ralph Ratcliff, and that his army daily increaſed. On the firſt report of theſe proceedings, the confederates ſent the earl of Derby, with a conſiderable detachment to ſtop his progreſs, and he met him near Radcot-bridge in Oxfordſhire. The duke had not courage enough to ſtand the firſt charge, but fled towards the bridge; which being broken down, he quitted his horſe and armour, and ſwimming acroſs the river, eſcaped to the oppoſite bank. Molineaux, diſdaining to fly, was killed on the ſpot, and the earl of Derby not only gained an almoſt bloodleſs victory; but among the baggage of the duke, who was ſuppoſed to have periſhed in the river, found a number of letters, plans, and commiſſions, by which the projects of the king and his favourites were diſcovered. This miſfortune entirely diſconcerted the meaſures of the cabal, and ſtruck them with ſuch conſternation that the earl of Suffolk diſappeared, and with a view of eſcaping to France, went over in diſguiſe to Calais, where he was diſcovered, and arreſted by his own brother, and Beauchamp, the governor, ſent him priſoner to the Tower of London.

During theſe internal commotions, the French war was ſcarcely heard of. Early in the ſpring of this year, the earl of Arundel put to ſea, with a powerful fleet, at a time when the French had laid up their ſhips. In the courſe of his cruiſe, the earl happened to fall in with a very rich fleet of Flemiſh, French, and ſome Spaniſh men of war for their convoy. The Engliſh attacked them very bravely, and were as bravely received; but the victory at laſt declared for the Engliſh, who took the Flemiſh admiral, with many of the enemy's beſt officers, and fifty-ſix of their ſhips. Not contented with this capture, they purſued the flying enemy for two days with ſuch ſucceſs, that the number of ſhips taken amounted to one hundred and twenty-ſix. The earl of Nottingham, a very promiſing young nobleman, commanded under the admiral, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly on this occaſion. The ſhips were ſcarcely brought into harbour, when advice arrived that Breſt was inveſted by the French. The admiral therefore immediately put to ſea, obliged the enemy to raiſe the ſiege, demoliſhed two forts, and ſupplied the garriſon with a whole year's proviſions. The French councils were ſoon after diſconcerted, by Cliſſon, the conſtable, being taken priſoner by John de Montfort, and as this officer was the very ſoul of the propoſed deſcent upon England, that enterprize was entirely laid aſide. This ſucceſs, though fortunate for the nation, gave uneaſineſs to the king and his minions; for they had no other proſpect of freeing themſelves from the reſtraint of the council, than that of its incurring national diſgrace, from the miſcarriage of its meaſures. When therefore the two earls returned, they were received with great applauſe by the whole nation, except the king and his favourites, who treated them with coldneſs and neglect: though Nottingham had been the companion of his youth, Richard now received him with indifference, and the commiſſion of Arundel was given to the famous Henry Piercy, who, though but a young officer, defended the coaſt with great bravery. This glaring mark of ill-timed partiality fired thoſe brave commanders with reſentment, againſt the tools of power; and they attached themſelves cloſer than ever to the duke of Glouceſter's party. Indeed Richard's conduct rendered both common danger, and common injury, the bonds of a ſtrong confederacy againſt him.

A. D. 1388.

Amidſt theſe ſcenes of anarchy, the Scots purſued their deſultory war with great advantage, but nothing happened worthy a place in hiſtory till the beginning of Auguſt, when they entered Northumberland with a ſmall army, conſiſting of three hundred horſe and two thouſand foot, all veterans, commanded by the earls of Fife, Murray, and Dunbar, the moſt celebrated commanders in the Scottiſh army. They ravaged the whole country through which they paſſed, and advanced as far as Newcaſtle, where lord Piercy, ſurnamed Hotſpur, ſon to the earl of Northumberland, firſt oppoſed them. But his troops were defeated, and himſelf unhorſed in ſingle combat by the younger Douglas, who having ſeized his lance, vowed to carry it to Scotland as a trophy of his victory. Inflamed with rage at his late miſfortune, Hotſpur vowed Douglas ſhould never carry his lance to Scotland in triumph. He accordingly collected a body of ſix hundred horſe, and eight thouſand foot, and putting himſelf at their head, marched in purſuit of the enemy, without waiting for a reinforcement of troops that were haſtening to join him, under the command of the biſhop of Durham. The Scots, elated with their late ſucceſs, had undertaken the ſiege of the caſtle of Otterborn, and were lying before that fortreſs when Piercy, by forced marches, reached their camp. Rage had expelled prudence from the breaſt of Piercy: he would not delay the engagement for a moment, though his troops were greatly fatigued, and night was approaching when he came up with the enemy. He attacked the Scots with all the fury of a diſappointed warrior; but the darkneſs rendered it impoſſible to continue the conteſt, and they ſeparated without either obtaining the victory. The moon riſing at midnight occaſioned the battle to be renewed, and at laſt victory declared for the Scots; Douglas was ſlain, and Piercy taken priſoner. The conſternation of the Engliſh was ſo great, that the biſhop of Durham, who was advancing with ten thouſand men, inſtead of attacking the Scots, weakened and fatigued by the late battle, diſmiſſed his men, and retired with his principal officers to Newcaſtle, leaving the Scots at liberty, to return at leiſure, with their priſoners and booty, into their own country.

About this time the duke of Lancaſter returned from his expedition, after having obliged the king of Caſtile to conclude a treaty with him, he having promiſed to pay him ſix hundred thouſand livres, with an annual penſion of forty thouſand, or ten thouſand pounds of our preſent money, during his life, and that of his ducheſs. This treaty was followed by the marriage of Catherine, the duke's daughter, with Henry, the eldeſt ſon of the king of Caſtile; on which account the duke reſigned his pretenſions to the crown of Caſtile. Lancaſter's authority ſerved to counterbalance, for a ſhort time, that of the duke of Glouceſter, and ſecured the power of Richard who treated him with great reſpect, and ceded to him for life the duchy of Guienne; but as the nation loudly remonſtrated againſt this ceſſion, it was afterwards, by the duke's conſent, given up.

After the engagement at Radcat-bridge, the earl of Derby returned to the lords at St. Alban's, and they marched immediately at the head of forty thouſand men to London. Having encamped in Clerkenwell-fields, they ſent for the mayor and principal citizens, who waited upon them with the keys of the city. By this time Richard had ſhut himſelf up in the Tower, where he remained in a forlorn condition, abandoned by all, except a few of his creatures, who were as much dejected in adverſity, as they had been elated by proſperity, and therefore incapable of aſſiſting him in the trying moments of his preſent diſtreſs. The confederates deſiring an audience, he was afraid to refuſe their requeſt, and in the interview they expoſtulated with his weak conduct ſo ſharply, that the unhappy monarch could not refrain from tears. This was conſidered by the lords as an evidence of a heart ſtill ſenſible of honour, eſpecially when the king promiſed to meet them next day at Weſtminſter, in order to concert meaſures to be taken in the enſuing parliament. But theſe impreſſions were ſoon removed, by the inſinuations of his ſycophants, who perſuaded him to retract a promiſe, which they alledged was injurious to his royal dignity: in conſequence of which Richard refuſed to treat any farther with the diſcontented nobles. Exaſperated at ſuch trifling proceedings, they drew up their forces on Tower-hill, and ſent a meſſage to the king, declaring, that if he continued to trifle with them any longer, they would advance another prince to the throne. Terrified at this menace, he promiſed ſolemnly to appear next day at Weſtminſter-hall, and he punctually fulfilled his appointment. The proceedings of parliament were perfectly conſiſtent with the declarations of the lords, public juſtice, and the cuſtoms of that age; and Richard, fully ſenſible of this, complied with every thing they propoſed. He gave up his favourites, without diſtinction of ſex or quality, who had brought his perſonal character into the loweſt contempt. The archbiſhop of York had already fled, with the biſhop of Chicheſter, from juſtice. Of thoſe that remained were the biſhop of Durham, friar Ruſhok, the king's confeſſor, the lord Zouch of Haringworth, Burmel, and Beaumont, Sir Albaric de Vere, Sir Baldwin Bereſford, Sir John Worth, Sir Thomas Clifford, Sir John Lovel, with ſeveral ladies of quality, who had contributed to the debauchery and profligacy of the court. Some of theſe were impriſoned in different parts of the kingdom, ſome obliged to give ſecurity for their appearance, to anſwer the charges that might be exhibited againſt them, and others were baniſhed the court. Sir Simon Burley, Sir Thomas Trivet, Sir Nicholas Bambre, Sir William Ellingham, Sir John Beauchamp, John Blake, and the following clergymen, Richard Clifford, John de Lincoln, Richard Matford, and Nicholas Larke, were committed to priſon, that they might be brought immediately to trial. The corrupt judges who had given unjuſt deciſions, were arreſted on the bench in Weſtminſter-hall; but Treſilian, conſcious of his own demerits, had abſconded.

The parliament meeting at the time appointed, the ſeſſion was opened by the biſhop of Ely, chancellor of the kingdom, who declared they were aſſembled to redreſs the grievances of the public; to further the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice; to concert meaſures for defending the coaſts and borders of the kingdom; and to raiſe neceſſary ſupplies in the eaſieſt and moſt expeditious manner. The chancellor having finiſhed his ſpeech, Glouceſter fell on his knees before the king, and offered to ſtand the award of his peers, touching certain malicious reports, ſuggeſting his intention of dethroning the king, and uſurping the ſovereign authority; but the king declaring himſelf aſſured of his innocence, he was acquitted of all ſuſpicion. The lords now demanded a confirmation of their claim, of trying and judging all important caſes relating to the peers, in the courſe of parliament, independent of the common and civil law of the kingdom; which claim was confirmed under the ſanction of parliament. Theſe points being ſettled, the appellants exhibited their charge againſt the archbiſhop of York, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, Sir Robert Treſilian, and Sir Nicholas Bembre, in thirty-nine articles, containing accuſations of treaſon and miſdemeanors of various kinds and degrees. The accuſed were ſummoned in the chamber of parliament, and at the great gate of the palace; and on their non-appearance, the appellants moved that the default might be recorded, and the lords proceeded to judgment. Fully ſatisfied concerning the truth of the charges, the king, with the lords temporal, pronounced the accuſed guilty of high-treaſon. Their eſtates were forfeited, the archbiſhop's temporalities were ſeized, but the others were condemned to be hanged and drawn, as traitors. Judge Treſilian, being betrayed by his own ſervants, was taken in a mean diſguiſe, and brought before the parliament, who ordered their ſentence to be executed immediately at Tyburn. The archbiſhop of York was apprehended at Shields, attempting to embark in diſguiſe: he was however permitted to retire to Flanders, where he ſerved a ſmall cure to the day of his death, which happened about three years after. Suffolk did not long ſurvive his diſgrace, and the duke of Ireland died at Louvain, of a wound he received in hunting. Sir Nicholas Bembre was delivered into the hands of the earl marſhal, who with the mayor, aldermen, and ſheriffs of London, attended at his execution. Several others ſuffered the ſame fate; but none were more regretted than Sir Simon Burley. His execution made a deeper impreſſion on the mind of Richard than all the others. The queen intereſted herſelf extremely in behalf of Burley: were we to credit one writer, who has endeavoured to varniſh over the vices of this reign, and to blacken the ſolemn reſolutions of parliament, as ſcenes of injuſtice and violence, ſhe remained three hours before the earl of Glouceſter, on her knees, pleading for that gentleman's life; but her petition was rejected by that nobleman, who certainly had more ſenſe than to plead for a man, who had been governor to Richard, and connived at, to ſay the leaſt, his follies and vicious courſes. Theſe proſecutions being ended, a declaration was made by parliament, that none of the articles pronounced treaſon on the late trials, ſhould ever after be drawn into precedents by the judges, who ſtill were to conſider the ſtatute of the twenty-fifth of Edward, as the only rule of their conduct. The parliament alſo paſſed a general act of amneſty and pardon; and as Richard had violated his contract with his people, it was thought neceſſary he ſhould renew his coronation oath, and, in his turn, receive the homage and fealty of his ſubjects. This done, the archbiſhop of Canterbury denounced ſentence of excommunication againſt all who ſhould attempt to diſturb the tranquillity and peace of the kingdom. After theſe important tranſactions, the ſeſſion, which had continued from the third of February to the fourth of June, broke up, with the appellation of the mercileſs parliament.

Mean while the earl of Arundel, having received a commiſſion as governor of Breſt, and a renewal of that which conſtituted him lord high admiral, put to ſea at the beginning of the ſummer with his ſquadron, and had the good fortune to fall in with a fleet of French ſhips, conſiſting of eighty ſail, moſt of which he took and deſtroyed the reſt. He likewiſe plundered Rhee and Aleron, with ſome other iſlands on the French coaſt.

A. D. 1389. Notwithſtanding the extraordinary tranſactions of laſt year, in which the violent contentions between Richard and his nobility, in appearance, ſeemed to have been brought to an iſſue, yet the event proved otherwiſe. The king, who was now in the twenty-third year of his age, declared, in full council, held at Eaſter, his intention of directing the affairs of his houſhold and kingdom, by his own ſole authority, and of taking into his hands the reins of government. Not the leaſt oppoſition was made to ſo reaſonable a deſign, Richard immediately demanded the great ſeal from the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and gave it to William of Wickham, biſhop of Wincheſter. He removed the duke of Glouceſter, and the earl of Warwick, from the council board, and ſupplied their places with others, whom he thought more worthy of his confidence. The biſhop of Hereford was deprived of his office of treaſurer, and the earl of Arundel of that of admiral. Theſe changes were unpopular, yet the dukes of Lancaſter and York affected to return to their duty. Theſe political revolutions, conſidering how much the power of the crown had been limited, appear, at this time, rather unaccountable, nor have modern hiſtorians given us any reaſons for ſuch unexpected changes. Perhaps ſome ſecret animoſities prevailed among the leading men of the oppoſition, which enabled the king to recover his authority. Perhaps the affections of the people were cooled, who eaſily paſs from one extreme to another. Perhaps the lords knowing the king's headſtrong temper, were inclined to give him his full length of command, that hereafter they might effectually execute their purpoſes, and ſhift the blame from themſelves to him. But however this be, Richard exerciſed the authority he had reſumed, with a degree of moderation; and the kingdom from this period, enjoyed a ſhort calm of tranquillity. On the fourth day of the ſeſſion of parliament, the biſhop of Wincheſter reſigned the great ſeal, as the biſhop of St. David's did the keys of the Exchequer; and all the lords of the council were diſcharged at their own deſire. They then aſked in open parliament, if any member had ought to object to their conduct, which having examined, the commons declared themſelves amply ſatisfied on this point. After this declaration the king reſtored them to their offices, and the dukes of Lancaſter and Glouceſter were added to the council, proteſting, however, that for any thing then done, he would retain or diſplace thoſe counſellors, as he himſelf ſhould think proper.

A. D. 1391.

But while the new adminiſtration conducted themſelves with more integrity than his abandoned favourites, yet the conduct of the king was in many inſtances exceedingly obnoxious to the ſober part of the nation. Addicted to pleaſure, he ſpent his time in feaſting and jollity; and laviſhed away immenſe ſums in tournaments. Though a terrible plague, and a famine not leſs dreadful, afflicted England, the king's exceſſive fondneſs for pageantry and pomp, induced him to retrench none of his diverſions or expences. He valued himſelf upon ſurpaſſing in magnificence all the ſovereigns of Europe, and acted as if he had poſſeſſed an inexhauſtible fund of treaſure. Three hundred domeſtics were employed in his kitchen alone; and the queen had the ſame number in her ſervice. The courtiers eaſily obtained what they aſked, and he in every thing behaved with a profuſeneſs, which could not fail of being very chargeable to his ſubjects. His finances being reduced, he attempted to borrow ſo ſmall a ſum as one thouſand pounds of the city of London, but had the mortification to be refuſed; and even an Italian merchant, who offered to lend the money, was cut in pieces by the populace. This affront Richard highly reſented, and ſoon after, under colour of puniſhing a tumult of a trifling nature, raiſed by a baker's apprentice, he took away the charter of the city, and removed the courts of juſtice to York: but afterwards the city of London were glad to redeem their charter, by making him a preſent of ten thouſand pounds, and two gold crowns.

Such perfect harmony ſeemed to be eſtabliſhed between Richard and his parliament, that they voted him a whole tenth and fifteenth, to defray the expences of his voyage to France, whither he had been invited, to effect, if poſſible, a laſting accommodation. In the mean time commiſſioners were appointed to treat with France and Scotland, and all parties agreed, that a general congreſs ſhould be held at Amiens, that a treaty of peace might be concluded, and ratified in the preſence of the two monarchs.

A. D. 1392. At the time appointed, Charles, king of France, with his two brothers, and three uncles, repaired to Amiens, and Richard proceeded as far as Dover, in his way thither; but whether he altered his reſolution from his own judgment, or was diverted from his purpoſe by the repreſentation of his council, his voyage was poſtponed, and he remained at Dover with the duke of Glouceſter; while his two uncles, the earls of Huntingdon, Derby, and other noblemen, proceeded to Amiens, in quality of ambaſſadors and plenipotentiaries. They entered the town with a train of twelve thouſand horſe, and during their ſtay, were magnificently entertained at the expence of the French king. Yet the demands of both courts were ſo incompatible, that nothing was done but prolonging the truce, till Michaelmas the enſuing year.

A. D. 1394. Conferences for a peace were again renewed by the duke of Lancaſter, in Picardy, but were again broken off without coming to any concluſion, except that of prolonging the truce for five years. After this ſome inſurrections of the Iriſh induced the king to make an expedition into that country, which he had the good fortune to reduce to obedience, and recovered by that means, in ſome degree, his character with reſpect to courage, which he had loſt by his inactivity. The Engliſh noblemen, who poſſeſſed large eſtates in that country, choſe to reſide in England, ſo that Ireland was left almoſt defenceleſs, and expoſed to the ravages of the old Iriſh Scots, who took care to avail themſeves of every favourable opportunity for recovering their antient poſſeſſions. Theſe they took by force of arms, and plundered all the reſt of the country belonging to the Engliſh, ſo that the revenue, which in the time of Edward III. was very conſiderable, was not now ſufficient to defray the ordinary expences of government. In Auguſt a proclamation was publiſhed, commanding all the proprietors to repair to Ireland by the eighth of September, and wait the king's arrival. The military tenants of the crown were likewiſe ſummoned; the cinque ports required to furniſh their armament of fifty-ſeven ſhips well manned. This being accordingly provided, Richard ſet out for Wales, accompanied by the duke of Glouceſter, the earls of March, Nottingham, and Rutland; and embarking about Michaelmas, at Milford Haven, landed in Ireland with an army of fifty thouſand men. The native Iriſh, terrified at the ſight of ſuch a formidable army, either retired to their faſtneſſes, or made their ſubmiſſion, and they were treated by the king with great clemency. He not only pardoned thoſe who ſubmitted, but even allotted penſions to their chiefs, and endeavoured to ſoften their native ferocity. The earl of Nottingham was empowered to receive, in the king's name, ſubmiſſion and homage of all the Iriſh in Leinſter, who gave bonds for their peaceable behaviour. O'Neal, lord paramount over the other princes of Ireland, voluntarily tended allegiance to the king of England, and did homage to him at Drogheda. His example was followed by O'Hanlon, O'Donnel, Mac Mahon, and other toparchs, who engaged for themſelves and their clans, to maintain the peace of the kingdom. Richard, during the Chriſtmas holidays, invited all the chiefs to an entertainment, and not only diſplayed on that occaſion his uſual magnificence, but conferred on them the order of knighthood, and encouraged them to adopt the Engliſh dreſs, and way of living. He then ſummoned a parliament in the ſame city to redreſs their grievances, and in ſhort conducted himſelf with ſuch moderation and prudence, as acquired the affection and eſteem of the native Iriſh, the greater part of whom voluntarily ſubmitted to his government.

About this time the queen paid the debt of nature, to the general regret of the nation: ſhe acquired, on account of the meekneſs of her diſpoſition, the epithet of the good queen Anne; and Richard was ſo deeply affected with her death, that he was for ſome time inconſolable; nor could he ever after bear the ſight of the palace of Sheen, where ſhe expired.

A. D. 1395.

While the king was thus laudably employed in Ireland, the regent ſummoned a parliament at Weſtminſter, and the duke of Glouceſter was ſent to manage the affairs of the crown in this aſſembly, who being informed of the king's proceedings, were ſo pleaſed with his conduct, that they granted a ſubſidy for finiſhing the reduction of that country. During this ſeſſion, a remonſtrance was preſented by the Lollards, who were become ſo numerous and confident, as to preach, write, and openly declaim againſt the eſtabliſhed religion. Protected by ſome powerful noblemen, they impeached the morals and doctrines of the clergy, and a writing, containing the articles of the charge, was brought into the houſe by Sir Thomas Latimer, Sir Richard Story, and other members, who had adopted their principles. The archbiſhop of York, and biſhop of London, alarmed at this preſumptuous behaviour, went over to Dublin, where they inveighed againſt the Lollards as enemies to church and ſtate, and wrought ſo effectually on the mind of Richard, that he declined his deſign of reducing Ireland, and returned to England, with a view to cruſh theſe innovating reformers. On his arrival, they were threatened with death, if they continued to propagate their tenets, and the chancellor of Oxford was ordered to expel all thoſe who were ſuſpected of favouring them. The next ſubject that came under the conſideration of Richard and his council, was the appointment of a preſumptive heir to the crown, the queen having died without iſſue. Richard had, previous to his departure, declared Edmund Mortimer, ſon and heir to Roger earl of Marche, ſucceſſor to the crown; but the ambition of Glouceſter and Lancaſter would doubtleſs have prevented this appointment ever taking place. In order to prevent civil diſſentions, the king was adviſed to engage in a ſecond marriage, and his council propoſing Iſabella, eldeſt daughter of the French king, Charles VI. as a ſuitable conſort, the archbiſhop of Dublin, the biſhop of St. David's, the earls of Rutland and Nottingham, the lord Beaumont, and Willa le Scroop, were ſent ambaſſadors to the court of France, to demand that princeſs in marriage for Richard. They were inſtructed to inſiſt on a conſiderable portion, and to offer ten thouſand marks a year for her jointure. When this propoſal was laid before the council of France, ſome of the members hinted at the inconſiſtence of treating of a marriage previous to the concluſion of a peace; but the duke of Burgundy wiſely obſerved, it was the moſt probable expedient to effect and conſolidate an accommodation. Through the powerful influence of this nobleman, the ambaſſadors were honourably received, and the king favouring the propoſal, it was accepted. A treaty was immediately ſet on foot, and the articles having been diſcuſſed by the plenipotentiaries, it was at length agreed, that Richard ſhould marry the princeſs Iſabella, and receive with her a portion of eight hundred thouſand franks in gold, at yearly payments; that he ſhould renounce all claim to the crown of France, either by his own hereditary pretenſions, or by virtue of his marriage; that the truce ſhould be prolonged for five and twenty years; and that the king of France ſhould aſſiſt him againſt his rebellious ſubjects. Theſe articles being ratified, the young princeſs only ſeven years old, was ſtiled queen of England, and married by the earl of Northumberland, Richard's proxy.

A. D. 1396.

This negotiation and alliance with Charles being concluded, Richard determined to go over to the continent, and eſpouſe the princeſs in perſon. Both kings met under a pavilion ſuperbly decorated, between Ardes and Calais, each with a ſplendid retinue; where the nuptials were ſolemnized, and the treaty ſigned to their mutual ſatisfaction. But this confederacy with France gave offence to the Engliſh, who had contracted a violent antipathy againſt that nation. Glouceſter told the king, it would have been more adviſeable to attempt the recovery of what England had loſt in France, by a vigorous war, than enter into an alliance with a crown, that had always gained greater advantages by treaties with England, than by its arms. The public diſſatisfaction was increaſed by the reſtitution of Cherburg to the king of Navarre, and of Breſt to the duke of Brittany, for which the king received an inconſiderable ſum, and laviſhed it away in needleſs expences. The duke of Glouceſter was ſo diſpleaſed with this meaſure, that he upbraided his nephew in ſevere terms, to which Richard replied in a manner that ſhewed he was greatly offended. He afterwards complained to the dukes of Lancaſter and York, that Glouceſter took upon him to controul his actions, and dropped ſome expreſſions, which made them think, he ſuſpected all three of forming ill deſigns againſt him. The two princes profeſſed their unſhaken loyalty, and obſerved, they did not queſtion but that the duke their brother was equally loyal, though his haſty temper made him ſometimes ſpeak with too much warmth. Richard endeavoured to employ theſe his two uncles as tools of his reſentment againſt Glouceſter, but they declined all concern in any deſign againſt the life of their own brother, and retired to their country ſeats to avoid all ſuſpicion and cenſure. Sir Thomas Piercy, brother to the earl of Northumberland, alſo withdrew from court, which was now entirely devoted to riot and luxury. Richard, a ſlave to pleaſure, was incapable of applying himſelf to buſineſs; under the dominion of favourites, on whom he profuſely laviſhed the revenues of the crown, and the grants of the people; and ſullying the dignity of his rank by admitting perſons of very mean condition to his familiarity; thereby rendering himſelf totally unworthy of wearing the Engliſh crown. He was alſo at this time left to the direction of unexperienced, hot brained counſellors, who perſuaded him that his life was in danger, during the exiſtence of Glouceſter; and this opinion was confirmed by the count of St. Pol, a French nobleman, who came to viſit the young queen of England.

Glouceſter was too conſiderable a ſubject, and too popular to be taken off by any ſhew of juſtice, and his brothers were too well affected to his merit and perſon, to be unconcerned ſpectators of his danger; recourſe was therefore had to a more probable expedient. Richard having determined to be revenged on his uncle, to affect this he condeſcended to be himſelf an accomplice in his murder. The duke was then in Plaſhy, one of his ſeats in Eſſex, without the leaſt ſuſpicion of any attempt againſt his life. Having always maintained the appearance of affection for his uncle, on a ſummer evening he paid him a viſit, and was received by the duke and ducheſs with all the endearing marks of hoſpitality. Richard was mean enough to partake of an entertainment from the very perſon he intended to betray. During ſupper he told the duke, that he wanted to conſult him on ſome very important affairs, and deſired he would accompany him to London, where a council was, as he pretended, to be held in the morning. The duke, not ſuſpecting the leaſt treachery, very readily obeyed, and ſet out with the king, attended only by four or five domeſtics. An ambuſh having been placed on the road near Epping-foreſt, when they came near it, the king putting ſpurs to his horſe, rode off at full gallop, and before the duke of Glouceſter could overtake him, he was ſurrounded by armed horſemen, who arreſted him in the king's name, conveyed him inſtantly to the river, and put him on board a ſhip, which inſtantly ſet ſail, and arrived at Calais the next day. This treacherous tranſaction was carried on with ſuch ſecrecy, that his friends, the earls of Arundel and Warwick, came to court the next morning, purſuant to the king's invitation, without the leaſt ſuſpicion of danger. But ſoon after their arrival, they were arreſted, together with lords Cobham and Cheney, and committed to the Tower. This event blew up again the flames of diſcontent among the people, who conſidered the impriſoned lords as their protectors and deliverers; and a general rebellion would doubtleſs have been the conſequence, had not Richard, with remarkable prudence iſſued a proclamation, declaring, that the lords were arreſted in conſequence of a freſh information againſt them, and that they ſhould be tried before their peers, during the next ſeſſions of parliament ſummoned to meet at Nottingham on the firſt of Auguſt. Accordingly an appeal for high treaſon was brought in againſt the duke of Glouceſter and his confederates, by the earls of Rutland, Kent, Huntingdon, Nottingham, Somerſet, and Saliſbury, the lord Spencer, and William Scroop, the chamberlain of the houſhold. After having read and conſidered the bill, the appealed lords were indulged with time till the fourteenth of September, to prepare anſwers to the articles of impeachment exhibited againſt them. The ſuſpenſe, the hopes, the fears, and diſtreſs of the nation were increaſed, when it was underſtood how great, how good, how fair in eſtimation, the impeached perſons were conſidered. They were almoſt all of them connected either by blood or alliance, with every member of the houſe; ſo that Richard was afraid to truſt them with his bloody purpoſe, the death of the duke of Glouceſter. He therefore firſt endeavoured to extort a confeſſion from him by the aſſiſtance of William Reckhill, one of the juſtices of the Common Pleas. This perſon had a commiſſion to examine the duke at Calais, and Richard hoped that the ſubtle lawyer, by tampering with the heat and impatience of his temper, would extort from him particulars upon which an accuſation might be grounded. But Glouceſter ſeems to have been ſo very open and ingenious on his examination, that the reſult did not anſwer the intention of finding him guilty. Richard therefore ſent orders to the earl of Nottingham, governor of Calais, that the duke ſhould be privately diſpatched. On receiving this order, the earl was ſo ſhocked at the intended treachery, that he abſolutely refuſed to obey. But being threatened by Richard with death, in caſe of refuſal, the earl ſecretly connived at the baſe aſſaſſination. We are informed, that the duke was taken out of the caſtle of Calais, and carried to an adjacent inn by four aſſaſſins, Hall, Lovetoft, Serle and Francis, who were all ſworn to ſecrecy. Lovetoft carried the duke to an inner apartment, where he informed him of the king's command. The duke, who expected nothing leſs than death, anſwered, without the leaſt emotion, that he would readily ſubmit, and leave his death to be revenged by his country. They then threw him on a ſmall bed, where they ſmothered him between two feather beds. This horrid tranſaction being over, they ſtripped the body, placed it in the bed, and it was pretended that the duke died of an apoplexy. Thus fell Thomas of Woodſtock, duke of Glouceſter, from whoſe unworthy fate we may learn, how fatal a taint the brighteſt virtues may receive from the ſlighteſt failings. That he was brave, open, ſincere and patriotic, none can deny; but as theſe qualities were unhappily blended with ambition and a love of popularity, he was hurried at times into ſuch conduct as entailed on him the ſuſpicion of the king, and the hatred of the greater part of the nobility, notwithſtanding which, he lived and died the friend of liberty, that particular glory of the Engliſh conſtitution. It is impoſſible to conceive the horror which ſeized all ranks of people, when this unnatural murder was known, nor is it eaſy to determine which was excited moſt, their conſternation or reſentment. But Richard with admirable foreſight, had taken every precaution for ſupporting his deteſtable plan of arbitrary power. Had the ſame vigour and ſagacity been employed in a virtuous cauſe, which was proſtituted in the ſervice of vice, this prince might have lived with renown, and died with glory. The king had already taken all neceſſary meaſures to have a parliament at his devotion, he having ſome time before changed all the ſheriffs of the kingdom, and placed in their room none but thoſe who had promiſed to be ſubſervient to his deſign. The parliament, thus at his devotion, had lately paſſed whatever acts the king was pleaſed to dictate: they annulled for ever the commiſſion which uſurped upon the royal authority, and declared any attempt to revive a like commiſſion to be treaſon: they abrogated all the acts which attainted the king's miniſters, and which both the parliament that had paſſed them, and the whole nation, had ſworn to maintain; and declared, the general pardon granted by the king to be invalid, becauſe extorted by force, though after Richard had reſumed the government, and no longer lay under any reſtraint, he had voluntarily confirmed that general indemnity by proclamation. They even annulled a particular pardon granted to the earl of Arundel, ſix years after, under pretence that it was obtained by ſurprize; and that the king was not fully informed of that nobleman's guilt.

But Richard had not only gained over the parliament to his devotion; he had collected alſo an army of twenty thouſand veterans, and ſtationed them in the neighbourhood of London; and when, on the death of the duke of Glouceſter, his two brothers haſtened thither, breathing revenge, he employed his favourite Rutland to compromiſe matters, on the principles of preventing a civil war. He accordingly repreſented, that though Glouceſter's fate was deplorable, it could not be altered; and that by endeavouring to revenge it, they might deſtroy their country. He aſſured them of the king's unfeigned ſorrow for that unhappy event; and engaged, in his majeſty's name, that if they would decline all thoughts of revenge, and conſent to a hearty reconciliation, they ſhould preſide in his councils, and be intruſted with the ſole direction of public affairs. The immediate reſult of this engagement too plainly evinces, that ambition was the ruling paſſion of York and Lancaſter; for they diſmiſſed their adherents, and all diſputes between thoſe two noblemen and the king ſubſided. The parliament was no ſooner met, than ſtrong marks of venality and corruption appeared; and the miniſtry, ſolicitous only to procure ſucceſs to their meaſures, were very indifferent about the means they employed for that purpoſe. Fitz William, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and brother to Arundel, was then impeached by the commons for his concurrence in procuring the illegal commiſſion, and in attainting the king's miniſters. To this the primate pleaded guilty; but, being an eccleſiaſtic, the king was ſatisfied with his being baniſhed the realm, and his temporalities ſequeſtered. The duke of Glouceſter, with the earls of Arundel and Warwick, were accuſed of the ſame crimes, and alſo of having appeared in arms in a hoſtile manner. The earl of Arundel, when brought to the bar, pleaded both the king's general and ſpecial pardon; but this plea being overruled, he was found guilty. The earl of Warwick, likewiſe, was found guilty of high treaſon; but, on account of his ſubmiſſive behaviour, was ſentenced to perpetual baniſhment in the Iſle of Man. In the mean time a warrant was iſſued in due form to the governor of Calais, commanding him to bring over his priſoner to take his trial; but anſwer was returned, that the duke of Glouceſter had died of an apoplexy. The time and circumſtances of that prince's death appeared extremely ſuſpicious; and it was the general opinion, that he was murdered by order of the king his nephew: which popular opinion was too well founded; for in the following reign, undoubted proofs were produced in parliament of his being diſpatched in the way we have already related; and it evidently appeared, that Richard, apprehenſive leſt the execution of ſo near a relation might prove dangerous, had thus baſely gratified his revenge, by a method which he thought would have perfectly concealed it. Having received ſuch ſubſtantial proofs of ſervile obedience from his parliament, he exacted from them an oath, that they would perpetually maintain all the acts they had lately made; and the ſeſſion concluded with ſome acts of the king's munificence, by the creation or advancement of ſeveral of his peers. The earl of Rutland was made duke of Albemarle; the earl of Derby, duke of Hereford; the earl of Kent, duke of Surry; the earl of Nottingham, duke of Norfolk; the earl of Huntingdon, duke of Exeter; the earl of Somerſet, marquis of Dorſet; Ralph Nevil, earl of Weſtmoreland; lord Spencer, earl of Glouceſter; William Scroop, earl of Wiltſhire; and Thomas Piercy, earl of Worceſter. In the mean time the earl of Arundel, in conſequence of the ſentence pronounced upon him, prepared to ſuffer its execution, with all the fortitude that attends conſcious virtue. The king himſelf was mean enough to be a ſpectator of this tragic ſcene, attended by the earls of Kent and Nottingham, with all the ſymptons of ſavage exultation. When the earl came upon the ſcaffold, he turned to Nottingham, his ſon-in-law, and ſaid, "My lord, it would ſurely have better become you to have been abſent on this occaſion: you ſeem to triumph in my ſufferings; but remember, the time is coming, when your own misfortunes may furniſh the like triumph to your enemies." The ungrateful and cruel treatment of this gallant nobleman, excited an univerſal clamour among the people, who publicly declared, that he fell a martyr to the liberties of his country. His life was ſpent in performing a ſeries of brave actions, from his firſt entrance on the ſtage of the world, to his magnanimous exit. He had boldly aſſerted the freedom of his country, in oppoſition to vice, weakneſs, and venality; and with ſo uniform a tenor of conduct, that he was never known to deſert his principles.

A. D. 1398.

Richard, in his cooler moments, could not help reflecting on the fate of this gallant earl, who had performed ſo many ſignal actions in his ſervice, and had always been a ſucceſsful commander. His image inceſſantly haunted the mind of the guilty monarch, and the uneaſineſs of his ſpirit was heightened by the apprehenſion of danger; for though he had obtained all he required of his parliament, yet by his conduct he had alienated the affections of the whole body of the people. The principal nobility ſaw themſelves debaſed by the cheapneſs of public honours, and the admiſſion of the vile and venal into public councils. Diviſions ſoon ſprung up among the members of the new miniſtry; and Richard was ſo far from diſcountenancing, that he encouraged them; thinking, as moſt miſguided princes have always done, that his own power was by that means rendered of more deciſive weight. At the ſame time he took every ſtep in his power for fixing the arbitrary authority he had lately acquired, on a more ſolid baſis. He new modelled his guards, and endeavoured to render them capable of committing every ſpecies of cruelty, in order to ſupport the abſolute power of the crown. It is impoſſible to deſcribe the miſeries of England at this period. The ſhameful fetters ſhe had forged for herſelf, and which now ſeemed to be firmly rivetted, galled her ſenſe of freedom, embittered her ſufferings, and increaſed her afflictions. But calamity at laſt rouſed her to a true ſenſe of her fallen ſtate; and liberty, though now to all appearance in her laſt convulſive pangs, wrought out her own deliverance.

In a parliament which met on the twenty-eighth of January, Richard appeared ſo anxious for the eſtabliſhment of their late acts in the laſt ſeſſion, that he not only obliged the lords and commons to ſwear again to obſerve them on the croſs of Canterbury; but ſoon after procured a bull from the pope, in order to ſecure and eſtabliſh them for ever. The parliament, to keep pace with the king's deſires, granted him a moſt exorbitant ſubſidy by duties on wool, leather, and wool fells for life; alſo a ſubſidy of one tenth and a half, and one fifteenth and a half. The attainder of Treſilian and other judges were reverſed; and the anſwers, for which they had been impeached, were, by the approbation of the preſent judges, declared to be juſt and legal. They even went ſo far back as to reverſe the attainder of the two Spencers, in the reign of Edward II. Before their diſſolution, they preferred a petition, importing, that as the ſeſſion had been ſhort, and the buſineſs before them long and difficult, his majeſty would be pleaſed to appoint a committee of lords and commons, who might be veſted with full powers of parliament, for hearing and determining all matters then depending before the aſſembly; and the king, with the advice and conſent of the lords, agreed to the petition. Thus the deſpotiſm of Richard had almoſt reached the point of perfection; and nothing was wanting, but to place him above the neceſſity of calling any more parliaments for the future.

The firſt object that fell under this committee, was a charge exhibited againſt the duke of Norfolk by the duke of Hereford, who accuſed him of having ſpoken ſeditious words againſt his majeſty, in a private converſation between Brentford and London. Henry, duke of Hereford, equally diſtinguiſhed by the gifts of nature and fortune, was now in the flower of his age: he had neither declined, nor courted popularity, and therefore had acquired it; he had neither frequented, nor ſhunned the court, and therefore adorned it; he had always kept fair with the king, and was particularly careful not to leave the ſmalleſt ſtain, on which the piercing eye of ſuſpicion could faſten an imputation of diſloyalty. His eſtimation of mankind was founded upon his own experience of their diſpoſitions and intereſts, without truſting to profeſſions which vaniſh on the proſpect of advantage, or to ties of friendſhip which diſſolve by the breath of power. He had gone too far in the late meaſures, owing perhaps to that exceſſive caution which he inherited from his anceſtors. Nor is it to be ſuppoſed, that a prince of his character would be fond of forming any connections but with ſuch as he knew he could truſt. The duke of Norfolk was alſo a nobleman of high rank, and diſtinguiſhed courage; but his manners were unpoliſhed, and without a ſteady virtue to recommend them. He had never been greatly courted by any party; and therefore thinking himſelf ſlighted by all, he had attached himſelf to the king, from whom he received an increaſe of dignity, but no degree of confidence. Both he and the duke of Hereford, had formerly been deeply engaged in that oppoſition, which Richard always conſidered as an unpardonable crime; and both, perhaps, dreaded the effects of his reſentment. Both being in the ſame ſituation, the duke of Norfolk was perſuaded that they could be ſafe only by uniting their intereſts. He was imprudent enough to propoſe this coalition to the duke of Hereford, who received it with great diſguſt. He knew the character and diſpoſition of the duke of Norfolk too well, to embark with him in ſo dangerous a coalition: he even ſuſpected that the propoſal had been ſecretly dictated by his enemies at court; and therefore, in preſence of the king, charged the duke of Norfolk with having privately ſpoken to him many ſlanderous and diſreſpectful words of his majeſty, in relation to his intending to deſtroy many of the principal nobility. The duke of Norfolk, denying the charge, gave Hereford the lye, and offered to prove his innocence by ſingle combat. The challenge was accepted, and the diſpute ordered to be decided according to the laws of chivalry, in preſence of the king and his whole court. When the two noblemen entered the liſts, and were on the point of engaging, the trumpets having ſounded a charge for that purpoſe, the king ordered their lances to be taken away, and they returned to their chairs, according to the uſual ceremony on theſe occaſions, while his majeſty retired to council, where their doom was fixed, with a view to prevent effuſion of blood, or rather, to prevent the conſequences of their quarrel, by expelling two of the moſt powerful oppoſers of Richard's tyrannical government. Sir John Brurey returned to the field at the king's command; and ſilence being enjoined by proclamation, pronounced their ſentence to this effect: That as both the appellant and defendant had honourably appeared in the liſts, their courage was ſufficiently aſcertained; and the king, with the advice of his council and a committee of parliament had agreed, that the duke of Hereford ſhould, within fifteen days, depart the kingdom, and go into exile for the ſpace of ten years, on pain of death; and that Norfolk ſhould be baniſhed for life, becauſe he had not been able to clear himſelf of the crime laid to his charge. This ſentence being pronounced, proclamation was iſſued, that no perſon ſhould preſume to intercede with the king in behalf of either party, on pain of incurring his majeſty's diſpleaſure. A ſentence, at once impolitic and unjuſt; perhaps the moſt arbitrary ever pronounced by a king of England; for both were baniſhed, though one only could be guilty. Nor was the penalty leſs ſevere; the one being for life, the other for only ten years. The duke of Norfolk confeſſed ſome part of the charge, while he was confined at Windſor; but afterwards retracted his confeſſion. As to the duke of Hereford, he retained his uſual moderation. When he waited on the king to take his leave, he behaved with ſuch ſubmiſſion, that Richard, pleaſed with his reſpectful deportment, remitted four years of his exile, and gave him permiſſion to continue a month at Calais, with a retinue of twelve perſons. Both of theſe noblemen alſo obtained paſſes, directed to all ſovereign powers, for a kind reception ſuitable to their rank; and in all writs wherein they were mentioned, the word exile was induſtriouſly avoided, and that of travelling or peregrination, ſubſtituted in its room. On their departure, the duke of Norfolk retired to Germany, where he ſoon after died of grief, and Hereford to France. Richard had empowered Hereford, by letters patent, to enter into immediate poſſeſſion of any eſtates that might fall to him during his abſence, and to poſtpone the homage till his return.

During theſe tranſactions, the Scots were continually offering repeated inſults to the natives of the northern counties, which inſults were either connived at by the court, or terminated by a truce haſtily concluded, and as readily broken. At length a treaty was ſigned under proper guarantees, conſiſting of ſubjects inhabiting the Marches that ſeparated the kingdoms; but nothing was done toward effecting a ſolid peace.

A. D. 1399.

The power of Richard at this time was become very extenſive, and roſe t[illegible] amazing height; yet reſted on ſo narrow a baſis, that it tottered with its own weight. His deſpotiſm had wrought him to a kind of frenzy of pride and inſolence, and the magnificence of his court was ſupported by repeated acts of oppreſſion and injuſtice. The earls of Wiltſhire, Buſhy, Green, and Bagot, formed his cabinet council, where every thing was digeſted, and came previouſly determined to the other counſellors, who had nothing to do but approve. Theſe minions alſo farmed the royal revenues; and the ordinary funds not anſwering their avaricious purpoſes, exceſſive loans were demanded from every county. At the ſame time new oaths were exacted from the ſheriffs of counties, by which they bound themſelves to obey the king in all his arbitrary and illegal proceedings. In this gloomy ſeaſon of public affairs, died John of Ghent, duke of Lancaſter,

caſter, in the fifty-ninth year of his age; and his ſon, the duke of Hereford, in conſequence of his right and letters patent, expected to be put in poſſeſſion of the eſtate and juriſdiction of his father. John of Ghent, or Gaunt, poſſeſſed an aſſemblage of virtues and vices. His addreſs in buſineſs was remarkable; but his lending his name and authority to Richard, in the moſt unjuſtifiable acts of government, does no honour to his virtue. His ambition, however, proved extremely fortunate to England. His alliance with the courts of Spain and Portugal, opened an immenſe channel of trade, which greatly, though almoſt by inſenſible degrees, enriched the nation. With a foreign education, and foreign employments, he always retained an Engliſh heart, and imported into England the rudiments of that learning, for which ſhe is now ſo deſervedly celebrated. His court was magnificent without affectation, and himſelf learned without pedantry. So that had he lived under a prince of more virtue, prudence, and fortitude, he might have proved as uſeful a member of ſociety, as he was on ornament to his country.

When the ſon of this illuſtrious prince left the kingdom, Richard's jealouſy of the wealth and power of that family revived. Being informed that Hereford had entered into a treaty of marriage with the daughter of the duke of Berry, the French king's uncle, he reſolved to prevent the concluſion of an alliance that would ſo much ſtrengthen the duke's intereſt abroad; and for that purpoſe ſent the earl of Saliſbury to Paris, and by the authority of the parliamentary commiſſioners, not only reverſed his letters patent, but ſeized the eſtate of his late father, and declared that his baniſhment ſhould be perpetual. By theſe acts of deſpotic power it appeared, that the laws and liberties of England could afford no ſecurity againſt the efforts of tyranny and oppreſſion. From the number of great nobility who had been baniſhed, there was ſcarce a man left in the kingdom able to oppoſe the uſurpations of the king. The duke of York alone might have defended the intereſts of the people; but he loved his eaſe too well to engage in ſuch an undertaking. Richard, therefore, finding himſelf above all reſtraint, paid no regard to the good of the public; and while his miniſters ſuffered the nation to fall into contempt, every means was uſed to extort money from the people, in order to ſupply the king's prodigious expences; among the reſt, accuſations were brought againſt ſuch as had taken arms in favour of the duke of Glouceſter and his adherents; and as their pardon had been lately reverſed, ſeventeen counties were condemned as guilty of treaſon, and the eſtates of all the inhabitants adjudged to the king. In this extremity, the moſt wealthy gentlemen and burgeſſes, in order to avoid the ſeizure of their landed property, were obliged to give blank obligations, which the king cauſed to be filled up with ſuch ſums as he pleaſed to require; and in the bonds every perſon was obliged, under great penalties, to ſupport the ſtatutes of the parliament held at Shrewſbury, and all the ſubſequent acts, and thus to throw themſelves entirely on the king's mercy. A government ſo tyrannical, naturally excited the hatred of the nation, and kindled in the hearts of all an ardent deſire to free themſelves from ſuch oppreſſions.

Young Hereford, now duke of Lancaſter, was particularly exaſperated at this ſcene of complicated iniquities. He was of a bold and enterprizing ſpirit; he had ſignalized his courage both at home and abroad; he was beloved by the people and adored by his ſoldiers. Always cool, ſedate, and prudent, he was conſidered as the only Engliſh prince that deſerved the public confidence and eſteem. His misfortunes were lamented, and the injuries he had received complained of by all ranks of people. To him therefore they looked up, as the only perſon able to redreſs the abuſes of government, and to free them from its tyranny. In this diſpoſition they ſecretly invited young Henry to return to England, promiſing to aſſiſt him in the recovery of his lawful inheritance, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes. The duke readily embraced the invitation, and promiſed to comply with their requeſt; and a favourable opportunity for fulfilling his engagements now preſented itſelf. Roger Mortimer, Richard's couſin, and lord-lieutenant of Ireland, had been lately killed in a ſkirmiſh with a ſmall party of native Iriſh; and the king, in order to reduce the rebels to ſubjection, and revenge the death of the preſumptive heir to the crown, reſolved to paſs over into that iſland, and head his army in perſon. He accordingly embarked at Briſtol; and, after a ſhort paſſage, landed at Waterford, at the head of two thouſand men at arms, and ten thouſand archers. When the king was ready to embark, ſome ſuſpicions being inſtilled into him of the earl of Northumberland, governor of the northern counties, he ſent that nobleman poſitive orders to join him without delay; and on his excuſing himſelf, on account of his preſence being neceſſary in thoſe parts, the king, without farther enquiry, pronounced him a traitor, and ordered all his eſtates to be ſeized; then leaving the regency to his uncle, the duke of York, he ſet ſail, leaving his kingdom open to the attempts of his enemies.

The duke of Lancaſter had prudently concealed his intentions till the departure of Richard, of which he no ſooner heard than he ſet out for Nantz on the fourth of July, where he hired three ſmall veſſels, and embarked with the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the young earl of Arundel, lord Cobham, Sir Thomas Erpington, Sir Thomas Ramſtone, and a retinue of about fourſcore perſons; and, after a ſpeedy paſſage, landing at Ravenſpur in Yorkſhire, he was joined by the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, the lords Willoughby, Roſs, Darcy, Beaumont, and ſeveral gentlemen of diſtinction, attended by a numerous body of vaſſals and adherents; and having publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he aſſerted that he had taken arms only to obtain ſatisfaction for the injuſtice with which he had been treated, it had ſuch an effect, that the people flocked in crowds to join him, ſo that in a few days he had an army of ſixty thouſand men. The regent was in no condition to oppoſe ſo powerful a body of malcontents, had he been a real friend to the tyrant. He had long beheld, with ſecret diſguſt, the injuries done to his country in general, and to his nephew the duke of Lancaſter in particular; but his own indolence, and the arbitrary diſpoſitions of the king, had hitherto prevented his complaining. He had, however, too much honour to betray his truſt on this occaſion, though not diſpleaſed at his inability. He appointed a general rendezvous at St. Albans, and found the number of his forces amount to forty thouſand; but he ſoon perceived, not a man would draw his ſword againſt the duke of Lancaſter, (a caution this to all tyrants not to place a vain-confidence in their army) who, they openly affirmed, had been unjuſtly baniſhed, and deprived of his lawful inheritance. Nor could they bear the preſence of the earls of Buſhy, Green, and Bagot, who farmed the revenues, and were univerſally deteſted as monſters of iniquity and oppreſſion, and who had perverted the king by their pernicious counſel. The duke of York, therefore, finding it impoſſible to ſtem the torrent of Henry's popularity, broke his ſtaff of office, and laid aſide all oppoſition. In the mean time the march of the duke of Lancaſter's army to

London, was rather triumphal than hoſtile. Every tongue was buſied in his praiſe, every purſe was open to his wants, every hand employed in his defence. His affability, his graceful modeſty, his winning addreſs, his moderate pretenſions, and above all his former ſufferings, ſpoke irreſiſtibly in his favour. The duke of York now declared, that he would ſecond his nephew, in his juſt requeſt of recovering his legal patrimony. The two armies embraced each other, and Henry was joyfully received by the citizens of London, as their guardian and deliverer. Having ſecured the capital in his intereſt, he directed his march to Briſtol, which after a feint reſiſtance, was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. The earl of Wiltſhire, Sir John Buſhy, and Sir Henry Green, who had taken refuge there, were led out to immediate execution, at the importunate requeſt of the people.

The king no ſooner received intelligence of this inſurrection, than he haſtened over from Ireland, and landed at Milford-haven with a body of twenty thouſand men. When arrived at Carmarthen, he received a particular detail of Lancaſter's amazing progreſs, the death of his favourites, the ſurrender of his forts, the revolts of his cities, and the defection of his ſubjects. His ſoldiers alſo, like the reſt of their comrades, were ſo ſtrongly infected with the prevalent opinion in favour of the duke of Lancaſter, that his army melted away like ſnow before the ſun; and Richard ſoon perceived he was in no condition to meet the enemy. Diſtracted with a variety of thoughts, he knew not which way to turn, what courſe to purſue. Wavering and irreſolute, he knew not whom to truſt, or whom to fear. At length he determined to take refuge in Wales. Accordingly he retired with the dukes of Exeter and Surry, the biſhop of Carliſle, and a few other attendants, to Conway-caſtle; propoſing to take the firſt opportunity of eſcaping to Ireland or France, and there wait for ſome favourable criſis of recovering his crown, which he was now incapable of defending. Finding himſelf in this forlorn condition, in a place he had choſen for his ſanctuary, without the leaſt proſpect of being able to defend himſelf, he was afraid that if he attempted to eſcape he ſhould fall in the hands of the enraged populace, who gave him too many proofs of their hatred. In this extremity, he reſolved to throw himſelf upon the generoſity of his enemy, and ſent the duke of Exeter about an accommodation, and the duke of Surry obtained leave to accompany him in this embaſſy, which proved very unfortunate, for they were both detained as priſoners at Cheſter. In this interval the king was deſerted by Sir Thomas Piercy, lord ſteward of his houſehold, who reſigned his office, and declared his reſolution to join the duke of Lancaſter. Henry apprehenſive that Richard meditated an eſcape, conſulted with the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the earl of Northumberland, when it was agreed, that the latter ſhould be ſent to Conway-caſtle, with propoſals to amuſe the king, and if poſſible, perſuade him to put his perſon into the duke's hands. Northumberland advanced with a ſelect number of troops to Conway river, whence he ſent a herald to Richard, deſiring a ſafe conduct for himſelf only; which being granted, he went to the caſtle, and being admitted into the king's preſence, demanded, in the name of Henry, that a parliament might be immediately ſummoned, to reverſe his ſentence of baniſhment, and reſtore him to the poſſeſſion of his eſtate; that the dukes of Surry and Exeter, the earl of Saliſbury, and biſhop of Carliſle, ſhould be brought to trial, together with all thoſe who had been concerned in the death of the duke of Glouceſter. Richard, who owned that he was both unworthy and weary of royalty, agreed to this propoſal, yet not without ſigns of diſtruſt. But the earl declared, in the name of his principal, that he ſhould be reſtored to all the prerogatives of royal dignity; that Henry had ſworn to fulfil the articles with the utmoſt punctuality, and that he himſelf was ready to take the ſame oath. The king was diffident of the ſincerity of this ambaſſador, yet was perſuaded to truſt him upon his oath, which he took in the moſt ſolemn manner. Richard then ordered him to ride on before, and declared his intention of following him to Flint-caſtle, where he ſhould be nearer the duke, to treat about an accommodation. Soon after his arrival, he received a meſſage by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the earl of Rutland, and lord Thomas Piercy, that the duke was coming from Cheſter to wait upon his majeſty. Henry came to him the next day, and was received by the king with the ſalutation of "Couſin of Lancaſter, you are welcome." The duke bowing three times to the ground, replied, "My lord the king, I am come ſooner than you appointed, becauſe, according to the general voice of your people, you have governed for this one and twenty years with great rigour and imprudence, ſo that they cannot but diſapprove your conduct; but if it pleaſe God, I will help you to govern them better for the future." To which the king only replied, "Fair Couſin, ſince it pleaſes you, it pleaſes us likewiſe." In a few days after the duke ſet out with his royal captive for London, who, in the courſe of his journey, had the mortification to hear the very dregs of the people add inſults to his miſery, and heap curſes on his government. Henry made his entrance into London amidſt the acclamations of the people, who cried out, "Long live Henry, the noble duke of Lancaſter, our worthy friend and glorious deliverer." Richard was conveyed to the Tower, and the duke took up his lodgings in the houſe of the knights of St. John in the ſuburbs.

That no time might be loſt, a parliament was ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter. In a conference Henry held with his friends, previous to their aſſembling, on the manner how they ſhould proceed, it was reſolved to place him on the throne; but the manner in which this might be effected was the ſource of various opinions. Some were for his taking poſſeſſion upon Richard's reſigning the crown. Others thought the reſignation too conſtrained to be the foundation of any right, eſpecially as a nearer heir than Henry being then alive. This was Edmund Mortimer, earl of Marche, the ſon of Roger, who had been declared Richard's preſumptive ſucceſſor, he being deſcended from Lionel, duke of Clarence, the third ſon of Edward III. whereas Henry was the ſon of John, Lionel's younger brother, and thus the duke of Lancaſter could claim no right to the crown by Richard's reſignation. It was therefore concluded, that Richard ſhould be formally depoſed by parliament, and the duke elected by the ſame authority. This opinion was not without its difficulties, as it aſcribed to the parliament a power to diſpoſe of the crown, contrary to the laws and cuſtoms, to the prejudice of the next heir, who might have done nothing to weaken his title. After many debates, the duke of York propoſed to unite theſe ſeveral opinions by three ways: that Richard ſhould, in the firſt place, be obliged to reſign the crown; that the parliament ſhould immediately proceed to depoſe him; and that then, the crown being declared vacant, the ſame parliament ſhould in conſideration of the duke of Lancaſter's great ſervices, adjudge to him the throne, by their ſupreme authority. This opinion was unanimouſly approved; but the very expedient which was then thought requiſite to reſtore the peace of the kingdom, proved a ſource of dreadful calamities, in which the nation was afterwards involved. For the deſcendants of the duke of York, who propoſed this opinion, found it to their intereſt to maintain, with fire and ſword, that this parliament had exceeded their power, in thus transferring the crown to the duke of Lancaſter. Agreeable to theſe reſolutions, Henry, duke of Lancaſter repaired to the Tower, attended by a great number of lords, on the 29th of September, the day before the opening of parliament, when Richard, in the preſence of theſe nobles, delivered up the crown and ſcepter, with the other enſigns of royalty; and even by an inſtrument ſigned with his own hand, confeſſed himſelf unworthy and unfit to govern any longer, and that he freed his ſubjects from their oaths of fealty, homage and obedience. After this ceremony was finiſhed, he deſired the archbiſhop of York, and biſhop of Hereford, to acquaint the eſtates of the realm, that he wiſhed his couſin Lancaſter might be choſen his ſucceſſor: at the ſame time he drew his ſignet ring from his finger, and delivered it to the duke, as his teſtimony of good-will, which he deſired they would alſo communicate to the parliament.

Next day the two biſhops declared the king's meſſage, and produced the inſtrument of reſignation, which being read in Latin and Engliſh, was admitted by the unanimous conſent of both houſes; but as this, according to the meaſures before concerted, did not appear ſufficient, a charge of thirty-three articles againſt the king, was preſented to the aſſembly. Theſe articles being afterwards drawn up, contained the reaſons of his depoſition, and were received with general approbation. The only perſon who offered to ſpeak in defence of Richard, was the biſhop of Carliſle, who with great ſtrength of judgment pointed out the injuſtice of the charge; adding, that however the nation might act right in depoſing the miſguided Richard, no reaſon could be offered for taking the crown from his lawful ſucceſſor, who was confeſſedly innocent; but this ſpeech was ſo far from producing the deſired effect, that it brought down upon the biſhop the diſpleaſure of the whole aſſembly, by whoſe order he was immediately taken into cuſtody, and ſent priſoner to the abbey of St. Albans. The prince being thus depoſed, and the throne declared vacant, Henry, duke of Lancaſter, after croſſing himſelf on the forehead, claimed the crown: building his pretenſions on his being deſcended from Henry III. and the right he received from God, by the aſſiſtance of his relations and friends, for the recovery of the realm of England, which was upon the brink of deſtruction. The parliament took care not to examine his claim too cloſely, and therefore, without any regard to the earl of Marche, it was decreed, that Henry, duke of Lancaſter, ſhould be proclaimed king of England and France, and lord of Ireland.

As by the depoſition of Richard, the parliament was diſſolved, it was neceſſary to ſummon a new one; and in ſix days after, Henry, without any new election, called together the ſame members; and this aſſembly was employed in reverſing every thing done by the oppoſite party. All the acts which had paſſed in the parliament where Glouceſter prevailed, and which had been abrogated by Richard, were again eſtabliſhed: all thoſe of the laſt parliament of Richard, though confirmed by a papal bull, were abrogated. The anſwers of the judges, which one parliament had annulled, but which had been approved by a new parliament, and new judges, were here a ſecond time condemned: and the peers who had received higher titles for accuſing Glouceſter, Arundel, and Warwick, were ſtripped of their new honours. Soon after theſe tranſactions, the earl of Northumberland made a motion in the houſe of peers, relating to the depoſed monarch, and aſked, that ſince Henry was reſolved to ſpare his life, what advice they would give for his future treatment, when the lords replied unanimouſly, that he ſhould be confined in ſome ſecret place, under a ſecure guard, and deprived all commerce with his friends or partizans; on which he was removed from the Tower to Pontefract-caſtle.

The manner of Richard's death, though variouſly related, is one of thoſe ſecrets, which the eye of the moſt penetrating and ſagacious hiſtorian has not been able to diſcover. It has been the prevailing opinion, that Sir Piers Exton, and eight of his guards fell upon him, when the king wreſting a pole axe from one of them, defended himſelf with ſuch bravery, that he laid four of them dead at his feet; on which Exton coming behind him, and getting up on a chair, diſcharged ſuch a blow on his head, as laid him dead at his feet. Others ſay he was ſtarved to death, and that he had lived a fortnight without food, before he reached the end of his miſeries. Theſe being mere ſuppoſitions, may we not ſuppoſe in our turn, that vexation, grief, cloſe confinement, inſults, and a manner of living the reverſe of voluptuouſneſs, to which he had been accuſtomed, were the inſtruments that brought this youthful monarch to an untimely end; and this conjecture is conſiſtent with the authentic account we have of his body being brought to London, and expoſed in St. Paul's cathedral to the eyes and inſpection of every obſerver, and that no marks of violence were found upon it. Thus much we may with truth affirm, Richard II. ſon of the brave Edward, the Black Prince, and grandſon to Edward III. was cut off by a ſudden ſtroke of death, which his own weak conduct occaſioned, in the flower of his youth, being only in the twenty-fourth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign; and was the XXXth king of England from Egbert I. He left no poſterity, either legitimate or illegitimate; though he was twice married; firſt to Anne of Luxemburgh, ſiſter to the emperor Winceſlaus; and afterwards to Iſabella of France, daughter of Charles VI. but his marriage with this laſt princeſs was never conſummated.

This period, like thoſe preceding it, furniſh us with few particulars relative to learning, or the arts, adapted to excite our curioſity or our admiration. It is indeed no wonder that a proud, warlike, and ignorant nobility, encouraged only thoſe arts, which proclaimed their dignity, or contributed to their ſecurity. They were magnificent without taſte, and pompous without elegance. Rich plate, even to the enamelling on gold, rich ſtuffs, and curious armour, were carried to exceſs, while their chairs were mere pedeſtals, their cloaths, incumbrances; and they knew no uſe of ſteel, but as it ſerved for ſafety or deſtruction. There houſes (for there was no medium between caſtles and houſes) implied the dangers, not the ſweets of ſociety; and whenever peace left them at leiſure to think of modes, they ſeemed to imagine that faſhion conſiſted in diſfiguring the human body, inſtead of diſplaying its graces. While the men wore ſhoes ſo long and pointed, that they were forced to ſupport the points by chains from their middle; the ladies erected ſuch pyramids on their heads, that the face became the centre of the body. The ſciences alſo were abſorbed in the myſteries of theology, and learning chiefly confined to the clergy, who generally employed their talents in uſeleſs, and often ridiculous ſpeculations. Some indeed ſtudied phyſic, but in ſo ſtrange and imperfect a manner, that every epidemical diſtemper, which reſiſted their injudicious method of practice, became a real plague, and ſwept away multitudes of people.

Some diſcoveries were however made, and ſome extraordinary characters flouriſhed, during this period. It ſometimes happens that in the darkeſt nights of ignorance and error, ſome bright ſtar of uncommon luſtre darts the beams of genius amidſt the horrid gloom, Roger Bacon was a genius of this kind, and born for the inſtruction of the human ſpecies; but the age in which he lived knew not his merit. He was a Franciſcan friar at Oxford, and ſtiled *Doctor mirabilis*, for his great learning, and by the common people, the Conjurer, on account of his inventions. He diſcovered the teleſcope, burning glaſs, camera obſcura, gunpowder, the tranſmutation of metals, and ſeveral other particulars, known only to himſelf. Future times, and future artiſts, have claimed the diſcoveries made by Bacon. A greater genius in mechanics had not then aroſe ſince the days of Archimedes. But all his merit could not protect him againſt the barbarous opinions of the age in which he lived. He was perſecuted by an enthuſiaſtic clergy, at a time when philoſophy had made leſs progreſs than any other branch of learning, and when geometry and aſtronomy were branded with the odious ſtigma of necromancy. He died on the eleventh of June, 1292.

In the year 1237, water was firſt conveyed into the city of London by means of leaden pipes, from ſprings in the manor of Tyburn; but the infant artiſts of that age were forty-eight years in completing that uſeful work; the great conduit in Cheapſide, built of ſtone, and furniſhed with ciſterns, lined with lead, not being finiſhed till the year 1285.

The noble diſcovery of the mariner's compaſs was made about the year 1302; but the perſon to whom we owe that valuable acquiſition is not certainly known: but though the Engliſh lay no claim to the diſcovery, they were inventors of the box in which the magnetical needle is ſuſpended, a contrivance whereby it is always kept in an horizontal poſition.

The art of weaving received very conſiderable improvements during this period, by the great encouragement given to our woollen and linen manufactures by Edward III. and the two ſucceeding reigns. The art of painting alſo began to be eſteemed, which was chiefly performed on board or glaſs.

In the year 1344, the firſt regular gold coins were ſtruck in the kingdom, of three different ſorts; one of ſix ſhillings value; a ſecond of three ſhillings; and a third of eighteen pence. About the ſame time alſo the art of gauging was invented. The firſt mention of clocks in England, was in the year 1368, though they had been invented in the ninth century by Pacificus, archdeacon of Verona.

The moſt remarkable for learning, beſides a few hiſtorians who flouriſhed in this period, were John Wickliffe, and William of Wickham.

Wickliffe may be juſtly regarded as the father of the reformation, he being the firſt in Europe, who ventured to bring religion to the teſt of ſcripture, and eccleſiaſtical authority. The auſterity of his life, and the ſanctity of his manners, added great weight to his doctrine. He was indefatigable in his labours, and generally went about barefooted in the habit of a pilgrim: but we have already had occaſion to ſpeak of him in the courſe of this reign.

William of Wickham was conſidered as one of the moſt learned perſons of the age; and it appears that his great and uſeful talents, eſpecially his ſkill in architecture, recommended him to the favour of Edward III. He perſuaded that prince to pull down a great part of Windſor-caſtle, and rebuild it from his plan, in that plain magnificence in which it now appears. He alſo drew the plan, and ſuperintended the building of Queenborough-caſtle. He was afterwards made ſecretary of ſtate and lord privy ſeal, and enjoyed other accumulated preferments, before he was promoted to the ſee of Wincheſter. He died on the twenty-ſeventh of September, 1404.

The moſt noted hiſtorians of this period were,

Thomas Wikes. His hiſtory begins at the conqueſt, and ends with the death of Edward I. He was a canon regular of Oſney, near Oxford; and the part of his work which relates to the barons wars, is clear and explicit. His hiſtory was publiſhed by Dr. Gale in his Hiſt. Angl vol. 2.

John Brompton, abbot of Joreval, in Yorkſhire, wrote a chronicle of the principal tranſactions of England. It was publiſhed among the Decem Scriptores. It begins with the arrival of St. Auguſtine the monk, and ends with the death of Richard I.

Matthew, a Benedictine monk of Weſtminſter, finiſhed his hiſtory in the year 1307, and died ſoon after. But the work has been continued by ſeveral hands, eſpecially by Adam Merimath, a canon regular of St. Paul's, who devoted the latter part of his time to the ſtudy of Engliſh hiſtory.

Character of Richard II.

In every quality the reverſe of his father, was a weak, vain, tyrannical, contemptible prince, and agreeable to his own confeſſion, altogether unqualified for managing the reins of empire. He was violent in his temper; fond of oſtentation, pomp, idle ſhew, and magnificence; devoted to favourites, who made him a dupe to their flattery; addicted to pleaſure, which made him a tyrant to his people; gratifications and paſſions the moſt inconſiſtent with prudent œconomy, and conſequently dangerous in a limited and mixed government. He ſeems to have preferred, on all occaſions, his own eaſe to the happineſs and welfare of the nation. Inſtead of diſplaying a cordial affection for his people, he ſeemed to glory in oppreſſing them; nay even proſtituted the very legiſlature to gratify his preſumptuous arrogance. He wanted the diſcernment neceſſary to enable him to chuſe a good miniſtry, and the reſolution to oppoſe the meaſures of his evil counſellors, when they happened to claſh with his own opinion: yet big with the idea of ſovereignty, he forgot that he was a man; ſunk in loathſome ſenſuality, he forgot that he was a king. Indeed his erroneous conduct ſeems to have flowed from the general ſource of moral evil, that of inattention to the grand deſign of rational exiſtence, which is to promote the happineſs of our fellow creatures. When Richard found means to gain the commons to his intereſt, and to contract a formidable alliance with France, prerogative weighed down the conſtitution. But by extending his power to the utmoſt boundaries of arbitrary ſway, the commons again deſerted him, and he became the victim of his own folly. Richard is a memorable inſtance of the power of habit over the human mind; and his hard fate ſpeaks to the living; and bids them remember it as an eternal warning, to prefer public good to private humour; while at the ſame time it reminds them, that they are only ſtewards in the hand of God; and that however they may plume themſelves upon the ſtratagems of refined policy, one truth in ſpite of human pride will remain eternally the ſame, namely: That virtue alone is true nobility.

BOOK VII.

From the aſcenſion of Henry IV. the firſt of the Lancaſter line that filled the Engliſh throne, to the union of the houſes of York and Lancaſter under Henry VII.

HOUSE OF LANCASTER.

CHAP. I.

HENRY IV.

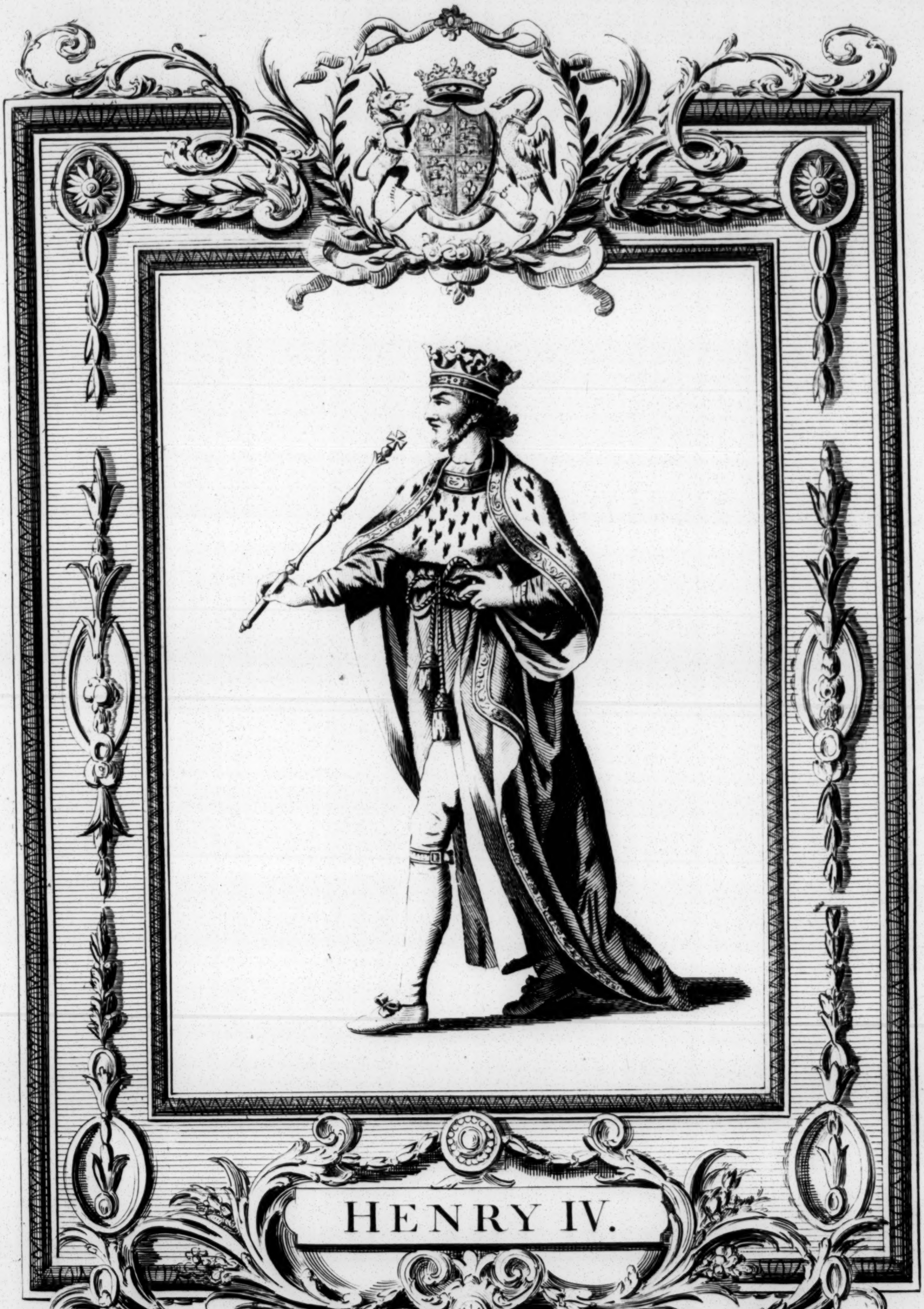
Henry, duke of Lancaſter, ſurnamed Bolingbroke, is crowned king of England; notwithſtanding Mortimer, earl of Marche, had a preferable title—His reign continually diſturbed by inſurrections, which he finds means, in the end, to ſuppreſs—Perſecution againſt the Lollards, in which William Sawtre is burned for hereſy, being the firſt perſon who ſuffered on account of religion—Firſt inſurrection in England by the earl of Kent and others—Second, in Wales by Owen Glendour—Third, in England by the earl of Northumberland—The battle of Shrewſbury—The archbiſhop of York and earl of Nottingham take arms—The earl of Northumberland and lord Bardolf defeated and ſlain—War with France and Scotland: not diſtinguiſhed by any conſiderable actions—James, ſon of Robert III. king of Scotland, ſeized and detained in captivity by Henry, who gives him an excellent education—Diſſolute life of the prince of Wales—Death, family, and character of Henry IV.

A.D. 1399. HENRY, ſurnamed Bolingbroke, from the place of his birth, immediately after his being proclaimed, aſſumed the reins of government. He was the ſon of John of Ghent or Gaunt, late duke of Lancaſter, who was third ſon of Edward III. But Mortimer, earl of Marche, deſcended from Lionel, duke of Clarence, ſecond ſon of Edward III. had a preferable title. Henry was crowned with the uſual formalities, on the thirteenth of October, being then thirty years of age. He was anointed with a kind of oil, pretended to be brought by the Bleſſed Virgin to Thomas Becket while in France. This precious oil was contained in a phial, which fell into the hands of a hermit, who preſented it to Henry duke of Lancaſter, the grandſon of Henry III. at the ſame time prophecying, that the kings who ſhould be anointed with it, would become true champions for the church. The duke of Lancaſter afterwards gave it to Edward the Black Prince, who reſolved to be anointed with it; but after his death the phial, which had on the top an eagle of gold ſet with diamonds, was laid up among the jewels, without being minded, till it fell into Henry's hands; but the reign of this prince and ſeveral of his ſucceſſors, who were anointed with this oil, contradict the hermit's prophecy. The uſurpation of Henry was ſo palpable, and the right of Edmund Mortimer, earl of Marche, ſo clear, that all the courage, capacity, and diſcernment of the new monarch, were neceſſary to prevent the diſorders that threatened the commencement of his reign; but the friends of young Mortimer, who was only ſeven years of age, conſidering that it would be equally dangerous and fruitleſs to maintain his juſt rights to the crown, took him to his eſtate at Wigmore, near the borders of Wales, from whence he was afterwards removed by Henry to Windſor-caſtle, where he and his younger brother were detained in an honourable cuſtody, the king having reaſon to apprehend, that when that nobleman arrived at man's eſtate, he would attract the reſpect of the people, and make them reflect on the injuſtice which had been uſed to exclude him from the throne.

Henry's firſt parliament, which aſſembled on Monday after Michaelmas, gave him an opportunity of perceiving the dangers to which his high ſtation expoſed him. The nobles were agitated with ſuch violent animoſities, that forty of the peers threw their gauntlets on the floor, and mutually challenged each other, while the epithets lyar and traitor reſounded from every quarter; yet the king had influence ſufficient to prevent all theſe combats, though he was unable to reconcile them to each other. The city of London, and the adjacent counties, were in general well affected to the preſent government; but Wales with its Marches, where the intereſt of Mortimer lay, and which had always been diſtinguiſhed by Richard, wanted only an opportunity of breaking out into rebellion. The northern counties had not appeared very ſanguine in the late revolution, and all they had done to favour it was entirely owing to the great intereſt of the Piercy family, ſo that the continuance of the people's loyalty, depended almoſt wholly on that of the earl of Northumberland. Nor had the king any reaſon to depend upon the fidelity of the clergy, with whom he was not a favourite. Both he and his father had been ſtrongly ſuſpected of favouring Wickliffe's doctrine, and the king, when duke of Lancaſter, had been heard to ſay, that in England the revenues of the barons were too ſmall, and thoſe of the church too great. The abbot of Weſtminſter, a bold intriguing prieſt, one who had always been foremoſt in the proceedings of both parties, embraced this opportunity of forming a ſecret cabal againſt the government. The earls of Kent, Rutland, and Huntingdon, with lord Spencer, who were now degraded from the titles of Surry, Albermarle, Exeter, and Glouceſter, conferred on them by Richard, together with the biſhop of Carliſle, lord Lumley, Sir Thomas Blount, and ſeveral other perſons of fortune, joined in the conſpiracy, and met frequently in the abbey of Weſtminſter, where, in a ſecret room, they concerted their dangerous deſigns which ſoon after broke out into action.

A.D. 1400. Henry, finding himſelf preſſed on every ſide with ſurrounding difficulties, had recourſe to every prudent meaſure, that might have the leaſt tendency to remove them. In order to pay his court to the clergy, he reſolved to uſe his endeavours to ſuppreſs the heretical Lollards. Hitherto there had been no penal laws enacted againſt hereſy; but the king now engaged the parliament to ordain, that when any heretic, who relapſed, or refuſed to abjure his opinions, was delivered over by the biſhop or his commiſſaries to the ſecular arm, the civil magiſtrate ſhould commit him publicly to the flames. This infernal weapon being put into the hands of the clergy, did not long remain unemployed. William Sawtre, rector of St. Oſithes in London, being condemned by the convocation of Canterbury, his ſentence was ratified by the houſe of peers. Whereupon Henry iſſued his writ for execution, and he was puniſhed for ſuppoſed erroneous opinions, by being committed to the flames. This was the firſt man who ſuffered death in England, for the ſake of his religion.

While



Wale delin. Cary sculp.

He was Born *1367* Richard II *resigning him the* Crown, *he was* Crowned *Octr 13.1399,*
when he instituted the Order *of the* Bath, *and created* 47 Knights Died *of an* Apoplexy
in Weſtminſter, *March 20.1413 And* Buried *at* Canterbury.

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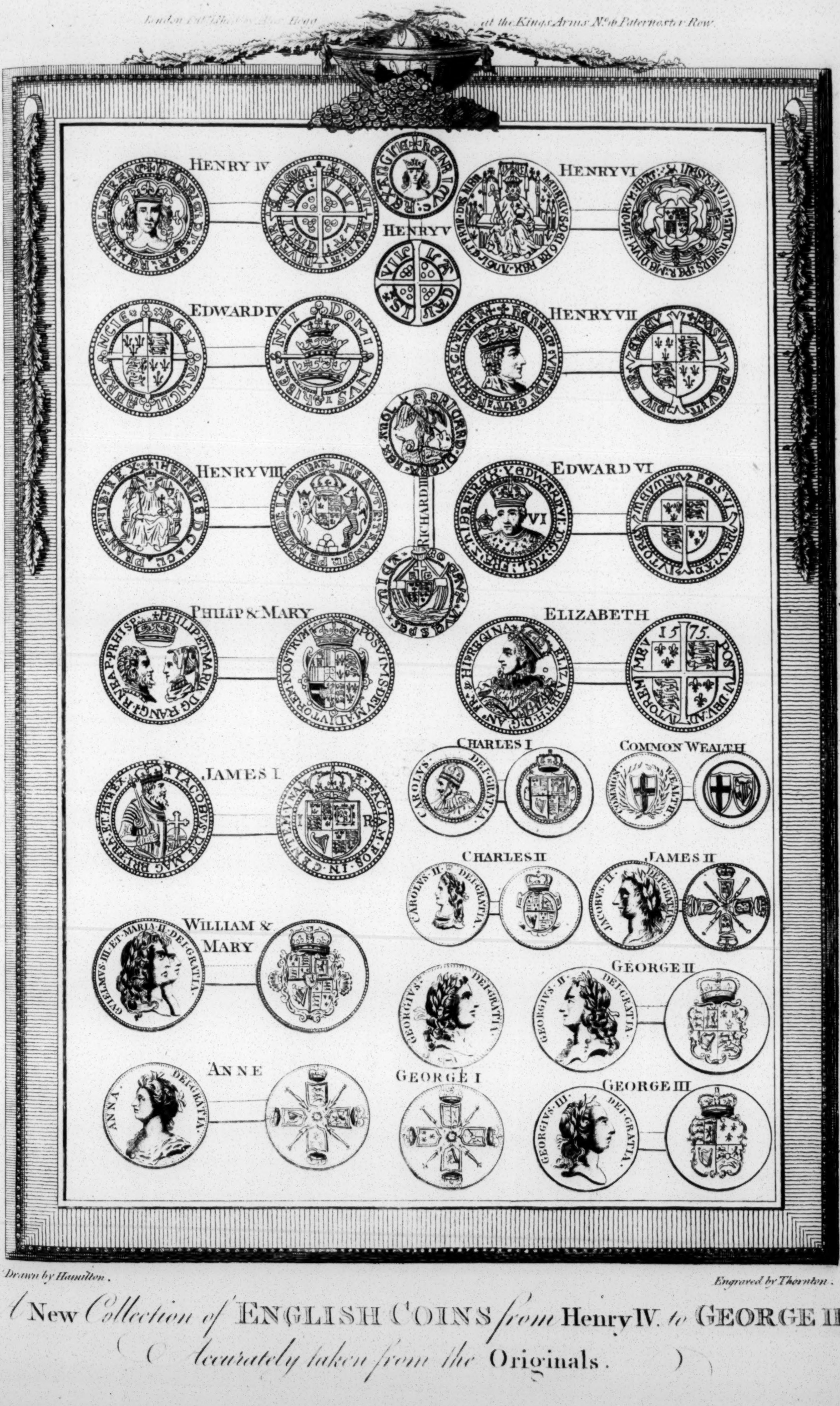
HENRY IV
HENRY V
HENRY VI
EDWARD IV
HENRY VII
RICHARD III
HENRY VIII
EDWARD VI
PHILIP & MARY
ELIZABETH
CHARLES I
COMMON WEALTH
JAMES I
CHARLES II
JAMES II
WILLIAM & MARY
GEORGE II
ANNE
GEORGE I
GEORGE III

Drawn by Hamilton. Engraved by Thornton.

A New Collection of ENGLISH COINS from Henry IV. to GEORGE III.
(Accurately taken from the Originals.)

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While this perſecution was carried on againſt the followers of Wickliffe, a peſtilence raged in the northern counties of England; and the Scots, according to their uſual cuſtom, in times of public calamity, invaded the northern counties of England. They beſieged and took the caſtle of Werk, commanded by Sir Thomas Grey, who was then attending his duty in parliament. Yet this inſult did not provoke Henry to abandon his cautious conduct, in watching narrowly the motions of his domeſtic enemies. The effects of the abbots conſpiracy began now to appear. When their ſcheme was ripe for execution, the principal actors prevailed on one Maudlin, who had been chaplain to Richard, and who greatly reſembled him in features, to perſonate that monarch. They imagined it would not be difficult to ſurprize the king, who was then in a bad ſtate of health at Windſor, attended by a few of his nobility. It was therefore agreed, in order to aſſemble a ſufficient number of perſons without ſuſpicion, to appoint a tournament to be held at Oxford. Henry was to be invited. If he accepted the invitation, they ſuppoſed it would be very eaſy to ſeize his perſon; if he refuſed it, they were to march ſecretly to Windſor-caſtle, into which they flattered themſelves with obtaining an eaſy admittance. Every particular of this infamous plot was conducted with the utmoſt precaution; and on the point of being carried into execution, when Henry was informed by Rutland, one of the aſſociates, of his danger, and ſuddenly returned to London; ſo that the conſpirators who arrived at Windſor with five hundred horſe, had the mortification to find they were betrayed, and their plot defeated. The next day Henry, at the head of twenty thouſand men, appeared at Kingſton upon Thames; on which the rebellious lords, being unable to reſiſt him, diſperſed into their ſeveral counties, in order to raiſe their followers, when they met with what was worſe than diſappointment; for the king's adherents having every where oppoſed their progreſs, the earls of Kent and Saliſbury were taken priſoners by the citizens of Cirenceſter, and according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, inſtantly beheaded by the mayor's orders. Spencer and Lumley were treated by the citizens of Briſtol in the ſame manner. The earl of Huntingdon, Sir Thomas Blount, with ſeveral others of the conſpirators ſuffered the ſame juſt puniſhment, by orders from Henry. When the quarters of theſe miſjudging men were brought to London, it is ſaid, that eighteen biſhops, and thirty-two mitred abbots, joining the populace, went with the moſt indecent marks of exultation to meet them. The earl of Rutland carried on a pole the head of his brother-in-law, the lord Spencer, and as a teſtimony of his loyalty, preſented it to Henry; a ſpectacle which muſt have been extremely ſhocking to all who were not deſtitute of every ſentiment of humanity. This treacherous earl, who thus diſhonoured his birth, and who became ſoon after, by the death of his father, duke of York, had been concerned in the murder of his own uncle, the duke of Glouceſter; had then deſerted Richard who truſted him; had conſpired againſt the life of the preſent king; had betrayed thoſe whom he had ſeduced; now, by this proof of inhumanity, publickly proclaimed his own baſeneſs.

A. D. 1401. The unſettled ſtate of the Engliſh government encouraged Owen Glendour, a deſcendant of the antient princes of Wales, and obnoxious to the preſent ruling power, on account of his attachment to the late king, to ſet up his ſtandard in oppoſition to Henry. His mind was that of a hero, and his heart that of a patriot, ready to burſt with the indignation at the miſeries of his country. His genius was enterprizing, his conduct firm but cautious. Owen contented himſelf at firſt with attacking the eſtates of the earl of Ruthyn. He was always ſucceſsful in theſe ſkirmiſhes, and at laſt took that nobleman priſoner; nor would he releaſe him but on condition of his marrying his daughter. This alliance rendered Owen ſtill more illuſtrious in the eyes of the Welch, who now conſidered him as born to be the deliverer of his country. The earl of Marche, who had armed his followers in favour of Henry, was defeated and taken priſoner. He was ſuffered to remain in captivity; nor would the king, notwithſtanding his loyalty, permit the earl of Northumberland to ranſom him, though he owed his crown to the aſſiſtance of that powerful nobleman. But notwithſtanding his indifference for his couſin, Henry ordered all his forces to advance to the borders of Wales. Owen, who was in no condition to oppoſe a royal army, commanded by the ableſt and moſt fortunate prince of the age, in the open field, purſued that conduct which true policy dictated, and his anceſtors had found ſucceſsful. He retired behind Snowdon-hills, and left the Engliſh monarch, in a ſevere ſeaſon, to wreak his vengeance on an already deſolate country. By this prudent ſtep, Henry was compelled to return to England, without having effected any thing of conſequence againſt the enemy. A. D. 1402. When the ſeaſon permitted, he again entered Wales; but the very elements fought againſt him, and nature ſeemed to have abandoned her ordinary courſe in favour of Owen. Such dreadful ſtorms aroſe, that the common people in that age of ignorance believed they were raiſed by the magic of Glendour, whoſe activity and ſucceſs, and above all his retirement into parts almoſt inacceſſible, made them conſider him as ſomething more than human. Henry was unable to regain any part of the vaſt plunder taken from the Engliſh, and forced to abandon an expedition, in which his diſappointment was heightened by the great hopes he had entertained of ſucceſs.

In the mean time the Scots tempted by the changes in the government were not inactive. Archibald, earl of Douglas, at the head of twelve thouſand men, and attended by many of the principal nobility of Scotland, made an irruption into England, carrying fire and ſword through the northern counties. On his return, he found his retreat cut off by the Piercys, and both parties prepared for a general engagement. The Scots were drawn up upon the declivity of Halidown-hill, but to great diſadvantage; for riſing one above another they preſented to the Engliſh archers a very extended front, ſo that the arrows of the latter did much greater execution than thoſe of the former. Douglas, perceiving this advantage, endeavoured to repair it, by coming down the hill upon the Engliſh ſword in hand. The archers, fearing to be broke, at firſt gave way, but again cloſing their ranks, plied the Scots ſo warmly with their arrows, that a total rout enſued. The gallant but unfortunate Douglas, ſeverely wounded, and fainting with the loſs of blood, was taken on the field of battle, together with the earls of Fife, Murray, Angus, and Orkney; the lords Montgomery, Erſkine, and Graham, beſides eighty knights, and a great number of ſoldiers. The remainder of the Scottiſh army that fled were purſued by the Engliſh archers, who made a dreadful ſlaughter; part were puſhed into the river Tyne, where many of them periſhed, and part obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. Among the ſlain of the Scottiſh army were Sir John Swinton, Sir Adam Gordon, Sir John Levingſton, Sir Alexander Ramſay, twenty-three knights, and near ten thouſand common ſoldiers: while the loſs of the Engliſh was too inconſiderable to be mentioned.

A. D. 1403. Henry no ſooner received intelligence of this victory, than he wrote a letter of congratulation to the earl of Northumberland and his ſon, full of the warmeſt expreſſions of gratitude; but, at the ſame time ſent them a peremptory order, enjoining them not to ranſom any of their priſoners. This was regarded as an arbitrary ſtretch of power; all priſoners being, by the laws of war which then prevailed, the ſole property of the victors. The earl expoſtulated with Henry on the illegality of this reſtriction, but in ſuch preſumptive terms, that the king rebuked his freedom, and deſired him to obſerve the deference due to his ſacred perſon. This reprimand fired the choleric ſpirit of the earl of Northumberland, who, in the heat of paſſion, conceived it to be an unpardonable indignity. Both father and ſon conſidered themſelves as the principal ſupporters of Henry's throne, and vainly imagined it would be as eaſy to deprive him of the crown, as it was to place it on his head. Northumberland's brother, Thomas Piercy, earl of Worceſter, not only eſpouſed their quarrel, but concerted a plan of revenge, which had well nigh deprived Bolingbroke of his royalty. Other cauſes alſo contributed to excite his reſentment. He had been made vice-chamberlain and admiral by Richard; he loved the perſon of his old maſter and benefactor while living; retained a grateful ſenſe of his benefits after his death; and could not but deteſt Henry as the uſurper of his crown. He therefore readily joined his brother, to drive from his throne a perſon, who, in his opinion, had no title to it. With this rebellious intent, he entered into a correſpondence with Glendour; releaſed earl Douglas without ranſom, formed a ſtrict alliance with this martial nobleman; aſſembled his vaſſals from all quarters; and ſo unlimited was his authority, that the very ſame men whom he had lately led againſt Richard, were now ready to repair to his ſtandard, in oppoſition to Henry. When this rebellion was ready to break out into action, Northumberland remained at Berwick, on pretence of being indiſpoſed; but in reality, to aſſemble another body of troops, with which he might join the confederates in caſe they proved ſucceſsful in their firſt attempt; or, that he might be at hand to retire into Scotland, provided the enterprize ſhould miſcarry, and he himſelf be conſidered by the king as an accomplice of the rebels. An army being aſſembled, the chief command devolved on young Hotſpur Piercy, who led his forces to Shrewſbury, in order to join the troops under Glendour. Before they took the field, Piercy publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he renounced his allegiance to Henry, and ſet that prince at defiance; and in the name of his father and uncle, repreſented all the grievances of which the nation had reaſon to complain, and which he took upon himſelf to redreſs. He accuſed Henry of perjury; becauſe, ſoon after his landing at Ravenſpur, he had ſworn upon the goſpels, in preſence of the earl of Northumberland, that his ſole intention was that of recovering poſſeſſion of his duchy, and that he would ever remain a faithful ſubject to king Richard. He aggravated his guilt, in firſt dethroning, and then impriſoning that prince; and in uſurping upon the title of the houſe of Mortimer, to whom the crown juſtly belonged, both by lineal deſcent, and the declaration of parliament. He complained loudly of the cruelty exerciſed againſt the earl of Marche, who was ſuffered to remain a captive in the hands of the enemy; nor were any of his friends permitted to treat for his ranſom. He alſo accuſed the king of having ruled with a tyrannic ſway, rendering himſelf inacceſſible to all but the clergy, ſo that the greateſt noblemen in the kingdom could not be admitted to his preſence, unleſs introduced by a biſhop, and finally, he charged him with laying upon the nation a heavy burden of taxes, after having ſworn, that, without the utmoſt neceſſity, he would never lay any impoſitions on his people; and that he had converted to his own private uſe, the ſubſides granted for public ſervices. Henry publiſhed an anſwer to this manifeſto, in which he endeavoured to exculpate himſelf from all the crimes laid to his charge. He accuſed the Piercys, in his turn, of having excited an unnatural rebellion againſt their lawful ſovereign; one who had, on all occaſions, diſtinguiſhed them from the reſt of his ſubjects, by every act of munificence and friendſhip that a prince could beſtow upon his moſt favourite counſellors. But Henry was not to learn that remonſtrances were of little uſe on the preſent occaſion; and fortunately for him, he had, at that time, a good body of forces, which had been levied for another expedition againſt the Welch. With theſe he proceeded as far as Burton upon Trent, where he received intelligence, that Worceſter and his nephew had marched towards the frontiers of Wales; on which the earl of Dunbar prevailed on him to alter his rout, and, if poſſible, prevent their joining. He accordingly wheeled about, and directed his march towards Shropſhire; and this motion was of infinite advantage; for Glendour had advanced as far as Oſweſtry, with a body of twelve thouſand men, in order to join Piercy, who was already reinforced by the people of Cheſhire, the conſtant adherents of Richard in all his diſtreſſes. The Piercys had given out that the late king was alive; to give credit to which report, they had dreſſed Maudlin in royal robes, and carried him about to different parts of the kingdom, pretending he was Richard, who had eſcaped out of priſon; and this ſtratagem induced many to join their banners. The rebels had marched to Shrewſbury, when the royal army unexpectedly appeared in ſight; upon which Hotſpur, abandoning the ſiege, withdrew his forces to Hartlefield, where he reſolved to make a ſtand, and hazard an engagement; while the bravery of the two leaders, and the equality of the two armies, each of which amounted to about twelve thouſand men, rendered the iſſue of the combat extremely doubtful. The king, with the aſſiſtance of the earl of Dunbar, and his ſon Henry, made an excellent diſpoſition of his troops; and being perſuaded the whole force of the battle would be directed againſt his own perſon, ordered ſeveral officers to array themſelves in the ſame armour, and to have the ſame equipage, that uſually diſtinguiſhed himſelf in time of action. The charge was no ſooner ſounded, than the battle began. The firſt ſhock was at once both dreadful and conſtant. The two armies engaged with fury, and maintained the fight with obſtinacy and perſeverance hardly to be equalled in the records of time. Henry's infantry was the firſt that gave ground; and his whole army would have been thrown into confuſion, had not the impetuous valour of Piercy and Douglas afforded the royaliſts an opportunity of rallying. Theſe two chiefs fought ſide by ſide, and opened themſelves a paſſage to the ſpot where the royal ſtandard was erected, and where they knew Henry fought in perſon, both contending who ſhould have the honour of encountering the royal warrior. Piercy ſupported that renown he had acquired; and Douglas, his antient enemy, but now his friend, ſtill appeared his rival amidſt the dangers and horrors of this bloody battle. Their ardour, however, proved fatal to their cauſe; for they charged with ſuch dreadful impetuoſity, and pierced with ſuch deſperate rapidity the ranks of the enemy, that few of their men could follow them. A ſurrounding heap of dead bodies, and the lines they had broken cloſing again, intercepted their retreat. The feats of valour performed by theſe undaunted heroes are incredible. Douglas ſlew three brave warriors who perſonated the king of England. The royal ſtandard was thrown to the ground. Death and horror followed their ſteps, and equally reigned; but, numbers of their followers being ſlain, they found themſelves hemmed in on all ſides, without any proſpect of being relieved by the main body of the army; which the king obſerving, he advanced with a body reſerve, and made a dreadful havock; expoſing his perſon in the thickeſt of his foes, and every where braved, with undaunted preſeverance, the raging ſtorm of claſhing weapons. His gallant ſon alſo, who afterwards became the renowned Henry V. atchieved prodigies of valour, following the example of his illuſtrious father; nor could even a wound in his face, which he had received from an arrow, oblige him to quit the field. In the mean time Piercy and Douglas endeavoured to cut their way back to their own forces; but the former, in the midſt of this furious conteſt, being ſlain by an unknown hand, his death was no ſooner known, than the remains of his mangled army fled in the utmoſt confuſion, after the battle had raged little more than three hours; in which ſhort ſpace of time Henry had expoſed his perſon like the meaneſt ſoldier, and is ſaid to have killed thirty-ſix perſons with his ſingle arm. In this battle, which was fought on the twenty-firſt of July, and is called the battle of Shrewſbury, about ſix thouſand were ſlain, two-thirds of whom were of Piercy's army. The earls of Worceſter and Douglas were taken priſoners, together with the baron Kinderton, and Sir Richard Vernon. All theſe, except Douglas, whom Henry diſmiſſed without ranſom, on account of his valour, were beheaded at Shrewſbury. On the king's ſide, the earl of Stafford, Sir Hugh Shirley, Sir John Clayton, Sir John Cockayne, Sir Nicholas Chauſel, Sir John Calverly, Sir John Maſſey, Sir Hugh Mortimer, beſides ſixteen hundred privates, were ſlain, and about three thouſand dangerouſly wounded. The body of Hotſpur Piercy was, by the king's permiſſion, buried in the field where he had ſignalized his valour, but his quarters were afterwards hung up in ſome of the chief towns of England. During theſe tranſactions, the earl of Northumberland was marching at the head of a conſiderable body of troops to reinforce the army of the rebels; but hearing of his ſon's death and defeat, and that the king was advancing againſt him with his victorious troops, he ſhut himſelf up in Warkworth caſtle, where he diſmiſſed his forces, and came to the king at York, after having previouſly received an aſſurance of a pardon. He pretended that he had no other intention in taking arms, but to mediate between the parties. This apology Henry accepted, and granted him a pardon. The ſame lenity was extended to all the other rebels; and except the earl of Worceſter and Sir Richard Vernon, who were conſidered as principals, none engaged in this inſurrection appear to have periſhed by the hands of the executioner.

A. D. 1404. Henry having thus ſtifled this unprovoked rebellion, marched towards the borders of Wales, in order to proceed againſt Owen Glendour; but the deſign was defeated by want of money for the ſubſiſtence of his army. Soon after this the parliament met at Weſtminſter, when the earl of Northumberland preſented a petition to the king, imploring his clemency, and promiſe of pardon he had made at York. Henry referred the petition to the judges; but the lords entered a proteſt againſt this reference, declaring, that judgment, in caſes of treaſon, belonged to them only. Then they took into conſideration the charge againſt the earl, and pronounced, that the facts alledged to him did not amount to treaſon or felony, but only a treſpaſs, for which the ſaid earl ought to make fine and ranſom to his majeſty. Being thus acquitted, the earl petitioned that he might renew his oath of allegiance, which he ſwore anew upon the croſs of Canterbury, and then the king remitted his fine and ranſom. The commons, having acknowledged the juſt and equitable judgment of the lords, petitioned, that the king would be graciouſly pleaſed to aboliſh all animoſities ſubſiſting among the noblemen of the realm; and by his command the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland embraced each other, with marks of perfect reconciliation, promiſing for themſelves, their tenants and vaſſals, that they would, for the future, live in peace and amity. The earl of Dunbar was alſo reconciled to Northumberland; and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the duke of York, with ſeveral other prelates and lords, ſuſpected to have been concerned in the late conſpiracy, were cleared by the king, being declared at the ſame time true and loyal ſubjects.

The rebellion under Glendour was now grown to a dangerous pitch. He had lately reduced the caſtles of Harlegh and Aberyſtwith, defeated a ſtrong body of Engliſh near Monmouth, and ravaged the country as far as the banks of the Severn. The king, who well knew the objects that demanded, at preſent, his ſole attention, was averſe to an expedition into Wales, and was reſtrained from proſecuting that war by a trivial incident. The report of Richard's being alive was now revived, and gained more credit than ever. One Serle, who had been his domeſtic, engaging as an accomplice in the deceit, wrote letters to different perſons in England, aſſuring them, that the king was then in being, and in good health. The evidence of a man who could not reaſonably be ſuppoſed to err in that point, greatly promoted the deſign of the impoſture, which was aſſiſted by the old counteſs of Oxford, mother to the duke of Ireland, who had been attainted in the reign of Richard. But the cheat was at length detected by means of Sir William Clifford, governor of Berwick, who, in order to make up a former breach with the king, delivered him up to juſtice.

However, though this deſign was A. D. 1405. defeated, the diſcontented nobles ſeemed ripe for a revolt. Northumberland was ſenſible that, notwithſtanding his being pardoned, he ſhould never be truſted, and that his great power rendered it difficult for him to be ſincerely forgiven by Henry, who had ſuch reaſonable grounds of jealouſy. Indeed, the folly of that prince's enemies in never acting in concert, prevented his ruin. The earl of Nottingham, the ſon of the duke of Norfolk, and the archbiſhop of York, brother to the earl of Wiltſhire, whom Henry, when duke of Lancaſter, had cauſed to be beheaded at Briſtol, notwithſtanding their having remained quiet while Piercy was in the field, ſtill entertained a violent hatred againſt the king; and joining with the earl of Northumberland, reſolved to be revenged. They took arms before that nobleman was ready to aſſiſt them; and publiſhing a manifeſto, in which they bitterly reproached Henry with his uſurpation, demanded, that he ſhould reſtore the right line, and redreſs all public grievances. This conſpiracy ſoon after received additional ſtrength, by the junction of lords Bardolf, Haſtings, and Fauconbridge, and a great number of gentlemen of figure and fortune in their reſpective counties. The earl of Northumberland viſited the courts of France and Scotland, in order to previl upon thoſe powers to ſupport the confederates, and wreſt from the hand of Henry the ſcepter of England. He was received with the utmoſt reſpect, and met with great encouragement in his negotiation. The hopes of foreign aſſiſtance gave new life to the conſpiracy, and a plan was formed for making an inſurrection in the north, while the French made a deſcent in Wales; and

Glendour alſo joined the confederacy, which now became truly alarming. Yet Henry was not idle in his endeavours to break the gathering ſtorm. He ſent an army into Wales under the command of his ſon, who attacked one of Glendour's detachments, and obtained a complete victory. The conſpirators now perceived the king was no ſtranger to their deſigns, and therefore precipitantly took the field. On the other ſide, the earl of Weſtmoreland, aſſiſted by ſeveral noblemen of conſiderable power in the north, having been appointed to watch the Scottiſh Marches, no ſooner heard of this inſurrection than he advanced with his forces, hoping to ſurprize the rebels before they were prepared for defence. He was deceived; for on his reaching Shipton-moor, he ſaw the inſurgents, amounting to ſeventeen thouſand, drawn up in excellent order, and ready to engage. The force of Weſtmoreland being inferior to that of the enemy, he was afraid of hazarding a battle, and therefore endeavoured to obtain by artifice, what he could not attempt by force of arms. He deſired to enter into a conference with the archbiſhop and the earl of Nottingham, between the two armies; which being granted, he heard their grievances with great patience, and begged of them to propoſe the remedies. This done, he approved of every expedient they mentioned; granted every demand; and engaged that Henry ſhould give them full ſatisfaction. On finding them pleaſed with his ready compliance with all their demands, he obſerved, that ſince their amity was thus reſtored, it would be better for both ſides to diſband their forces, which would otherwiſe prove burthenſome to the country. To this propoſal, the archbiſhop and earl not having the leaſt ſuſpicion, aſſented, and inſtantly diſmiſſed their troops, which ſeparated in the field; on which, Weſtmoreland ſeizing the two rebels without reſiſtance, conducted them to the king, who was within three days march at the head of a powerful army. Henry refuſed to confirm the terms offered by Weſtmoreland, being determined to make thoſe mutinous leaders feel the weight of his juſt reſentment. But knowing that the trial of an archbiſhop, if conducted in the uſual form, would prove troubleſome and tedious, and that the celerity of the execution could alone render it ſafe and prudent, he determined to follow the ferocious cuſtom of that age, and put the prelate to death without the form of a trial. He accordingly applied to Sir William Gaſcoigne, chief juſtice, to paſs ſentence of high treaſon on the archbiſhop. But Gaſcoigne refuſed to act contrary to the laws of his country. Sir William Fulthorpe was therefore appointed a judge on this occaſion; who, without any indictment, trial, or defence, condemned the prelate to the death of a traitor. Nor was the execution of the ſentence delayed; the archbiſhop was immediately put to death, with many ignominious circumſtances. This was the firſt inſtance, in England, of a capital ſentence being inflicted on a dignitary of the church. The earl of Nottingham, Sir John Lamplugh, and Sir Robert Plumpton, ſuffered at the ſame time. The pope was ſo highly incenſed at this alarming attack on the privileges of the church, that he pronounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt all who were concerned in the death of the archbiſhop; and it was only by the prevailing eloquence of a large ſum of money, that Henry procured abſolution. During theſe tranſactions, the mareſchal de Montmorency arrived in Wales with a numerous fleet, from which he landed twelve thouſand men; then joining Glendour, reduced Caermarthen and ſeveral other places, ravaging the country with fire and ſword, and carrying off an immenſe booty. Henry advanced to ſtop the progreſs of theſe invaders; but being retarded by bad weather, the French auxiliaries were embarked, and the ſeaſon ſo far advanced, that he could undertake nothing of conſequence againſt Owen, who found means to intercept fifty waggons, loaded with proviſions and money for the ſubſiſtence of the army, ſo that the king was obliged to retreat to London. In the interim, the earl of Northumberland fled with lord Bardolf into Scotland, on which Henry reduced thoſe noblemens caſtles without oppoſition.

A. D. 1406.

In the ſpring Henry called a parliament; and, under certain reſtrictions, obtained a conſiderable ſubſidy. In the mean time he carried on a private correſpondence with ſome Scottiſh noblemen, who promiſed to deliver the earl of Northumberland, and the lord Bardolf into his hands, on condition of his releaſing, without ranſom, their relations who had been taken at the battle of Holmedon. Robert III. king of Scotland, being weak and infirm, his brother, the duke of Albany, directed the adminiſtration; and not content with his preſent authority, he had formed the cruel deſign of deſtroying his brother's children, and advancing his own family to the throne. On pretence of ſome irregularities, he had extorted an order from Robert to confine his eldeſt ſon David in the caſtle of Falkland, where that unhappy prince was ſtarved to death by his inhuman uncle. James alone, the younger brother of David, ſtood between Albany and the throne, and he was detained by Henry in England, who refuſed to ſet him at liberty. Oppreſſed with cares and infirmities, Robert was unable to ſuſtain the ſhock of his misfortunes, and died ſoon after, leaving the government in the hands of the duke of Albany.

The city of London being afflicted with a grievous plague, which ſwept off great numbers of its inhabitants, the king, to avoid the contagion, reſided for ſome time in the caſtle of Leeds in Kent; where, having paſſed part of the ſummer, he reſolved to viſit another country ſeat in Norfolk, and for that purpoſe went on board a ſmall veſſel, attended by four ſhips loaded with his baggage and domeſtics; but in this ſhort voyage he was attacked by ſome French cruizers, who took the ſhips, with all his ſervants and equipage, while he himſelf eſcaped with the utmoſt difficulty.

A. D. 1407.

The earl of Northumberland and lord Bardolf entered the north of England, in hopes of engaging the people to take arms. He was joined by a party of Scotch freebooters, and as he advanced, his little army conſiderably increaſed. Pleaſed to find the inhabitants of the ſeveral places through which he paſſed had not yet loſt their affections for his family, he continued his march, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral caſtles which had been reduced after the fatal battle of Shrewſbury, and appointed Thirſk in Yorkſhire, the general rendezvous of his army. The government was alarmed at the ſucceſs which attended the beginning of Northumberland's inſurrection, and there was no royal army to march againſt the rebels. Sir Thomas Rokeſby, ſheriff of Yorkſhire, thought it his duty to ſtop their progreſs. With this view he raiſed a conſiderable body of forces, and advanced to meet them. The earl of Northumberland was equally deſirous of coming to an action with the ſheriff, perſuaded, that if he could defeat Rokeſby's forces, he ſhould not only diſappoint Henry of ſo eſſential a reinforcement, but alſo, by this ſucceſs, engage the city and county of York in his favour. Accordingly he drew up his followers in a line of battle on Barham-moor; yet, though prepared for the attack, his party did not long ſuſtain the fury of the royal army. The fight was maintained a conſiderable time with equal impetuoſity; but the rebel troops, conſiſting of raw, unexperienced people, were ſoon broken and routed, notwithſtanding the vigorous efforts of the gallant earl, who was ſlain in the field of battle, and lord Bardolf who died of his wounds. The king received the news of this victory in his march; notwithſtanding which he proceeded to York, where he puniſhed the ſurviving rebels with death, fine, or forfeiture; and rewarded the ſheriff with part of Northumberland's forfeited eſtate.

Glendour's power and influence were greatly impaired, by the vigilance and ſucceſs of the prince A. D. 1408. of Wales; who completed the conqueſt of South Wales, and reduced Harlech in Merionethſhire; ſo that Owen was in a manner beſieged at Snowdon, where he was greatly diſtreſſed for want of ſubſiſtence. Owen, on this reverſe of fortune, was gradually forſaken by the greater part of his adherents, who ſubmitted, and were pardoned by Henry. About two years after the ſuppreſſion of the rebels, Glendour died at his daughter's houſe in Herefordſhire, where he had been ſupported during that term in the diſguiſe of a ſhepherd. Theſe fortunate events freed Henry from all his domeſtic enemies. Not any more attempts were made to tear the laurel from his brow; and he enjoyed the crown without any farther oppoſition from the ambition of his turbulent nobles.

A. D. 1409. The commerce of England had been greatly annoyed by French corſairs. The king therefore ordered a ſtrong fleet to be fitted out, under the command of the earl of Kent, who immediately directed his courſe to the town of Brehal, the rendezvous of thoſe pirates. The earl immediately inveſted the place, but was repulſed after having received a wound in his head, which proved mortal. The Engliſh, incenſed at the death of their commander, renewed the attack with ſuch fury that they carried the place; put all they found in arms to the ſword; and brought the reſt priſoners to England.

A. D. 1410. The followers of Wickliffe, notwithſtanding the bloody act paſſed againſt them, were grown more numerous than ever, and many of them held places of power and truſt under the government. The major part of theſe heretics were very illiterate, neither capable of defending their tenets by ſound argument, nor regulating their conduct with decency. There were many perſons of learning and reflection all over the kingdom, who condemned the intemperate zeal of theſe Lollards, but made no ſcruple of declaring, that the church ſtood in need of reformation. A parliament being convoked at Weſtminſter on the twenty-ſeventh of January, ſeveral proviſions were made againſt alienations; and the commons preferred a bill againſt frauds in returning officers, to which the king aſſented with reluctance. During this ſeſſion an execution happened, which affords a ſtriking inſtance of perſecution on the one hand, and abſurd zeal on the other. One Bodby, a taylor, took upon him to exclaim violently againſt the real preſence in the euchariſt. As the ſpirit of reformation daily increaſed, the clergy ſingled out this poor fanatic for exemplary puniſhment. On his trial he was condemned to the ſtake, and Henry was a ſpectator of his execution. The commons, of whom a great part were Lollards, conſidered the ſufferings of this man as an intended affront offered to themſelves, and therefore took the firſt opportunity of expreſſing their reſentment.

The truce with Scotland expiring in the courſe of this year, the Scots renewed their hoſtilities on the borders; and with their cruizers interrupted the navigation and trade of the Engliſh. To chaſtize theſe adventurers, Robert de Umfreville, vice-admiral of England, entered the Frith of Edinburgh with ten capital ſhips, and not only deſtroyed the naval force of Scotland, but ravaged the whole coaſt, and brought off immenſe plunder.

Several negotiations were carried on in different parts of the continent, A. D. 1411. and produced a prolongation of the truce with France for five years, with Caſtile for two, and with Brittany for ten. A treaty was alſo concluded with the duke of Burgundy, againſt whom a powerful confederacy had been formed by the dukes of Berry, Orleans, Alençon, and Brittany. Theſe aſſociates having levied a powerful army, inveſted Paris; on which the duke of Burgundy had recourſe to his Engliſh ally, who ſent a body of troops to his aſſiſtance. Thus reinforced, the duke began his march; but the Picards and Flemings who compoſed his army, quarrelling after he had reduced the town of Ham, diſperſed and returned to their own habitations; ſo that he was abandoned by all but the Engliſh auxiliaries under the earl of Arundel, amounting to one hundred men at arms, and a thouſand archers. With theſe he proceeded to Paris, the blockade of which had been ſome time formed by the duke of Orleans; and, forcing his way through the quarters of the enemy, entered the city amidſt the acclamations of the people. The next day after their arrival, the duke ordered the Engliſh troops to attack the important poſts of Montmatne and la Chapelle, from whence they drove the enemy with great ſlaughter; and a few days after this valiant action they attacked St. Cloud, which was defended by two officers of courage and experience, at the head of ſome of the beſt troops in France; and, notwithſtanding the vigorous efforts of the defendants, the Engliſh, ſupported by a body of Picards and Pariſians, carried on the aſſault with ſuch irreſiſtible fury, that the place was taken, and a great number of perſons of diſtinction made priſoners. The duke of Orleans, alarmed at this loſs, raiſed the blockade of Paris, and retired into the provinces, where his troops diſperſed. After this retreat, the duke of Burgundy reduced all the caſtles and fortreſſes in the iſle of France which had been ſeized by the other faction; and this ſucceſs encouraged great part of the kingdom to declare in his favour. The Engliſh parliament meeting on the twelfth of November, were ſo well pleaſed with this expedition, that, in an addreſs to his majeſty, they deſired thanks might be given to the prince, and to the reſt of the counſellors, appointed by the laſt parliament to ſuperintend the application of the public money. They then petitioned that a general amneſty, under the great ſeal, might be paſſed in favour of all his majeſty's ſubjects; and the king granted their requeſt; in conſideration of which the commons voted a ſubſidy for the occaſions of the crown. At the ſame time Henry's three ſons, John, Thomas, and Humphrey, were created dukes of Clarence, Bedford, and Glouceſter; and his own brother duke of Dorſet.

Henry had now neither foreign nor domeſtic enemies to contend with; A. D. 1412. yet his days were embittered, as a parent, by the diſſolute behaviour and irregular courſes of the prince of Wales. He was now in the full vigour of youth, and of an active, ſprightly ſpirit. While employed in the field, no action, of an immoral tendency, ſtained his character. But a life of indolence was not ſuited to his turn of mind. The diſtruſt and jealouſy of his father having removed him from all ſhare in the public buſineſs, he plunged himſelf, with the utmoſt violence, into all the extravagances of debauchery, and bluſhed not for a conduct the moſt diſorderly and licentious. But his outrages proceeded not leſs from a depraved diſpoſition, than the violence of his temper, which being not directed to uſeful objects, induced him to give full ſcope to his paſſions; but many gleams of ſpirit and magnanimity were obſerved to break through the cloud, which a wild conduct had thrown over his character. The degeneracy of the heir apparent was not more mortifying to the king than alarming to the nation, who trembled at being governed by a prince whoſe court was the receptacle of libertines, buffoons, paraſites, and every ſpecies of vermin, which are at once the diſgrace and ruin of noble princes and kings. However, in the midſt of theſe exceſſes, the greatneſs of his ſoul ſeemed ſometimes to emerge from the dungeon of deformity in which it lay obſcured. One of young Henry's diſſolute companions having been indicted for ſome miſdemeanor, was condemned, notwithſtanding all the intereſt of the prince, who was preſent at the trial, could make in his favour; and he was ſo incenſed at the iſſue of the trial, that he ſtruck Sir William Gaſcoigne, the judge, as he ſat on the bench; but the magiſtrate, who acted with a ſpirit ſuitable to his character, inſtantly ordered the young prince to be committed to priſon; and young Henry, conſcious of the flagrant inſult he had committed, both with reſpect to the judge, and the laws of his country, ſuffered himſelf with the utmoſt reſignation to be conducted to the place of confinement, by the officers of juſtice. When this tranſaction had been reported to the king, who was an excellent judge of mankind, he cried out in a tranſport of joy, "I thank God, I have a judge endowed with courage to execute the laws, and am ſtill more happy, in having a ſon who will ſubmit to ſuch chaſtiſement."

During the reign of Henry, the parliamentary proceedings deſerve more attention, than thoſe relating either to military or foreign tranſactions. The commons had now attained a very conſiderable ſhare of importance, and it became an object of policy to direct their election. This circumſtance had been complained of during the preceding reign, and was made one of the articles of charge againſt Richard; but it continued ſtill unredreſſed. Henry purſued the ſame meaſures he had ſeverely cenſured in his predeceſſor. He was however obliged to court popularity, and this gave the legiſlative body an opportunity of aſſuming powers they had not hitherto ventured to exerciſe. In the firſt year of Henry's reign, the commons procured a law, that no judge, on being guilty of any iniquitous meaſures, ſhould be excuſed by pleading the king's orders, or even the danger of life from the ſovereign's menaces. In the ſecond year, they inſiſted on maintaining the practice, of not granting ſupplies before their petitions were anſwered. In the fifth year, they petitioned the king to diſmiſs four officers who had diſpleaſed them, one of whom was his own confeſſor; and though the king informed them, that he was not ſenſible of their having been guilty of any offence, yet to gratify them he complied with their requeſt. In the ſixth year, though they voted the king ſupplies, they appointed treaſurers of their own, to ſee the money diſburſed for the purpoſes intended; and enjoined them to deliver in their accounts to the houſe. In the eighth year, they propoſed thirty important articles for the regulation of the government, and the houſhold, which were all agreed to; and they even conſtrained all the members of the council, the judges and officers of the houſhold to ſwear to their obſervance: but in a ſubſequent parliament, when the king had overcome all his difficulties, the ſpeaker, on making his cuſtomary application to the throne for liberty of ſpeech, was told by Henry, that he intended to enjoy his prerogatives, and would have no novelties introduced. However this prince was more attentive to maintain the rights and privileges of the people than moſt of his predeceſſors. When the houſe of commons were at any time brought to make unwary conceſſions to the crown, they always ſpeedily retracted them. On this account, though Henry entertained a well grounded jealouſy of the family of Mortimer, he never allowed their name to be once mentioned in parliament; and as none of the rebels had ventured to declare the earl of Marche king, he would not attempt to procure an expreſs declaration againſt that nobleman's claim, though he knew this would not have been refuſed him, he being ſenſible, that ſuch a declaration would only ſerve to revive the memory of Mortimer's title. As the commons, during this reign, diſcovered a laudable zeal for liberty, in their tranſactions with the crown, they exerted themſelves no leſs againſt the church: for in the ſixth year of Henry's reign, they, on being required to grant ſupplies, propoſed to the king in plain terms, that he ſhould ſeize the temporalities of the church, and make uſe of them as a perpetual fund to ſupply the exigencies of the ſtate. They obſerved, that a third part of the lands of the kingdom was poſſeſſed by the clergy, who contributed nothing towards relieving the public burdens; and that their riches tended only to abate their zeal and attention in the performance of their miniſterial functions. The archbiſhop of Canterbury being with the king when this addreſs was preſented, obſerved, that though the clergy did not go in perſon to the wars, they, in caſes of neceſſity, ſent their vaſſals and tenants; while they themſelves who ſtaid at home, were day and night employed in offering up their prayers for the happineſs and proſperity of the kingdom. The ſpeaker anſwered with a ſmile, that the prayers of the church were but a ſlender ſupply. However the archbiſhop prevailed; the king refuſed their requeſt, and the lords rejected the bill. Not diſcouraged by this repulſe, the commons returned to the charge in the eleventh year of this reign, with greater zeal than before. They prepared a calculation of the eccleſiaſtical revenues, which they maintained amounted to the annual ſum of four hundred eighty five thouſand marks, and contained no leſs than eighteen thouſand four hundred ploughs of land, which they propoſed to divide among fifteen new earls, fifteen hundred knights, ſix thouſand eſquires, and one hundred hoſpitals; beſides twenty thouſand pounds a year, to be applied to the king's own uſe; and inſiſted, that the ſacred functions would be much better performed than they were by fifteen hundred pariſh prieſts, with an annual ſtipend of ſeven marks for each. This addreſs, though refuſed with a ſevere reply, alarmed both the king and the clergy. It was ſufficiently evident, that the doctrine of Wickliffe had ſpread to a great extent among the people, and it was therefore thought neceſſary to put the laws againſt the Lollards in execution. Accordingly ſeveral of them were ſent to priſon, and one, whom we have before noticed, committed to the flames, even while the parliament were ſitting. But theſe rigorous meaſures anſwered not the intention of the clergy. Perſecution always tends to increaſe the numbers of any religious ſect; and the ſufferings of the Lollards augmented their diſciples. The aſhes of one victim, ſcattered by the breath of the reformation, became the ſeed of thouſands.

A. D. 1413.

Henry had for ſome time employed himſelf in fomenting the diviſions which prevailed between the families of Burgundy and Orleans; but the two French princes having agreed to a pacification, the intereſts of the Engliſh were ſacrificed to their mutual convenience, and this effort of Henry was productive of no real advantage; and the bad ſtate of his health hindered him from renewing the attempt, which his more fortunate ſon proſecuted with ſucceſs, againſt the French monarchy. His health had for ſome months been viſibly declining: he was ſubject to fits, which for a time bereaved him of his ſenſes; and though yet in the flower of his age, his end was viſibly approaching. He was naturally of a peeviſh, jealous diſpoſition, which at this time gradually increaſed; and he too readily liſtened to the vile ſuggeſtions of his courtiers, who inſinuated, that his eldeſt ſon had formed deſigns upon his life and crown. The breaſt of the king was now filled with anxious fears, which impelled him to remove the prince from his poſt of preſident of the council. Young Henry was greatly alarmed. Fond as he was of pleaſure and diſſipation, he was ſtill poſſeſſed of the finer feelings; and could not without the moſt heart-rending anguiſh reflect, that his own conduct had given too much reaſon for his enemies to aſperſe his character. But ſtill he knew himſelf innocent with regard to his having formed a wiſh to the prejudice of his father's authority; and determined to purſue every method in his power to convince the king of his duty and loyalty. He repaired to court dreſſed in a mourning habit to expreſs his ſorrow; having obtained, at his requeſt, a private audience with the king, he threw himſelf on his knees, and addreſſed him in a ſpeech to the following purport: "My liege and honoured father; it gives me the moſt ſincere concern to find, that I am ſuſpected of harbouring an unnatural deſign againſt your crown and perſon; which I, more than any other ſubject, am bound to reverence and defend. It is true, and I confeſs the ſame with unfeigned contrition, that I have been guilty of many irregularities and exceſſes, for which I have juſtly merited your diſpleaſure. But I call the Almighty to witneſs, who knows the ſecret receſſes of the heart, and never fails to puniſh thoſe who dare to invoke him to ſanctify a falſhood, that I never entertained a thought, inconſiſtent with that duty and reſpect I owe to your majeſty. Thoſe who charge me with contrary intentions ſeek only to diſturb your tranquillity, and to alienate your affections from your ſon and ſucceſſor. I would willingly remove theſe anxieties from your mind; I came for no other purpoſe. Let me beſeech you therefore to permit me to clear myſelf from ſo ſcandalous an imputation. Let my actions be tried by the utmoſt rigour; with the ſame ſeverity as if I was the meaneſt of your ſubjects: and if I am guilty in any reſpect of the atrocious crime laid to my charge; if I have ever uſed an expreſſion indicating diſloyalty, or want of affection, puniſh me as a wretch unworthy the name of ſon or ſubject. I refer my conduct to your inſpection, and will readily ſubmit to any puniſhment you may think proper to inflict. This enquiry, with the utmoſt humility, I demand, both for your own ſatiſfaction, and the vindication of my injured honour." This free, ingenuous, and pathetic addreſs, greatly affected the king. He took the prince in his arms; embraced him with tears; aſſured him, that all his ſuſpicions were entirely removed; and that he would never for the future harbour a thought prejudicial to his loyalty and honour.

Henry did not long ſurvive this interview. He was ſeized with apoplectic fits, which returned at certain intervals, and deprived him of all ſenſation. This malady co-operating with ſcruples of conſcience, and an idle prophecy, that he ſhould die in Jeruſalem, diſpoſed his mind to devotional duties, and aſſuming the croſs, he reſolved to conſecrate the remainder of his days to a war againſt the infidels. He imparted his reſolution to a grand council aſſembled for that purpoſe, and began to prepare for his expedition, when his dreadful fits returned. They ſoon, by their frequency, impaired his ſenſes; and having been often in danger of loſing his crown, his imagination ſeems to have been ſtrongly impreſſed wiih that idea, which increaſed as his ſtrength and reaſoning faculties decayed even to a degree of childiſh anxiety. He would not go to ſleep unleſs it was laid on his pillow, leſt it ſhould be ſeized before he was dead. One day he remained ſo long in a ſwoon, that his ſervants thought him actually dead, when the prince coming in, took up the crown and carried it away. The king recovering the uſe of his ſenſes, and obſerving the diadem was removed, demanded, with an anxious ſolicitude, who had preſumed to take it from his pillow, and being told the prince had carried it away, he ordered him into his preſence. When young Henry appeared, the king, with an angry countenance, ſaid, "What would you deprive me of my crown before my death?" "No," replied the prince, "I had not ſuch a thought; but thinking your majeſty was really dead, I took the crown as my lawful inheritance. I am happy in finding my miſtake, and now, ſeeing you alive, with pleaſure reſtore it. May you long live to wear it in peace!" He accordingly replaced the crown on his father's pillow, and having received his bleſſing, retired.

The king was ſeized with his laſt fit as he was paying his devotions before the ſhrine of St. Edward, and was carried into the Jeruſalem chamber, belonging to the abbot of Weſtminſter; where recovering his ſpeech, and perceiving himſelf in a ſtrange place, he deſired to know by what name it was called, and being told, it put him in mind of the prediction, and he concluded his laſt moment approached. Before he expired, he ſent for the prince of Wales, to whom he gave ſome excellent advice; but expreſſed an uneaſineſs with reſpect to his uſurpation, and told him, that he was afraid his brother, the duke of Clarence, would diſturb him in the poſſeſſion of his throne. The prince obſerved, that being lawful heir, he would endeavour to keep the crown by the ſame methods, by which he himſelf had preſerved it: that if the duke of Clarence behaved as he ought, he would always find him a kind brother; but if he pretended to do otherwiſe, he knew how to make him return to his duty. The king then recommended him to the protection of heaven, and expired a few minutes after, on the twentieth of March, in the forty-ſixth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign, being the XXXIſt king of England from Egbert I. By his firſt wife Mary de Bohun, daughter and heir of the earl of Hereford, he had four ſons; Henry, ſurnamed of Monmouth, from the place of his birth, who ſucceeded his father on the throne; Thomas, duke of Clarence; John, duke of Bedford, afterwards regent of France; and Humphry, duke of Glouceſter. He had alſo two daughters; Blanche, who married firſt the elector Palatine, then the king of Arragon, and laſtly, the duke of Barr. Philippa, who married Eric, king of Denmark. Henry's ſecond wife was Joan, daughter to Charles I. king of Navarre, and widow of John Montfort, duke of Brittany. By this princeſs he had no iſſue.

Character of Henry IV.

This prince was of middle ſtature, and regular form; perfectly ſkilled in all the exerciſe of arms and chivalry. His countenance was the very emblem of equanimity, diſplaying a mind fortified againſt the ſudden reverſes of fickle fortune, neither elated with proſperity nor dejected with adverſity. Before he aſcended the throne, he enjoyed great popularity; but when the people were led to pity the unhappy fate of the late monarch, they were filled with reſentment, and ready to enter into rebellions againſt Henry; hence, though the executions were much fewer than might have been expected, and were neceſſary for the ſupport of his authority, the temper of the times made them appear cruel. Henry was led to the poſſeſſion of a crown by a train of incidents that ſeduced his virtue. The injuſtice with which he was treated by his predeceſſor; his being baniſhed for no crime; that baniſhment being afterwards made perpetual, and the ſentence rendered more ſevere by a deprivation of his patrimony, induced him to think of recovering thoſe rights of which he had been ſo unjuſtly deprived: but the ſteps whereby he aſcended the throne, and the means by which he attained that high dignity, were altogether unjuſtifiable; and the depoſition of his near relation, ſubjected to a cruel confinement, which occaſioned his death, will ever remain an indelible ſtain in the character of this prince. A crown ſeems to have been the ſeducing tempter, that corrupted his principles and deſtroyed his good fame; to which had he not aſpired he might have lived without envy, without danger, with the applauſe of wiſdom, and the approbation of virtue, having juſtly acquired the glorious diſtinctions of the deliverer, the protector, and the reſtorer of Engliſh liberty. The circumſtances of his reign evince his perſonal courage, nor are proofs wanting of his refined ſenſe, ſolid judgment, and deep penetration; and it muſt be confeſſed, that he had a remarkable command of temper; maintained his power with admirable prudence; and the regard he ſhewed for the liberties of the people, with the poſſeſſion of many great qualities, fitted him for the high ſtation to which he was raiſed. Though his uſurpation, legally conſidered, is unjuſtifiable, it actually proved a happy preventive of the deſpotic ſway of a weak prince, under the influence of a corrupt miniſtry; and had he gained the regal dignity by a juſt title, without being expoſed to the numerous inſurrections which diſturbed his whole reign, he might poſſibly have paſſed his life with as much honour to himſelf, and advantage to the nation, as any other monarch. The inquietude with which Henry enjoyed his height of power, and the remorſe with which he is ſaid to have been continually haunted, rendered him an object of compaſſion, and affords a ſtriking leſſon to thoſe whom Providence may have placed in the higheſt elevation of life, not to trifle, ſport with, nor infringe the eternal laws of moral obligation, which when, in particular inſtances, once violated, expoſes the mind to all the ſharp upbraidings of an inward monitor; and in ſpite of all the artificial propoſitions of ſceptical ſophiſtry, will, ſooner or later, deprive it of that calm, ſweet, internal tranquillity, the certain effect of conſcious integrity, which is preferable to unenvied greatneſs, even when that greatneſs is ſeated on a throne of royalty.

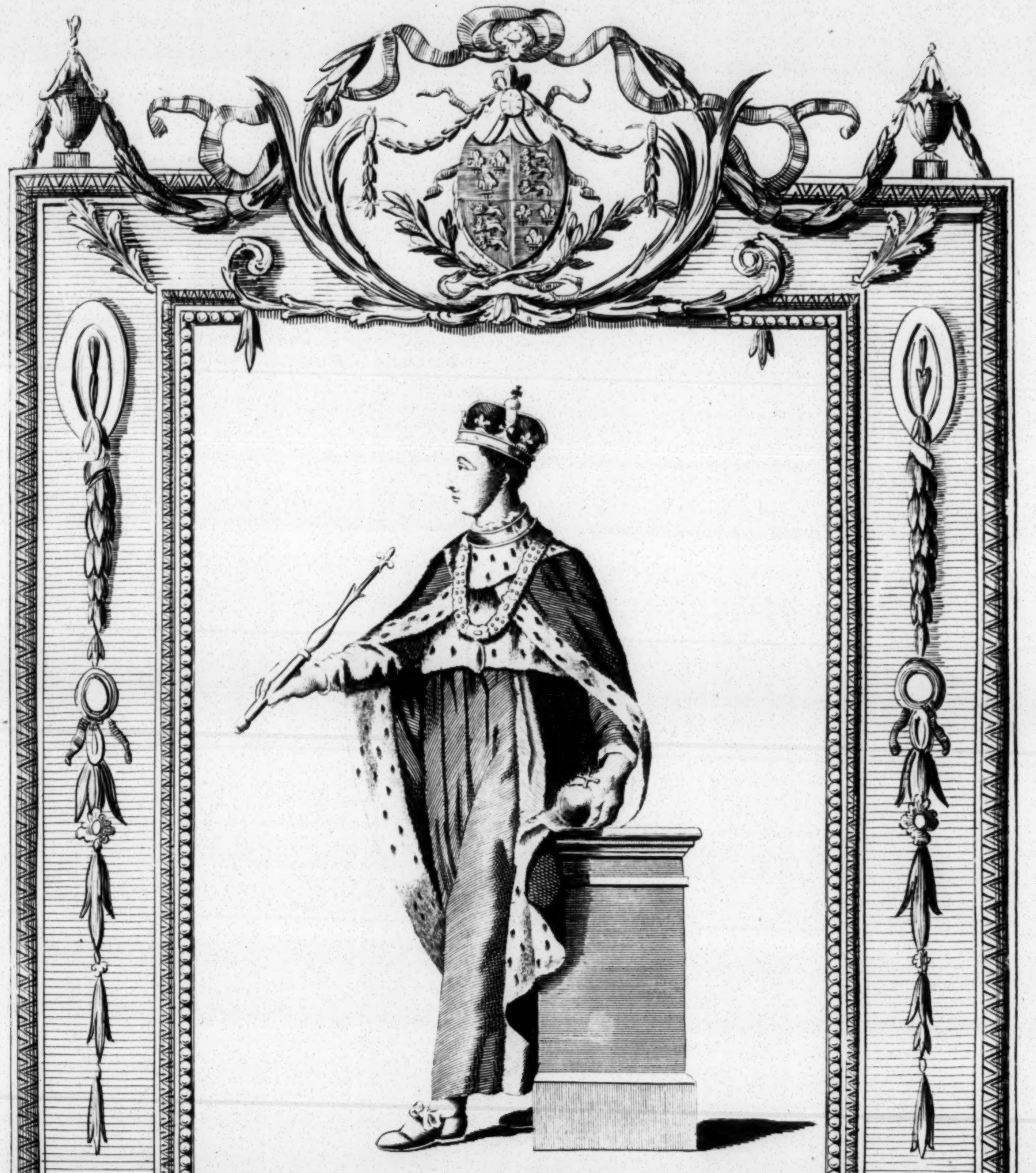
CHAP. II.

HENRY V.

His behaviour upon aſcending the throne—His conduct reſpecting eccleſiaſtical affairs—Perſecution of the Lollards renewed—Death of Sir John Oldcaſtle, head of that ſect—State af France and war with that kingdom—Grounds and pretenſions for it—The battel of Agincourt—Henry again invades France, meeting with no conſiderable oppoſition—Recovers the whole province of Normandy—Circumſtances which tended to facilitate the progreſs of the Engliſh arms—Aſſaſſination of the duke of Burgundy—Conſequences of Henry's ſucceſſes—Oppoſed by the dauphin of France—Death, family, and character of this prince.

A. D. 1413. HENRY V. ſurnamed of Monmouth, from the place of his birth, had been educated under the eye of his uncle, the biſhop of Wincheſter, at the univerſity of Oxford. Here he received thoſe ſeeds of education, which though buried for a time deep in the bed of immorality, in due ſeaſon ſprung up, and produced a cluſter of virtues. He was about twenty-five years of age when he aſcended the throne, and the people were inclined to think they ſhould be happy under his adminiſtration; ſeeing they had perceived many indications of a noble and generous ſpirit darting frequently with uncommon luſtre, through the miſt of diſſipation.

Whatever arguments may have been framed in defence of the divine and indefeaſible nature of hereditary right, it has generally been found, in the progreſs of human events, to give place to the more important conſideration of the general good of ſociety. Though Henry V. could urge no more validity of claim than his father, and though the earl of Marche, the lineal heir was ſtill living, the parliament, without ſcruple, placed the royal diadem on his head, convinced that ſuch a ſtep would conduce to the intereſt of the nation. Henry therefore having been proclaimed, immediately after the death of his father, with the uſual ceremonies, was crowned by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, on the ninth of April. He was ſcarcely ſeated on the throne, when he ſent for his former companions, and after acquainting them with his intended reformation, exhorted them to imitate his example, but ſtrictly prohibited them from appearing any more in his preſence, till they had given ſufficient proofs of their having changed their courſe of life; and then diſmiſſed them with preſents. Such conduct afforded Henry's ſubjects a happy omen of his future government; which he began with a general amneſty, and an appeal to heaven, that he would rather chuſe to be removed from life, than exerciſe a tyrannical ſway over his people. Thoſe of his father's wiſe miniſters who had checked his folly, immediately found they had, unknown to themſelves, been paying their court to him, and were received with every mark of favour: even the chief juſtice, approaching him with fearful apprehenſions, received praiſes inſtead of reproaches, and was exhorted by the king, to perſevere in executing the laws with the ſame rigour and impartiality. The ſurprize of all who expected an oppoſite conduct, increaſed their ſatisfaction, and the amiable deportment of the young king appeared brighter than if it had never been ſhaded by his follies. He was alſo not only ſolicitous to repair his own miſconduct, but to atone for thoſe crimes into which his father had been betrayed by policy, or the neceſſity of affairs. He expreſſed his concern for the unhappy fate of Richard; did juſtice to his memory; ordered his corpſe to be removed from Langley, where it had been interred, to Weſtminſter-abbey; and cauſed it to be depoſited by Ann of Luxemburgh, his late queen, with great pomp, and ſolemn funeral rites at which he himſelf attended as chief mourner. He received the earl of Marche with ſingular courteſy, and by this inſtance of true policy, gained ſuch an aſcendance over the gentle and unambitious temper of that prince, that he ever after continued ſincerely attached to him, and gave him no diſturbance in his future government. He reſtored the family of Piercy to their honour and fortunes; and being deſirous of burying in oblivion all party diſtinctions, he made thoſe who had been advanced without merit, give place to men of real abilities. The low



Wale delin.

Cary sculp.

He was Crowned at Westminster. April 9. 1413 — & Died of a Pleurisy at Rouen
in Normandy Augt 31. 1422 Aged 34.

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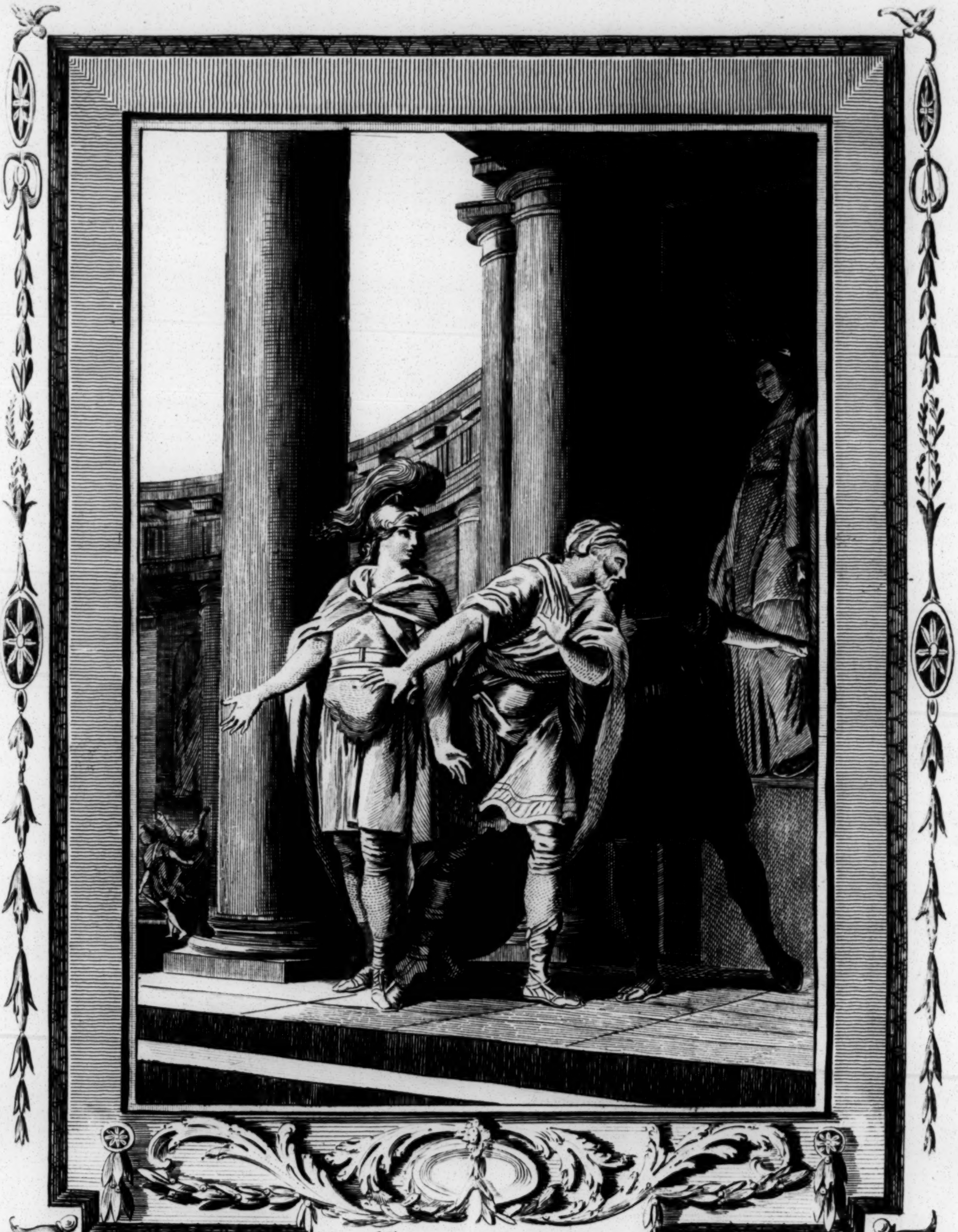

Monnet delin.

HENRY V. *(in consequence of the* Advice *of his late* Father's wise Ministers) *declaring his* resolution *of discarding his* loose Companions, *who had while he was* Prince *of* Wales *drawn him into* folly *(and a* diſsipated course of Life.

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and narrow politics of governing by a party, he juſtly ſcorned, and eſteemed wiſdom, united with integrity, as the bulwark of his throne.

Notwithſtanding Henry aſcended the throne under the moſt favourable auſpices, he could not eſcape the envy and hatred of ſome individuals. A conſpiracy was formed againſt him by one Wightlock, who endeavoured to foment a rebellion by poſting papers in public places, containing affirmatives that Richard was ſtill alive. This incendiary being apprehended, was committed priſoner to the Tower, from whence he eſcaped by the connivance of the conſtable, who was diſmiſſed from his office, and one of the wardens, convicted of having favoured the priſoner's eſcape, executed as a traitor. But the attention of Henry was chiefly turned towards France, the theatre of his future glory. A conſiderable body of Engliſh troops ſtill remained in Guienne, and had not only committed dreadful outrages againſt the French, but defeated a body of four thouſand troops under the marſhal de Heli, whom they took priſoner. But the duke of Clarence returning ſoon after with the main body of theſe forces to England, a truce had been concluded, which, as uſual, had been very ill obſerved; for immediately after the death of the late king, the garriſon of Calais, perſuaded, that every truce terminated with the lives of the contracting parties, made an irruption into Bologne, upon which the French government ſent ſtrong reinforcements to Ardres, Gravelins, and the neighbouring places. Hoſtilities alſo commenced by ſea, and a ſtrong ſquadron of French overpowered three Engliſh ſhips, which were deſigned to ſurprize the veſſels in the harbour of Dieppe, and killed their commodore. Such was the ſituation of affairs when a new parliament met on the fifteenth of May. The ſeſſion was opened with a ſpeech by the biſhop of Wincheſter, who aſſured them of Henry's zeal to promote the intereſts of the church and ſtate. The commons then preſented an addreſs, deſiring the punctual execution of the laws, and a redreſs of national grievances. They alſo petitioned, that his majeſty would provide for the defence of Ireland, Wales, the Marches of Scotland, Calais, and Guienne. After which they granted a ſubſidy on wool and leather, for four years, together, with tonnage and poundage, for one year, and a fifteenth and a half. They complained loudly of the clergy's exacting pecuniary commutations, and the king promiſed to interpoſe his authority with the biſhops, that theſe abuſes might be reformed.

At the ſame time the convocation of the clergy were employed in concerting the moſt effectual methods, for putting a ſtop to Wickliffe's hereſy. The ſects of the Lollards were every day increaſing, and appeared not only dangerous to the church, but even formidable to the civil power. To ſtop their progreſs, Thomas Arundel, biſhop of Canterbury, had obtained an order from the late king, to ſend commiſſions to Oxford, to take information in relation to their doctrines, and chief abettors, when it was found, that Sir John Oldcaſtle, lord Cobham, was at their head, a nobleman, who, on many occaſions had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his bravery, whereby he acquired the eſteem both of the late and preſent king. His great character and his zeal made the archbiſhop conſider him as a proper victim of eccleſiaſtical cenſure, concluding, that by indicting him, he ſhould ſtrike a terror into the whole party, and make them ſenſible, that after his death no others could expect the leaſt mercy. But lord Cobham was too great a favourite with the king for the archbiſhop to proceed without his leave. He therefore waited upon Henry, to whom he opened the ſubject of his complaint, endeavouring to perſuade him, that fire and faggot were the only means proper for the extirpation of hereſy, and that the intereſt of religion rendered it abſolutely neceſſary, to proceed againſt that nobleman with the utmoſt rigour. The king, who was no friend to eccleſiaſtical ſeverity, repreſented to the primate that reaſon and perſuaſion were the beſt means for ſupporting truth, and correcting error; that he ought firſt to try all gentle methods to bring back the Lollards to the boſom of the church, and that he himſelf would converſe with Sir John Oldcaſtle, and endeavour to reconcile him to the catholic faith. But Henry found all his perſuaſions were in vain; Cobham was too ſteadily fixed in his opinions, to ſacrifice truths of the utmoſt importance, to conciliate the favour even of a ſovereign, to whom he was ſtrongly attached. The king was diſpleaſed at that nobleman's inflexibility; and finding that his own power had no effect, cruelly delivered him up to the primate, with his permiſſion to proceed againſt him to the utmoſt extremity of the laws. The violence of eccleſiaſtical authority was now exerted, and the prelate, aſſiſted by the biſhops of London, Wincheſter, and St. Davids, condemned the devoted lord Cobham to the flames; but he made his eſcape from the Tower before the day appointed for his execution.

A. D. 1414.

The clergy had obtained a proclamation againſt the Lollards aſſembling for religious worſhip, on which, not daring to meet in houſes, they choſe ſome unfrequented place, where they met in the night. Some of them having aſſembled in St. George's fields, then overgrown with buſhes, it came to the ears of their enemies, who informed the king, that Cobham was there at the head of twenty thouſand men, with a deſign to kill his majeſty, and ſubvert the government. Henry weakly giving credit to the idle tale, marched againſt them, with a view of attacking them before they had taken their meaſures. Arriving upon the ſpot about midnight, he put ſome of them to the ſword, and took the reſt priſoners. Among theſe were Sir Roger Acton, John Browne, Eſq. and Sir John Beverly, who ſuffered death as heretics and traitors, together with ſixty-three of their followers. Lord Cobham was out-lawed, not having been preſent on this occaſion; but being apprehended four years after, he was drawn, hanged, and burnt on the gibbet for hereſy and treaſon. This ſpirited conduct of the king checked for a time the very idea of hereſy, and many who wiſhed for the reformation of abuſes in the church, diſcovered their diſlike to the ſpeculative doctrines of the Lollards, which they imagined threw diſgrace upon ſo good a cauſe: hence the parliament increaſed the rigours of the penal laws. They enacted, that whoever ſhould be convicted of that hereſy before the ordinary, ſhould not only ſuffer capital puniſhment, but forfeit lands and goods to the king; and that the chancellor, treaſurer, juſtices of the two benches, ſheriffs, and all chief magiſtrates in every city and borough, ſhould ſwear to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to extirpate hereſy. Yet when the king required a ſupply, this very parliament renewed the offer made to his father, and intreated him to ſeize the revenues of the clergy for the uſe of the crown. The biſhops, who could offer nothing equivalent, were greatly alarmed; they offered the king all the revenues of alien priories; but this in all probability would not have diverted the ſtorm, which Chicheley, who was now raiſed to the ſee of Canterbury, effected, by directing the attention of Henry to a very different object. He perſuaded the king to engage in a war with France, in order to recover the provinces wreſted from his anceſtors, and to obtain that kingdom, to which the artful prelate pretended he had a juſt claim. Henry's natural diſpoſition inclined him to follow this advice, and the civil diſſentions in France which had laſted for a long time, and ſtill continued, favoured his ambitious views.

The ſtate of that kingdom was indeed now truly deplorable. Charles VI. had been ſeized with a fit of frenzy, which rendered him incapable of exerciſing his authority; and though he recovered from this diſorder, he was ſo ſubject to relapſes, that his ſenſes were gradually impaired, whereby he was unable to purſue any plan of government. This misfortune gave a full career to the rage of parties. The duke of Orleans, the king's brother, and the duke of Burgundy, his couſin-german, after engaging in moſt violent quarrels, by which the country had been deluged with the blood of its inhabitants, agreed to enter into ſtrict friendſhip, and ſwore at the altar to the ſincerity of their intentions. But notwithſtanding they had invoked heaven as a witneſs againſt them, very little regard was paid to the ſacredneſs of their promiſe, or ſolemn oaths. The duke of Orleans was ſoon after aſſaſſinated in the ſtreets of Paris, by order of the duke of Burgundy. For ſome time he ſtrove to conceal his guilt; but being detected, he openly avowed and endeavoured to juſtify what he had done. Even the parliament of Paris, the ſupreme tribunal of juſtice, on hearing the harangues of the duke's advocate in defence of aſſaſſination, which he juſtified under the name of tyrannicide, influenced by faction, and overawed by power, did not condemn this deteſtable doctrine. The commiſſion of ſo baſe a crime, thus ſhamefully vindicated, deſtroyed all truſt and ſecurity; and a reconciliation between the two parties was now impoſſible. The princes of the blood joining with the young duke of Orleans and his brothers, engaged in a terrible war with the duke of Burgundy; and the unhappy king, on being ſometimes ſeized by one party, and ſometimes by another, alternately transferred the appearance of legal authority to each: the provinces were ravaged; the animoſities of the ſeveral leaders every where produced moſt ſhocking murders; and executions were ordered, without legal trial, by pretended courts of juſtice. All the French were divided into two parties, the Burgundians, and the Armagnacs; the latter of whom were the followers of the young duke of Orleans, and were ſo called from that prince's father-in-law the count of Armagnac. Paris was a perpetual ſcene of blood and confuſion; the king and royal family were frequently detained captives by the vulgar on either ſide, and his miniſters ſlaughtered before his face. The butchers of Paris declared for the duke of Burgundy; and committed, with the moſt furious zeal, every kind of outrage againſt thoſe of the oppoſite party. On the other hand, the Armagnacs were ſupported by the fraternity of carpenters; thus the populace ranged themſelves on one ſide or other, and on the prevalence of either party, depended the fate of the capital. Henry perceived the advantage that might be taken of theſe confuſions, and reſolved to make war on the divided kingdom of France.

In order, however, to conceal his real intentions, and to have a plauſible pretence for this ſtep, he ſent over a ſplendid embaſſy to France, with the offer of a perpetual peace and alliance between the two crowns; at the ſame time demanding, in return, the French king's daughter in marriage, with two millions of crowns for her portion; the payment of one million ſix hundred thouſand being the arrears of king John's ranſom; the immediate poſſeſſion and full ſovereignty of Normandy, and the other provinces which had been conquered by the arms of Philip Auguſtus, together with the ſuperiority of Brittany and Flanders. The exorbitant nature of theſe demands ſufficiently indicates, that Henry, notwithſtanding the diſtreſs of the French monarchy, never expected they could be granted. And the terms offered by that court, though greatly inferior, abundantly demonſtrate the conſciouſneſs of their melancholy condition. They agreed to give him the princeſs in marriage, with a portion of eight hundred thouſand crowns; to inveſt him with the entire ſovereignty of Guienne; and to annex to it the counties of Perigord, Rovergne, Xaintonge, Angoumois, and other territories. However, the dauphin, who was a youth of high ſpirit, diſliking theſe conceſſions, and having a mean opinion of Henry on account of his diſſolute character when prince of Wales, contemptuouſly ſent him, in deriſion, a box of tennis-balls, intimating, that they would afford him a more proper amuſement. Henry, piqued at this ſatirical ſtroke, anſwered, that his balls ſhould be matched with racquets, with which he would play a game that ſhould ſhake the walls of the Louvre. The above terms, offered by the French court, were rejected by Henry, who was determined to erect his ſtandard in the plains of France. The ardour of the nation to follow their ſovereign, exceeded his moſt ſanguine expectations, and freed him from any apprehenſions of his finances being inſufficient for the payment of his forces. The earl of Northumberland levied forty men at arms, and one hundred and twenty archers; the earl of Weſtmoreland the ſame number; the earl of Warwick twenty men at arms, and forty archers; the earl of Suffolk, the lords Zouch, Berkley, d'Arcy, Seymour, Roſs, and Willoughby, contributed four ſhips, one hundred and forty men at arms, and two hundred and eighty archers, and the reſt of the nobility in proportion.

A. D. 1415.

While Henry was thus aſſiduouſly employed in making preparations for a foreign invaſion, he had the mortification to find himſelf in danger from a conſpiracy at home. Richard, earl of Cambridge, ſecond ſon of the late duke of York, having married the ſiſter of the earl of Marche, had entered with great zeal into the intereſts of that family. For this lady being the daughter and heireſs of Lionel, duke of Clarence, the third ſon of Edward III. he became, in right of her, nearer to the crown than Henry, and had reaſon to hope, that on the death of Mortimer, earl of Marche, who had no iſſue, he, or his children might ſucceed to the throne. He therefore engaged on his ſide lord Scrope of Marſham, treaſurer of England, and Sir Thomas Grey of Heaton, in Northumberland. They propoſed to crown the earl of Marche; and having exacted from him an oath of ſecrecy, communicated the plan they had formed in his favour; but his fears, or his gratitude, overcoming his ambition, he imparted the whole converſation to Henry. The conſpirators were inſtantly ſeized, and impriſoned in Southampton caſtle, when three of them were indicted before a jury of commoners. The conſtable of that caſtle ſwore, that each of them had confeſſed their guilt to him; and, without any other evidence, Sir Thomas Grey was condemned and executed; but the earl of Cambridge and lord Scrope, pleading the privilege of their peerage, Henry ſummoned a court of eighteen barons, in which the duke of Clarence preſided. The evidence of the jury was read, and brought againſt them; but the priſoners, though one of them a prince of the blood, were not heard in their own defence, nor ſo much as brought into court; but upon this proof received ſentence of death, and were ſoon after executed.

This affair delayed the king's departure till the fifteenth of Auguſt, when he ſailed from Southampton with ſix thouſand men at arms, four and twenty thouſand archers, and about twenty thouſand common infantry, on board a fleet of fifteen hundred ſail. After a quick and eaſy paſſage he landed at the mouth of the Seine in Normandy, about nine miles from Harfleur, which he immediately inveſted. The place was under the command of Eſtouteville, aſſiſted by ſome of the beſt officers of France, ſtrongly fortified, and provided with a numerous garriſon, who made a gallant defence. But Henry carried on the attack with ſuch unremitted fury, and plied his artillery with ſuch ſucceſs, that a conſiderable breach was made; and the beſieged, finding it impracticable to maintain the place, capitulated, on condition of ſurrendering, if not relieved, a week after Michaelmas. A body of troops, under the command of the marſhal d'Iſle d'Adam, attempted to throw ſuccours into the town, but were repulſed; ſo that the time being expired, the garriſon ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war; and Henry having taken poſſeſſion of Harfleur, peopled it with an Engliſh colony, by cauſing a proclamation to be made throughout England, that all who would ſettle there ſhould have houſes ſecured to them and their heirs. The fatigue of this ſiege, and exceſſive heat of the ſeaſon, had ſo diminiſhed the Engliſh army, that Henry was obliged to think of returning to England; and before he left Harfleur, not above a fourth part of his forces remained in perfect health. Having ſent back his tranſports, which could not ſafely anchor in an open road on the enemy's coaſt, he was under a neceſſity of marching by land to Calais, before he could reach a place of ſecurity. In his march he met with many difficulties, all the bridges of the Somme being broken down, and all the paſſages defended by ſtrong detachments of the enemy. Having at length found means to clear the paſſes, Henry forded the river between St. Quintin and Peronne, and directed his rout towards Blagney. Here he found himſelf in the midſt of an enemy's country, in the ſevere ſeaſon of the year, at the head of a handful of men, exhauſted by diſtemper and fatigue, and blocked up by an army of one hundred thouſand men. In this emergency he ſent a meſſage to the conſtable of France, offering to reſtore Harfleur, and to repair all the damage he had done; nay, even bind himſelf by oath never more to invade France, if he would allow him to paſs unmoleſted to Calais. The ſame offer had been made by the Black Prince, and this of Henry's was in like manner rejected, the French inſiſting that he and his army ſhould ſurrender at diſcretion. At the ſame time they ſent three heralds to defy him to battle, leaving the time and place to his own choice; he replied, that weakened as his army now was, he would not ſeek an engagement; but as he was determined to make his way to Calais, they might attack him when and where they thought proper. Henry now obſerved from the heights the whole French army drawn up in the plains of Agincourt, and poſted in ſuch a manner, that it was impoſſible for him to continue his march without coming to an engagement. In appearance, nothing could be more unequal than the impending battle. His army conſiſted of little more than half the number which had diſembarked at Harfleur, now almoſt deſtitute of proviſions, and wore down by ſickneſs. The enemy's army, four times more numerous, was headed by the dauphin, and all the princes of the blood, and well ſupplied with accommodations of every kind. Thus Henry's ſituation reſembled that of Edward at Creſſy, and that of the Black Prince at Poictiers; and the memory of thoſe glorious victories, inſpiring his troops with freſh courage, made them hope for the like ſucceſs. The French commanders, vainly confident from their ſuperiority in point of numbers, gave notice on the twenty-ſecond of October to the king of England, that they would engage him on the twenty-fifth. Finding it impoſſible to avoid an action, he accepted the challenge, and preſented the herald who brought it with a rich robe, and two hundred crowns. During this interval of three days, Henry employed every expedient which prudence could ſuggeſt, in order to prepare his men for the approaching combat. He procured them ſuch refreſhment as the nature of their ſituation would afford; he cauſed their weapons and armour to be repaired; he fixed ſharp ſtakes for the defence of his archers; he was conſtantly on horſeback, riding through the ranks of his army, to ſuperintend the œconomy of his camp, and to animate his ſoldiers, reminding them of the great victories obtained by their forefathers in France; yet he gave them to underſtand, that the extraordinary efforts of valour alone, could preſerve them from death or captivity. His affability, activity, confidence, and addreſs, inſpired his ſoldiers with ſuch martial ardour, that far from dreading the numbers of the enemy, they only wiſhed eagerly for the battle, and bore their diſtreſſes with an heroic firmneſs, in hopes of being relieved by a ſpeedy victory. This ſpirit remarkably appeared on the day preceding the battle. Henry having ſent David Gam, a Welch captain, to reconnoitre the poſture and ſtrength of the enemy, on his return, being interrogated by the king concerning the numbers of the French, that brave officer replied, "My liege, there are enough to be killed, enough to be taken priſoners, and enough to run away." Far different from this prudent conduct of Henry, was the arrogant behaviour of the French generals, who ſpent their time in riot and rejoicing, haughtily boaſting their ſuperiority of numbers, and conſidering the ſmall handful of Engliſh, whom they vainly deſpiſed, as victims devoted to ſure deſtruction. They were ſo confident of victory, that they are ſaid to have played at dice for the Engliſh priſoners before they were taken; and to have ſent orders to the neighbouring villages to prepare lodgings for thoſe ſtrangers. On the morning of the engagement, their inſolence and preſumption roſe to ſuch a pitch, that they detached another herald to Henry, to know what he propoſed to give for his ranſom. This inſult he received with juſt diſdain; and deſired the herald to tell thoſe who ſent him, that a little time would decide to whom the ranſom belonged.

As ſoon as it was light on the day appointed for the battle, the two armies marſhalled their forces. The conſtable d'Albert, who commanded the French, was guilty of a capital error, in chuſing a narrow piece of ground, flanked by a rivulet and thick wood, where he could not extend his front ſo as to encloſe the Engliſh, and where his ſuperiority of numbers, inſtead of being an advantage, was a burden and incumbrance. The conſtable divided his army into three bodies; he himſelf, accompanied by the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, with many other nobles, took their ſtation at the head of the van. The ſecond line was commanded by the duke of Alençon, aſſiſted by the duke of Bar; and at the head of the third body were the counts of Marle, Fauquenberg, Dampmartin, and the ſieur de Lauroy. While the French were employed in arranging theſe lines, Henry concealed four hundred lances in a wood upon the right, and about two hundred and fifty choice archers on the left, in a low meadow covered with buſhes. In order to extend his front equal to that of the enemy, he was obliged to form his little army into one line: the right wing, commanded by the duke of York, with the lords Beaumont, Willoughby, and Stanhope, was advanced a little before the center, which the king commanded in perſon, aſſiſted by his brother the duke of Gloucester, the earl marſhal, and the young earl of Suffolk, whoſe father died at Harfleur. The left, which was called the rear, as it had not advanced ſo far as the other two diviſions, was under the command of the duke of Exeter. Nothing could be more prudent than this diſpoſition, which was made by the advice of Sir Thomas Erpingham, an old experienced ſoldier, who acted this day as Henry's marſhal, and was appointed to give the ſignal for the attack. The king himſelf appeared in front of the army in ſplendid armour, mounted on a ſtately white courſer, with a golden crown, fixed by way of creſt, to his helmet. Four royal banners were diſplayed before him; he was followed by a great number of led horſes, in rich capariſons, and ſurrounded by the chief of his court and army. The French ſtood for ſome time in order of battle, at the diſtance of two hundred and fifty paces, without proceeding to the attack; and Henry began to think, that they intended to ſtarve him into a ſurrender, which would have been their wiſeſt courſe, as his proviſions were quite exhauſted, and the weather ſo rainy, that it would have been impracticable to have kept the field. Henry immediately rode along the line, and exhorted his ſoldiers to behave like Engliſhmen: and then alighting from his horſe, took his ſtation in the center of the main body, ordering Sir Thomas Erpingham to throw up his truncheon into the air as a ſignal for the attack. Immediately the whole line, raiſing a loud ſhout, ruſhed forward to the charge; but Henry, fearing they would be out of breath before they could come to cloſe fight, ordered them to halt about midway, where the archers planted their picquets, to defend themſelves from the French cavalry. At the ſame time a body of choſen archers advancing ſome paces, diſcharged a flight of arrows, which did amazing execution. The French had drawn up before their front line two thouſand four hundred horſe, all, with their riders, covered with armour for receiving the firſt diſcharge of the Engliſh arrows; after which they propoſed to break in among the archers, who being once diſordered, their rout was to be completed by the reſt of the army. But this diſpoſition was vain, when oppoſed to the barbed arrow ſent from an Engliſh arm. Every ſhaft took place, and even pierced the armour of the Frenchmen at arms; and the conſtable, ſeeing the moſt advanced of the Engliſh archers finiſhing with their battle-axes and daggers the ſlaughter they had begun, ordered his firſt line to advance, which they did to great diſadvantage; for the horſes, which eſcaped the arrows of the Engliſh, bore their riders headlong through their own ranks, while the heavy armour of the French, both horſe and foot, rendered it extremely difficult for them to move through a miry ſoil to the attack. The Engliſh archers, on the other hand, being lightly armed, and ſupported by a body of pioneers, fell back behind their pointed ſtakes into their ranks, which they kept entire, and gave another diſcharge of their arrows ſo cloſe and deadly, that the French began to reel through the deepeſt ranks of their firſt column. The troops that lay in ambuſh on each ſide now ſuddenly charging them in flank, increaſed the diſorder, which the archers perceiving, flung their bows; and ruſhing upon them with their battle-axes and daggers, made a terrible ſlaughter. The front line, conſiſting of the beſt troops in France, animated by the preſence of many noblemen, and commanded by the conſtable in perſon, could not ſuſtain the impetuoſity of the Engliſh; and by the narrowneſs of the ground, being prevented from due exertion of their ſtrength, as well as thrown into diſorder, all oppoſition was at an end; while the archers ruſhed in among them, and covered the field with the killed, wounded, and diſmounted. Yet, notwithſtanding the conſtable and many principal officers were ſlain, and even their firſt line entirely routed, the battle ſtill remained undecided; for the ſecond line, commanded by the duke of Alençon, ſtood firm; and on perceiving the rout of the firſt diviſion, advanced to repair the diſgrace of their countrymen; whereupon thoſe of the Engliſh who were fatigued with action retired behind the main body to recruit their ſpirits, and form themſelves anew; while Henry in perſon led up his diviſion to the charge, and a dreadful conteſt enſued, eſpecially round the king's perſon. D'Alençon, in order to ſnatch, if poſſible, the victory from the enemy, commanded eighteen French knights of approved valour, to watch attentively the motions of the Engliſh monarch, and to uſe their utmoſt efforts to kill or take him priſoner. But the genius of Henry ſaved him from this imminent danger. Animated with the ſurprizing ſucceſs of his archers, added to his natural vivacity and courage, the king diſmounted from his horſe, and performed exploits of valour, which aſtoniſhed, not only his own army, but alſo that of the enemy, whom he charged with a fury almoſt irreſiſtible, and was met by d'Alençon with a firmneſs that deſerved a better fate. The French knights, who had never loſt ſight of Henry, made their way ſword in hand to the place where he fought, and one of them ſtunned him with a battle-axe. In all probability he would have fallen a ſacrifice to the aſſault of theſe furious aſſociates, had not David Gam, and two other officers, perceiving the danger that threatened their ſovereign, ruſhed in between him and the aſſailants, and ſacrificed their own perſons for his ſafety. All the eighteen knights paid for their temerity with their lives. Gam, and his two valiant countrymen, were alſo mortally wounded; and Henry, when he had recovered his ſpirits, to ſhew his gratitude for their generous aſſiſtance, knighted thoſe three gallant ſoldiers, as they lay upon the field of battle, expiring of their wounds. Having paid this tribute of acknowledgment to merit and loyalty, the king, to revenge the late attempt upon his life, darted into the thickeſt part of the battle, and was again ſurrounded by a hoſt of foes. His brother, the duke of Glouceſter, who had fought by his ſide, was ſtruck to the ground, and the enemy preſſed in crouds to avail themſelves of the incident. Henry, who was a ſtranger to fear, covered the body of his brother with his ſhield, and defended him with his ſword. While in this critical ſituation, the duke of York advanced to his aſſiſtance at the head of a freſh body of troops. The enemy were intimidated; they fell back; by which means Henry and his brother had time to recover their ſtrength. Another reinforcement immediately followed, and Henry again attacked the French with ſuch fury, that they were unable to ſupport the ſhock, and a horrid ſlaughter enſued. In the mean time, the duke d'Alençon, with a ſpirit worthy his blood and rank, made one furious effort, determined either to retrieve the battle, or ſpare himſelf the mortification of ſurviving the diſgrace of his country. He put himſelf at the head of a choſen body of volunteers, and, cutting his way to the ſpot where Henry fought in perſon, ruſhed upon the Engliſh monarch, killed the duke of York by his ſide; and then turning furiouſly towards Henry, cleft his golden crown with the firſt ſtroke of his ſword; but he had not time to repeat the blow; for Henry returned the ſalutation in ſuch an effectual manner as brought him to the ground, and with his own hand ſlew two of his attendants. He endeavoured to ſave the life of Alençon; but the guards were ſo exaſperated at his daring attempt, that they diſpatched him before the king could interpoſe effectually in his behalf. The death of this general put an end to all farther oppoſition. But the third line were ſtill entire, and more numerous than the whole Engliſh army. They were freſh and vigorous, while the victors were faint with the fatigue of action, which was increaſed by a flux, that had for ſome time prevailed among them; yet the French were ſo intimidated by the defeat of the other two lines, and the terrible havock which had been made among their countrymen, that they refuſed to obey the command of their generals; and, inſtead of advancing to the charge, retired from the field of battle; though they ſtill continued in a body, until Henry ſent a herald to declare, that if they remained in that poſture till he ſhould overtake them, he would put them all to the ſword without mercy. Alarmed at this declaration they inſtantly diſperſed, and left him ſole maſter of the field. But before he had time to receive congratulations on his victory, he was informed the French were in his rear, and in poſſeſſion of his camp; concluding, therefore, that they intended to renew the battle, he inſtantly ordered all the priſoners to be put to death, except thoſe of the moſt diſtinguiſhed quality; which cruel order was punctually executed. He then marched toward his camp, and found it already pillaged by a body of fugitives, who retiring by times out of the field, and knowing that the Engliſh camp was but weakly guarded, plundered it while the two armies were engaged, but retired at Henry's approach. The above maſſacre has caſt a ſtain on this glorious battle; but it appeared to Henry unavoidable, from the impoſſibility of the Engliſh being able to guard their priſoners, who are ſaid to have equalled or exceeded their conquerors; and the king's juſt apprehenſions, leſt, during the fight, which he imagined on the point of being renewed, they ſhould turn againſt him. Nothing now remaining to oppoſe his victorious arms, his firſt care was to return thanks to God for ſo ſignal a deliverance and victory; and he ordered proclamation to be made, that it ſhould be aſcribed to divine power alone. He then ſent for Montjoy, a French herald, who had been diſpatched from the dauphin to obtain permiſſion to bury the dead; and aſked him, to whom he thought the victory belonged? the herald replied, to the Engliſh; upon which he deſired to know the name of a village, to which he pointed with his finger; and being informed that it was known by the name of Agincourt, "This action then, ſaid he, ſhall henceforth be called the battle of Agincourt."

In this memorable action, fought on the twenty-fifth of October, which began about ten in the morning, and laſted till five in the afternoon, the French are ſaid to have loſt three dukes, ſix earls, ninety barons, fifteen hundred knights, and ſeven thouſand eſquires, or gentlemen. Among the priſoners, which amounted to fourteen thouſand before the maſſacre, the moſt eminent of thoſe who were ſaved were the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the earls of Eu, Vendome, Richemont, Etouteville, and marſhal Boucicaut. The perſons of chief note who fell among the Engliſh, were the duke of York, with the young earl of Suffolk; and their whole loſs is ſaid not to have exceeded four hundred men. The king having refreſhed his men at Marcoucelly by a plentiful ſupply of all neceſſaries out of the French camp, reſumed his march for Calais, where he arrived without meeting with farther oppoſition. About the middle of November he embarked for England with his priſoners, and, after a dangerous paſſage, landed at Dover. Thence he proceeded to London, and was received by the citizens with all the honours due to the reſtorer of Engliſh glory.

A. D. 1416.

The emperor Sigiſmond had been for ſome time at the court of France, and drew up the plan of a truce which he intended to communicate to Henry. Accordingly he repaired to Calais, where he was nobly entertained by the earl of Warwick, governor of that place, and received ſafe conduct for himſelf and all his retinue, conſiſting of a thouſand horſe, among whom were the count Palatine of the Rhine, the duke of Milan, the marquiſſes of Ferrara, Mantua, and Montferrat; count Bertold of Hungary; the prince of Orange; the duke of Paleſtine; and many others of the German and Italian nobility. While Sigiſmond continued in France, he had aſſumed an air of ſovereignty, that ſeemed to riſe from a notion that emperors enjoyed a power ſuperior to that of kings. Henry, informed of this arrogant behaviour, determined to give his imperial majeſty to underſtand, that the king and people of England knew no earthly ſuperior. Accordingly, the duke of Glouceſter, and other noblemen, were ordered to receive the emperor at his landing, and inform him of this reſolution. He was brought over under the convoy of a magnificent fleet of Engliſh ſhips; and approaching the ſhore, found Glouceſter and his retinue drawn up on the ſtrand, who advancing into the water with their ſwords drawn, ſtopped the boats. This extraordinary proceeding was followed by a declaration from the duke of Clarence, in the name of the king and the people of England, "That if his imperial majeſty was come as a friend, an ally, and a mediator of peace, they were ready to receive him with all the reſpect and honours due to his high dignity; but that the crown and nation of England being free and independent, they were ready to oppoſe his landing, if he claimed any power as a paramount ſovereign." The emperor declaring to the ſatisfaction of all preſent, that his intentions were friendly and pacific, was received on ſhore with the moſt profound demonſtrations of regard. He was met by Henry himſelf at Blackheath, and conducted firſt to London, and then to Windſor, where he was inſtalled, with extraordinary pomp, a knight of the noble order of the garter.

A. D. 1417.

The loſs which the French ſuſtained at the battle of Agincourt, was ſo far from being ſufficient to put a period to the fury of factions in France, that they continued to rage with ſtill greater violence. The diſcredit into which the French miniſters and generals had fallen by the late diſgraceful defeat, encouraged the duke of Burgundy to approach Paris with a great army, thinking to recover the poſſeſſion of the government, and the king's perſon. But his partizans in the city being over-awed by the court, were afraid to join him; on which the duke, deſpairing of ſucceſs, retired with his forces into the Netherlands, where he diſbanded them. The next year the duke was invited to make a new attempt, by the violent quarrels which broke out even in the royal family. Iſabella, the queen, the duke of Bavaria's daughter, had been hitherto the profeſſed enemy to the duke of Burgundy; but having been moſt injuriouſly treated by the other party, that princeſs's implacable ſpirit could not ſtoop to forgive it. The count of Armagnac, who had been created conſtable of France in the room of d'Albert, was obliged by the public neceſſities to ſeize the great treaſures amaſſed by Iſabella; and her expreſſing her reſentment for this injury, he inſtilled into the weak mind of the king a jealouſy of this princeſs, and induced him to ſeize, put to the torture, and throw into the Seine, Bois bourdon, her favourite, whom he accuſed of carrying on a criminal converſation with the queen. She herſelf was ſent to Tours, and confined under a ſtrong guard. This injurious treatment induced her to enter into a correſpondence with the duke of Burgundy; and her ſon Charles, the dauphin, a youth of ſixteen, being entirely governed by the oppoſite faction, ſhe extended her animoſity to him; and, with moſt unrelenting hatred, ſought his deſtruction. She ſoon had an opportunity of being revenged; for, in concert with her, the duke of Burgundy, at the head of a great army, entered France, and made himſelf maſter of Amiens, Abbeville, and other towns in Picardy; Rheims, Senlis, Auxerre, Chalons, and Troye, declared themſelves of his party. He took poſſeſſion of Beaumont, Meulant, Pontoiſe and Vernon, which were in the neighbourhood of Paris; and, extending his progreſs towards the weſt, made himſelf maſter of Etampes, Chartres, and other fortreſſes; and at laſt delivered the queen; when flying to Troye, ſhe declared openly againſt the miniſters, who, ſhe ſaid, held in captivity the king her huſband. In the mean time the duke of Burgundy's partizans raiſed an inſurrection in Paris; and Lile Adam, one of the duke's captains, being received into the city in the night, placed himſelf at the head of the people, who inſtantly became ſo ſtrong, that nothing could oppoſe them. They ſeized the king's perſon, while the dauphin, with much difficulty, made his eſcape. They inſtantly butchered great numbers of the faction of Armagnac, and threw the count himſelf, and many perſons of note, into priſon: under the colour of party, murders were daily committed from private animoſity, and at length the populace, breaking into the priſons, killed the count of Armagnac, and the reſt of the nobility who were confined.

A. D. 1418.

In this confuſion, ill prepared to reſiſt a foreign enemy, was France, when Henry landed in Normandy, on the firſt of Auguſt, at the head of an army of twenty-eight thouſand men; and finding little reſiſtance, ſoon made himſelf maſter of Falaiſe and Cherburg, Caen and Evreux ſubmitted to him; Point de l'Arche fell into his hands; and having ſubdued lower Normandy, and obtained a reinforcement of fifteen thouſand men from England, he laid ſiege to Rouen, which had a garriſon of four thouſand men, ſeconded by the inhabitants, who amounted to fifteen thouſand. Here the cardinal des Urſins endeavoured to moderate Henry's pretenſions, and incline him towards a peace: but the king fully ſenſible of his advantages, anſwered, "Do you not ſee that God has conducted me hither, as by his hand? France has no ſovereign: I have a juſt claim to that kingdom: every thing here is in the utmoſt confuſion, and no one thinks of reſiſting me. Can I have a more convincing proof, that the great Being, who diſpoſes of empires, has determined to place the crown of France upon my head?" However, Henry, though under the influence of ambition, carried on a negotiation with his enemies, endeavouring to obtain advantages that were more ſecure, but leſs conſiderable. He offered terms of peace to both parties; to the queen and duke of Burgundy, who had the appearance of legal authority, from their having the king in their poſſeſſion; and to the dauphin, who being undoubted heir to the crown, was adhered to by all who had any regard to the intereſt of their country. A continual negotiation was alſo carried on between the two parties with each other; while the terms on each ſide were perpetually varying, and the fate of France remained for a long time in the utmoſt uncertainty. At length Henry propoſed to the queen and the duke of Burgundy, to conclude a peace with them; to marry the princeſs Catherine; and to be ſatisfied with receiving all the provinces ceded to Edward III. with the addition of Normandy, of which he was to enjoy the entire ſovereignty. To theſe terms they ſubmitted, and only ſome circumſtances remained to be adjuſted: but during this interval the duke of Burgundy and the dauphin ſecretly concluded a treaty, in which they agreed to ſhare the royal authority, during the life of the king, and to unite their arms againſt a foreign enemy. This alliance, which appeared to exclude Henry from all his hopes of ſucceſs, proved of advantage to him. It is uncertain whether the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy were ſincere in theſe engagements: however they agreed to an interview, in order to concert the means of expelling the Engliſh: yet it ſeemed difficult to contrive in what manner this conference might be carried on with ſafety. The aſſaſſination which the duke of Burgundy had perpetrated, and his open avowal of that baſe, cruel act, tended to diſſolve all the bands of ſociety, and every reaſon for confidence in him. Hence the duke agreed to every contrivance for their mutual ſecurity, propoſed by the dauphin's miniſters. The two princes went to Montereau: the dauphin lodged in the town, and the duke in the caſtle, which was divided from the town by the river Yonne. The place choſen for the interview was the bridge between them, and two high rails were placed acroſs it: the gates on each ſide were guarded; one by the dauphin's officers, and the other by thoſe of the duke. The princes, each accompanied by ten perſons, were to enter the intermediate ſpace by the oppoſite gates; and amidſt all theſe marks of diffidence to conciliate their mutual friendſhip. But no precaution can afford ſecurity where the principles of honour are abandoned. Thoſe who attended the dauphin having been the zealous partizans of the late duke of Orleans, reſolved to ſeize this opportunity of revenging on the aſſaſſin that prince's murder: and no ſooner entered the rails, than, drawing their ſwords, they attacked and ſlew the duke of Burgundy, while his friends ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, made not the leaſt defence, and either ſhared his fate, or were taken priſoners, by the dauphin's retinue. It was at firſt a matter of doubt, whether the dauphin was admitted into the ſecret of this conſpiracy; but the deed having been committed by his moſt intimate friends, who were alſo chief officers of his houſhold, and his detaining thoſe aſſaſſins in his ſervice, fixed the blame of the action entirely upon him. The moſt dreadful conſequences followed the perpetration of this deſperate crime. The inhabitants of Paris, who were zealouſly devoted to the duke of Burgundy, were inflamed with fury againſt the dauphin. King Charles's court entered into the ſame views; and as all that monarch's miniſters were indebted to the late duke for their preferment, and foreſeeing, that if the dauphin recovered the poſſeſſion of his father's perſon, it would involve them in diſgrace, they eagerly endeavoured to prevent, by every means, the ſucceſs of his enterprize. Every ſentiment of honour and patriotiſm, and even perſonal intereſt gave way to the tranſports of revenge. The queen, who ſtill maintained her animoſity againſt her ſon, increaſed the general flame; at the ſame time Philip count of Charolois, the new duke of Burgundy, imagined himſelf bound by all the obligations of duty and honour, to revenge his father's murder. Amidſt this general rage of parties, the expulſion of the lawful heir, the ſubjection to a foreign enemy, and the ſlavery of the kingdom, appeared but ſmall evils, while they led to the gratification of private paſſions. Henry, before the death of the duke of Burgundy, had, after an obſtinate ſiege, taken the city of Rouen: Pontoiſe and Giſors fell into his hands; he even advanced to the gates of Paris, and had obliged the court to remove to Troye.

A. D. 1419.

A league between him and the preſent duke of Burgundy was concluded. That prince agreed to all Henry's demands, making no other ſtipulation for himſelf, but the proſecution of his father's murder, and the duke of Bedford's marriage with his ſiſter.

A. D. 1420.

To put the finiſhing ſtroke to this treaty, Henry, accompanied by his two brothers the dukes of Clarence and Glouceſter, went

ent to Troye, where a peace was ratified, on the twenty-third of May, by the oath of the contracting parties; the queen and the duke of Burgundy acting as proxies for king Charles. On this important occaſion, Henry preſented the princeſs Catherine with a ring of great value, and the marriage contract was immediately ſettled, though the nuptials were not conſummated till the ſecond of June. After the ſolemnization of the marriage, the two courts proceeded to Sens, which was already inveſted by the Engliſh and Burgundian forces, and after a reſiſtance of ten days, ſurrendered to Henry by capitulation. With the ſame eaſe he ſubdued Montereau; but that of Melun was attended with greater difficulty, Barbazan, the governor, defending the place with the moſt invincible obſtinacy, till compelled by famine to ſurrender. Henry promiſed to ſpare the lives of all the garriſon, except of ſuch as had been concerned in the murder of the late duke of Burgundy; and as the governor himſelf was ſtrongly ſuſpected of having been one of the aſſaſſins, the preſent duke inſiſted on his immediate puniſhment; but Henry, who admired him for his brave and gallant defence, interceded in his favour, and prevented his execution, though he was committed to cloſe cuſtody, in the Chateau-Galliard, where he remained a priſoner upwards of twenty years. The treaty of Troye conſiſted of a great number of articles, the principal of which were; that Henry ſhould marry the princeſs Catherine; that king Charles, during his life, ſhould enjoy the title and dignity of king of France; that Henry ſhould be acknowledged heir to that kingdom, of which he ſhould be regent, and entruſted with the adminiſtration of the preſent government: that the crown of France ſhould deſcend to his heirs: that France and England ſhould for ever be united under one king, but ſhould ever retain their ſeveral diſtinct uſages, cuſtoms and privileges: that all the princes, peers, vaſſals, and communities of France, ſhould ſwear, that they would adhere to the future ſucceſſion of Henry, and alſo pay him obedience as regent: that Henry ſhould unite his arms with thoſe of Charles and the duke of Burgundy, in order to ſubdue the adherents of the preſent dauphin; and that thoſe princes ſhould make neither peace nor truce with him, unleſs by common conſent and agreement. This extraordinary treaty, could be dictated by nothing but private animoſity; and had it taken effect, it is difficult to determine, whether it would have proved moſt prejudicial to England or France. It would have reduced the former kingdom to the form of a province; and with reſpect to the latter, it would have brought on the deſtruction of many great families, whoſe titles being preferable to that of the Engliſh princes, they would have been expoſed to the perpetual jealouſy of the king. Henry's claim was in every reſpect deficient: for beſides the inſuperable objections to which the pretenſions of Edward III. were expoſed, Henry was not heir to that monarch; for if the female ſucceſſion were admitted, the right had devolved to the houſe of Mortimer. Amidſt the hurry of contending paſſions, which actuated the courts of France and Burgundy, theſe conſiderations were overlooked, yet we may reaſonably ſuppoſe they would neceſſarily have revived in more tranquil times. Henry was therefore under the neceſſity of purſuing his preſent advantages, and allowing no time for reaſon and reflection. In a few days after this treaty, he made his public entry into Paris, with great magnificence, when the ſtates of the kingdom, and the parliament, ratified the treaty, and ſwore obedience to the king of England, who aſſumed the reins of government as regent of the kingdom. But the ſeeds of envy were now ſown between the Engliſh monarchy and the duke of Burgundy, the latter of whom took great umbrage at the former's engroſſing the whole direction of affairs, and leaving him a mere cypher in the adminiſtration.

A. D. 1421.

Charles having ſummoned an extraordinary council in the beginning of January, the duke of Burgundy appeared in deep mourning, and demanded juſtice on the murderers of his father. The dauphin, with his accomplices, being ſummoned to appear at the marble table, and paying no regard to the citation, were convicted, attainted, and condemned to perpetual exile; and that prince, on the other hand, appealed to God and his own ſword, from the ſentence, as well as all proceedings that might be carried on to his prejudice, in the name of his father. The remote provinces, which had not been expoſed to the attacks of the Engliſh, ſtill adhered to the dauphin, and even many places, in the neighbourhood of Paris; ſo that Henry had an arduous taſk to perform, before the war could be finiſhed, eſpecially as his troops were extremely diſguſtful to the French nation. Being under the neceſſity of procuring ſupplies, he was obliged to paſs over into England. Having placed Engliſh governors in the fortreſſes he had ſubdued, he committed the government of Paris, during his abſence, to his uncle the duke of Exeter, and the command of the army to the duke of Clarence.

On his arrival in England, about the latter end of February, the queen was crowned, and a parliament ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter, on the ſecond of May. When aſſembled, the king could obtain only a ſubſidy of one fifteenth: a ſcanty ſupply, which ſhews they were not highly pleaſed with his victories; and that in proportion as the proſpect of their being united to France became nearer, they began to ſee the dangerous conſequences, which might attend that event. Henry had now however other reſources. The provinces he had already ſubdued, ſupported his troops, and all ambitious men in England were allured to his ſtandard. He therefore eaſily raiſed a new army of four thouſand men at arms, and twenty-four thouſand archers, with whom he marched to Dover, the place of embarkation.

During the abſence of Henry from France, the dauphin, aſſiſted by a body of ſeven thouſand Scots, under the command of the earl of Buchan, had defeated the duke of Clarence, Henry's brother in Anjou. The two armies came to an engagement at Bougé, in which the Engliſh, being overpowered by numbers, were defeated, and the duke himſelf was wounded in the face by Sir Allan Swinton, a Scotch knight, and killed by the earl of Buchan. The Engliſh had fifteen hundred men killed and a great number taken priſoners. Among the ſlain were the earls of Kent, the lords Gray and Roſs, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction; and among the priſoners, were the earls of Somerſet, Dorſet and Huntingdon. This was the firſt battle in which the Engliſh were defeated; and the dauphin, in order to reward the conduct of the earl of Buchan, and attach the Scots to his ſervice, created that nobleman a conſtable of France.

But Henry's arrival with his army, appeared more than ſufficient to repair this loſs. He was received at Paris, with great expreſſions of joy, and immediately proceeded to Chartres, which had been for a long time beſieged by the dauphin, who now, on the approach of the Engliſh, raiſed the ſiege, and retired with his army. Henry then took poſſeſſion of Dreux, without oppoſition; after which, at the ſolicitation of the Pariſians, he inveſted Meaux, and carried on the ſiege during eight months. The baſtard of Varus, governor of Meaux, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his obſtinate defence, was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. This officer's cruelty was upon a level with his valour, he being accuſtomed to hang all the Engliſh and Burgundians that fell into his hands; and to revenge this barbarity, Henry ordered him inſtantly to be hanged on the ſame tree, on which his inhuman executions had been performed. The reduction of Meaux was followed by many other places, and the dauphin was obliged to abandon almoſt all the northern provinces. This ſeries of proſperity was crowned by the queen being delivered of a ſon, who was called by his father's name. The infant prince appeared to be univerſally regarded as the future heir of both kingdoms; and his birth was celebrated by rejoicings, that were no leſs pompous at Paris than at London.

A. D. 1422. Henry had now almoſt reached the ſummit of his touring ambition, conſidered as a king. By his prudent adminiſtration, he had ſecured the affections of his ſubjects in England: by keeping the king of Scots in his poſſeſſion, he prevented that people from making incurſions into the northern counties: by his undaunted valour, and a concurrence of favourable circumſtances, he had ſubjected, in a ſhort ſpace of time, the greateſt part of the extenſive kingdom of France; but his career of glory was now arreſted by the king of terrors, and all his mighty projects vaniſhed like the miſt of the morning. Through the hardſhips and fatigues he had undergone, he contracted an acute fever, accompanied with a dyſentery, which ſoon made him ſenſible that his end was approaching. He ſent for his brother, the duke of Exeter, the earl of Warwick, and ſeveral other noblemen, who happened to be near him, that they might hear his laſt injunctions. Accoſting them with a chearful countenance, he obſerved, that his reign, though ſhort, had been glorious; that though his pretenſions to the crown of France had occaſioned much bloodſhed, yet thoſe calamities, the natural conſequences of war, ought not to be imputed to him, but to thoſe, whoſe obſtinacy and injuſtice had forced him to have recourſe to arms, by refuſing to accept of an honourable peace: that with reſpect to himſelf, he could meet death without the leaſt concern, but could not help lamenting the fate of the infant prince, his ſon, who, from his tender age, was incapable of finiſhing a work he had ſo happily begun. He therefore conjured them, in the name of the moſt High, to preſerve an inviolable fidelity and attachment to the young prince, who was born to be their ſovereign; to watch over his education; and as much as lay in their power, conſole the queen in her affliction: he exhorted them to cultivate the friendſhip of the duke of Burgundy; to detain the priſoners who had been taken at the battle of Agincourt, till his ſon ſhould be capable of managing the reins of government; and whatever accommodation they might think neceſſary to make with the court of France, to preſerve to the crown of England the abſolute ſovereignty of Normandy. He concluded, with expreſſing a deſire, that the duke of Bedford might aſſume the adminiſtration of France, that the duke of Glouceſter might act as regent of England, during the prince's minority, and that the earl of Warwick ſhould have the care of his ſon's perſon. Having thus delivered his ſentiments concerning the management of public affairs, he enquired of his phyſicians, how long they thought he had to live? when one of them falling on his knees by the bed ſide, ſaid with tears in his eyes, that without a miracle he could not live above two hours. This declaration he heard with the utmoſt compoſure, and having made confeſſion of his ſins, ordered his chaplain to read the ſeven penitential pſalms. When he came to that paſſage of the fifty firſt pſalm, "Build thou the walls of Jeruſalem," he interrupted him, and declared on the word of a dying prince, that it was his full intention, after he had eſtabliſhed a peace with France, to have made a cruſade againſt the infidels, for the recovery of Jeruſalem out of their hands. This exerciſe of devotion being finiſhed, Henry expired, on the thirty-firſt of Auguſt, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, after a glorious reign of nine years, five months, and eleven days, being the XXXIIId king of England from Egbert I. His body was brought to England, and interred among his anceſtors in Weſtminſter-abbey, with a pomp ſuitable to the grandeur he enjoyed when living, and to the eſteem of his ſubjects; and the queen, in honour of her illuſtrious conſort, cauſed to be laid on his tomb a ſtatue of ſilver gilt, extremely like him, and as large as life. By his queen, Catherine of France, he left only one ſon, named Henry, whoſe misfortunes in the courſe of his life, ſurpaſſed all the glories and ſucceſſes of his father. Henry's widow, ſoon after his death, married a Welch gentleman, called Sir Owen Tudor, and ſaid to be deſcended from the antient princes of Wales: ſhe bore him two ſons, Edmund and Jaſper, of whom, the eldeſt was created earl of Richmond; the ſecond, earl of Pembroke. The family of Tudor, firſt raiſed to diſtinction by this alliance, mounted afterwards the throne of England.

The ordinary revenue of the crown, during this reign, amounted only to fifty-five thouſand, ſeven hundred, fourteen pounds, ten ſhillings, and ten pence a year, which muſt have been about one hundred, ten thouſand pounds of our preſent money, and from the cheapneſs of proviſions, was equivalent to about three hundred and thirty thouſand pounds ſterling. The ordinary expence of the government amounted to forty-two thouſand, five hundred, ſeven pounds, ſixteen ſhillings, and ten pence; whence the king had only a ſurplus of thirteen thouſand, two hundred and ſix pounds, fourteen ſhillings, for the ſupport of his houſhold, his wardrobe, the expence of embaſſies and other articles; on which account he was frequently obliged to have recourſe to parliament for ſupplies. War was then attended with an expence, which neither the king's ordinary revenue, nor his extraordinary ſupplies were able to ſupport. Hence the ſovereign was commonly reduced to the neceſſity of borrowing money from all quarters: he pawned his jewels, and ſometimes the crown itſelf; notwithſtanding which, he was often forced to ſtop in the midſt of his victories, and to grant a truce to the enemy, till he could gain a freſh ſupply; and Henry, till within a year of his death, owed debts, which he had contracted when prince of Wales.

Character of king Henry V.

In ſtature, he was ſomewhat above the middle ſize; his countenance was engaging; his limbs genteel and ſlender, but full of vigour. He excelled in all warlike exerciſes; and was able to endure cold, hunger, and fatigue to as great a degree, as the moſt hardy ſoldier in his army. His abilities in the cabinet were equal to thoſe diſplayed in the field; and it is hard to determine, whether his courage or policy deſerve our higheſt encomiums. He had the art, with a moſt engaging deportment, to win the affections of his friends by affability, and of recovering the good opinion of his enemies by clemency and addreſs. He was religious, without ſuperſtition or enthuſiaſm; juſt, without rigour or partiality; and complaiſant, without mean condeſcenſion, or ſelf-intereſted views. He was no more tenacious of the prerogatives of the crown, than the privileges of the ſubject, and ſwayed his ſcepter with ſuch equal poiſe, that under him virtue never loſt its reward, corruption never found an excuſe, nor oppreſſion a ſanctuary; excepting a few inſtances of religious controverſy; and even theſe he obviated in ſome meaſure as a man, when he was under a kind of neceſſity to tolerate them as a king. The boldneſs of his enterpriſes was as remarkable as that perſonal valour with which he conducted them; and his warlike exploits have principally engaged the pens of antient and modern hiſtorians.

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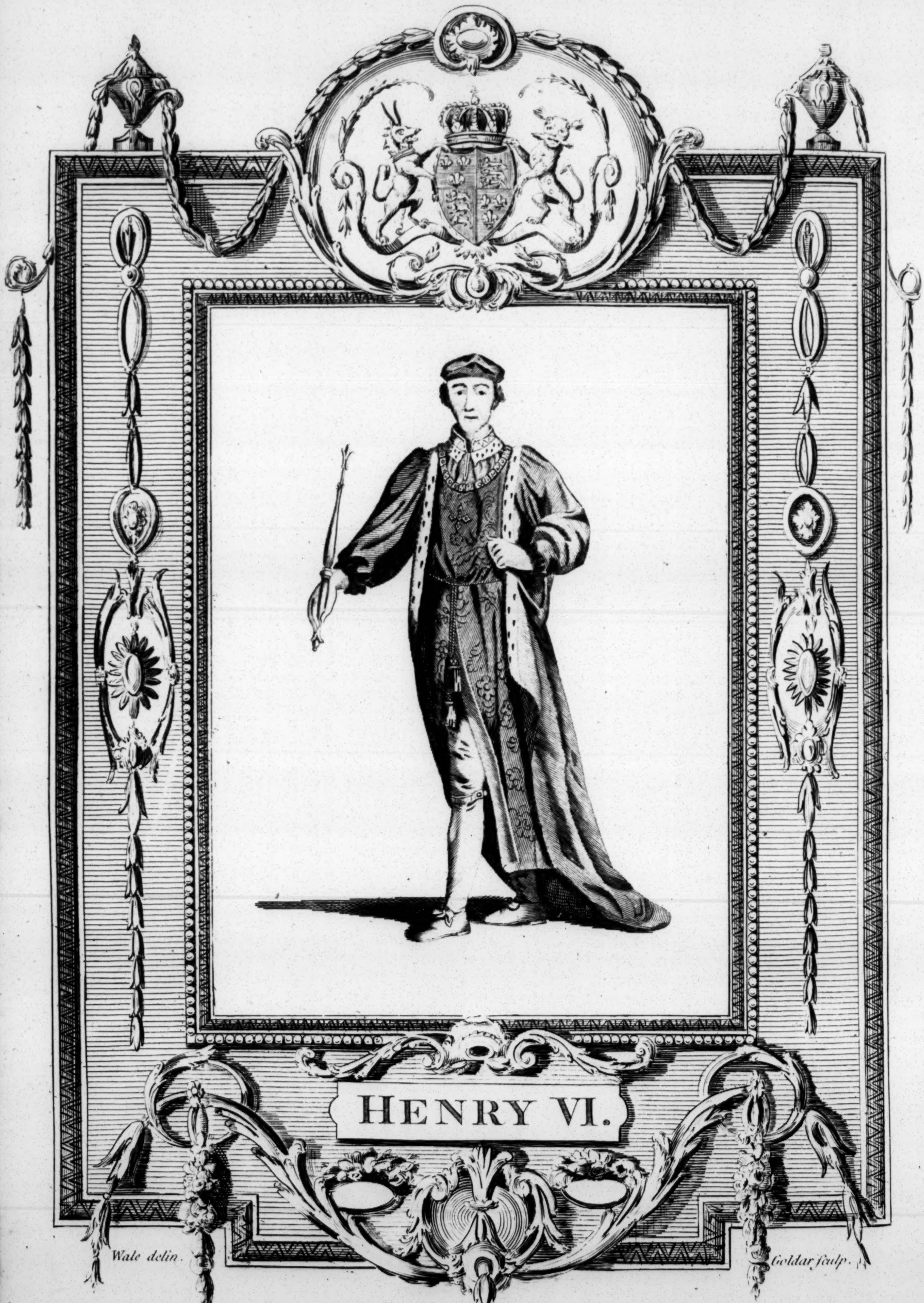

Wale delin.
Goldar sculp.

HENRY VI.

He was Born *at* Windſor *Dec.r 6. 1421.*— Aſcended *the* Throne *Aug.t 31. 1422,*
& Murdered *in the* Tower *of* London, *June 20th 1471*

The conqueſt of France, conſidered in itſelf, had ſomething in it grand and glorious; yet that conqueſt, with the ſtruggles of the Engliſh to preſerve it, coſt the nation a deluge of blood. Henry could not be ignorant of the weakneſs of his title to the crown of France; yet in ſupport of this he laid waſte the faireſt provinces of that kingdom; at a time too when the civil diſſentions of the French rendered them unable to defend themſelves. But in viewing theſe kind of tranſactions, and eſpecially in drawing the characters of great men, who flouriſhed in former times, we ought never to loſe ſight of the prevalence of predominant paſſions, the ruling manners, cuſtoms and vices of the age, whereby people ſaw not the deformity of a conduct in particular inſtances, which in theſe days cannot be reconciled to the principles of humanity, and much leſs to the precepts of our moſt holy religion. Neglectful of the liberal arts, which expand the human mind, and direct it to more worthy purſuits, untaught in the grand leſſon of univerſal benevolence, the principal objects in thoſe days were war and ſuperſtition. Princes being trained up in arbitrary maxims, conſidered the bulk of mankind as ſlaves devoted to their intereſt and ambition: they were taught to expect forgiveneſs, or that the moſt atrocious crimes were eaſily expiated, by devotional exerciſes, benefactions to the church, or a cruſade in the holy land. Is it to be wondered then, that corrupt practices ſhould flow from ſuch corrupt principles? eſpecially if we conſider, that conſtitutional failures are palliated by the ſlighteſt conſiderations, and conſcience is readily brought over to diſpenſe with the gratification of any ruling paſſion? Henry was not without ambition, the common vice of monarchs; yet conſidered as a king of England, with regard to public liberty and private affections, he was, perhaps, the moſt unexceptionable of all the Norman race. He had no material diſputes with his parliament; he refuſed no ſalutary acts; he adopted no unconſtitutional meaſures; this conduct made the crown ſit eaſy on his own head, and ſtrengthened his ſcepter when committed to delegated power. A diſtinguiſhed warrior he certainly was; and alſo poſſeſſed thoſe milder virtues, which in a peaceful reign would have contributed to the proſperity and happineſs of his people. His forgiving the earl of Marche, is a ſufficient proof of his magnanimity; while his candour and ſincerity are abundantly eſtabliſhed, by that nobleman's relying entirely upon his friendſhip. Dazzled by the luſtre of his character, even more than by his victories, the Engliſh overlooked the defect of his title: the French almoſt forgot that he was an enemy. His care in diſtributing impartial juſtice, in his civil adminiſtration, and in preſerving the ſtricteſt diſcipline in his armies, made ſome amends to both nations for the calamities inſeparable from deſultory wars: with theſe the ſhort reign of Henry V. was almoſt entirely occupied, in proſecuting which he was remarkably ſucceſsful; and had one advantage over many of his predeceſſors, in that he had the happineſs to ſee the fruit of his labours, and to die much lamented in the midſt of his proſperity.

CHAP. III.

HENRY VI.

To whom the government was intruſted during the minority of the infant prince—State of his dominions at the time of his acceſſion—military operations in France—Siege of Orleans raiſed, when on the point of ſurrendering, by the pretended miſſion, and heroic exploits, of Joan d'Arc, the famous Maid of Orleans—She is taken priſoner in a ſally made upon the Engliſh, at the ſiege of Compeigne, and burned for a witch—Merit, popularity, and prudent conduct of the duke of Bedford, who died at Rouen, the fifteenth of September—His ſucceſſors in the regency—Duke of Glouceſter murdered—Normandy and Guienne ſubdued, and the Engliſh loſe all their poſſeſſions in France except Calais and Guiſnes, with their dependencies—Pretenſions of Richard, duke of York, to the crown—Popular inſurrections—Civil war commences—Battles of St. Albans, Black-heath, Northampton, and Wakefield—Duke of York's death—Battle of Mortimer's-croſs—Second battle of St. Albans—Concluſion of the reign, and character of Henry VI—Edward IV. proclaimed, and crowned king of England.

A.D. 1422. HENRY VI. ſurnamed of Windſor, when proclaimed with the uſual formalities at Weſtminſter, was about nine months old; in whoſe nominal reign was fulfilled that antient adage, "Woe to that nation whoſe prince is a child." This done, the duke of Glouceſter iſſued writs in the name of that prince, for a parliament to meet at Weſtminſter, on the ninth of November. The lords and commons paid very little attention to the verbal will of their late monarch: they ſet aſide the name of Regent, with reſpect to England, changing it into that of Protector, and advanced the duke of Bedford to that office, inſtead of the duke of Glouceſter; yet they permitted the latter to diſcharge its duties during his abſence. At the ſame time to limit their power, a council was appointed, without whoſe advice and concurrence no meaſures of importance could be determined. Nor would they confirm that part of Henry's will, which appointed the earl of Warwick guardian of his ſon's perſon, but entruſted the care of their infant king to the biſhop of Wincheſter. The two princes, Bedford and Glouceſter, made no oppoſition to this plan of government; for the war in France appearing an object of the greateſt conſequence, they avoided every diſpute that might obſtruct the conqueſts in that kingdom. In leſs than two months after the death of Henry V. Charles VI. of France, paid the debt of nature; and his ſon, Charles VII. was, immediately after his father's death, crowned at Poictiers; a prince of a mild, generous diſpoſition, but indolent, irreſolute, and given to pleaſure. However the French renounced not wholly their attachment to their natural ſovereign; and though moſt of the princes of the blood had been detained priſoners in England ever ſince the battle of Agincourt, their friends and vaſſals were zealouſly attached to Charles; nor was it poſſible for them not to ſee the diſadvantage of being governed by a foreign prince. This was ſoon perceived by the duke of Bedford, and every method that human prudence could ſuggeſt, was taken to prevent the conſequence. Charles, though reduced to a very low ebb of fortune, was ſtill maſter of the counties of Berry, Bourbon, Languedoc, Lionnois, Ferrez, Auvergne, a great part of Xaintonge and Poictou, together with the earldoms of Comminges and Armagnac, bordering on the Pyrannees; ſo that his power was ſtill reſpectable, eſpecially as both his officers and miniſters were men of great parts and integrity. On the other hand, Henry was in poſſeſſion of Normandy, Guienne, Picardy, Champaigne, la Brie, the Iſle of France, and the city of Paris; beſides the provinces belonging to the duke of Burgundy, his vaſſal and ally. The duke of Bedford well knew, that foreign aſſiſtance would be neceſſary before he could hope to complete his conqueſt of France. He therefore applied himſelf aſſiduouſly to increaſe the number of his friends on the continent, and had the good fortune to form an alliance with the duke of Brittany, and his brother, the count of Richemont. He alſo prevailed on the Engliſh council to releaſe James, king of Scotland, who had continued a priſoner in England, ever ſince his having been taken by Henry IV. It had been ſuppoſed, that the Scots would never attempt any thing to diſturb the peace of England, while their king was a priſoner in that court; but the late aſſiſtance ſent to Charles, ſufficiently proved, that this opinion was founded on a chimerical baſis: and that a much greater advantage might be procured from releaſing James, who having contracted a friendſhip for the Engliſh, would ſtill continue their firm ally, eſpecially as his obligations would be ſo greatly increaſed by reſtoring to him at once his liberty and his crown.

A. D. 1424. Since the death of Henry V. the war in France had been carried on with various ſucceſs, ſometimes fortune favouring the French, ſometimes the Engliſh. Places were taken and retaken ſucceſſively, without any remarkable advantage. Charles having reduced Yvry, on the frontiers of Picardy, a place of great importance, the regent determined to retake it. At the end of three months, the governor was obliged to capitulate, and agreed to ſurrender the town, if no relief arrived before a certain time. Charles was no ſooner informed of theſe conditions than he employed the neceſſary means in order to ſave the place; and having collected an army of fourteen thouſand men, half of whom were Scots, he ſent them thither, under the command of the conſtable, who was attended by his countryman the earl of Douglas, the duke of Alençon, the marſhal de la Fayette, the count of Aumale, and the viſcount of Narbonne. When Buchan arrived within a few leagues of Yvry, finding he was come too late, it having ſurrendered, he inveſted Vernueil, which the inhabitants, in ſpite of the garriſon, delivered up to him. Buchan might have retired with the honour of having made an acquiſition of no leſs importance than the place he was ſent to relieve; but on hearing of the duke of Bedford's approach, he ſummoned a council, in which the wiſer part declared for a retreat, repreſenting, that every reaſon invited them to embrace the moſt cautious meaſures, and that this army, being the king's laſt reſource, and the only defence of a few provinces he now poſſeſſed, he ought to avoid giving battle, when not compelled by neceſſity. Theſe prudential conſiderations being however over-ruled, by a vain point of honour, of not turning their back on the enemy, they determined to wait the arrival of the duke of Bedford, who was now advancing at the head of fifteen thouſand men. On his arrival near the camp of the enemy, he took poſſeſſion of an advantageous ſpot of ground, near the walls of Vernueil, flanked by a hill, on which he poſted a body of two thouſand archers, and furniſhed all his infantry with large ſtakes, to check the fury of the French cavalry. The earl of Douglas having ſurveyed the poſition of the Engliſh camp, declared, that in his opinion the French army ſhould ſtand upon the defenſive, and not begin the action, as the enemy had choſen their own ground, where they could not be attacked without great diſadvantage. This prudent advice, which was ſeconded by the conſtable, and every officer of experience in the army, appeared to Aymer, viſcount of Narbonne, a headſtrong, imprudent man, as the effect of timidity; nor did he fail to upbraid the commanders, in expreſs terms, with puſillanimity, and of diſhonouring, by their meanneſs, the arms of France. No anſwer was returned to his invectives; which ſo highly exaſperated him, that, ſnatching up one of the ſtandards, he exclaimed, "Let all who love their ſovereign follow me," and ruſhing immediately out of the line, he advanced to the charge with the moſt irregular impetuoſity. Douglas and the conſtable ſeeing the confuſion that now prevailed in their army, and finding their authority deſpiſed, determined to periſh like ſoldiers in the inevitable deſtruction, which they knew muſt be the conſequence of this headſtrong raſhneſs. The regent had ordered all his cavalry to diſmount, and to place their horſes in the rear of the army. The attack, though made with the utmoſt diſorder, was ſo furious, that a body of their horſe on their right wing, broke the oppoſite wing of the Engliſh, and advanced to the barricade which ſurrounded the horſes, and behind which a body of archers was placed. Theſe diſcharging a ſhower of well-directed arrows, obliged them to fall back: at the ſame time the body of troops who were poſted on the hill ſo galled the Italians, who were marching up in another line, that they fled with great precipitation. This corps of reſerve immediately marched to the ſupport of the main body, where the fight had continued for three hours without any advantage on either ſide; but the victory now remained no longer dubious; they fell upon the flank of the Scots, and ſoon turned the ſcale in favour of the Engliſh. The French horſe were driven back upon their foot, and a dreadful ſlaughter enſued. Douglas and the conſtable perceiving the defeat of their army inevitable, ſcorned to ſurvive the diſgrace, and ruſhing into the thickeſt of the battle, bravely fell in the midſt of their enemies, victims to youthful temerity and foolhardineſs. The headſtrong Narbonne, ſon of earl Douglas, the counts Aumale, Ventadour, and de Tonnere, the lords Granville, Manni, Gamaches, and Guitri, with many other perſons of diſtinction, ſhared the ſame fate. The other principal officers were ſo dangerouſly wounded, that they could no longer give command, ſo that the men, deprived of their leaders, fought at random until they were entirely routed. The daſtardly Italians, who diſperſed in the beginning of the action, hearing that the French had gained the victory, returned for their ſhare of the booty, but met ſuch an unexpected reception from the Engliſh, that not a man would have eſcaped alive, had they not been favoured by approaching night. Five thouſand Scots and French were ſlain in this battle, and ſixteen hundred Engliſh. A great number of the former were taken priſoners, among whom were the marſhal de la Fayette, the lords Goncour, Mortimer, and the duke of Alençon. Next day the duke of Bedford laid ſiege to Vernueil, which ſurrendered on capitulation. Having gained this important advantage, he returned to Paris, to quell an inſurrection that had been raiſed in that city, while the earl of Saliſbury finiſhed the conqueſt of la Maine.

The condition of Charles was now truly deplorable. His adherents were ſtruck with conſternation, and began to look upon his cauſe as deſperate. Every thing ſeemed to forebode approaching ruin; when an event occurred which averted the impending danger, and deprived the Engliſh of a moſt favourable opportunity for completing the conqueſt of France. Jacqueline, counteſs of Hainault, animated by a violent antipathy to her huſband the duke of Brabant, couſin-german to the duke of Burgundy, determined to diſſolve her marriage. She was a princeſs of a maſculine ſpirit, and uncommon underſtanding, and her huſband weak both in conſtitution and intellects. Knowing his family would exert all their power to prevent the pope from ſetting aſide her marriage contract, in order to effect her purpoſe ſhe made her eſcape to England, and put herſelf under the protection of the duke of Glouceſter, who being enamoured of her perſon and fortune, ventured to marry her without waiting for the papal diſpenſation, not conſidering the conſequences of an action he had reſolved to perform. Soon after their marriage, he went over into the Low Countries to claim her dominions. The duke of Burgundy exclaimed loudly againſt this conduct, and conſidering himſelf as inſulted by it, marched in perſon to the aſſiſtance of the duke of Brabant. The labours of the duke of Bedford to reſtrain the impetuous temper of his brother were in vain; nor was he able to ſoften the reſentment of the duke of Burgundy. Inſtead therefore of improving the important victory he had obtained at Vernueil, he was under the neceſſity of returning to England, where the departure of his brother had excited contentions in the adminiſtration. This ceſſation of hoſtilities gave Charles an opportunity of recovering from his defeat.

A. D. 1426. The duke of Bedford, after having paſſed eight months in England, found the affairs of France in a very critical ſituation. The duke of Burgundy was greatly diſguſted; the duke of Brittany had done homage to Charles; and the French had begun to recover from the conſternation into which they had been thrown by their frequent misfortunes, their courage being raiſed by an event which had juſt happened. Montargis had been beſieged and reduced to extremity by the earl of Warwick, with a ſmall army of three thouſand men, when the baſtard of Orleans reſolved to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to relieve the town. This general, who was the natural ſon of the prince aſſaſſinated by the duke of Burgundy, and was afterwards created count of Dunois, conducted a body of ſixteen hundred men to Montargis, and attacked the enemy's trenches with ſuch bravery and ſucceſs, that he not only entered the town, but obliged Warwick to raiſe the ſiege. This advantage raiſed the hopes of Charles's party, and eſtabliſhed the military character of Dunois.

A. D. 1427. The duke of Bedford having ſettled affairs in England, returned to France, and revived the reputation of the Engliſh arms; for having ſecretly aſſembled, in ſeparate detachments, a conſiderable army on the frontiers of Brittany, he fell ſo unexpectedly on that province, that nothing could reſiſt his progreſs. All the attempts of its duke were in vain; ſo that after ſeeing the greater part of his territories waſted with fire and ſword, he was not only obliged to renew his engagements with the Engliſh, but likewiſe to ſign the treaty of Troye, acknowledging the duke of Bedford regent of France, and promiſing to do homage for his duchy to the king of England. The conqueſt of France ſeemed now an eaſy acquiſition, the military ſtrength of Charles being nearly exhauſted; and he had lately devoted himſelf to luxury and indolence, as if he had laid aſide all thoughts of oppoſing the progreſs of the enemy. The earl of Warwick had returned to England, and was appointed governor to the king in the room of the duke of Exeter, lately deceaſed; and the earl of Saliſbury arrived in France with a reinforcement of five thouſand men, which he had levied at his own expence in England, in conſequence of an agreement with the council. Immediately on his arrival at Paris, the regent conferred on him the command of an army of ſixteen thouſand men, in order that he might reduce the city of Orleans, the only barrier that oppoſed his entrance into the ſouthern provinces.

A. D. 1428. Accordingly, about the latter end of July, the earl of Saliſbury marched from Paris, attended by the earl of Suffolk, lord Talbot, Sir John Faſtolf, and other experienced officers, and reduced all the towns that lay in his rout to Orleans. He paſſed the Loire at Beaugenci, and inveſted the place on the ſide of Sologni, on the twelfth of October. Every precaution was taken by the French for its defence. As the retention of Orleans was of momentous conſequence to the intereſt of their maſter, they took a reſolution of defending it with their lateſt breath. The command was given to count de Gaucourt, an officer of great experience. The troops that formed the garriſon were all veterans, long familiar with danger. The citizens had acquired a military turn, and were extremely well qualified to aſſiſt the regulars in the defence of the place. Many new fortifications were raiſed; the old ones repaired; and the greater part of the buildings in the ſuburbs pulled down. Both the aſſailants and defenders ſeemed inſpired with a ſenſe of honour, and feats of chivalry were daily performed. The deſtitute circumſtances of Charles, would not admit of his raiſing the ſiege; but he found means to evade the vigilance of the Engliſh, and to introduce ſuccours from time to time; ſo that the garriſon, which originally conſiſted of twelve hundred men, was, by the cloſe of December, augmented to three thouſand, and the number of the beſiegers to three and twenty thouſand, by reinforcements received from the regent. The firſt operation on their ſide was againſt a bulwark erected to cover the caſtle of Tourelles, which defended the head of the bridge over the Loire. The Engliſh artillery ſoon demoliſhed the parapets; yet in their firſt attempt to ſtorm it they were obliged to retreat, leaving two hundred and fifty men dead in the breach. This repulſe, however, ſerved only to increaſe their ardour; they continued battering the work with ſuch unremitted fury, that it was at length abandoned, and the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of it without any farther oppoſition. It was now perceived, that while the city could be ſupplied with troops and proviſions, it would be impoſſible to take it. The earl of Saliſbury therefore ordered ſixty ſmall forts, or redoubts, to be erected at proper diſtances round the city; but while he was inſpecting the works, a cannon ball from the beſieged put a period to his life; but his death, though univerſally lamented by the army, did not in the leaſt interrupt the ſiege, which was carried on under the direction of the earl of Suffolk, aſſiſted by the famous Talbot, one of the moſt accompliſhed generals that age produced. Four months had already been ſpent in continual ſallies and attacks, when the regent ordered a convoy of ſalt fiſh to be ſent from Paris, for the uſe of the beſiegers in Lent, eſcorted by a detachment of ſeventeen hundred men, under the command of Sir John Faſtolf, an officer of great valour and experience.

A. D. 1429. Charles having received intelligence of the day on which this convoy propoſed to ſet out, ordered the count de Clermont, at the head of three thouſand men, to attack the Engliſh in their rout. The count came up with the convoy at Rouvrai St. Denis, on the twelfth of February. Faſtolf, apprized of his approach, poſted his men behind a barricade of waggons, where they withſtood the firſt attack of the enemy, who were received ſo warmly that great diſorder enſued; which the Engliſh general obſerving, ordered openings to be made in the barricade, through which his men charged the enemy before they could rally, and defeated them with great ſlaughter. In this action, which was called the battle of Herrings, one hundred and twenty noblemen and officers of diſtinction were ſlain, beſides a great number of private men; but the baſtard of Orleans, who had joined Clermont on this occaſion, retreated to the town with four hundred in good order. This overthrow ſo diſpirited the French king, that he began to deſpair of retrieving his ſhattered fortunes; and an offer was made, that Orleans ſhould be ſequeſtered into the hands of the duke of Burgundy. But Bedford rejected the propoſal; obſerving, "That he was not in a humour to beat the buſhes, while others ran away with the game." This ſarcaſm ſo diſguſted the duke of Burgundy, that he recalled all his troops from the ſervice of the Engliſh. But notwithſtanding this defection, Orleans was every day more and more cloſely inveſted. The utmoſt ſcarcity prevailed in the city, and Charles meditated an inglorious retreat into Dauphine; when his affairs were reſtored by an amazing reſolution. At this dangerous criſis, a country girl delivered him from the danger with which he was threatened, and was the inſtrument of placing him on the throne of his anceſtors.

About the latter end of February one Joan d'Arc, afterwards better known by the name of the Maid of Orleans, a native of the village of Danremy, repaired to Vaucouleurs, on the borders of Lorraine. She was about twenty years of age, of an irreproachable life, and had not hitherto been remarked for any ſingularity. She had been ſervant at an inn, where ſhe was accuſtomed to ride the horſes to water without a ſaddle, and to perform all the low offices that are commonly allotted to the men ſervants. A continual recital of the calamities of France, had made ſo great an impreſſion on her imagination, that abandoning herſelf to the tranſports of enthuſiaſm, ſhe miſtook the rovings of her own heated paſſions for the inſpirations of the Almighty, and fancied ſhe beheld viſions, and heard voices from heaven, exhorting her to replace Charles on the throne of France, and to expel the invaders. Her natural intrepidity made her diſregard the dangers of ſuch an attempt; and imagining that God had deſtined her to perform this great work, ſhe threw off the baſhfulneſs natural to her ſex and years; and having got admiſſion to Baudricourt, the governor of Vaucouleurs, ſhe acquainted him with her inſpirations, exhorting him to comply with the voice of God, and to ſecond the heavenly revelations, which impelled her to engage in ſuch a glorious enterprize. The governor at firſt paid little regard to what ſhe ſaid; but, on her frequently renewing her importunate ſolicitations, he allowed her ſome attendants, by whom ſhe was conducted to the French court, then reſiding at Chinon. It is pretended, that Joan was no ſooner admitted to the king than ſhe knew him, though ſhe had never ſeen him before, and he now purpoſely concealed himſelf in the croud of his courtiers, having laid aſide every thing in his dreſs by which he might be diſtinguiſhed: that ſhe offered him, in the name of the Supreme Being, to raiſe the ſiege of Orleans, and to conduct him to Rheims to be anointed and crowned there; and on his expreſſing ſome doubts of her divine commiſſion, ſhe revealed to him a ſecret unknown to all the world beſides himſelf; and that ſhe deſired a particular ſword, kept in St. Catherine's church at Fierbois, which though ſhe had never ſeen ſhe exactly deſcribed, as well as the place in which it had long lain neglected. Theſe pretended miraculous relations were inſtantly ſpread abroad, that they might make proper impreſſions on the vulgar. Every method was taken to publiſh her predictions; yet, notwithſtanding Charles and his miniſters were determined to carry on the cheat, and countenance the deluſion, they gravely pretended ſcruples, and cauſed to be aſſembled a council of ſage divines, who after having examined Joan's miſſion, declared, with great ſolemnity, that ſhe was ſent from heaven. The maid was then conducted to the parliament, which reſided at Poictiers; and being examined before that aſſembly they alſo were convinced of her inſpirations, and ratified the pious fraud. This extraordinary engine being thus prepared, it was reſolved to try its force upon the enemy. The Maid of Orleans, at her own requeſt, was armed cap-a-pie, and mounted on a fine horſe richly capariſoned. The ſword of St. Catherine was delivered to her with great formality; and in this martial dreſs ſhe was exhibited to a croud of ſpectators, who received her with the loudeſt acclamations. This inſpired leader was now ſent to Blois, where a conſiderable convoy was prepared of proviſions and ammunition for the beſieged, who were at this time reduced to the laſt extremity. Joan accordingly marched at the head of twelve thouſand choſen men, by whom the convoy was to be eſcorted. She ordered, that all the ſoldiers, before they ſet out, ſhould confeſs to their prieſts; ſhe baniſhed all women of ill fame from the camp; ſhe held in her hand a conſecrated banner, in which was repreſented the Supreme Being holding the earth in his hand, ſurrounded with flower-de-luces, and inſiſted that the convoy ſhould enter Orleans by the direct road from Beauſſe; but the count of Dunois cauſed it to approach by the other ſide, where he was ſenſible the weakeſt part of the Engliſh army was ſtationed. Joan had written to the regent and the Engliſh generals, ordering them, in the name of the Almighty, by whom ſhe was commiſſioned, inſtantly to raiſe the ſiege and to quit France, on pain of ſuffering divine vengeance for their diſobedience. The Engliſh endeavoured to ridicule the maid and her divine commiſſion; obſerving, that the French king, by having recourſe to ſuch a ridiculous expedient, muſt be reduced to a wretched paſs; yet they felt their imaginations ſecretly affected, and waited with ſome anxiety for the iſſue. On the twenty-ninth of April the convoy approached the river, when the garriſon made a vigorous ſally on the ſide of Beauſſe, to prevent the Engliſh ſending troops to the other ſide of the river, while the boats were loading with the proviſions and ammunition deſigned for the city. After Joan had covered the embarkation with her troops, ſhe entered the city in her military garb, and was received by all the inhabitants as their celeſtial deliverer. They were now firmly perſuaded, that under her influence they ſhould be invincible; and Dunois, perceiving the extraordinary effect ſhe had produced in the minds of the people, both friends and enemies, conſented the next convoy ſhould enter by the ſide of Beauſſe. That convoy approached on the fourth of May, when the waggons and troops paſſed between the redoubts of the Engliſh without interruption; while they, who were formerly ſo elated with victory, remained in ſilent aſtoniſhment. The earl of Suffolk was in a very extraordinary ſituation, ſufficient to confound the greateſt capacity. He perceived, that his army in general was overawed with the idea of Joan's being accompanied by a divine power; and inſtead of expelling theſe terrors by the hurry of war, he imprudently waited for the ſoldiers recovering themſelves from their panic, and thus allowed time for theſe prepoſſeſſions to ſink deeper into their minds. The Engliſh, finding that their courage failed, imagined the vengeance of heaven hung over them; and their inactivity, ſo new and unexpected, made the French think ſo too. The Maid of Orleans now exhorted the garriſon to continue on the defenſive; and promiſed all thoſe ſhould have ſupernatural aſſiſtance, who attacked the formidable redoubts by which they had ſo long been kept in awe. Her enthuſiaſtic ardour was ſeconded by the generals. One redoubt being ſtormed with uncommon fury, it was taken, and all the Engliſh put to the ſword, or made priſoners; Sir John Talbot himſelf, who had drawn together ſome troops from the other redoubts, not daring to appear againſt ſo formidable an enemy in the open field. Animated by this ſucceſs, nothing ſeemed impoſſible to Joan and her inſpired followers, for ſuch they now really were. She endeavoured to perſuade the generals to attack the main body of the Engliſh in their intrenchments; but Dunois being unwilling, by too great a temerity, to hazard the fate of France; and ſenſible, that on the leaſt reverſe of fortune all this enthuſiaſm would evaporate, he checked her vehemence by propoſing, before ſhe attempted any other hazardous enterprize, to drive the enemy from their forts on the other ſide of the river, and thus open a communication with the country. Joan ſuffered herſelf to be perſuaded; and theſe forts were vigorouſly aſſailed. However, in one attack the French were repulſed; and the maid being left alone, was obliged to retreat with the runaways; but ſuddenly diſplaying her ſacred ſtandard, animating them at the ſame time with her countenance, her exhortations, and extravagant geſtures, ſhe led them back to the charge, and beat the Engliſh out of their intrenchments. While attacking another fort, ſhe was wounded in the neck with an arrow; on which ſhe retreated for a moment behind her companions, pulled out the arrow with her own hands, and having had the wound quickly dreſſed, headed her troops again, and planted her victorious banner on the enemy's ramparts. Thus the Engliſh were driven from all their fortifications on that ſide, having loſt in different actions above ſix thouſand men; and, what was of greater conſequence, their former courage being entirely vaniſhed, was ſucceeded by amazement and deſpair. Joan, having returned again over the bridge, was received by the citizens as their guardian angel. The Engliſh generals in vain urged, that Joan was not inſpired by God, but the devil; for the ſoldiers, having found from ſad experience that the devil might ſometimes be allowed to prevail, they did not reap much comfort from their urging this opinion. On the contrary, they trembled at the very apprehenſion of being led againſt this tremendous inchantreſs; ſo that the earl of Suffolk, finding it impoſſible to carry on the operations of the ſiege, abandoned the enterprize, after having laid before the place upwards of ſeven months. The very generals ſeemed to be ſtupified with terror; for inſtead of keeping their forces together in a body till they ſhould have recovered from their amazement, they diſtributed great part of them in places they had taken near the Loire, and retired with the reſt to a great diſtance; ſo that the enemy had an opportunity of reducing the towns and caſtles they had thus garriſoned. The French now reſolved to allow them no leiſure to recover from their conſternation. Charles took the field with ſix thouſand men, which he ſent to inveſt Gergeaux, in which Suffolk had ſhut himſelf up with part of his army. The place was obſtinately defended during a ſiege of ten days. Joan behaved with her uſual intrepidity; and in leading the attack deſcended into the foſſee, where ſhe was ſtruck on the head with a ſtone which knocked her down; but ſoon recovering herſelf, ſhe continued the aſſault with ſucceſs. Suffolk was forced to ſurrender himſelf priſoner to Renaud, a Frenchman; but before he ſubmitted, aſked if he was a gentleman; on being anſwered that he was, he demanded whether he was a knight? Renauld replied, that he had not yet attained that honour. "Then I will make you one," replied Suffolk; and giving him a blow with his ſword, which dubbed him of that honourable fraternity, inſtantly ſurrendered himſelf. The reſt of the Engliſh army, under the command of Talbot, Faſtolf, and Scales, thought only of retreating as ſoon as poſſible into a place of ſafety; while the French imagined their overtaking them was equal to a victory. The van-guard of the French, commanded by Richemont and Xantrailles, fell upon the rear of the Engliſh at the village of Petay on the eighteenth of June, on which the Engliſh were inſtantly defeated and fled, Faſtolf himſelf ſhewing the example of flight to his troops; on which he was, as a puniſhment for this inſtance of cowardice, degraded from the order of the garter. In this action both Talbot and Scales were taken priſoners, and two thouſand men ſlain.

The French writers repreſent the Maid of Orleans, as not only behaving with great courage and activity in battle, but as exerciſing the office of general; conducting all the military operations, and influencing their deliberations in all the councils of war. This appearance the French court endeavoured to maintain; but there is much greater probability that ſhe was prompted in all her meaſures by Dunois, and the other commanders. It is ſufficient praiſe, that ſhe was able to diſtinguiſh the perſons on whoſe judgment ſhe might depend; deliver their opinions as her own; and permit them at times to temper with prudence her enthuſiaſtic ardour. This famous heroine had now performed one part of her promiſe; but the more difficult taſk remained ſtill to be executed, the crowning Charles at Rheims. Before this could be done, it was neceſſary to paſs over a large tract of land occupied by the Engliſh; an attempt which would have been impracticable in any other conjuncture than the preſent. Charles, who had never hitherto expoſed his perſon, allowed himſelf to be carried away by the torrent of his ſucceſs, and the inſtigation of the Maid of Orleans. This interval of enthuſiaſm ſecured his victories. Without proviſions, without reſources, he marched ſecurely at the head of twelve thouſand men through the midſt of his enemies. Troye and Chalons opened their gates at his approach. The inhabitants of Rheims drove out the Engliſh garriſon, and ſent him the keys of the city, which he entered in triumph. The ceremony of his coronation was performed there on the ſeventeenth of July, the Maid of Orleans ſtanding by his ſide in complete armour, diſplaying her conſecrated banner. Charles now appeared more venerable in the eyes of his ſubjects. Numbers immediately joined him; they returned from their prepoſſeſſions and errors, and conceived the utmoſt averſion to the ſhameful yoke of ſlavery they had hitherto endured. Loan, Soiſſons, Chateau-Thierri, and ſeveral other towns and fortreſſes, ſubmitted to their lawful ſovereign. Under this ſtrange reverſe of fortune, the duke of Bedford acted with the moſt conſummate prudence. He employed all the reſources in his power. He detained the Pariſians in obedience by making uſe of careſſes and ſeverity. He alſo renewed his alliance with the duke of Burgundy; and being joined with five thouſand men, which the biſhop of Wincheſter was conducting on a cruſade againſt the Huſſites, he was once more in a condition of taking the field againſt the French, in order to check their rapid progreſs. The maid of Orleans, after Charles was crowned at Rheims, conſidering her commiſſion as accompliſhed, was ſolicitous to return to the place of her nativity; but the count of Dunois, being ſenſible that her preſence in the army might be attended with many advantages, he exhorted her to ſtay till the Engliſh were entirely expelled from France, and all her prophecies ſhould be accompliſhed.

A. D. 1430.

The duke of Bedford now ſtrove to revive the declining ſtate of his affairs, by cauſing the young king of England, who was ſent over by the parliament, to be crowned king of France at Paris, which was done with the greateſt ſolemnity. To induce the duke of Burgundy to act with more vigour, he ceded to him all the places the Engliſh poſſeſſed in Champaigne and Brie; and the duke immediately entered France with a powerful army. He reduced Troye and Soiſſons; and being joined by the earls of Suffolk and Arundel, he inveſted Compeigne. The place was well provided with proviſions, and every thing neceſſary for making a noble defence; and the garriſon was commanded by Flavi, a brave and experienced officer. But Compeigne being conſidered as a city of the utmoſt importance, a detachment of about ſix hundred men, under the command of the Maid of Orleans and Xaintrailles, threw themſelves into the place. At her appearance the garriſon thought themſelves invincible; but their joy was of ſhort continuance. The day after her arrival ſhe headed a ſally upon the quarters of John of Luxemburg, and twice drove the enemy from their intrenchments. However, finding herſelf overpowered with numbers, ſhe ordered a retreat; but, being hard preſſed by her purſuers, ſhe turned upon them, and again drove them back. At this inſtant being deſerted by her friends, and encompaſſed by the enemy, ſhe was at laſt, after having given proofs of extraordinary bravery, taken priſoner by the Burgundians. It was then the common opinion, that the French officers had, from envy of her fame, purpoſely expoſed her to this misfortune. The Engliſh and their partizans, would have received leſs joy in having obtained a complete victory, than they did in getting the Maid of Orleans into their poſſeſſion. Te Deum was ſung at Paris on this occaſion; and the regent, thinking that on the captivity of this heroic female, he ſhould recover his ſuperiority over France, immediately purchaſed her of John of Luxemburg. The Maid of Orleans had a juſt right to be conſidered a priſoner of war, and might expect to be treated with courteſy at leaſt. She had never ſtained her character by one cruel or treacherous action; ſhe had even rigidly obſerved the virtues and decorums of her ſex; and although her conducting armies to battle may appear an exception, yet her conduct in this particular was of ſuch ſignal ſervice to her prince, as rendered her an object of praiſe and admiration. The regent therefore reſolved to cover his violation of humanity, in the proſecution of this brave woman with the cloak of religion. The biſhop of Beauvais, who was devoted to the Engliſh, preſented a petition againſt her, under pretence of her being taken within his dioceſe, in order to have her tried by an eccleſiaſtical court, for magic, ſorcery, and impiety: the univerſity of Paris joined in the ſame requeſt; and ſeveral prelates, among whom was only one Engliſhman, the cardinal of Wincheſter, were appointed her judges. Their court was held at Rouen, then the reſidence of the young king of England; and before this tribunal the maid was brought in her military apparel, loaded with irons. Joan requeſted to be eaſed of her chains; but her judges told her, that ſhe had once attempted to throw herſelf from a tower. This ſhe confeſſed; and owned, if ſhe was able ſhe would ſtill do it. In all her ſpeeches ſhe ſhewed the utmoſt firmneſs. Though teazed with queſtions for almoſt four months, ſhe never betrayed the leaſt weakneſs, nor was any advantage gained over her. The point puſhed by her judges with the greateſt vehemence, was her viſions and revelations. She was aſked, whether ſhe would ſubmit the truth of theſe to her judges, or to the deciſion of the church? She replied, that ſhe was ready to ſubmit them to God, the fountain of truth. Upon this they exclaimed, that ſhe denied the authority of the church, and was an heretic. She then appealed to the pope; but her appeal was rejected. They enquired, why ſhe put her truſt in a ſtandard, conſecrated only by magical incantations? She replied, that ſhe put her truſt in God alone, whoſe image it bore. They demanded, why ſhe held in her hand that ſtandard at the coronation of Charles at Rheims? She anſwered, that the perſon who had ſhared the danger, was entitled to ſhare the glory. On being cenſured for going to war contrary to the decorum of her ſex, ſhe made no ſcruple of aſſerting, that her only deſign was to defeat the Engliſh, and to drive them out of the kingdom. At length ſhe was condemned, as being guilty of all the crimes of which ſhe had been accuſed, with the aggravation of hereſy; her revelations were declared inventions of the devil to delude the people; and ſhe was ſentenced to be delivered over to be puniſhed by the ſecular arm. This unhappy maid, for ſo long a time encompaſſed by inveterate enemies, who treated her with contumacy, brow-beaten by men of ſuperior rank, even by thoſe inveſted with the ſacred character, whom ſhe had ever honoured, at laſt found her ſpirit ſubdued; and the viſionary dreams of inſpiration gave way to the terrors of the puniſhment ſhe was ſentenced to ſuffer. She therefore publicly declared her willingneſs to recant; acknowledged the illuſion of the revelations rejected by the church; and promiſed never more to maintain them. Upon this her ſentence was mitigated to perpetual impriſonment, and to be fed on bread and water during life. But the barbarous inhumanity of her enemies, not thinking this ſentence ſufficient to anſwer all their political views, reſolved on her death. She had conſented to wear a female dreſs; but they, ſuſpecting it was diſagreeable to her, placed a ſuit of men's apparel in her apartment, watching the effects it would produce. On ſight of a dreſs in which ſhe had acquired ſuch fame, and which ſhe imagined was intended for her by the appointment of heaven, all her former ideas revived; and ſhe ventured, while alone, again to put on the forbidden garment. She was detected by her inſiduous enemies in that ſituation; and this thoughtleſs, innocent action, was termed a relapſe into hereſy. No recantation was now thought ſufficient, and no pardon could be granted. She was delivered over to the civil power on pretence of hereſy and witchcraft; and on the fourteenth of June, was burnt alive by a ſlow fire, in the old market place of Rouen. Such was this infamous ſentence, and ſuch was the miſerable end of that extraordinary heroine, the Maid of Orleans, whoſe uncommon exertions for the good of her country, to which ſhe fell a victim, muſt excite ſurprize and admiration, whether we conſider her actions as the reſult of innate courage, or a heated imagination, or the effects of wild enthuſiaſm.

A.D. 1431.

A.D. 1432.

But this execution was not attended with any advantages to the Engliſh, for we find their affairs every day grew worſe. Chartres was ſurprized by a ſtratagem of the count of Dunois; lord Willoughby, who commanded a body of Engliſh, was defeated at St. Celerin; the fair, in the ſuburbs of Caen, though ſeated in the midſt of the territories belonging to the Engliſh, was pillaged by de Lore, a French officer, who carried away two thouſand perſons, with a very rich booty; and the death of the ducheſs of Bedford, ſiſter to the duke of Burgundy, diſſolved that cloſe connection that had hitherto ſubſiſted between her brother and the regent; which was followed by an irreconcileable breach. A congreſs was appointed at Arras, under the mediation of the pope and the council of Baſle. The French offered to cede Normandy and Guienne to the Engliſh, but on condition of doing homage to Charles, conformable to antient cuſtom. This offer

A.D. 1435.

was rejected with diſdain, and the Engliſh plenipotentiaries departed immediately from congreſs. Nothing now remained but to adjuſt matters between Charles and the duke of Burgundy; this was ſoon done; and France purchaſed the friendſhip of Philip upon the moſt humiliating terms. Soon after this treaty was concluded, the duke of Bedford died at Rouen. He was juſtly reputed one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed characters of that age; and it is difficult to ſay, whether he ſhone brighter in the field or the cabinet, whether he was a greater general or politician, and whether he was moſt eſteemed for his valour, his equity, or his moderation.

A. D. 1436. Such parties were formed in the Engliſh council, between the duke of Glouceſter and the cardinal of Wincheſter, as prevented the reparation of national loſſes in France, and paved the way for ſtill greater which enſued; and though the duke of York was appointed to ſucceed Bedford, it was ſeven months before his commiſſion paſſed the ſeals. So that when the duke arrived in France, as regent, he found the capital loſt. The Pariſians, who had always been more attached to the Burgundians than to the Engliſh, after the concluſion of the treaty of Arras, put Paris into the hands of the duke of Burgundy; and lord Willoughby, who commanded the garriſon, which conſiſted only of fifteen hundred men, after diſcovering great valour and preſence of mind, was obliged to retire into the Baſtile; which being inveſted, he was contented with ſtipulating for the ſafe retreat of his troops into Normandy. At the ſame time the duke of Burgundy attempted to reduce Calais with an army of fifty thouſand men, and made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſmall caſtles in the neighbourhood of that city; but the garriſon harraſſed their camp with ſucceſsful ſallies; and the duke of Glouceſter, landing at Calais with fifteen thouſand men, ſent a herald to the duke of Burgundy, offering him battle. In the mean time the Flemings made a precipitate retreat; whoſe example was followed by Philip; and having drawn up his regulars in good order, he retired to Gravelines; leaving behind him all his baggage and artillery, which fell into the hands of the Engliſh. Nor was this the only mortification the duke of Burgundy had to ſuſtain; for he was hardly returned to his own dominions, when the maritime parts of his poſſeſſions in Flanders were ravaged by an Engliſh fleet; while he himſelf was in danger of loſing his life in a ſedition at Bruges, after ſeeing the French marſhal, Adam, who delivered up Paris, almoſt torn in pieces by the populace.

Military operations in France were now carried on in a very languid manner. Scarcely could either ſide bring the appearance of an army into the field. The war ſolely conſiſted in the ſurprizal of places, and ravaging the open country by ſmall bodies, ſuddenly aſſembled from neighbouring garriſons. The great abilities of the duke of York enabled him to ſtruggle againſt every difficulty for more than four years; and by the aſſiſtance of lord Talbot, who was created earl of Shrewſbury, he performed actions by which he acquired great honour. Happy would it have been for the people had this puny war prevented other oppreſſions; but the forces of the French and Engliſh were obliged, being deſtitute of pay to ſubſiſt by plunder. The provinces in all the north of France were laid waſte, the lands left uncultivated, and the cities gradually depopulated. About this time the duke of York reſigned his government to the earl of Warwick; but death preventing that nobleman from long enjoying his dignity, the duke upon his deceaſe, reſumed the government; and during his adminiſtration, a truce was concluded between the king of England and the duke of Burgundy, which the commercial intereſt of their ſubjects rendered neceſſary.

The captivity of the five princes of the blood, taken at the battle of Agincourt, had been for a long time of conſiderable advantage to England, but this was now loſt. Some of them had died, others had been ranſomed; and the duke of Orleans, the moſt powerful of them all, was the only one that now remained in the hands of the Engliſh. This prince offered for his liberty fifty-four thouſand nobles, equal to thirty-ſix thouſand pounds of our preſent money. The duke of Glouceſter's party, and that of the cardinal of Wincheſter, were here divided in their ſentiments. The duke reminded the council of the late king's dying advice, that none of theſe priſoners ſhould be releaſed, till his ſon ſhould be capable of holding the reins of government. The cardinal inſiſted on the largeneſs of the ſum, which was indeed nearly equal to two thirds of all the extraordinary ſupplies annually granted by parliament for the ſupport of the war, during the courſe of ſeven years; and added, that his releaſe was more likely to be advantageous than prejudicial to England. The cardinal's party prevailing, it was determined to ſet the duke of Orleans at liberty, and he was releaſed after a captivity of twenty-five years. The duke of Burgundy diſplayed a noble inſtance of generoſity on this occaſion; he renounced his antient reſentments, and paid the ranſom of a prince who had long been his enemy.

The character of Henry, as he advanced in years, became fully known; and from the weakneſs of his abilities it was plainly perceived, that his reign would prove a continued minority. He had now entered into the twenty-third year of his age; and each party was ambitious of chuſing him a queen. The duke of Glouceſter warmly recommended the daughter of the count d'Armagnac; but the cardinal and his friends had fixed their choice on Margaret of Anjou, the daughter of Regnier, titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jeruſalem, who was eſteemed the moſt accompliſhed women of her age, both in body and mind; and ſeemed qualified, not only to acquire an aſcendant over Henry, but to ſupply all his defects. The earl of Suffolk, therefore, in concert with his aſſociates in the Engliſh council, made propoſals of marriage to Margaret, which were accepted. This treaty was ratified in England; and Suffolk obtained firſt the title of marquis, then of duke, and even received the thanks of parliament for his ſervices in concluding it. This princeſs, by reaſon of the oppoſition made by the duke of Glouceſter to her marriage, entered into a cloſe correſpondence with the cardinal and the marquis of Suffolk, who, ſtrengthened by her friendſhip, and animated by their common hatred againſt the duke of Glouceſter, reſolved to effect the ruin of that patriotic nobleman. He was accordingly ſtripped of all his preferments, and even entirely removed from the council board. But this cruel proceeding raiſed ſuch commotions among the people, that his enemies thought it abſolutely neceſſary for their own ſafety, to colour over their baſe conduct with a ſhew of juſtice.

A. D. 1447. For this purpoſe, to deſtroy a man whoſe popularity might become dangerous, and whoſe reſentment they had cauſe to fear, they ſummoned a parliament to meet at St. Edmundſbury, not chuſing they ſhould aſſemble in the capital, which was ſuppoſed to be too well affected to the duke. Having been cited in due form, Glouceſter appeared before this parliament on the tenth of February. The next day he was arreſted, and confined under a ſtrong guard. The people were highly exaſperated at this mode of proceeding, but being perſuaded, that the duke on his trial, would ſufficiently exculpate himſelf from every charge that could be exhibited againſt him, no tumult was excited in his favour. His enemies, however, never intended to bring him to a fair trial. But the lords, who were appointed to be his judges, took no pains to conceal their ſentiments with regard to his innocence. This ſufficiently intimidated the faction; and on the twenty-eighth of February the duke was found dead in his bed. His body was expoſed to public view, without exhibiting any marks of external violence, yet no one doubted of his having fallen a victim to the vengeance of his enemies, who imagined, that his public trial and execution would have been more invidious, than his private murder. Afterwards ſome gentlemen of his retinue were tried as his accomplices, and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. But they were no ſooner ſuſpended than they were cut down, recovered to life, and received their pardon. Thus fell by the treacherous hand of malice, Humphrey of Woodſtock, duke of Glouceſter, the moſt learned perſon of his age. He founded at Oxford one of the firſt libraries in England. He was a generous patron to men of ſcience and able artiſts of every profeſſion. From his amiable character he was called the good duke of Glouceſter. He was free from all vulgar ſuperſtition and credulity, which in his time univerſally prevailed; of which Sir Thomas More gives the following inſtance. A man pretended that he was born blind, but by touching the ſhrine of St. Albans had recovered his ſight. Soon after the duke happened to paſs that way, examined the man, and ſeeming to doubt of his being able to ſee, aſked him the colour of ſeveral cloaks worn by the perſons in his retinue; and the man readily telling him, he ſaid, "You are a knave, for had you been born blind, you could not ſo ſoon learn to diſtinguiſh colours;" and immediately the duke ordered him to the ſtocks as an impoſtor. The cardinal of Wincheſter did not long enjoy his triumph over the fall of Glouceſter. He died ſix weeks after him in all the horrors of a guilty conſcience, from having embrued his hands in the blood of the innocent. He is ſaid to have felt more remorſe in his laſt moments, than could have been expected from one hardened, in a long courſe of life, in the mazes of falſehood, known by the name of ſtate policy. By his death, the queen and her favourite, Suffolk, were expoſed to all the effects of thoſe unpopular meaſures they afterwards purſued. However the miniſter for ſome time enjoyed his power; and the next ſeſſions of parliament he was created duke of Suffolk.

A. D. 1448. Charles, king of France, reſtored the adminiſtration of public juſtice in that kingdom, regulated the finances, eſtabliſhed diſcipline among his troops, encouraged commerce, and made his ſubjects forget their former misfortunes. This prince now warmly inſiſted on the performance of the articles in the marriage treaty, by which Charles of Anjou, the queen's uncle, was to poſſeſs the province of Maine. Orders, under Henry's hand, were therefore ſent to Sir Francis Surrienne, governor of Mans, to ſurrender that city to Charles of Anjou. Surrienne, a native of Arragon, who had ſerved the Engliſh above twenty years, diſputed the authenticity of the order, and abſolutely refuſed to deliver up the place; on which a French army under Dunois, laid ſiege to the city. Surrienne made a noble defence, but was at laſt obliged to capitulate; by which the garriſon, conſiſting of two thouſand five hundred men, were ſuffered to march out with all their effects. They retired into Normandy; but being refuſed admittance into any of the fortified towns, Surrienne led them into Brittany, ſurprized ſome fortifications, and the town of Fougeres, and extended his depredations over the whole province. This breach of the truce, in which Brittany had been included, induced the French monarch to demand ſatisfaction from the duke of Somerſet governor of Normandy. Somerſet returned for anſwer, that he had no authority over Surrienne and his followers. Charles, though he was well acquainted with the licentious ſpirit of ſuch mercenary troops, was diſſatisfied with this anſwer; and on application being made to the court of England, inſiſted that thoſe plunderers ſhould not only be recalled, but that all the damages ſuſtained by the duke of Brittany ſhould be repaired; and to render an accommodation impracticable, the damages were made to amount to the enormous ſum of one million, ſix hundred thouſand crowns.

Charles, reſolving to take advantage of the viſible ſuperiority, which the A. D. 1449. preſent ſtate of his affairs gave him over England, declared war againſt Henry, and invaded Normandy with four powerful armies. The towns opened their gates to the French as ſoon as they appeared, and Normandy was ſoon annexed to his dominions. The brave Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury, indeed, ſupported his reputation and glory to the laſt. He was, father Orleans obſerves, equal to an army, but he had only a handful of forces. It is true, four thouſand ſuccours arrived from England, which were ſoon after defeated by the count of Clermont at Fourmigni. This was the only battle fought by the Engliſh in defence of their dominions, which had been obtained at a great expence of blood and treaſure. The duke of Somerſet, who was ſhut up in Caen, without the leaſt proſpect of relief, was obliged to capitulate: Falaiſe ſurrendered; and Cherburg, the laſt town in Normandy, that remained in the hands of the Engliſh, opening its gates, Charles within the compaſs of one year, conquered that important province. Guienne ſuffered the ſame fate. Dunois who was ſent thither met with no reſiſtance in the field, and very little from the towns. This province alſo, which had for three centuries formed a part of the dominions of the crown of England, was now united to that of France. To complete the laſt act of national diſgrace, attended with a train of ſucceſſive misfortunes, the ſword of civil war was about to be unſheathed by a pretender, who diſputed the title of the weak prince ſeated on the throne. This was no other than Richard, duke of York, firſt prince of the blood, who was deſcended, by his mother, from the houſe of Mortimer, which enjoyed an inconteſtible title to the crown of England, after the demiſe of Richard II. when the rights of ſovereignty were uſurped by the houſe of Lancaſter. His abilities, courage, and political prudence were very eminent; and he was in poſſeſſion of an immenſe fortune, by ſucceeding to the eſtates of Cambridge, York, and Mortimer; which laſt had been increaſed by an union of the eſtates of Clarence and Ulſter, with the patrimonial poſſeſſion of the family of Marche. His alliances alſo, by marrying the daughter of Ralph Nevil, earl of Weſtmorland, had greatly extended his intereſt among the nobility. The family of the earl of Weſtmorland was more potent than any other in the kingdom. The earl of Warwick was one of that family, a nobleman extremely popular, and ſo amazing rich, that thirty thouſand perſons were conſtantly fed at his expence, in his different manors and caſtles. Allured by his bravery, munificence, and hoſpitality, the military men, and the people in general, bore him an unbounded affection. The duke of York had alſo many other partizans, who were attached to him from their hatred of the houſe of Lancaſter.

Suffolk was alarmed at his increaſing popularity; and this prime miniſter, A. D. 1450. having incurred public hatred, and foreſeeing he ſhould be attacked by the commons, ſtrove to over-awe his enemies, by boldly preſenting himſelf to the charge. He roſe in the houſe of peers, and having taken notice of the clamours raiſed againſt him, complained, that after he had ſerved the crown in thirty-four campaigns; after he had lived abroad about ſeventeen years, without once viſiting his native country; after loſing a father and three brothers in the French wars; he thought it exceeding hard, to be even ſuſpected, of having been corrupted by that enemy, whom with ſuch zeal he had oppoſed, and of betraying his prince, who had rewarded him for his ſervices, with the greateſt offices and higheſt poſts of honour. The commons provoked at this challenge, ſent up to the peers an accuſation of high treaſon; but this being not ſupported by evidence, they drew up againſt him a new charge of miſdemeanours, well founded, probably upon facts; for we find the king now greatly alarmed for his miniſter. He perceived, that the commons were determined to carry on the proſecution with the utmoſt vigour, and feared the upper houſe would declare him guilty. He therefore ſent for the lords ſpiritual and temporal to his apartment, produced Suffolk before them, and aſked him what he had to ſay in his own defence. He denied the charge, but ſubmitted himſelf to the pleaſure of the king, who baniſhed him for the term of five years. The lords remained ſilent, but were no ſooner returned to their own houſe, than they entered a proteſt, that their privileges ſhould not be infringed by this ſentence; and that if Suffolk, inſtead of voluntarily ſubmitting to the king's commands, had inſiſted upon his right, he would have been intitled to a trial by his peers in parliament. Every one knew that theſe irregular proceedings were intended to favour the duke of Suffolk, who by enjoying the queen's favour, would, the firſt favourable opportunity, be reſtored to his former credit and power. His enemies therefore employed a captain of a ſhip to cruiſe off Dover, and intercept him in his paſſage to the continent; who ſeizing him near that place without ceremony, cauſed his head to be ſtruck off on the ſide of his long boat, and his body to be thrown into the ſea. Thus ignominiouſly fell William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, who a few days before, was the moſt powerful perſon in the kingdom; yet no enquiry was made after the authors and accomplices of ſuch an atrocious crime; though the court threatened to ſend an army into Kent, and lay the whole country waſte, in revenge of this inhuman act of violence.

The duke of Somerſet ſucceeded Suffolk in the miniſtry, and in credit with the queen; but he being the perſon who commanded on the continent when the French provinces were loſt, the public, who always judge by the event, ſoon made him the object of their animoſity and hatred. Somerſet was now in the ſame dangerous ſituation experienced by Suffolk, and the parliament was no ſooner broke up, than various commotions were excited in different parts of the kingdom. They were indeed ſoon quelled, but ſufficiently indicated the diſpoſition of the people, and proved a prelude to an inſurrection of a more alarming nature, and which, for ſome time, threatened the nation with very dangerous conſequences.

Notwithſtanding the great intereſt of the duke of York, before he would perſonally appear in ſupport of his pretenſions, he thought it moſt adviſeable to prepare the nation for his deſign, by exciting their affection to the houſe of Mortimer. With this view he engaged an Iriſhman, named John, or Jack Cade, who had ſerved under him as a ſoldier in France, to raiſe a ſedition in favour of the family of Marche, that their title, which had ſo long laid dormant, might once more attract the attention of the public. Jack Cade, who by his courage, capacity, and ſpirit, was well qualified for ſuch an undertaking, having received proper inſtructions from the duke's agents, aſſumed the name of Mortimer, pretending to be the ſon of Sir John Mortimer, who was beheaded for treaſon in the laſt reign; and repairing to the county of Kent, in which the duke of York had a great number of adherents, he collected a ſtrong body of malecontents, on pretence of redreſſing the grievances of the nation, and delivering the people from the burden of taxes. He ſoon found himſelf at the head of a powerful army, ſo as to be in a condition to carry his ſcheme into execution, and advancing towards London, encamped on Blackheath. The court on receiving intelligence of this inſurrection, ſent a meſſage to the inſurgents, demanding the reaſon of their appearing in arms. Cade replied, that they had no deſign to offer the leaſt violence to the perſon of the king, they only deſired to preſent a petition to the parliament, that the miniſters who oppreſſed the people might be removed from the royal preſence. At the ſame time he delivered to the deputies two papers enumerating the grievances of the nation. Among other things they prayed, that the duke of Somerſet might be puniſhed as the principal author of the loſs of Normandy; that the king's council might be filled with the princes of the blood, and not with men of bad principles and corrupt morals, from whom neither happineſs nor tranquillity could be expected. Theſe remonſtrances, however, were ſo far from producing the deſired effect, that the miniſtry thinking themſelves highly inſulted, determined to have recourſe to arms. Fifteen thouſand diſciplined forces, under the command of Sir Humphry Stafford, was ſent againſt the inſurgents. Cade artfully affected to be terrified at the general's approach, and retired with his main body to Sevenoaks, but left a ſtrong body in ambuſcade, to intercept Stafford in his march. The royal army followed without obſerving the neceſſary cautions, and were ſo vigorouſly attacked by Cade's concealed forces, that great numbers of them were cut to pieces, and the reſt ſought their ſafety in a precipitate flight. The general himſelf fell in the action. Elated with this ſucceſs, Cade returned to Blackheath, and demanded, in a ſecond remonſtrance, that the dukes of York, Exeter, Buckingham, and Norfolk, ſhould be recalled to court; that the murderers of the duke of Glouceſter, together with all thoſe who had contributed to the loſs of the Engliſh territories on the continent, ſhould be brought to condign puniſhment. The council, alarmed at the late defeat of their forces, and knowing that the ſecret friends of the duke of York, were on the point of declaring themſelves, reſolved, if poſſible, to purchaſe their ſafety by ſacrificing ſome individuals to the fury of the populace. The lords Say and Cromer, who had rendered themſelves very unpopular, were committed to the Tower; and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the duke of Buckingham, ſent to treat with the rebels. Cade received them with the utmoſt complaiſance, but told them he was abſolutely determined not to lay down his arms, till the king came in perſon, and granted his requeſts. The effect of this conference was reported to the council, and the king, perſuaded that he had every thing to fear from the fury of the inſurgents, ſet out with his whole court for Kenelworth-caſtle. The citizens of London, alarmed at the ſucceſs of the rebels, opened the gates at their approach, and Cade entered in triumph, at the head of his troops, which had been greatly augmented ſince his victory. As he paſſed by London-Stone, he ſtruck his ſword againſt it, crying, now is Mortimer lord of London. But he forbad his followers, on ſevere penalties, to commit the leaſt outrage, or give any cauſe of complaint to the inhabitants. Next day being informed, that the lord treaſurer Say was in the city, he cauſed him to be apprehended and beheaded, without any form of trial, and in the evening retired to the borough of Southwark. Thus he continued for ſome days to enter the city in the morning, and retire at night, that he might not give umbrage to the citizens, with whom he at firſt maintained a good underſtanding; but at length, the inſurgents having plundered ſome houſes, and committed other outrages, Cade one morning found the gate of the bridge ſhut, and ſecured againſt him. Attempting to force a paſſage, a battle enſued between the rebels and citizens, which laſted till night put an end to the conteſt. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the chancellor, who had taken refuge in the Tower, being informed by their emiſſaries that the inſurgents were greatly diſpirited by this repulſe, and heartily tired of their rebellious project, drew up an act of amneſty, confirmed by the ſanction of the great ſeal, and found means to publiſh it by night in the Borough. This expedient ſucceeded; and at day-break, Cade found himſelf deſerted by the greateſt part of his followers, and was obliged to take ſhelter in the woods of Suſſex with a few of his friends, who were determined to ſhare his fate. A price was now ſet on his head; and he was ſlain by one Iden, a gentleman of Suſſex, who ſent it to London, for which ſervice he was rewarded with the government of Dover caſtle. At this time a report prevailed, that the duke of York intended to return from Ireland, where his ſucceſs had entitled him to public eſteem and confidence; and the council, ſuſpecting that he meant to come with an armed body, iſſued orders in the king's name to oppoſe him, wherever he ſhould endeavour to land; but the duke eluded all their deſigns, by arriving with no more than his ordinary retinue.

A. D. 1451. Notwithſtanding Cade's enterprize had failed, the duke received ſeveral advantages from it; and this induced him to repair to London, where his adherents waited his arrival with much impatience. Theſe were John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk; Richard Nevil, earl of Saliſbury; his ſon Richard Nevil, afterwards earl of Warwick; Thomas Courtney, earl of Devonſhire; and Edward Brooke, baron of Cobham. The confederates had now an opportunity of projecting their plan without interruption, as the court was on a progreſs through the weſtern counties; and they at length determined that the duke of York ſhould retire to Wales, where the houſe of March had an extenſive influence, and there ſecure ſuch an intereſt as might enable him to aſſemble an army at pleaſure. His party was now directed to maintain, in all companies, his right, both by ſucceſſion, and the conſtitution of the kingdom; in conſequence of which the people were divided in opinion, with regard to the pretenſions of the houſes of York and Lancaſter. Many plauſible reaſons were urged by the partizans of both parties. "Richard II." ſaid the friends of Lancaſter, "was dethroned by an act of the nation; and Henry IV. was placed in the ſeat of power by the ſame authority. The right of ſucceſſion was admitted only for the general good, and could not be pleaded to the deſtruction of national tranquillity. Two glorious reigns had conſolidated the poſſeſſion and rights of the reigning family; and the people were bound to allegiance by the numerous oaths of fealty they had taken. Even the duke of York himſelf had renounced claims, to which he might have been entitled, by having done homage to Henry as his lawful ſovereign. To what calamities, added they, would the nation be expoſed, if diſputes on revolutions, which muſt be attended with bloodſhed, were encouraged." It was urged on the contrary, by the partizans of the duke of York, "That the maintenance of order in the ſucceſſion of princes, was the baſis of public tranquillity; that the injuſtice committed by the violation of it, could not be too ſoon repaired; that the lapſe of many ages was neceſſary to give ſtability to uſurpation; that both the depoſition of Richard, and the coronation of Henry IV. had been occaſioned by a popular inſurrection, rather than by a deliberate act of the nation; that the lawful heirs of the crown had, indeed, ſubmitted to neceſſity and force, but had never renounced their rights; and that a revolution, deſtined to eſtabliſh order, ſo far from proving ruinous to the ſtate, would prevent ſimilar diſputes for the future." Theſe arguments were continually repeated, and appeared weaker or ſtronger in proportion to the prejudices of each party.

A. D. 1452. In ſpring, the duke of York, who was then in Wales, entered England with a formidable army, and, without committing any acts of hoſtility, advanced to London; but, contrary to his expectations, he found the gates of the city ſhut againſt him; and, on his retreating into Kent, he was purſued by the king at the head of a numerous army. Richard now found it neceſſary to temporize; and therefore declared to two biſhops, who were ſent to demand the reaſon of his appearing in arms againſt the government, that his intention was not to renounce his obedience to the king, but ſolely to remove the evil counſellors from his perſon, eſpecially the duke of Somerſet; and that if his majeſty would commit that nobleman to priſon, and detain him there till the enſuing ſeſſion of parliament, he would immediately diſband his forces. The court pretended to grant his requeſt, and Somerſet was put under an arreſt. Without the leaſt heſitation therefore, the duke diſbanded his troops, and viſited the king, not regarding the ſecurity of his perſon. When he was introduced to his majeſty, he accuſed the duke of Somerſet as a traitor, who had ſacrificed his country to his own avarice and ambition; but was not a little ſurprized to ſee that miniſter quit his hiding place, and offer to vindicate his innocence. Richard now at once perceived the deluſion, as well as the danger of his ſituation. Nevertheleſs the court, being afraid to purſue rigorous meaſures, permitted him to depart, after his having took a new oath of allegiance; and the duke of Somerſet continued to enjoy his influence at court without a rival. The duke of York, on his diſmiſſion, retired to his ſeat at Wigmore on the borders of Wales; during his abode at which place an incident occurred that inflamed popular clamour againſt the miniſtry, and contributed greatly to the ſucceſs of his enterprize. Deputies arrived from Gaſcony, offering to renounce the dominion of France, and to return to their former allegiance under Henry.

A. D. 1453. The earl of Shrewſbury was therefore diſpatched to the continent with eight thouſand men, in order to aſſiſt the Gaſcons in throwing off the French yoke. He was admitted into Bourdeaux without oppoſition; and being joined in a few days by the remainder of the troops from England, ſoon reduced Fronſac, Caſtillon, and other places. But after having made a conſiderable progreſs in ſubduing the province, he was attacked by a ſuperior force, and he himſelf, together with his gallant ſon the lord d'Iſle, were ſlain in the action. The towns which had been reduced by the Engliſh were inſtantly recovered by the French arms. Bourdeaux again returned to its former maſter, and all hopes of reannexing Gaſcony to the crown of England, were for ever extinguiſhed. Thus fell the valiant Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury, than whom the annals of England cannot boaſt a more illuſtrious hero. When advice of this defeat arrived, the people in general exclaimed moſt virulently againſt the treachery and miſconduct of the miniſters, who through indolence or deſign had not furniſhed the earl of Shrewſbury with neceſſary reinforcements. During the prevalence of this diſcontent, a motion was made in the houſe of commons, that as Henry had no iſſue, the duke of York might, conſiſtent with equity of claim, be declared heir-apparent to the crown. This motion gave great diſguſt to the queen's junto, ſhe being ſome months advanced in her pregnancy; and, on the twenty-third of October was delivered of a ſon, called Edward, and created prince of Wales, and earl of Cheſter. Soon after this event, Henry was ſeized with a violent diſtemper, which rendered him not only incapable of diſcharging the important functions of a king, but even maintaining the appearance of royalty. A. D. 1454. On which, the queen and council, finding themſelves unable, without this ſupport, to reſiſt the duke of York's party, were obliged to ſubmit to the torrent; and ſending Somerſet to the Tower, appointed Richard lieutenant of the kingdom, with power to call a parliament; and that aſſembly ſoon after created him Protector during pleaſure. Thoſe who thus entruſted one that had ſuch evident pretenſions to the crown with ſovereign authority, were certainly not averſe to his aſcending the throne; yet the duke, inſtead of urging his title, drew back, and appeared irreſolute in receiving the power that was offered to him. He deſired that it might be recorded in parliament, that they conferred this authority upon him from their own free-will, without his applying for it; expreſſed his hope of their aſſiſtance; and not only made it a condition of his acceptance, that the lords ſhould exerciſe that truſt, when appointed of the council, but required, that the parliament ſhould ſpecify and define all the powers of his office.

A. D. 1455. Henry, having in ſome meaſure recovered from his diſtemper, was perſuaded to reaſſume his regal power, annul the lieutenancy of the duke of York, reſtore Somerſet to liberty, and inveſt him with the ſole management of ſtate affairs. Richard, being ſenſible of the dangers to which he might be expoſed for having accepted of the parliamentary commiſſion, ſhould he now ſubmit to its being annulled, levied an army; but without making any pretenſions to the crown, complained of the king's miniſters, and demanded a reformation of the government; and ſoon after a battle was fought at St. Albans on the twenty-ſecond of May, in which the victory was ſoon determined in favour of the duke of York, whoſe enemies loſt about five thouſand men, among whom were the duke of Somerſet, the earls of Northumberland and Stafford, lord Clifford, and many other perſons of diſtinction. Mean time the king, who was wounded in the neck with an arrow, finding himſelf deſerted in the rout of his army, retired to a little houſe, which was ſoon inveſted. Notice being brought to the duke of York of the king's ſituation, he poſted thither with the earl of Saliſbury; and both of them kneeling before him, the duke ſaid, that ſince the public enemy was dead, he ſaw none there but perſons ready to obey him. Upon this the king, recovering a little from his fright, intreated the duke, for God's ſake, to put a ſtop to the ſlaughter; aſſuring him, that he was ready to give him all the ſatisfaction he could deſire. The duke inſtantly ordered a retreat to be ſounded, and commanded that no more blood ſhould be ſhed. He then conducted the king to St. Albans, and the next day they returned to London. At the enſuing parliament, Henry declared from the throne, that he was well aſſured of the loyalty of the duke of York, and the earls of Saliſbury and Warwick, and their late conduct was approved of by both houſes. They alſo voted, that the nation was miſguided by the queen and duke of Somerſet, who had abuſed the goodneſs and confidence of his majeſty; that the late duke of Glouceſter had been unjuſtly accuſed, and that there ſhould be a full reſumption of all the alienations which had been made ſince the firſt year of the king's reign.

Though the Lancaſtrian party affected to acquieſce in theſe meaſures, they carefully watched every opportunity to regain their former power. A. D. 1456. The queen, in the duke's preſence, appeared with Henry before the houſe of lords, his health permitting him to act his part with ſome degree of propriety; and he there declared, that being by God's grace in good health, and able to reſume the reins of government, he thought the kingdom wanted no longer a protector, and deſired the parliament to conſent to the duke of York's being diſmiſſed from that office. The contrary party being ſurprized, did not oppoſe this motion; and the houſe of lords, many of whom were offended with the late act of reſumption of grants, giving their aſſent to Henry's propoſal, he was declared to be reinſtated in ſovereign authority; even Richard himſelf acquieſced, and no diſturbance enſued. But the duke's claim to the crown was too well known, ever to allow ſincere confidence to ſubſiſt between the two parties. The confederates, on pretence of having no farther buſineſs at court, retired into Yorkſhire, where they reſided contiguous to each other; but the queen receiving advice that they held frequent conferences, determined to have them arreſted at Coventry, where they were leſs popular than in London. With this view the court was removed thither; and the duke of York, with the earls of Saliſbury and Warwick, were required by letters, under the privy-ſeal, to attend the king about ſome affairs of importance. As Richard had taken no ſteps towards publiſhing his deſign upon the crown, he reſolved to obey the order, and accordingly ſet out with his aſſociates for the place appointed; but being apprized on the road of the queen's intentions, they inſtantly parted; Richard retired to his eſtate at Wigmore; Saliſbury to his ſeat in Yorkſhire; and Warwick embarked immediately for Calais, the government of which place he had obtained after the battle of St. Albans. A. D. 1458. The duke of York and his partizans came to London with a numerous retinue, the archbiſhop of Canterbury having, by his mediation, attempted to effect a ſolemn reconciliation, and for mutual ſecurity took up their quarters near each other. The ſame precaution was uſed by the Lancaſtrian party; while the mayor kept a ſtrict watch night and day at the head of five thouſand men, in order to maintain peace among them. One of the king's retinue having inſulted one of the earl of Warwick's, A. D. 1459. their companions on both ſides took part in the quarrel, and a fierce combat enſued. The earl, apprehending there was a deſign againſt his life, fled to Calais; and this violation of their late engagement enraged the Yorkiſts, while the miſcarriage of their ſcheme chagrined the Lancaſtrians; ſo that both parties made open preparations throughout England, for deciding the conteſt by force of arms. In the mean time the king and queen were making a progreſs through the counties of Warwick, Stafford, and Cheſter; by which means a ſtrong aſſociation was formed in favour of their ſon Edward.

Having received intelligence that the earl of Saliſbury was on his march to join the duke of York in Herefordſhire with a conſiderable army, a commiſſion was granted to lord Audley to aſſemble troops, with a view of preventing the inſurgents from joining. Accordingly he levied an army of ten thouſand men, at the head whereof he overtook Saliſbury, who had proceeded as far as Boreheath, on the borders of Staffordſhire. The two armies were parted by a rivulet with ſteep banks; Saliſbury therefore had recourſe to a ſtratagem, which was attended with extraordinary ſucceſs. He ordered a large detachment of men at arms to advance briſkly to the banks of the rivulet, and diſcharge a volley of arrows upon the royal army. The archers having executed this order, he made a feint of retreating with a ſeeming confuſion. Audley, ſuppoſing the enemy to have actually fled, paſſed the rivulet with great precipitation; when Saliſbury, ſuddenly wheeling about, charged the royaliſts with his whole force, who were entirely defeated, with the loſs of their general, ſeveral principal officers, and two thouſand four hundred men. Saliſbury having thus opened a free paſſage, continued his rout to Ludlow, where the duke of York had raiſed a powerful army. This was ſoon after reinforced by a ſelect body of veterans, which the earl of Warwick brought from the continent, under the command of Sir Andrew Trollop, and John Blunt, both officers of great reputation. Richard now no longer concealed his pretenſions to the crown; and his avowal of the ſame rouſed all the king's friends, who in a ſhort time found their army far exceeded that of the inſurgents. A reſolution was therefore taken to advance towards Ludlow, where they were informed the Yorkiſts lay encamped. When they approached, and a general action was hourly expected, Sir Andrew Trollop deſerted, with the whole detachment under his command; and his treacherous example was followed by ſuch a number, that the faithful adherents to the cauſe, fearing they ſhould be abandoned, diſperſed next day, without ſtriking a ſtroke. The duke of York, with his ſecond ſon, repaired to Ireland; the earl of Warwick to his government at Calais; and the other noblemen to their reſpective habitations; yet bravely reſolving, notwithſtanding ſuch an unexpected diſappointment, again to attempt the retrieval of this ſevere check in their fortunes.

A. D. 1460. Warwick, whoſe popularity had induced numbers of volunteers daily to repair to his ſtandard, determined to make another vigorous effort in favour of the houſe of York; and having fitted out a fleet, with which he made ſome captures at ſea, landed in Kent, accompanied by his father the earl of Saliſbury, and York's eldeſt ſon the earl of Marche. On their arrival at Sandwich they were met by the primate, lord Cobham, and other perſons of diſtinction, with whom they directed their rout towards the capital, which they entered in triumph with an army of forty thouſand men, well attached to the cauſe. On the earl's proceeding from thence, his troops increaſed ſo faſt every day that he was ſoon in a condition to face the royal army, which haſted from Coventry to attack him. The battle was fought near Northampton on the nineteenth of July. The earl of Warwick commanded the right wing; lord Cobham the left; and the earl of Marche the center. The dukes of Somerſet and Buckingham headed the royaliſts, while the queen was at a diſtance to obſerve what paſſed. In the mean time the king remained in his tent, waiting the iſſue of a battle that might ſecure him in the poſſeſſion of the crown, or deprive him of it for ever. The Yorkiſts publiſhed a ſtrict charge throughout the army not to hurt the king's perſon, to ſpare the common ſoldiers, and to fall chiefly upon the officers. The battle began about two in the afternoon, and was fought with great obſtinacy, till lord Grey of Ruthin, who commanded a conſiderable body of the royal army, ſuddenly went over to the Yorkiſts; when the royaliſts, being apprehenſive that others would follow, began to give way, and at laſt were completely routed, with the loſs of ten thouſand men. The duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewſbury, ſon of the brave Talbot, the lords Beaumont and Egremont, and Sir William Lucy, were ſlain. The queen fled with her ſon and the duke of Somerſet, without ſtopping to take reſt till they entered the biſhopric of Durham, ſo great was her fear of falling into the hands of her enemies; while the unfortunate ſhadow of a king, continuing in his tent, fell into the hands of his victorious nobles, who paid him all the reſpect he could have received in his greateſt proſperity. He was conducted immediately after the battle to Northampton, where he took up his reſidence for ſome time; after which he returned to London, encompaſſed by a croud of thoſe lords, who, a ſhort time before, had appeared in arms againſt him. The queen, not thinking herſelf ſafe in Durham, retired privately with only eight perſons into Wales; but ſoon after left that retreat, and fled with the prince her ſon into Scotland.

The duke of York, who was in Ireland when the laſt battle was fought, having been informed of the ſucceſs of his friends, arrived at London, and repaired to the houſe of peers, which was then ſitting. He ſtood for ſome time under the canopy, with his hand upon the throne, expecting the lords would deſire him to aſcend. The archbiſhop of Canterbury advancing, aſked him, if he had yet paid his reſpects to the king? He was confounded at the queſtion; but, after a ſhort pauſe, replied, he knew not any perſon to whom he owed that reſpect, and then departed. The day following he preſented a writing to parliament, containing the principles on which his claim to the crown were founded. This produced long and very remarkable debates; but at length it was reſolved unanimouſly, that Henry ſhould enjoy the crown during his natural life, and the duke of York be declared his ſucceſſor. In the mean time the queen had raiſed in the northern counties an army of twenty thouſand men, with which ſhe hoped once more to reſtore the dignity of her family. Richard apprized of her deſign, determined to ſtop her in the beginning of her career; and he was no ſooner informed of her appearance in the north, than he marched haſtily thither at the head of five thouſand men, ordering the earl of Marche to lead the reſt of the army into quarters of refreſhment in Wales, and afterwards join him in the north. As the duke advanced, he was informed how greatly he was outnumbered by the enemy: he therefore threw himſelf into his own caſtle of Sandal, by the advice of the earl of Saliſbury, who obſerved, that the queen, being deſtitute of artillery, could not force the fortification, till the arrival of his ſon the earl of Marche. The queen continued in the neighbourhood of Wakefield, extremely troubled at thus loſing the hopes of a victory, which ſhe flattered herſelf ſhe could eaſily obtain. She therefore employed every artifice to draw the duke of York from his retreat. She placed a conſiderable body of troops in ambuſh out of ſight of the caſtle, and then appearing before the walls, challenged the duke to battle by the moſt inſulting meſſages, ſometimes threatening, at others upbraiding him, that a man who thus aſpired to the crown, ſhould have the cowardice to ſhut himſelf up for fear of a women. Theſe means ſucceeded beyond her expectation. The duke, ſtimulated by her reproaches, drew out his men into the plain, attacked the queen's troops with undaunted reſolution, and ſignalized his own valour particularly in the action; but, all his bravery was of little avail againſt the great inequality of numbers.

While preſſed by the enemy in front, he was attacked in the rear by thoſe in ambuſh, which threw his little body of forces into ſuch confuſion, that in leſs than half an hour they were routed, and he himſelf was ſlain fighting valiantly on foot. His ſecond ſon, the younger earl of Rutland, who was not above twelve years of age, flying with his governor, was overtaken by lord Clifford, upon Wakefield-bridge, and that barbarian, to revenge the death of his father, who had periſhed in the battle of St. Albans, plunged his dagger into the breaſt of that innocent prince, whoſe exterior figure and accompliſhments are ſaid to have been extremely amiable. The ſame lord Clifford, finding the body of the duke of York, cut off his head, and encircling it with a paper crown in deriſion of his title, fixed it upon a lance, and thus preſented it to the queen, by whoſe orders it was elevated on the walls of York. The earl of Saliſbury, being wounded, was taken priſoner, and beheaded at Pomfret, with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction. In this battle three thouſand Yorkiſts were ſlain. Thus fell, in the fiftieth year of his age, Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, a prince endowed with many great and amiable qualities, who ſurely merited a better fate. His claim to the crown was indiſputably juſt, and the fatal effects of his aſſerting it, would in all probability have been avoided, had Henry poſſeſſed the ſpirit of a king, or Margaret that meekneſs, which is the peculiar ornament of her ſex; or had Richard followed the ferocious practice of the times, and waded to a throne in the blood of his enemies, he might perhaps have enjoyed the Engliſh ſcepter, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the houſe of Lancaſter. He left behind him three ſons, Edward, George, and Richard; and three daughters, Anne, Elizabeth and Margaret.

A. D. 1461. The battle of Wakefield inſtead of retrieving the ruined fortunes of the queen, ſerved only to expedite their deſtruction. The brave earl of Marche was inſpired with the moſt implacable reſentment, at the news of his father's death, and determined to hazard his life and fortune, in aſſerting his own pretenſions to the crown. He now found himſelf at the head of twenty thouſand men, beſides thoſe left under the command of the earl of Warwick, and with theſe united forces, he intended to go in queſt of Margaret, who marked her route with every inſtance of barbarity, whoſe cruelty he eagerly deſired to retaliate. The queen had begun her march towards London, and being informed of young Edward's deſign, detached Gaſper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, and James Butler, earl of Ormond, with a body of Engliſh and Iriſh troops, to ſtop his progreſs. Edward, informed of the queen's motions, had altered his firſt reſolution of giving her battle, and directed his march towards London; but when he underſtood that Tudor had been ſent againſt him, rather than expoſe himſelf to the danger of being incloſed between two hoſtile armies, he repaired immediately for Herefordſhire, in order to give him battle. Both armies met on Candlemas-eve, near Mortimer's-croſs, and Edward, being greatly ſuperior in numbers, obtained an eaſy victory over the enemy who loſt near four thouſand men on the ſpot. The earls of Pembroke and Ormond eſcaped, but Owen Tudor, huſband to Catherine of France, and ſtep-father to king Henry, was taken and beheaded at Hereford, with nine other officers. Mean while the queen was in full march towards London, vainly hoping, that as ſoon as her victorious army ſhould appear, the citizens would expel Warwick, and receive her with demonſtrations of joy. Warwick apprehenſive of ſuch an event, marched out with a handful of veterans, to hazard an engagement. The two armies met, and engaged on Bernard's-heath, near St. Albans, where notwithſtanding the inequality of numbers, the conduct and courage of Warwick rendered the fortune of the day for a long time doubtful, till lord Lovelace, who commanded one of the wings, having treacherouſly withdrawn from the combat, the victory declared for Margaret. The vanquiſhed loſt about two thouſand three hundred men in the battle and purſuit, and the perſon of the king, whom Warwick did not chuſe to leave behind him, fell again into the hands of his own party. But whatever ſide detained him, this weak prince was equally a priſoner. Lord Bonville, to whoſe care the Yorkiſts had intruſted him, ſtaid with Henry after the defeat, on his ſolemn aſſurance of a pardon; but Margaret, paying no regard to her huſband's promiſe, ordered him to be beheaded at St. Albans, and Sir Thomas Kiriel, a warrior of diſtinguiſhed bravery, was treated in the ſame manner. Margaret by her cruelties had ſo incenſed the Londoners, that they refuſed her admittance into the city; yet the lord mayor, at her requeſt, ordered ſeveral waggons loaden with proviſions to be conveyed to her camp; but they were ſtopped at Newgate by the populace, who declared, that the city ſhould not furniſh proviſions for an army, which inſtead of defending, came only to invade their properties. The queen denounced vengeance againſt the Londoners for their oppoſition, which ſhe never had an opportunity of executing; for hearing that the earls of Marche and Warwick had joined their forces at Chipping-Norton in Oxfordſhire, and were in full march to London, ſhe retired towards the north, where ſhe hoped to augment her army, and thereby be able to cope with all her enemies.

Prince Edward, earl of Marche, and duke of York, rejoiced at the queen's thus giving up the metropolis, and entered it amidſt the acclamations of the people. He was in the bloom of youth; remarkable for the beauty of his perſon, affability and bravery. It was now his determined reſolution, not to act within the narrow limits to which his father confined himſelf, but to inſiſt on his claim; to aſſume royal dignity; and to treat all his opponents as traitors. But the appearance of national conſent ſeeming neceſſary previous to this bold ſtep, and the aſſembling a parliament, he ordered the earl of Warwick to marſhal his army in the fields near Clerkenwell; when a great number of people aſſembling to gratify their curioſity, Warwick made an oration to this mixed multitude, wherein he ſtrongly urged the undoubted title of Edward, and reflected, in pointed terms, on the uſurpation and tyranny of the then reigning family. At the concluſion of his ſpeech, the people were aſked, whether they would ſtill have Henry of Lancaſter king? When having univerſally ſhewn their diſlike to the propoſal, it was demanded, if they would accept of Edward, the late duke of York's eldeſt ſon, for their ſovereign? To this they gave their conſent by loud and joyful huzzas. Edward having thus far ſucceeded, called a great council of all the biſhops, lords, magiſtrates, and other perſons in and about London, who aſſembled at Baynard's-caſtle, where, on the fifth of March, they confirmed the popular election, and the new king was the next day proclaimed in London, under the title of Edward IV. After which ceremony the king publicly declared, that his views ſhould be ſolely directed to the welfare and happineſs of his people. Thus was terminated the nominal reign of Henry VI. after it had laſted the ſpace of thirty-eight years and a half; a prince who had long been the ſport of fortune, though he came to the poſſeſſion of a crown even when in his cradle. At the time of his being dethroned, he was thirty-nine years and about three months old. By his queen Margaret, he had only one ſon, named Edward, who was in the ninth year of his age, when his unfortunate father was depoſed.

This reign furniſhes us with the firſt inſtance of a debt contracted upon parliamentary ſecurity. And in the eighth and tenth years of this king, laws were enacted for the due election of members of parliament in the counties, limiting the elections to ſuch as poſſeſſed forty ſhillings a year in land, free from all burthen within the county; a ſum equivalent to near twenty pounds a year of our preſent money.

It was enacted by parliament in the twenty-third year of this reign, that when wheat was ſold for ſix ſhillings and eight pence a quarter (money of that age) rye at four ſhillings, and barley at three ſhillings and four pence, it ſhould be lawful to export corn into foreign markets without licence.

There was ſuch a plenty of corn, in the year 1454, that a quarter of wheat was commonly ſold for twelve or fourteen pence; and a quarter of malt for ſixteen or ſeventeen pence of our preſent money.

Mahomet II. in the year 1453, inveſted Conſtantinople with an army of four hundred thouſand men, and after a ſiege of fifty-four days, took it by aſſault. This put an end to the Grecian or eaſtern empire.

In this reign the art of printing was diſcovered at Mentz, in Germany, by John Guttenberg.

Character of Henry VI. during the time of his reign.

He was a king merely in title, without penetration to diſcern or undertake the adminiſtration of government, nor reſolution to withſtand the tyrannical ſway of a cruel queen, and a corrupt, ſelf-intereſted miniſtry; indeed, a natural imbecillity rendered him unable to govern, which was his principal defect: for though deficient in regal qualifications, it muſt be confeſſed, he poſſeſſed many virtues which embelliſh domeſtic life. He was chaſte, temperate, and deliberate; he abhorred cruelty and injuſtice: nay ſuch was his humanity, that he could not conſent to the puniſhment of notorious criminals without reluctance, and he frequently bore the moſt aggravated inſults with a ſerenity of mind, void of the ſhadow of reſentment. Theſe virtues rendered his perſon reſpectable; and though his incapacity made him contemptible in the eyes of his ſubjects; yet at the ſame time his amiable character prevented their contempt from turning into hatred; however, this was not ſufficient to ſupport him againſt the attacks of inſatiable ambition. It is a common obſervation, many are fit for good ſubjects, but few, very few, for good kings. Henry, would doubtleſs not only have added to the number who verify this remark, but alſo have contributed to the intereſt of ſociety in general, had his humble lot been to obey that power, from the due exerciſe of which he was prevented by natural infirmity, and a want of mental abilities.

CHAP. IV.

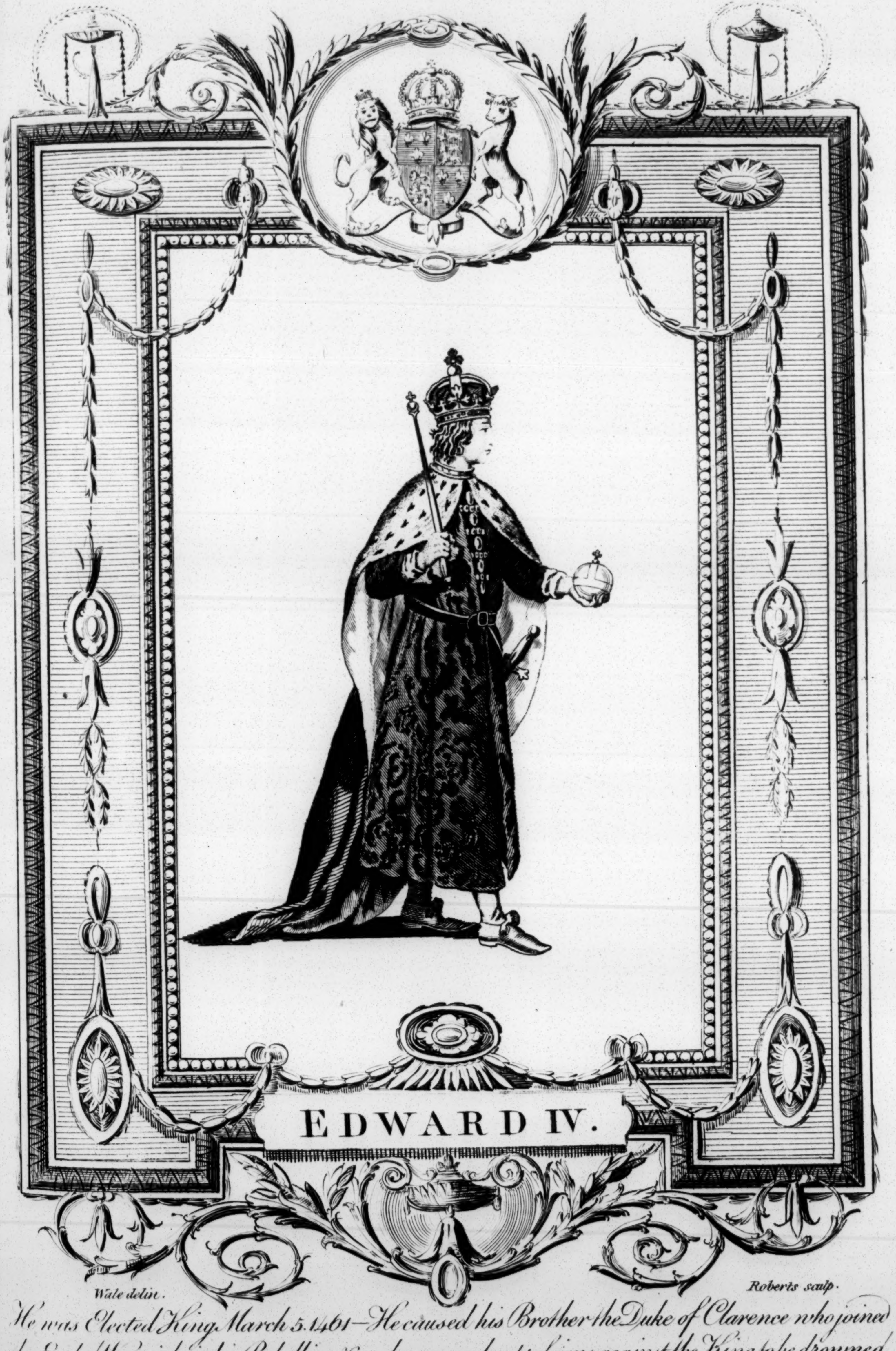
HOUSE OF YORK.

EDWARD IV.

Edward diſcovers ſigns of a cruel diſpoſition—Party diſtinctions of the white and red croſſes—Battle in the fields between Touton and Saxton—Margaret eſcapes with her ſon into Scotland—Battle of Hexam—The queen's ſingular diſtreſs before ſhe effects her eſcape into Flanders—Henry impriſoned in the Tower—Edward marries Elizabeth Woodeville, widow of Sir John Gray, while the earl of Warwick is negociating a treaty of marriage between him and the French king's ſiſter—The diſguſt this marriage gave to the nobility, and its conſequences—The earl of Warwick and Clarence, Edward's brother, fly to France—Their return; upon which Edward is compelled to fly abroad, and Henry is reſtored to his throne—Edward lands in England with two thouſand men, and levies an army—The battle of Barnet, in which Warwick is ſlain, and Henry again taken priſoner—That near Tewkeſbury, where the Lancaſtrians are totally defeated—Impriſonment of Margaret—Murder of her ſon, prince Edward—And death of Henry VI.—War and peace with France—The fate of the duke of Clarence—Edward prepares for a ſecond invaſion of France—His death and character.

A. D. 1461. EDWARD, the young king, at this time in the twentieth year of his age, was ſcarcely ſeated on his throne, when he diſcovered a diſpoſition very different from that of his father. He ſeemed formed for thoſe ſcenes of ſlaughter he was to paſs through. The very commencement of his reign was marked with blood. A tradeſman in the city, who kept a ſhop at the ſign of the crown, told his ſon, in a jocular manner, that he would make him heir to the crown; this expreſſion being conſtrued as a ſarcaſm, and ſuppoſed to be uttered in contempt of Edward's aſſumed title, the ſhop-keeper was tried, condemned, and ſuffered death for his innocent pleaſantry. But this was only the commencement of thoſe ſanguinary meaſures and party commotions, which almoſt deſtroyed the nobility of England, and laid great part of the country waſte. The whole kingdom was filled with two implacable factions, diſtinguiſhed by the White and Red Roſes; the former being the badge of the houſe of York, and the latter of that of Lancaſter; and Edward was too much diſpoſed to confirm his authority by cruel executions. The ſubtle Margaret was ſtill employing her influence to diſturb his tranquillity, if ſhe could not effect his depoſition; for he received advice, about eight days after his elevation, that ſhe had collected an army of ſixty thouſand men, ready to devote their lives to her ſervice. But the king depending on the ſtrength of his arms, rather than his election, ſet out from London, accompanied by the earl of Warwick, with an army of forty thouſand men, in order to oppoſe her progreſs. On his arrival at Pontefract, he detached the lord Fitzwalter, to ſeize the paſs at Ferry-bridge, on the river Aire, and that nobleman executed the order with equal celerity and ſucceſs; but was not able to defend the place againſt lord Clifford, who attacked him with ſuperior numbers, drove him from the paſs with great ſlaughter, and Fitzwalter himſelf loſt his life in the action. Warwick dreading the conſequence of this diſaſter, at a time when a general engagement was momentarily expected, ſtabbed his horſe in ſight of the whole army, and kiſſing the hilt of his ſword, ſwore, that he was firmly reſolved to ſhare the fate of the meaneſt ſoldier, and to ſpend the laſt drop of his blood in defence of his majeſty.

Edward, far from being diſcouraged by this diſaſter, iſſued a proclamation, granting to every individual in his army full liberty to retire, but denouncing the ſevereſt vengeance againſt thoſe who in the enſuing action ſhould betray the leaſt ſign of



EDWARD IV.

Wale delin. Roberts sculp.

He was Elected King March 5.1461—He caused his Brother the Duke of Clarence who joined the Earl of Warwick in his Rebellion & used some rash expreſsions against the King to be drowned in a Butt of Malmsey Wine in 1478—and Died of an Ague at Westminster April 9.1483. Aged 40.

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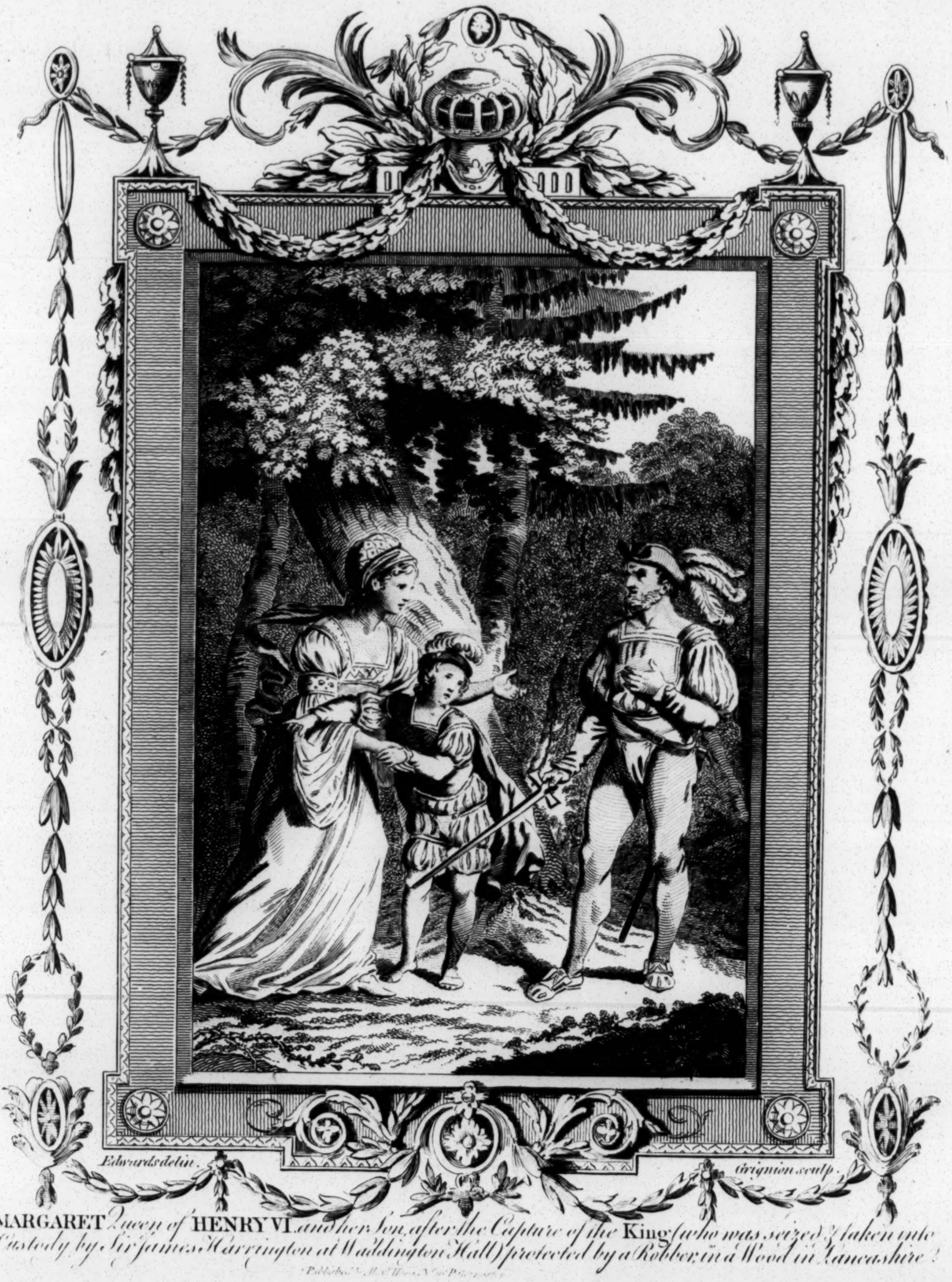

Edwards delin.
Grignion sculp.

MARGARET *Queen of* HENRY VI *and her Son, after the Capture of the* King *(who was seized & taken into Custody by Sir James Harrington at Waddington Hall) protected by a Robber, in a Wood in Lancashire.*

Published by Alex.r Hogg, No. 16 Paternoster Row.

treachery or cowardice. Lord Falconbridge was ſent to retake the paſs from the enemy; this he not only effected, but entirely defeated the Lancaſtrians, and ſlew their leader the lord Clifford, a moſt implacable foe to the houſe of York. The two hoſtile armies met at Touton, and while the Yorkiſts were advancing to the charge, it began to ſnow, and a ſharp wind drove the ſleet full in the faces of the Lancaſtrians, and diſordered their ſight in ſuch a manner, that they could not eſtimate the diſtance between themſelves and the enemy. The lord Falconbridge, who commanded the van of Edward's army taking advantage of this incident, ordered his archers to advance within ſhot of the enemy's line, and diſcharge a volley of arrows; which order was no ſooner obeyed, than they retired to their former ſtation. The Lancaſtrians feeling the effects of this diſcharge, imagined the Yorkiſts were within reach, and plied their bows till their quivers were exhauſted, without doing the leaſt execution. Falconbridge advanced again with his archers, who now plied the enemy without oppoſition, and ſlew a great number with the very ſhafts they picked from the field, after their own quivers were empty. The bow was then laid aſide, for the ſword, it decided the fate of the battle, which ended in a total defeat of the Lancaſtrians, who were purſued with great ſlaughter, and about thirty-ſix thouſand are ſuppoſed to have fallen. Among theſe were the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, the lords Dacres and Willes, Sir Andrew Trollop, and many other perſons of diſtinction. Immediately after this important victory, Edward advanced to York, in hopes of ſeizing the perſons of Henry and Margaret, but they had fled to Scotland; and being there joined by the dukes of Somerſet and Exeter, they concluded a treaty with the Scottiſh miniſtry, who received them honourably.

Edward was now maſter of all England and Wales, except Harleigh and Merionethſhire, and a few caſtles in Northumberland, which he did not think it neceſſary to reduce. Having, therefore, ſufficiently provided againſt the incurſions that might be made from thoſe caſtles, he repaired to his palace at Shene, in the neighbourhood of London. The twentieth of June was appointed for his coronation; and in the mean time, by the advice of the earl of Douglas, who long reſided in England, he determined to purſue ſuch meaſures, as might prevent the Scots from affording any important aſſiſtance to queen Margaret. He therefore entered into a particular alliance with the earl of Roſs, lord of the Iſles, who had revolted from James, and promiſed to ravage the northern parts of Scotland. During theſe tranſactions, Edward was crowned at Weſtminſter on the twenty-ninth of June, and writs were iſſued for calling a parliament; after the firſt ſeſſion of which, the commons waited on the king with a congratulatory addreſs on his aſcenſion to the throne, requeſting him at the ſame time, to bring to condign puniſhment, ſuch criminals as had perſiſted in acts of riot, murder or extortion with impunity, during the late reign. At the ſame time an act was paſſed, confirming the title of Edward to the crown, by right hereditary through the family of Mortimer; declaring Henry VI. an uſurper, and attainting him, his queen, and all his adherents as traitors. The ſame act included the dukes of Somerſet and Exeter, the earls of Northumberland, Wilts, and Pembroke, and a great number of lords and gentlemen, whoſe eſtates were confiſcated. Such conduct muſt not only be deemed partial, but flagrantly unjuſt. John, earl of Oxford, a venerable old nobleman, of untainted reputation, was arreſted on the bare pretence of having engaged in a correſpondence with the queen, and without form of trial beheaded on Tower-hill, together with his eldeſt ſon Aubrey de Vere, and three bannerets. Theſe cruel and arbitrary proceedings could not but diffuſe a ſpirit of diſcontent amongſt the people, as well as indicate the ſuſpicion of Edward of the good will and attachment of his ſubjects.

A. D. 1462.

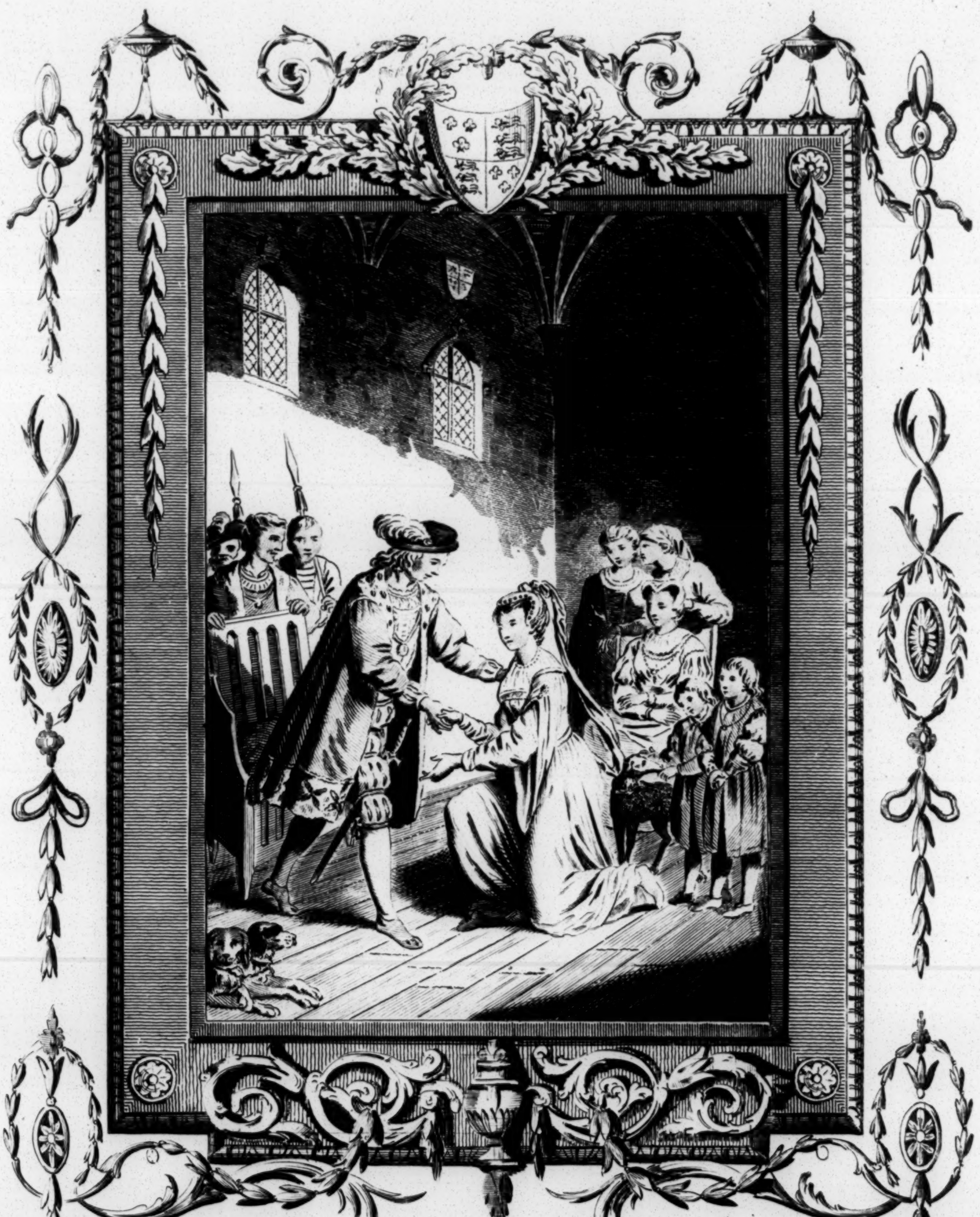
Margaret made a voyage to France, where ſhe ſolicited ſuccours, and engaged to put Lewis in poſſeſſion of Calais, on the reſtoration of her family to the throne; in conſideration of which, ſhe obtained ſo conſiderable a ſupply, that ſhe was enabled to take the field, and made an incurſion in England. Edward, on receiving intelligence of theſe proceedings, detached baron Montague, with the forces then in hand, to retard her progreſs, till he himſelf could follow with a powerful armament to fruſtrate all her ſchemes. She had already entered Northumberland with a body of free-booters, and her army was ſo conſiderably augmented, that the duke of Somerſet, and Sir Ralph Piercy, imagining that ſhe would ſucceed in her enterprize, joined her with all their adherents, notwithſtanding the late oath they had taken to Edward: yet though thus conſiderably reinforced, ſhe was repulſed by Montague, who reſolving to have the whole honour of defeating Margaret before the king came up, marched directly to Hexam; where her forces were intrenched, attacked them in their lines, and obtained a complete victory. Among the priſoners were the duke of Somerſet, the lords Roſs and Hungerford, the earl of Kyme, and Sir John Finderne, the firſt was executed at Hexam, the laſt at Newcaſtle, and the others at York. This defeat was a terrible ſhock to the houſe of Lancaſter, and their fate conſequent on it, was very extraordinary; Margaret with her young ſon, fearing to rely on any perſon's fidelity, took refuge in a neighbouring foreſt, where they were expoſed to the extremities of diſtreſs, and at length attacked in the night by robbers, who ſtripped Margaret of her jewels, and treated her with barbarity: but while the banditti were contending about the booty, ſhe eſcaped with her ſon into the thickeſt part of the wood, where ſhe wandered exhauſted with famine and affliction. While in this deplorable ſituation, ſhe obſerved another ruffian advancing towards her, with his drawn ſword, and ſenſible that her eſcape was impracticable, prudently reſolved to commit herſelf to the generoſity of the out-law. Accordingly taking her ſon by the hand, and aſſuming an air of confidence and majeſty, "Here friend," ſaid ſhe, "ſave my ſon, the ſon of good king Henry." The man ſtruck with her beauty and misfortune, not only vowed to abſtain from all injury on her perſon, but alſo to devote himſelf to her protection. He then conducted them to a village near the ſea ſide, whence they embarked in a veſſel for Flanders, where they were hoſpitably received by the duke of Burgundy, from whoſe court they repaired to that of Margaret's father, Regnier, count of Anjou. Henry was conveyed by ſome of his friends into Lancaſhire, where he reſided a year in obſcurity; but was at length diſcovered and delivered up to Edward, who ungenerouſly committed him cloſe priſoner to the Tower. About this time, Edmund duke of Somerſet, brother to him who had ſuffered at Hexam, and the duke of Exeter, eſcaped to the Low Countries, where they lived in obſcurity, and were reduced to ſuch extremity of wretchedneſs, that they condeſcended to the moſt menial offices, for the bare neceſſaries of life; till at length their quality being diſcovered, they were accommodated by the duke of Burgundy with moderate penſions.

The captivity of Henry, the baniſhment of queen Margaret, and extirpation of the moſt conſiderable Lancaſtrians, ſeemed to have eſtabliſhed the throne of Edward in tranquillity; he therefore embraced this opportunity of conciliating the affections of his ſubjects, whoſe attachment he had reaſon to doubt from his late ſeverity. He publiſhed a general amneſty in favour of all Lancaſtrians, who within a preſcribed term, ſhould ſubmit to his government and take the oath of allegiance. He exerted every talent, concerted and executed every meaſure, that could recommend him to the affection of thoſe, who had imbibed the leaſt ſenſe of virtue or intrinſic merit; but from his former conduct, theſe proceedings appear to have been the reſult of artifice rather than principle; for cruelty is the moſt deſtructive bane to ſociety: yet as the bulk of mankind are captivated with ſpecious appearances, and there are but few, who explore farther than the outſide of things, he rendered himſelf by theſe tranſactions, the darling of the multitude, and mirth and jollity univerſally prevailed. In this ſeaſon of feſtivity, his councellors adviſed him to turn his thoughts to marriage, that he might have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the ſucceſſion ſettled on his own iſſue. He ſeemed to coincide with their opinion, and three matches were propoſed for his acceptance. The firſt was Margaret, ſiſter to the king of Scotland; the ſecond, Iſabella of Caſtile; but theſe were rejected on account of their non-age. The third was Bona of Savoy, ſiſter to the queen of France; and being approved by Edward, the earl of Warwick was appointed ambaſſador extraordinary to the French court, where the princeſs reſided.

Thus commiſſioned Warwick repaired to Paris early in the ſpring, and ſettled the articles of a marriage contract between king Edward and the princeſs Bona, and Lewis appointed the count of Dammarin, his plenipotentiary at the court of London, to finiſh the negociation. This intended alliance was rendered abortive by a very extrordinary incident. Edward, happening to hunt in Northamptonſhire, viſited Jacquelina of Luxembourg, ducheſs of Bedford, who after the death of her firſt huſband, had married Sir Richard Wideville, by whom ſhe had a daughter, named Elizabeth, married to Sir John Groby, who was ſlain in the ſervice of the houſe of Lancaſter. Her huſband's eſtate being on that account confiſcated, the young widow had retired to her father's houſe at Grafton, and took this opportunity of throwing herſelf at Edward's feet, and imploring a maintenance for herſelf and children. Edward, captivated with her beauty, raiſing her from the ground, returned a favourable anſwer to her requeſt. Confiding in his elevated ſtation and perſonal endowments, he acquainted her with the nature of his paſſion, and propoſed to her terms of concubinage. Theſe ſhe rejected, alledging, that though ſhe was unworthy of being his queen, ſhe thought herſelf worthy of an honourable alliance in a more inferior ſtation. His paſſion now rent by oppoſition on the one hand, and admiration of her ingenuous ſentiments on the other, tranſported him beyond the bounds of reaſon; and he offered to ſhare his throne, as well as his heart, with a woman, whoſe perſonal and mental qualities were worthy the affection of the greateſt princes. The nuptials were privately ſolemnized, at the expence of his liberty, his views of ambition, and his proſpect of ſafety: for the earl of Warwick being informed of Edward's clandeſtine marriage, which he juſtly conſidered as the higheſt inſult that could have been offered to his honour, he inſtantly broke off the negociation, and returned to England fraught with indignation.

A. D. 1466. Iſabella de Bourbon, ſecond wife to the count de Charolois, dying, that prince began to eſteem Edward more highly than before. He ſaw him firmly ſeated on the throne of England, and triumphing over all oppoſition, and therefore had reaſon to apprehend deſtruction on himſelf, ſhould a junction between Edward and Lewis take place.

Theſe conſiderations induced him to demand the princeſs Margaret, Edward's ſiſter, in marriage; which propoſal was highly acceptable to the Engliſh monarch, as ſuch an alliance would render him the better able to cope with Lewis, whoſe reſentment, on account of his diſhonourable treatment of his ſiſter-in-law, Bona, he had reaſon to expect. He therefore ſigned on the twelfth of October, a treaty of perſonal alliance, friendſhip, and fraternity, with the count of Charolois, and ſent a ſafe conduct to the plenipotentiaries, whom the duke of Burgundy had appointed to treat with the Engliſh court concerning a perpetual peace, and adjuſt the marriage between the count of Charolois and the princeſs Margaret. Soon after Edward's queen was delivered of the princeſs Elizabeth, who proved the happy means of extinguiſhing the fatal quarrel between the houſes of York and Lancaſter. During this tranſaction Edward amuſed the ambaſſadors of France, with the hopes of a perpetual alliance, till the treaty of marriage between the count of Charolois and his ſiſter Margaret was concluded, when ſhe departed from England with a ſplendid train, and the nuptials were ſolemnized at Bruges, with great magnificence. Edward now being at peace with moſt of the princes on the continent, had no reaſon to fear domeſtic troubles; but a ſpirit of diſcontent began to diffuſe itſelf through the nation, which was diſpleaſed at the pride and inſolence of the queen's relations. The earl of Warwick himſelf was ſtrongly ſuſpected, as the family of the Widevilles had uſed their utmoſt endeavours to render that nobleman odious to the king, who had indeed no reaſon to confide in his attachment, conſidering the ingratitude with which his eminent ſervices had been repaid. He had lately repaired to his government of Calais, in order to ſolemnize his daughter's marriage with the duke of Clarence, and during his reſidence at this place, he ſeems to have ſounded the diſpoſition of the Engliſh nation, by employing his emiſſaries, to excite an inſurrection in Yorkſhire. The people refuſing to contribute to the ſupport of the antient hoſpital of St. Leonard, near York, they were proſecuted, and their effects diſtrained, and as they imagined this hoſpital ſubſiſted by voluntary contribution, theſe ſuits were conſidered as unjuſt and oppreſſive. This diſcontent was fomented to ſuch a degree, that they roſe in arms, and aſſembled to the number of fifteen thouſand, advanced towards the city of York, which was filled with conſternation, until Warwick's brother, Montague, threw himſelf into the town with a ſmall body of choſen men, and in a ſally took Robert Hilliard, their leader, commonly called Robin of Ridesdale, whom he ordered to immediate execution. But the rebels, not intimidated by this diſaſter, chuſing Sir Henry Nevil, ſon of lord Latimer, and Sir John Conyers, for their leaders, they proceeded to Daneſmore, in Northamptonſhire, about three miles from Banbury. The king had ordered the earl of Pembroke, to march againſt them at the head of twelve thouſand Welchmen, who were joined by Humphrey Stafford, lately made earl of Devon, with a body of five thouſand archers; but a quarrel enſuing between the two leaders, in the courſe of their march, they ſeparated their forces; and Pembroke, hazarding a battle, was defeated and ſlain. Sir Henry Nevil had been made priſoner in a ſkirmiſh the night before the battle, and killed in cold blood, which enraged the Yorkſhiremen to ſuch a degree, that they gave no quarter to the Welch, five thouſand of whom were left dead on the ſpot. The earl of Devon alſo was apprehended in his return, by the king's order, and beheaded at Bridgewater. Richard, earl of Rivers, with his ſon John, being ſeized at Grafton, by a party of rebels, underwent the ſame fate at Northampton, by command of Sir John Conyers,



Edwards delin. *Grignion sculp.*

LADY ELIZABETH GREY *Petitioning* EDWARD IV. *to restore her Lands.*

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Conyers, who without doing any further miſchief withdrew to Warwick, to wait the arrival of the earl from Calais, by whoſe direction he had hitherto acted.

When Warwick, and his ſon-in-law Clarence, arrived from Calais, and offered their aſſiſtance towards reſtoring the peace of the nation, Edward not only received them with apparent complacency, but even appointed Warwick chief juſtice of South Wales, conſtable of Cardigan, and ſeneſchal of all the courts and foreſts in the counties of Caermarthen and Cardigan, offices vacated by the death of the earl of Pembroke. He likewiſe publiſhed an amneſty, in favour of Conyers and his followers, who had increaſed to ſixty thouſand. Commiſſioners of array were likewiſe iſſued, for raiſing the militia of Norfolk, Suffolk, and other maritime counties; and the queen's brother, Anthony Wideville, now earl of Rivers, was ſent to ſea with a ſtrong ſquadron, to prevent the landing of any foreign troops. A grand council having aſſembled on the ſixth of November, Edward aſked the advice of the prelates and nobility about providing a huſband for his daughter Elizabeth, preſumptive heir to the crown of England. They concurred in recommending George, the ſon of Montague, as the moſt eligible match for the young princeſs. Their opinion being approved by the king, letters patent were granted, promoting that young nobleman to the dignity of duke of Bedford. This teſtimony of the king's favour could not but be agreeable to Warwick, and his brothers, who began to live on good terms with Edward, till their harmony was interrupted by an artifice of the miniſtry, who were jealous of the revival of the intereſt of the Nevils.

A.D. 1470. The king was invited by the archbiſhop of York, one of Warwick's brothers, to an entertainment at his ſeat of More-park; and while the gueſts, according to the cuſtom of the times, were waſhing their hands before ſupper, John Ratcliffe, afterwards lord Fitzwalter told the king privately, that the archbiſhop had provided an hundred men at arms, to carry his majeſty to the caſtle of Middleham. Alarmed at this intimation, Edward made a pretence to go out, and taking his horſe, rode full ſpeed to Windſor. His ſudden departure, was highly reſented both by the archbiſhop, and Warwick, as well as by his ſon-in-law Clarence, who were perſuaded, that it was a plot formed to ruin their reputation with the public; the former animoſity was revived, and both ſides reviled each other with the moſt fell rancour. The king's mother endeavoured to effect a reconciliation, and they met at their ſeat at Baynard's-caſtle, but their mutual hatred was too ſtrong and inveterate to be removed at this interview. However Edward gave commiſſion to Warwick and Clarence to array men in the counties of Warwick and Worceſter, in order to quell an inſurrection in Lincolnſhire, excited by Robert, ſon of lord Willes, Sir Thomas Dymock, and Sir Thomas de la Launde. But it was found, on ſtrict enquiry, that Warwick and Clarence, had encouraged the leaders to raiſe the diſturbance; Edward therefore ordered lord Willes and Dymock, to repair to London, to give an account of the inſurrection. Accordingly they ſet out, but hearing on the road, that the king was incenſed againſt them, as the authors of the commotion, they fled for refuge to Weſtminſter-abbey, whence they were drawn by the king's promiſe of pardon; and the lord Willes, by Edward's command, wrote to his ſon, deſiring him to lay down his arms, and ſubmit to the king's mercy. But this advice Robert rejected, and Edward, marching againſt him to Stamford, was ſo provoked by his obſtinacy, that he ordered his father and Dymock to be beheaded. This inhuman act incenſed him to ſuch a degree, that, though his army conſiſted of undiſciplined banditti, he determined to revenge his father's death, and attacked Edward with great fury, on the fourteenth day of March. The battle was maintained for ſome time with equal obſtinacy on both ſides; but the rebels were at length obliged to yield to the ſuperior diſcipline of the royaliſts, who defeated them with great ſlaughter. Ten thouſand men are ſuppoſed to have fallen in this action, and the general, with Sir Thomas de la Launde, being taken priſoners, were executed immediately after the battle. Edward now obliged Warwick's brother to reſign what he enjoyed of the Piercy eſtate, with his patent for the title of Northumberland, and by way of equivalent, created him marquis of Montacute. In conſequence of his reſignation, Henry Piercy was created earl of Northumberland, reſtored to all his eſtates, and appointed warden of the eaſt and middle Marches, towards Scotland. John Tiptot, earl of Worceſter, and conſtable of England for life, was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, in lieu of the duke of Clarence, upon whoſe head, as well as that of his father-in-law, a price was ſet by the government. The king, at the ſame time, iſſuing a declaration, importing, that George, duke of Clarence, and Richard, earl of Warwick, had formed an unnatural deſign to dethrone his majeſty; that they had encouraged Willes in his rebellion; that the king had ſummoned them to vindicate themſelves from theſe charges; but, that inſtead of obeying his ſummons, they had gone into Lancaſhire to augment their forces, in order to accompliſh their iniquitous deſign; that notwithſtanding theſe repeated acts of rebellion, he was ſtill diſpoſed to pardon them, on their ſubmiſſion, and giving ſecurity for their future behaviour; and with that view, he again ſummoned them to appear before him, on or before the twenty-eighth of March, on pain of being declared rebels and traitors. They not having complied with this order, another proclamation was iſſued at Nottingham, on the thirty-firſt day of March, denouncing them rebels and traitors, offering a reward for their perſons, and forbidding all his majeſty's ſubjects, on the ſevereſt penalties, to afford them any aſſiſtance. Mean while Warwick and Clarence embarked at Dartmouth, for Calais, but on their arrival before the place, the cannon were fixed upon them ſo, that they were obliged to ſtand out to ſea; and the ducheſs of Clarence, was at this time delivered of a ſon, named Edward, afterwards earl of Warwick. They then continued their courſe towards Normandy, and landed at Harfleur, where they were hoſpitably received by the baſtard of Bourbon, lieutenant of the province, whence Warwick and Clarence repaired to Amboiſe, where they were honourably entertained by Lewis; who, ſenſible that a civil war in England would free him from all attempts of the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, allies of Edward, promiſed them a powerful aſſiſtance; and in the mean time, ſent for Margaret of Anjou, in order to effect a reconciliation between Warwick and that princeſs. She conſidered Warwick as the original ſource of all the calamities, in which herſelf and family had been involved, and the moſt inveterate animoſity ſubſiſted between them. The accommodation, however, was eaſily effected, becauſe it tended to further the deſigns of both; for Warwick wanted a pretence for dethroning Edward, and the moſt ſpecious he could uſe, was the reſtoration of Henry, which project he could not attempt, without the queen's conſent; whereas Margaret on the other hand, ſaw no hopes of reſtoring her family, without the concurrence of Warwick, and therefore made no difficulty in uniting her intereſt with that of her ancient enemy. The French monarch acted as mediator between them, and a treaty was at length concluded, on condition that the duke of Clarence, and the earl of Warwick, ſhould uſe their utmoſt influence for Henry's reſtoration; and that the queen ſhould engage upon oath, to veſt the adminiſtration in them, during the life of Henry, or the minority of his ſon, in caſe of his acceſſion to the throne, before he ſhould be of age; and that the prince of Wales ſhould eſpouſe Anne, the younger daughter of the earl of Warwick. This laſt article was immediately carried into execution, by which means the earl of Warwick became equally allied to the houſes of York and Lancaſter.

Edward paid very little regard to this tranſaction, imagining, that the earl of Warwick, who had been forced to quit the kingdom for want of ſupport, could never in his abſence, perſuade the people to riſe in his favour. He therefore neglected all precaution, and abandoned himſelf to riot and debauchery. While he was thus immerſed in ſenſuality, his miniſtry gratified their private reſentment, by ſuch acts of cruelty and oppreſſion, as branded the character of their maſter with indelible infamy. All perſons of any rank, ſuſpected of attachment to the houſe of Lancaſter, were proſecuted, plundered, or forced into exile. Many of theſe retired into France, and related their ſufferings to the earl of Warwick, whom they importuned to return, and redreſs the grievances of his country. In the mean time the king found means to enter into a private negociation with his brother the duke of Clarence, who promiſed his aſſiſtance whenever it ſhould be requiſite. This declaration freed Edward from all apprehenſion; and he reſumed his licentious courſe, confident that all Warwick's ſchemes would prove ineffectual. Being thus lulled in deluſive ſecurity, the earl having obtained a ſmall ſupply of money and troops from Lewis, determined to embark for England under the convoy of a French fleet, commanded by the baſtard of Bourbon. The duke of Burgundy, however, blocked up the mouth of the Seine with a more numerous fleet, in order to intercept Warwick in his paſſage to England. But notwithſtanding theſe precautions, Burgundy's fleet being diſperſed by a ſtorm, Warwick embarked at Havre-de-grace, and landed at Dartmouth in the month of September. Edward rejoiced at his arrival, in vain confidence of his falling into his hands. Warwick had no ſooner landed, than his countrymen flocked to his ſtandard in ſuch numbers, that in a few days he found himſelf at the head of ſixty thouſand men, with whom he began his march againſt Edward, who had gone into the north to quell an inſurrection raiſed by the lord Fitzugh, who had married Alice, ſiſter to the earl of Warwick. At the king's approach he fled into Scotland, and Edward repaired to York, where he firſt heard that Warwick had landed, and proclaimed Henry VI. king of England; publiſhing at the ſame time an order to all his ſubjects, from ſixteen to ſixty, to arm againſt Edward, and expel that uſurper. Edward immediately advanced to Nottingham in his way to London; but Warwick, reſolving to engage him before he could reach the capital, came in ſight of him within three miles of Nottingham, and drew up his army in order of battle.

Edward relied without miſtruſt on the fidelity of the marquis of Montacute, though the brother of his enemy, and a nobleman whom he had ſo lately deprived of the great eſtate and honour of Northumberland. He had raiſed ſix thouſand men, with whom he followed the king at a diſtance, as if he intended to join his majeſty; but he no ſooner heard of Warwick's approach to the royaliſts, than he haſtened his march in order to attack the rear of Edward, who had no notion of his deſign, until he was within two miles of his camp, and the ſhouts of "Long live king Henry," reſounded from all quarters. Greatly alarmed, he called a council of war, in which the lord Haſting gave it as his opinion, that great part of the army would deſert to the earl of Warwick; or, that even though they ſhould retain their allegiance, they would not be able to cope with the inſurgents, who were thus ſtrengthened by the revolt of Montacute. He therefore adviſed the king to conſult his perſonal ſafety by retreating to the ſea ſide, where he might find an opportunity of eſcaping into Holland. As the danger was ſo imminent, Edward, in compliance with this advice, ſet out at midnight for Lynne, without money or baggage, attended only by a guard of eight hundred horſe. He then embarked in that harbour for Holland, with his brother Glouceſter and a ſmall retinue, and after having narrowly eſcaped a fleet of Eaſterlings, landed at Alkmar. Immediately after the king's departure, his army laid down their arms and ſubmitted to Warwick, who immediately directed his rout towards London, which he entered in triumph in the beginning of October, and removed Henry from the Tower to the biſhop's palace, while Edward's queen took refuge in the ſanctuary of Weſtminſter, where ſhe was delivered of a ſon called Edward.

This ſurprizing revolution was effected in the ſpace of eleven days; and all the judges, ſheriffs, and coroners of the kingdom, were removed from their places; Ladſtroker, prior of St. John's, was appointed treaſurer; the archbiſhop of York, chancellor; the earl of Warwick, admiral of England; and the duke of Clarence, lord-lieutenant of Ireland. No perſon was put to death on this occaſion, except John Tiptot, earl of Worceſter, who fell a ſacrifice to public hatred as a corrupt miniſter, and ſuch a monſter of cruelty, that he was ſtigmatized by the appellation of John the Butcher. Being taken on the top of a high tree in Huntingdonſhire, he was conveyed to London, condemned and executed on Tower-hill. On the twenty-ſixth of November a new parliament was called, in which Edward was declared a traitor and uſurper, and therefore decreed to have forfeited his eſtate and effects; all ſtatutes enacted by his authority were annulled, and the duke of Glouceſter and all his adherents attainted. The crown was ſettled upon Henry and the male iſſue of his body, and in default thereof, on the duke of Clarence, and his deſcendants; and that prince, with the earl of Warwick, were appointed regents of the kingdom during the minority of young Edward, according to a prior agreement. At the ſame time Clarence was declared heir to his father, the late duke of York, and reinſtated in all his poſſeſſions and honours. Montacute was pardoned for his late adherence to Edward, and rewarded for his late defection with a grant of ſeveral manors; the dukes of Somerſet and Exeter, the earls of Oxford, Richmond, Pembroke and Ormond, were reſtored to their eſtates and dignities.

A. D. 1471.

Edward met with a very indifferent reception from his brother-in-law the duke of Burgundy, to whom the news of his death would have been more grateful than the account of his exile. He was now in the utmoſt perplexity; Lewis had declared war againſt him, and he was fearful of incurring the joint enmity of France and England, ſhould he aſſiſt the exiled king. However, after the ſolicitations of the ducheſs, and the remonſtrances of Edward, backed by the moſt ſolemn promiſes of future ſervices, he contrived an expedient by which he was enabled to accommodate the fugitive king without incurring the reſentment of Warwick. He privately advanced a ſum of money to certain merchants, who fitted out four large ſhips at Terveer, a free port in Zealand, and hired fourteen veſſels belonging to the Eaſterlings, to convoy Edward to England, on the coaſt of which they were directed to continue fifteen days, in order to conduct him back, in caſe his attempt ſhould prove ineffectual. Edward being thus furniſhed with ſhips and money, embarked at Terveer; and he had no ſooner departed from Holland, than the duke of Burgundy, by proclamation, prohibited all his ſubjects from affording him any aſſiſtance, either directly or indirectly. The Engliſh monarch, attended by the lords Haſtings and Say, and about two thouſand men, attempted a deſcent on the coaſt of Eſſex; but being repulſed by a brother of the earl of Oxford, he ſtood away to the northward, and landed at Ravenſpur in Yorkſhire about the latter end of March, hoping that the inhabitants would flock to his ſtandard, on his producing the letters of invitation he had received from the earl of Northumberland. But he met with a very cold reception, and the inhabitants of Holderneſs took up arms to oppoſe his progreſs.

But truſting to the loyalty of the inhabitants of York, of which he was ſecure, though the magiſtrates were devoted to Warwick, he marched towards that city, and was viſited by a deputation of the aldermen, who deſired him to take another road, that they might not be under the diſagreeable neceſſity of refuſing him admittance. He now repeated his former declarations, and expoſtulated with them on the cruelty of refuſing him admittance into a city from which he derived his title, and on which he had conferred ſo many favours; but he depended on the attachment of the inhabitants, more than the power of his eloquence: nor was he diſappointed. His partizans raiſed a diſturbance in the city; and the magiſtrates, unable to reſiſt the torrent, went forth to offer him the keys of the city, and ſtipulate for their being exempted from pillage. Theſe propoſals being agreed to, Edward was admitted into York. He alighted at the cathedral, where, by a ſolemn oath, he ratified his former proteſtations, that he would remain a loyal ſubject to Henry, and leave his demand, touching his private inheritance, to the deciſion of parliament. Having thus made himſelf maſter of York, his army daily increaſed; till having aſſembled a conſiderable body of troops, he left a ſtrong garriſon in the place, and directed his march towards London.

Commiſſions of array were now iſſued to the duke of Clarence, and the earls of Warwick and Pembroke, for raiſing forces to repel the invaders; and the marquis of Montacute, lately appointed warden of the Scottiſh Marches, was ordered to intercept Edward in his march to York, and attack him before he could aſſemble his army. But this nobleman, inſtead of complying with his orders, remained quiet in his camp at Pontefract, and ſuffered Edward to paſs unmoleſted within four miles of his ſtation; who having reached Nottingham, was joined by Sir William Stanley, Sir William Parr, and a great number of other gentlemen with their vaſſals. Encouraged by theſe ſuccours, he openly avowed his claim to the crown; and his numbers were hourly increaſed during his march towards London. Warwick having levied a body of troops, proceeded to Leiceſter in order to join his brother Montacute; but ſuffered his adverſary to continue his march to London, imagining that the citizens would hold out till he ſhould come to their aſſiſtance. This might have been the caſe, had the archbiſhop of York, to whoſe care the perſon of Henry and the city of London were committed, been true to the intereſt of his brother Warwick; but he had made peace with Edward, who, by his connivance, was received into the city, and ſeized king Henry in the palace of the biſhop of London. The archbiſhop was apprehended to ſave appearances, and committed to cuſtody, but releaſed in two days, and indulged with a pardon.

Warwick, being joined by Clarence and Montacute, advanced towards London; and on the thirteenth of April encamped on a heath near Barnet, the town itſelf being occupied by the troops of Edward, who had come thither to give him battle, in conſequence of a promiſe he had received from Clarence, that he would deſert to him with all his forces. The night previous to the action, Richard, duke of Glouceſter, repaired, without any ſafeguard, to the tent of Clarence, where the two brothers embraced with marks of the moſt cordial affection; and after ſome private conference, went off together towards Edward's camp, with about twelve thouſand followers. Immediately after this baſe deſertion, Clarence ſent a meſſenger to Warwick to apologize for his conduct, and acquaint him, that he had made his peace with Edward, who had promiſed to pardon him upon his ſubmiſſion. But the earl rejected his meſſage with juſt diſdain, ſaying, "He had rather be himſelf, than a falſe and perjured duke; and that he was determined not to put up his ſword, until he had either gained his point, or loſt his life."

In the morning of the fourteenth of April, the hoſtile armies were within bow-ſhot of each other, drawn up in order of battle, and a dreadful charge enſued, with incredible fury. The troops of Warwick, though inferior to the enemy in number, fought with the utmoſt reſolution, conſcious that if taken, they would undergo the fate of rebels; and the earl himſelf was determined to conquer or die on the ſpot. So furious was their charge, that Edward's firſt line was forced to recede; and ſome of his forces riding full ſpeed to London, alarmed his friends with a report of his defeat. In this critical juncture, he commanded his body of reſerve to advance, and charge the enemy in the flank; and this expedient was the more ſucceſsful, as the earl of Oxford had repulſed the Yorkiſts ſo far, that Warwick's main body was left unguarded. Oxford, however, no ſooner recollected this circumſtance, than he wheeled about, in order to reſume his ſtation, and that diſpoſal occaſioned the loſs of the battle. His device on his arms and enſigns was a ſtar, darting rays, and that of Edward was a ſun. The followers of Warwick, obſerving a ſtar approaching through the medium of a thick fog, miſtook it for Edward's ſtandard, and fell on their friends ſo furiouſly, that they were broken and diſperſed, before the earl could rectify the fatal error. Theſe laſt, ſuſpecting they were betrayed, fled towards the enemy with great precipitation; other parts of Warwick's army ſeeing them fly, imagined they had been charged in the rear, and that they themſelves had of conſequence been ſurrounded; they began to be ſeized with conſternation, and univerſal confuſion enſued. Edward at this critical juncture availing himſelf of their diſorder, renewed the charge with freſh vigour; and Warwick in vain exerted his utmoſt efforts, to rally and re-animate his diſperſed forces. On this occaſion he ſent off his horſes, determined to fight on foot, and ſhare the fate of the meaneſt ſoldier in his army. But all his gallantry was ineffectual; ſo that at length, having acquitted himſelf as a moſt conſummate officer and undaunted hero, he ruſhed into the thickeſt of the fight, and fell covered with wounds; and his brother Montacute endeavouring to ſupport him, met with the ſame fate. The death of theſe two generals put an end to the battle, and about noon Edward gained a complete victory.

Such was the laſt ſtruggle and untimely end of the renowned Warwick, who from his great power, influence, military capacity and fortune, had acquired the epithet of King-maker. His naked body, and that of his brother Montacute, were expoſed in the cathedral of St. Paul, whence they were carried to Biſham in Berkſhire, and interred in the priory founded by their anceſtors. But this battle did not put an end to the civil war. The duke of Somerſet and earl of Oxford had rallied a large body, and retreated northward; but afterward turned aſide into Wales, where they joined the earl of Pembroke. Soon after the battle, Margaret of Anjou, that brand of the war, landed at Weymouth, attended by her ſon, the counteſs of Warwick, the lord Wenlock, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction. On her landing, being informed of the death of Warwick, and captivity of her huſband, ſhe fell into a ſwoon; and at laſt took ſanctuary with her ſon in the monaſtery of Boileau in Hampſhire. But ſhe ſoon recovered her ſpirits when joined by the duke of Somerſet, the earl of Devon, and many noblemen and gentlemen, with their vaſſals and dependents. Encouraged by their reinforcements ſhe took the field, and her followers continually increaſed as ſhe advanced to Tewkſbury in Glouceſterſhire, whence ſhe intended to proceed to Wales, and join the earl of Pembroke. But Edward had in the mean time proſcribed the queen and her adherents by proclamation, and advanced immediately towards the banks of the Severn, in order to attack her before this intended junction. Having happily executed this ſcheme, ſhe could not paſs the river without expoſing her rear to deſtruction; it was therefore reſolved in a council of war, to intrench themſelves in a park adjoining to the town of Tewkſbury, and remain in that ſituation till the arrival of Pembroke. Intrenchments were accordingly thrown up; and Edward, on his arrival, determined to attack them in their lines, before their camp ſhould be rendered impregnable. With this view he marſhalled his army in two lines, one of which was commanded by his brother the duke of Glouceſter, while he and Clarence took their ſtation in the other.

Somerſet arranged the queen's army in three lines within the intrenchments, he himſelf commanding the van, that he might withſtand the firſt aſſault of the enemy. The ſecond line was commanded by lord Wenlock, under the prince of Wales, who was conſidered as commander in chief; and the rear was conducted by the earl of Devonſhire. Edward, obſerving that Somerſet had left ſome openings in the front, through which he intended to ſally; and being well acquainted with the impetuous temper of that nobleman, ordered his brother Glouceſter, who began the attack, to draw Somerſet from his intrenchments by receding precipitately, until he ſhould obſerve the duke and his line in the open plain, and then to wheel and renew the charge; in which caſe he might rely on proper ſupport. Glouceſter having executed his inſtructions with punctuality and ſucceſs, inſtantly ordered his troops to halt, and recover their former ranks; which done he led them back to the charge, to the terror and amazement of the Lancaſtrians, who, confounded at this unexpected event, fled to their intrenchments. Somerſet obſerving that lord Wenlock had not advanced a ſtep to ſuſtain the firſt line, was ſo incenſed, that he rode up and cleft his head with a battle-axe; and the duke of Glouceſter entering the intrenchments of the enemy, made a dreadful carnage. Edward, following his brother with the ſecond line, completed the overthrow of the queen's army, which was routed with great ſlaughter, the ſecond and third lines having fled without ſtriking a blow. This deciſive battle was fought on the fourteenth of May. The earl of Devonſhire, and Sir John Beaufort, were found among the ſlain, which amounted to three thouſand. The duke of Somerſet, the prior of St. John, and about twenty other gentlemen, retired to the abbey church, thinking they would be ſafe in the ſanctuary; from which, however, they were dragged to execution. The prince of Wales being taken priſoner, was, at the command of Edward, brought into his preſence, and being aſked with a haughty and ſupercilious air, how he durſt preſume to invade his dominions? the young prince more mindful of his high birth, than his preſent fortune, replied, that he came to recover his father's crown, and his own inheritance. Regardleſs of the circumſtances which might juſtly inſtigate the young prince to ſuch a reply, Edward ſtruck him on the mouth with his gauntlet, which ſeems to have been a pre-concerted ſignal to Clarence, Glouceſter, Haſtings, and Thomas Gray, who dragged the gallant youth out of the royal tent, and buried their daggers in his heart. Margaret of Anjou was taken and committed to the Tower, where ſhe remained about four years, till ranſomed by the king of France for fifty thouſand crowns. In the ſame place of confinement expired the unfortunate Henry, a few days after the battle of Tewkſbury; but whether of a natural, or violent death, cannot be aſcertained. His body was interred in the abbey of Chertſey, but afterwards removed to Windſor by Richard III.

A.D. 1472.

The earl of Oxford meeting with a cold reception in France, whither he retired after the battle of Tewkſbury, aſſembled about a hundred deſperadoes; and landed at St. Michael's Mount, in Cornwall, took the place by ſurprize. Alarmed at this exploit, Edward detached a body of troops againſt him, which inveſting the place, he ſurrendered on promiſe of life; but he loſt both his liberty and eſtate, which the king confiſcated, without allowing the leaſt moiety for the ſubſiſtence of his counteſs, who was ſiſter to the earl of Warwick. John Holland, duke of Exeter, who had been left for dead on the field of Barnet, retired to the ſanctuary at Weſtminſter; but weary of confinement, and a life of dependence on the bounty of his friends, privately quitted his aſylum, and in about two years after his body was found on the ſea ſide in the county of Kent.

This was the laſt of the houſe of Lancaſter from whom Edward had reaſon to expect any oppoſition, except the earl of Richmond, who reſided at the court of Brittany with his uncle Pembroke; and though theſe were deprived of power to excite any important inſurrection, he yet deſired to have the young earl in his power; and therefore diſpatched an embaſſy to the duke of Brittany, demanding that they ſhould be delivered up; but that prince refuſed to comply, though he aſſured Edward they ſhould never interrupt the tranquillity of his government; in conſideration of which promiſe the king paid a yearly penſion, under pretence of granting a maintenance for the two refugees.

A.D. 1474.

A league was concluded between Edward and the duke of Burgundy, in which they mutually agreed to attempt the conqueſt of France; but the ſubſidies granted by parliament being inſufficient for the expences of ſuch an expedition, the king ſolicited a benevolence from his ſubjects according to their reſpective abilities. This expedient ſucceeded, as many individuals choſe rather to part with their money, than incur the king's diſpleaſure; and a war with France was a very popular pretence at this juncture.

A.D. 1475.

In the beginning of the year, Edward went over to Calais with an army of fifteen hundred lances, and as many thouſand archers, accompanied by the principal nobility of England, who flattered themſelves with hopes of the ſame ſucceſs which had attended the attempts of their anceſtors. Edward ſent a herald to demand the crown of France, and in caſe of refuſal to denounce war; Lewis, without emotion, replied, that Edward had not taken this raſh ſtep without the inſtigation of the duke of Burgundy, and even made the herald a conſiderable preſent. He ſoon after took occaſion to ſend a herald to the Engliſh camp, with directions to ſolicit the good offices of the lords Stanley and Howard, towards effecting an accommodation. Accordingly a treaty of peace was concluded, on condition that Lewis ſhould pay ſeventy-five thouſand crowns to indemnify Edward for the expence of the armament, on the receipt of which he ſhould retire with his forces; that Lewis ſhould alſo pay him an annuity of fifty thouſand crowns; that the dauphin of France ſhould marry the princeſs Elizabeth, daughter of Edward, and ſettle on her a jointure of ſixty thouſand livres a year; and that neither party ſhould encourage civil wars in their reſpective dominions, but that both ſhould aſſiſt each other in ſuppreſſing the rebellions of their ſubjects. The Engliſh army having reached Amiens, Lewis ordered the gates to be thrown open, and the ſoldiers to be entertained by the inn-keepers at his expence; but this generoſity was the effect of fear, from which he was afterwards delivered by the departure of the Engliſh, who returned to their own country well ſatisfied with their treatment from Lewis.

A. D. 1476. After the ratification of this treaty, the duke of Burgundy marched againſt the duke of Lorrain, and reduced his whole country without any conſiderable reſiſtance. He then undertook an expedition for humbling the Swiſs, who had declared againſt him, while he was employed in the ſiege of Nuys. This he carried on at firſt with great ſucceſs; but at length he loſt two battles, with his whole baggage and great part of his army. Being afterwards conſiderably reinforced, he advanced to retake Nancy, which ſince his defeat had been ſurrendered to the duke of Lorrain, who encamped at St. Nicholas, in order to ſee the effect of a correſpondence he carried on with a Neapolitan officer called Campo Baſſo, a great favourite of the duke of Burgundy. The town was reduced already to extremity, when that prince drew up his army in order of battle; and then Baſſo deſerted to the enemy with two hundred men at arms, leaving fourteen accomplices whom he had inſtructed to terrify the Burgundians, and kill the duke during the engagement, if they found it practicable. The attack began early in the morning, and the duke of Burgundy was routed and ſlain. This event not only changed the appearance of things, but introduced a new ſyſtem of politics into Europe. He left behind him an only daughter, named Mary, who as ſhe was heireſs of his rich and extenſive dominions, was eagerly courted by all the potentates of Europe; but at length married to Maximilian of Auſtria, ſon of Frederic, emperor of Germany, from whom the Burgundians hoped relief in their preſent diſtreſſes.

A. D. 1477. During theſe tranſactions on the continent, the management of public affairs was engroſſed by the queen and her relations, who were now become very unpopular, as well for their unbounded ambition and inſolent behaviour, as the conſtant oppoſition they made to all the ſchemes of the king's brothers. The duke of Glouceſter, who was naturally reſerved, ſo artfully diſſembled his anger, as to prevent an open rupture between him and the miniſtry; but George, duke of Clarence, who was proud, ambitious, and impetuous, could not ſtifle his reſentment, which broke out with great vehemence on all occaſions. He hated the queen and the miniſtry, who had deprived him of the honour of Tutbury, and many other manors, which he enjoyed by virtue of the king's donation. His ducheſs dying a little before Charles, duke of Burgundy, he ſolicited the intereſt of his ſiſter Margaret, in procuring a match between him and her ſtep-daughter the princeſs Mary. This alliance would have greatly promoted the intereſt of England; and the ducheſs-dowager, who loved Clarence above all her brothers, ſo zealouſly eſpouſed his cauſe, that the ſcheme would probably have ſucceeded, had it not been defeated by the intrigues of Edward, who was either jealous of his brother's acceſſion to ſuch an unlimited power, or biaſſed by the queen, who wanted to ſecure this match for her brother, Anthony Wideville, earl of Rivers. This diſappointment ſo enraged Clarence, that he inveighed againſt the king with great acrimony; which being afterwards told to him with exaggerations by the duke of Glouceſter, who conſidered Clarence as an inſurmountable obſtacle to his deſign upon the crown, the king was ſo exaſperated that he committed him to the Tower, where he was ſoon after diſpatched; having, according to ſome hiſtorians, been drowned in a butt of Malmſey. This was the fate of George, duke of Clarence, who left behind him one ſon, named Edward, earl of Warwick, and a daughter, who was afterwards counteſs of Saliſbury. The duke's death excited ſuch a clamour among the populace, that the miniſtry thought proper to conceal the manner of his execution, and gave out that he died ſuddenly of grief and vexation; and as proof that no violence had been offered to his perſon, his body was expoſed in the cathedral of St. Paul; but this trick was ſo ſtale, that it ſerved only to confirm the ſuſpicions of the people, who without ſcruple exclaimed againſt the cruelty of the adminiſtration. This was the laſt tranſaction of Edward's reign, which was one continued ſcene of blood, violence, and barbarity. His mind was either afterwards wholly devoted to ſenſual gratifications, or his ſchemes were defeated by his imprudence and want of circumſpection. Anxious for the conſummation of the marriage of his eldeſt daughter with the dauphin of France, A. D. 1479. Edward appointed ambaſſadors extraordinary to demand of Lewis the performance of his promiſe; and that prince, with all his ſubtilty, found it difficult to evade the preſſing inſtances of the envoys. Foreſeeing, therefore, that he could not amuſe Edward much longer, he determined to divert his attention in a different manner; and by a proper diſtribution of preſents in the court of Scotland, excited James to make war upon England. Theſe evaſions convinced Edward of the perfidy and diſſimulation of Lewis, againſt whom he vowed the bittereſt revenge; but in the mean time determined to retaliate on him his own weapons of cunning and fraud. He A. D. 1480. renewed and confirmed the treaty of alliance which had ſubſiſted between him and the late duke of Burgundy, and engaged to furniſh Maximilian with a reinforcement of ſix thouſand men; while on the other hand the archduke promiſed to pay fifty thouſand crowns annually to Edward, if the French king ſhould withdraw his penſion. Lewis, after many preſſing inſtances, continued to decline the performance of the contract. Edward therefore ordered a fleet to be fitted out, and ſent it under the command of John Middleton to the aſſiſtance of Maximilian, with whom he had lately concluded a treaty. His next ſtep was to guard his frontiers from the inroads of the Scots, and to conclude an alliance in his name with the lord of the Iſles, who engaged to make a diverſion in his favour, ſhould James attempt the invaſion of England. That weak prince, who was at variance with his nobility, and whoſe whole force was unequal to ſuch an enterprize, aſſembled an army, and entering England committed ſome ravages, but ſoon retired without attempting any thing of importance.

Having

A. D. 1481. Having ſettled a correſpondence with the Scottiſh nobility, Edward was in no haſte to advance againſt the enemy, perſuaded that James would find it expedient to liſten to terms of accommodation; in order to effect which he renewed his alliance with the duke of Brittany, and ratified a contract of marriage between the prince of Wales, and Anne, eldeſt daughter of that duke. A. D. 1482. The duke of Glouceſter, attended by the duke of Albany, invaded Scotland with a powerful army, reduced Berwick, and forced the Scots to agree to an accommodation, by which they ceded that fortreſs to Edward. Elated with this ſucceſs, the king determined in good earneſt to proſecute the war againſt Lewis, and his people contributed towards the expence with great alacrity; but in the midſt of his preparations he was ſeized with a violent fever, of which he died on the ninth of April in the forty-ſecond year of his age, and twenty-third of his reign, being the XXXVth king of England from Egbert I.

By his queen Elizabeth he had three ſons and ſeven daughters, viz. Edward, Richard duke of York, and George, who died in his infancy. His daughters were, Elizabeth, afterwards married to Henry VII. king of England; Mary, betrothed to the king of Denmark, but who died before marriage; Cicely, firſt married to John, viſcount Willes, and afterwards to Sir John Kyme; Margaret, who died an infant; Anne, married to Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk; Bridget, who took the veil; and Catharine, married to William Courtney, earl of Devonſhire. His natural children were, Arthur Plantagenet, viſcount Liſle, born of Elizabeth Lucy; and Elizabeth Plantagenet, married to Thomas, lord Lumley: another Elizabeth, by Catherine Clavenger; and Iſabel Mylbery, married to a brother of lord Audley.

In this reign flouriſhed thoſe two great lawyers, Thomas Littleton, and John Forteſcue; the former was, in 1454, called to the degree of ſerjeant at law, and afterwards appointed ſteward of the Marſhalſea of the king's houſhold; and, in 1466, was made one of the judges of the Common Pleas. He wrote on the tenures by which all the eſtates in England were antiently held. Sir Edward Coke's books of inſtitutes is a comment on this work. This great lawyer died on the twenty-third of Auguſt, in the twenty-firſt year of the reign of Edward IV.

Sir John Forteſcue ſtudied the municipal laws of England in Lincoln's Inn, and in 1442 was made lord chief juſtice of the King's Bench, in which poſt he continued till near the end of the reign of King Henry VI. who ſhewed him many particular marks of favour, and advanced him to the poſt of lord high chancellor. He wrote in Latin a learned commentary on the politic laws of England, for the uſe of prince Edward; and another work on the difference between an abſolute and limited monarchy, as it more particularly regards the Engliſh conſtitution.

In the fourth year of Edward IV. a pound weight of gold was ordered to make by tale twenty pounds, ſixteen ſhillings, and eight-pence; and a pound weight of ſilver, one pound, ſeventeen ſhillings, and ſix-pence; but it was afterwards ordered, that a pound weight of gold ſhould be divided into forty-five nobles, each to paſs for ten ſhillings.

Character of King Edward IV.

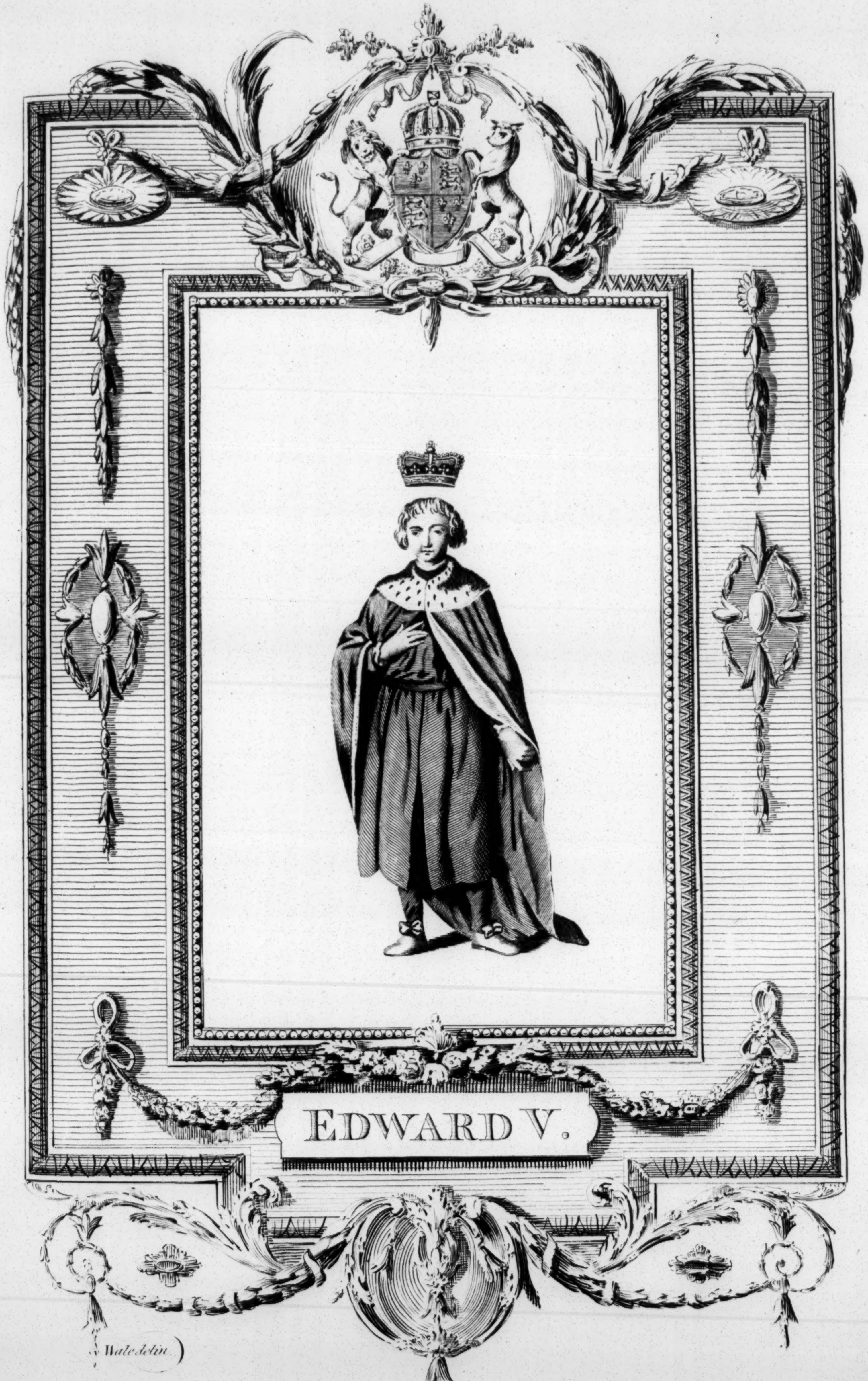
He was a prince of moſt elegant perſon, graceful mien, and inſinuating addreſs. His courage was greater than his prudence, and his good fortune greater than both. Theſe qualities gained him the eſteem of the people, and in many circumſtances of his life were of eſſential ſervice to him. His leading paſſion was the gratification of his ſenſual appetites; and his libertiniſm was unreſtrained. In times of proſperity he devoted himſelf entirely to his pleaſures; in adverſe circumſtances no man was capable of exerting greater ſpirit, vigour, and activity; in nine battles, where he fought in perſon, he was victorious in all. For ſome time he was exceeding liberal, but at laſt became covetous; leſs from his natural temper, than from the neceſſity of ſupplying the immoderate expences attending a gratification of irregular deſires. He had much wit, and ſolid judgment, yet committed ſeveral capital errors; particularly in a private marriage of lady Eleanor Butler, daughter of the earl of Shrewſbury, which rendered his marriage with the widow Gray bigamy; and his afterwards being governed by the relations of the laſt mentioned lady, on whom he laviſhed wealth and honours. So fond was he of power, that he ſacrificed the nobleſt blood in England to his jealouſy; whereby the laurels which he gained in the field, were ſtained and diſgraced by the lives he ſacrificed on the ſcaffold. Inſtead of following that example of moderation and mildneſs ſet him by his father, he was guilty of cruelty, perjury, and incontinence. The firſt appears in the great number of princes and lords whom he cauſed to be put to a violent death. He ſhewed his breach of faith by his unjuſt puniſhment of lord Willes and his brother-in-law, after drawing them out of ſanctuary by a ſafe conduct. As for his incontinency, he had many concubines; among whom were three; one of them, he ſaid, was the merrieſt, the other the wittieſt, and the third the holieſt in the world, ſhe being always in a church when he ſent for her. His good fortune ſeems to have been almoſt ſupernatural. He was raiſed to the throne after the loſs of two battles, and proclaimed king, while his father's head was upon the walls of York. In the beginning of his reign he was cruelly vindictive; in the latter part he was addicted to pleaſure; and left to his ſucceſſor a throne polluted with blood.

CHAP. V.

EDWARD V.

The ſteps which the duke of Glouceſter took in order to uſurp the throne—Orders Edward, and his brother Richard, duke of York, to the Tower—Rivers, Haſtings, and other noblemen, beheaded—Fate of Jane Shore—Richard no longer makes a ſecret of his deſigns—The means by which he obtains the crown.

A. D. 1483. EDWARD V. ſucceeded his father Edward IV. but the crown was only ſuſpended over, and never placed upon his head. This was uſurped by Richard, duke of Glouceſter, againſt whom were brought the moſt horrid charges malevolence could invent; though there are no accounts of the greateſt crimes of which he is accuſed but from Lancaſtrian hiſtorians, and they are, moreover, invalidated by authentic records lately brought to light, which we


EDWARD V.
Wale delin.

He succeeded to the Crown April 9. 1483. & was murdered in the Tower about three Months after by order of his Uncle Richard 3. who had previously usurped the Throne

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have had the favour of peruſing. During the latter part of the reign of Edward IV. the nation in a great meaſure forgot the dreadful animoſities which had ſubſiſted between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, and having acquieſced in the eſtabliſhed government, were only agitated by ſome court intrigues, which aroſe from the perpetual rivalſhip between the queen, her relations, and the ancient nobility, who complained of the ſudden elevation, and unbounded credit of that aſpiring family. The late king ſaw with regret the conſequences that might reſult from theſe alarming diviſions, during the minority of his ſon; and on his death-bed prevailed upon the contending parties to embrace each other, with all the marks of a cordial reconciliation; but his eyes were no ſooner cloſed, than they followed their ſeparate intereſts, and each endeavoured to get the duke of Glouceſter over to their ſide. Earl Rivers had been intruſted by the deceaſed monarch with the care and education of his ſon; and the queen was deſirous, that he ſhould levy a body of troops to conduct his young ſovereign to London, in order to his being crowned with the uſual ſolemnities; but the duke of Glouceſter writing to the queen, repreſented, that the appearance of an armed power might be dangerous, and was not neceſſary; upon which ſhe revoked her order to her brother, deſiring him to come with no greater retinue than was neceſſary to ſupport the young king's ſtate and dignity. In the mean time the duke of Glouceſter ſet out from York with a numerous train of northern nobility. On his reaching Northampton, he was joined by the duke of Buckingham, who had alſo a ſplendid retinue; and hearing that the king was every hour expected there, he determined to wait for him, and conduct him from thence to London. The earl Rivers, apprehending the town was too ſmall to accommodate ſo many people, ſent the king forward by another road to Stony Stratford, and went to Northampton to apologize for this meaſure, and to pay his reſpect to the duke of Glouceſter. He was received with every mark of friendly eſteem, and ſpent the evening in an amicable manner with Glouceſter and Buckingham; but at the time of reſt, the gates of the inn were ſuddenly locked, and the earl made priſoner. Early in the morning, the two dukes proceeded to Stony Stratford, where, in the king's preſence, they found occaſion to quarrel with his half brother, lord Richard Gray, accuſing him, the marquis of Dorſet, and earl Rivers, of hoſtile and treaſonable deſigns; to which ends the marquis had entered the Tower, taken treaſure from thence, and ſent a force to ſeat. Theſe nobles, together with Sir Thomas Vaughan, who poſſeſſed a conſiderable poſt in the houſhold, and Sir Thomas Hawte, were at the ſame time put under a guard, and conducted to Pontefract. Glouceſter approached the young king with all the marks of reſpect, and ſtrove to ſatisfy him, with regard to the violence committed on his uncle and brother; but Edward being fond of thoſe near relations by whom he had been tenderly educated, was unable to conceal his concern.

The queen was no ſooner apprized of theſe proceedings, than ſhe conceived the whole deſign of Glouceſter, and conſidering her two ſons and brother as loſt, fled for refuge into the ſanctuary at Weſtminſter, with the duke of York, who was about nine years of age, and the reſt of her children. The lord Haſtings having received intelligence of this, repaired to the palace of the archbiſhop of York, to whom he imparted the tidings, aſſuring him that no harm was intended to the king, to whom he was indeed moſt ſincerely attached, not having penetrated into the dark and bloody views of Glouceſter. The archbiſhop, conſiſtent with his known humanity, aroſe immediately from his bed, and though it was midnight, went to viſit the queen, whom he found ſitting on the floor, deploring, in the utmoſt anguiſh of mind, the fate of her children. He endeavoured to comfort her from the aſſurances of Haſtings; but ſhe could derive no conſolation from that quarter. He then proteſted, if her enemies ſhould be cruel enough to take away the king's life, he would inſtantly crown the duke of York; and, as a pledge of his ſincerity, left the great ſeal in her hands. Soon after this, the duke of Glouceſter, with the king, arrived in London, and were received by the citizens with loud acclamations. The duke, like a conſummate diſſembler, rode behind Edward, calling to the people, "Behold your prince and ſovereign!" A grand council was now ſummoned, when Richard, duke of Glouceſter, he being the neareſt male of the royal family, capable of exerciſing the powers of government, was declared Protector of the king and kingdom. Glouceſter, inveſted with this dignity, to which he was invited by the cuſtoms of the realm, took the great ſeal from the archbiſhop, and gave it to the biſhop of Lincoln. He alſo beſtowed on his own creatures, all the places which had been poſſeſſed by the queen's dependents. He then made a motion in council, that a deputation ſhould be ſent, to deſire the queen to permit the duke of York to attend his brother and aſſiſt at the coronation. He alledged, that the queen's concealment implied diſtruſt, which might excite jealouſies, and revive factions, to the great prejudice of the nation; that the circumſtance of York's continuing in the aſylum, while his brother was veſted with the crown, would derogate from the dignity of government; and that there was great reaſon to ſuſpect, that the queen's deſign was to eſcape from the ſanctuary, and raiſe commotions in the kingdom, under pretence of defending her ſecond ſon from violence. He therefore propoſed, that the primate ſhould endeavour to perſuade the queen to part with him, and ſhould ſhe refuſe to grant this deſire of the council, recourſe ought then to be had to force. The archbiſhop being a perſon of great humanity and integrity, and convinced of the duke's integrity, employed every forcible argument to carry his point; but the queen continued long obſtinate, inſiſting, that the duke of York not only lived in ſecurity, by reſiding in the ſanctuary, but gave ſecurity to the king, who was in no danger, while his ſucceſſor remained in a place of ſafety. At length ſhe was prevailed upon to conſent, and produced her ſon. She delivered him to the primate with the ſtrongeſt marks of maternal affection, accompanied with the moſt violent agitations of mind; and at parting ſhed a torrent of tears. The archbiſhop preſented the young prince to the protector, by whom he was embraced with all the external ſigns of paternal tenderneſs, deſiring he would conſider him as his guardian and father. At the firſt meeting of the two young princes, joy was viſible in their countenances; and they began to think their uncle had a real regard for their intereſt; but theſe pleaſing ſurmiſes ſoon vaniſhed; for in a few days they were conveyed from the biſhop's palace, where they had reſided, to the Tower, from whence the kings of England uſed to ride in proceſſion through the ſtreets of London, to their coronation at Weſtminſter, a cuſtom which now furniſhed Glouceſter with a pretence for committing his nephew to cloſe cuſtody.

About this time a proclamation was iſſued by the protector, charging Jane Shore with having plotted treaſon with the marquis of Dorſet, the queen's ſon, and ſummoned her to anſwer before the council for ſorcery and witchcraft; but no proof appearing againſt her, ſhe was tried in the ſpiritual court for adultery, and did public penance at St. Paul's in a white ſheet, with a wax taper in her hand. This lady was born in London, had received a good education, and was married to a ſubſtantial citizen; but in this match, views of intereſt had unhappily been more conſulted than her inclinations; and though her mind appeared formed for virtue, ſhe wanted the ſteadineſs and reſolution neceſſary to enable her to reſiſt the allurements of Edward, who had ſolicited her favours; but though this gay and amorous monarch ſeduced her from the path of duty, ſhe rendered herſelf reſpectable by her many virtues; and employed the aſcendency, which her charms and vivacity long maintained over him, in acts of humanity and beneficence. The king was as much in love with her temper as her beauty. He never heard her ſpeak ill of any one; but ſhe was forward to oppoſe calumny, to protect the oppreſſed, and to relieve the indigent. Her good offices were the genuine dictates of her heart, and ſhe ſcorned to take a reward, being unwilling to have it thought that ſhe acted from a motive of intereſt. Hence ſhe amaſſed but a ſmall degree of wealth, of which ſhe was now plundered. Mrs. Shore lived to experience, in old age and poverty, the ingratitude of thoſe courtiers, who had ſolicited her friendſhip, and been protected by her credit; and none among the multitude, whom ſhe had obliged, had the gratitude or humanity to relieve her. Hence ſhe languiſhed out her life in ſolitude and extreme indigence, and, living to a great age, begged of thoſe, ſays Sir Thomas More, that might then have begged, had it not been for her.

Richard now no longer made a ſecret of his intentions to aſcend the throne. He declared by his emiſſaries, the marriage of Edward invalid, and all his poſterity illegitimate, by his having been married to lady Eleanor Butler, the earl of Shrewſbury's daughter, long before his marriage with Elizabeth Gray, by Stilton, biſhop of Bath, who afterwards divulged the ſecret. It was alſo reported, that the duke of Clarence's attainder had rendered his children incapable of ſucceeding to the throne; and theſe two families being ſet aſide, the protector remained the only true and legitimate heir of the houſe of York. It is pretended by ſome writers, that Richard made uſe of another plea, and maintained, that both Edward IV. and the duke of Clarence were illegitimate, the ducheſs of York having had ſeveral lovers, who were the fathers of thoſe children; but this appears highly improbable, ſince by baſtardizing his elder brothers, he would have rendered his own legitimacy juſtly ſuſpected, and there is not the leaſt degree of probability, that he would throw ſo foul an imputation on his own mother, who was then living, a princeſs of irreproachable virtue, and with whom he maintained a moſt cordial intimacy, an objection which is greatly ſtrengthened by his holding his firſt council at her houſe, and by a very affectionate letter to her, preſerved among the Harleian manuſcripts in the Britiſh Muſeum. Upon the ſame ground ſtands the ſtory of Dr. Shaw, being appointed to preach at St. Paul's, and chuſing for his text, "Baſtard ſlips ſhall not thrive," on which he is ſaid to have enlarged on all the topics, that could diſcredit the birth of Edward IV. and the duke of Clarence, with their children. Mr. Walpole who ſeems to be as fond of novelties in opinion, as others are of the marvellous, obſerves, that Richard's election appears to have been voluntary; and that the nobility, from their hatred and jealouſy of the queen's family, and many of them from the conviction of Edward's precontract, met his claim half way; which is nothing more than an ingenious conjecture of one very ingenious and learned man.

Richard, now his plot was near the cataſtrophe, thought proper to impart his deſign to Buckingham, and ſecure that nobleman, who was deſtitute of every virtuous principle, in his intereſt, by large grants and larger promiſes. He alſo engaged in his ſervice a ſet of wretches, without fear or conſcience, whoſe very villany had rendered them deſperate, and whoſe ſole principle of action was ſelf-intereſt. Yet, though thus provided with inſtruments, fit to execute the moſt horrid purpoſes, he nevertheleſs thought it expedient to ſound the diſpoſition of Haſtings, in order to aſſign him his employ, or if he found him wavering, to diſpatch him at once. One Cateſby therefore was properly inſtructed in this buſineſs; but the loyal Haſtings, ſhocked at the thought of Richard's aſſuming the regal diadem, declared he would ſupport the intereſt of the young princes, and not only at the expence of his fortune, but with the laſt drop of his blood. Richard had already been the cruel cauſe of the murder of earl Rivers, Sir Richard Gray, and Sir Thomas Vaughan, by an order diſpatched to Sir Thomas Radcliffe, governor of Pontefract caſtle, in which they were confined; and now, finding the integrity of Haſtings invincible, he devoted him alſo to immediate death; to accompliſh which purpoſe he repaired in the morning to the council, then held in the Tower, where he converſed with the members very affably, and after ſome time retired, deſiring they might continue their deliberations, and give the laſt direction for the coronation, which had been too long deferred. In about an hour after his departure, he returned with a frowning aſpect, knitting his brows, biting his lips, and exhibiting all the ſigns of the moſt violent indignation. After ſome pauſe, "My lords, ſaid he, what puniſhment do thoſe deſerve, who have conſpired againſt my life?" The queſtion ſtruck the whole council with ſilent aſtoniſhment. Haſtings anſwered in the name of the reſt, "That whoever was guilty of ſuch a crime, deſerved to ſuffer the death of a traitor." Before the members had time to recover from their ſurprize, he made bare his left arm, which was withered, and preſenting it to the council, "Behold, ſaid he, what that ſorcereſs, my brother's wife, and the accurſed Shore, have done by their inchantments! They have reduced this arm to the condition in which you ſee it; and the reſt of my body muſt have been conſumed in the ſame manner, if by the ſingular protection of heaven, their infamous practices had not been diſcovered." Haſtings could not avoid expreſſing his doubts about the truth of the information, and obſerved, that "if they were guilty, they deſerved puniſhment." "How!" cried the protector, in a furious rage, "doſt thou anſwer me with thy ifs, as though I had forged the information? I tell thee, they have conſpired againſt my life, and thou thyſelf art one of the accomplices." So ſaying he ſtruck upon the table with his hand, and immediately the council chamber was filled with armed men: then turning to Haſtings, he ſaid, "I arreſt thee for high-treaſon." "Who, me? my lord!" replied that nobleman; "Yes thee, thou traitor!" exclaimed the protector, and immediately ordered him to be ſeized by the ſoldiers. At the ſame inſtant, lord Stanley, together with the archbiſhop of York, and the biſhop of Ely were arreſted; but as for Haſtings, Richard was ſo bent on his deſtruction, that he ſwore he would not dine until his head ſhould be brought him. He was therefore led immediately to the green, before the chapel of the Tower, where, after a haſty confeſſion to a prieſt, he was beheaded on a log of timber lying upon the green. The death of the priſoners at Pontefract, and that of Haſtings, exciting no inſurrection among the people, Gloucester became more confident: he threw off the maſk of diſſimulation, openly aſpired to the crown, and perpetrated other acts of injuſtice and violence. He had indeed proceeded too far to think of receding. It was neceſſary for him

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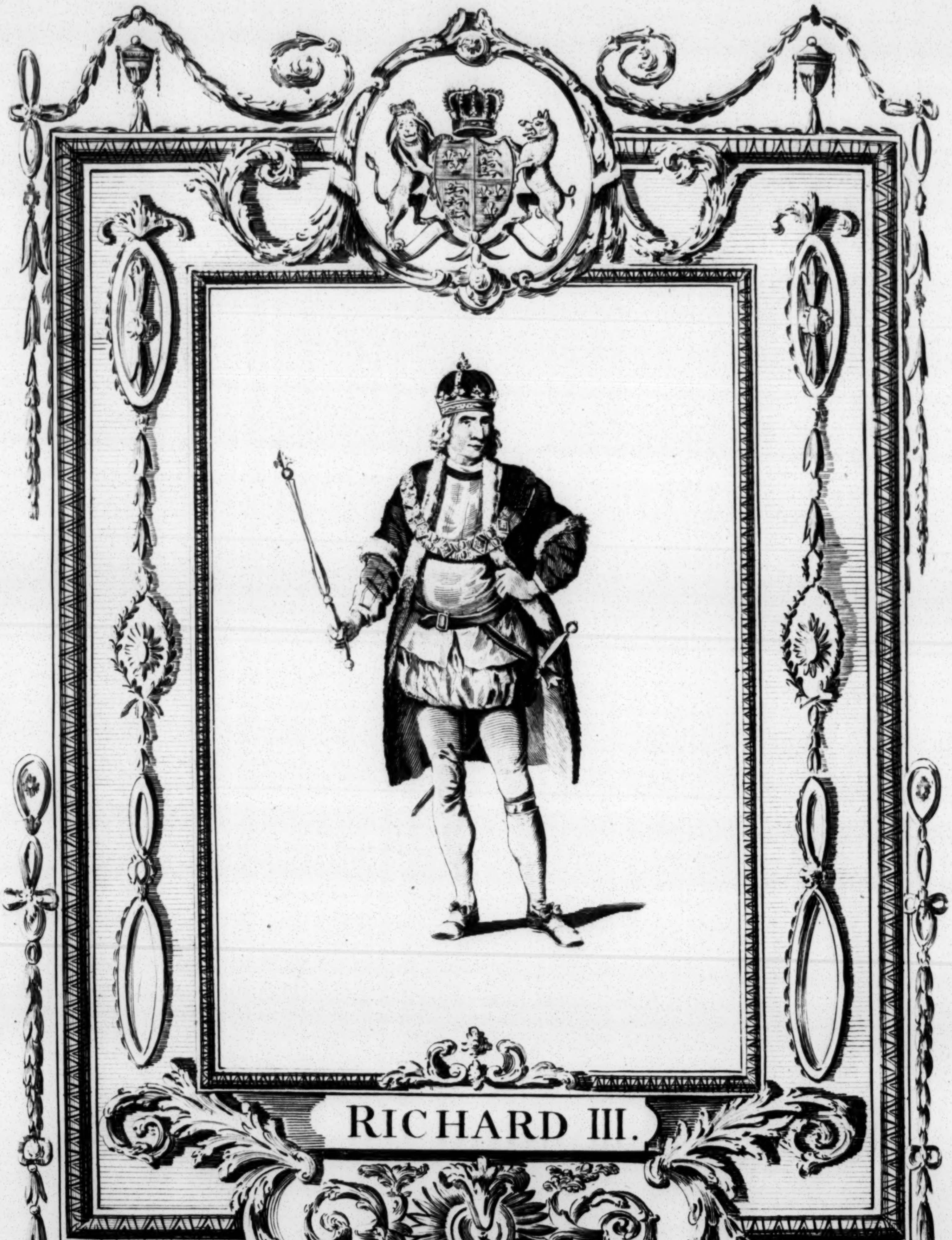

RICHARD III.

Wale delin. Smith sculp.

He was made Protector *of* England, *May 27, 1483 — Elected* King, *June, 20, and* Crowned *July 6, 1483 — and was* Slain *by* Henry Earl *of* Richmond, *afterward* Henry VII. *at* Boſworth *in* Leiceſteſhire, *August 22nd 1485, Aged 32.*

him to perſevere: he muſt either perſevere or periſh. It was therefore agreed in council, which now conſiſted wholly of Richard's creatures, that an attempt ſhould be made to obtain the voice of the people in his favour. Accordingly the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of London, were aſſembled by ſummons at Guildhall; where the duke of Buckingham, in a ſtudied harangue, expatiated on the virtues of the duke of Glouceſter, and concluded with aſking, whether they would have that prince for their king? A profound ſilence prevailed throughout the whole aſſembly. The duke repeated the ſame queſtion: the ſame ſilence enſued. The mayor deſired the recorder might addreſs the people, he being conſidered as the mouth of the city. The experiment was tried, but without ſucceſs. "This is aſtoniſhing obſtinacy," cried the duke; "declare your ſentiments one way or other. I demand now, in plain terms, "whether you will, or not, have the protector for your ſovereign?" Upon this ſome hired apprentices ſet up a feeble cry, of "Long live king Richard." This was conſidered as a ſufficient declaration of the ſentiments of the nation; and Buckingham haſtened to acquaint the protector, that he was called upon to aſſume the reins of government by the loyal citizens of London: adding, "That the people were ſo much determined to reject the poſterity of the late king, that if his highneſs would not accept of the crown, they muſt turn their eyes on ſome other perſon." However, with a genuine hypocritical reluctance, he conſented to comply with their requeſt, and yielding to the earneſt perſuaſions of Buckingham, accepted of the crown. From that moment he acted as legal poſſeſſor of the Engliſh throne, while young Edward was ſcarcely conſidered as a nominal king.

CHAP. VI.

RICHARD III.

His coronation—Strictures on his perſon—Conjectures on the ſuppoſed murder of his two nephews—Rebellion and death of the duke of Buckingham—Earl of Richmond invited to England—makes a deſcent without oppoſition; and arrives on the ſixth of Auguſt in Milford Haven—The battle ef Boſworth, in which Richard is ſlain—His character.

A. D. 1483. RICHARD having by diſſimulation, and murders almoſt innumerable, accompliſhed his main deſign, was proclaimed king of England and France, on the ſixth of July, with great pomp at Weſtminſter. All the peers of the realm were preſent, fearing leſt by their abſence they ſhould incur the ſuſpicion of the tyrant, who was now become the object of a general terror. But Mr. Walpole, from the great regularity with which the coronation was conducted, and the vaſt conqueſt of nobility with which it was graced, infers, that the election of Richard to the throne could not be an unwelcome revolution, though accompliſhed merely by violence. It is here neceſſary to obſerve to our readers, that in this and ſucceeding reigns, we ſhall be obliged to produce the teſtimonies of various writers to the truth or falſehood of conteſted facts; ſeveral of theſe are known to have been hired partizans, ſuch as Smollet, Mortimer, Montague, and others; but where differences of opinion are laid before our readers; or in caſe we in our turn differ from other hiſtorians, thy know their privilege: *utrum horum mavis;* "take which you pleaſe of them." We do not pretend to be wiſer than our predeceſſors, our only boaſt is impartiality and integrity.

One of the firſt acts of Richard's reign, after his coronation, was to remove out of the way of his ambition the two young princes*. Various have been the relations reſpecting the particulars of this horrid action. One hiſtorian tells us, "that Richard ſent orders to Sir Robert Brackenbury, conſtable of the Tower, to put the princes to death, but that gentleman refuſed to have any hand in the infamous office. Richard commanded him to reſign the government to Sir James Tyrrel, for one night only. This ruffian chuſing three aſſociates, Slater, Dighton, and Foreſt, came in the night time to the door of the chamber where the young princes lay, and ſending in the aſſaſſins, he bid them execute their commiſſion, while he himſelf ſtaid without. They found the young princes in bed, and in a ſound ſleep: when after ſuffocating them with the bolſter and pillows, they ſhewed their naked bodies to Tyrrel, who ordered them to be buried at the ſtair foot, deep in the ground, under a heap of ſtones. Theſe circumſtances were all confeſſed by the actors, in the reign of Henry VII. who were never puniſhed for the bloody deed. The bones of the princes were diſcovered in 1674, and were removed by order of Charles II. to Weſtminſter-abbey, where they were interred among the remains of the Engliſh monarchs. A monument was afterwards erected to their memory. Another writer, of whoſe integrity we have a very high opinion, obſerves, that Richard, to obviate all ſuſpicion of being acceſſary to this tragical ſcene, made a tour through ſeveral counties, under pretence of reforming abuſes which had crept into government. In the courſe of this excurſion, the two princes are ſaid to have been ſtifled in the Tower, by one Tyrrel, a notorious aſſaſſin in the reign of Edward IV. It is certainly true, that the two princes diſappeared about this time; and that, in the reign of Charles II. the workmen employed in repairing that part of the Tower, found the bones of two ſmall ſkeletons, which were interred in Weſtminſter-abbey, as the remains of thoſe princes who had ſuffered an untimely fate. To invalidate theſe accounts, though taken from authentic records, Mr. Walpole, in his Hiſtoric Doubts, obſerves, that Sir Thomas More, and lord Bacon, confeſs, that many queried, whether the two princes were murdered in Richard's days or not. On which he demands, "If they were not deſtroyed in Richard's days, in whoſe days were they murdered? Who will tell me, that Henry VII. did not find the eldeſt, at leaſt, priſoner in the Tower? And if he did, what was there in Henry's nature or character to prevent our ſurmiſes going farther? If they were put to death at the time fixed by More, Richard

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* We think ourſelves much obliged to a certain nobleman, who has favoured us with a curious manuſcript, relating to this tranſaction; but not having been able, after the moſt diligent ſearch, to authenticate the ſame by the leaſt corroborating evidence, even of a circumſtantial kind; we hope his Grace will excuſe our not having made uſe of it, in the body of this work.

We alſo embrace this opportunity, of paying the tribute of grateful acknowledgments, to another truly honourable perſonage, for that free acceſs, which we have at all times been allowed, to both his cabinet and library; nor muſt we omit our hearty thanks for ſeveral hints we have received from other perſons whoſe judgment we ſhall ever highly eſteem.

muſt have acted from the wantonneſs of cruelty: for his throne then appeared to be firmly eſtabliſhed, and the whole kingdom quiet. By the roll of parchment which baſtardized Edward V. it appears he was then alive, though it was ſeven months after the time aſſigned by More for his murder, and it ſeems more than probable, that it was one of thoſe princes, who afterwards endeavoured to obtain the crown, and was called Perkin Warbeck. The two ſkeletons found in the Tower, in the reign of Charles II. with no marks to aſcertain the time of their interment, can ſurely be no proof of the contrary." "It is probable," ſays another author, " that Edward V. walked at the coronation of Richard." Indeed, in the coronation roll is an entry of the robes prepared on this occaſion, which were extremely ſplendid, and appear to be the trappings of a cavalcade, and not for the uſe of a priſoner: and this prince, all agree, was at firſt treated by the tyrant with great indulgence and reſpect.

Not leſs various and jarring are the ſentiments of moderns relating to the perſon of Richard. He was formerly repreſented as a little, crooked, withered, hump-backed monſter, who remained two years in his mother's womb, and at laſt born with teeth, and hair on his ſhoulders, to intimate how careful Providence was when he formed a tyrant, to give due warning of what was to be expected. " Yet theſe portents," ſays Mr. Walpole, " were far from prognoſticating a tyrant; for this plain reaſon, that other tyrants have been born without them. Who was handſomer than Alexander, Auguſtus, or Lewis XIV. yet who ever commanded the ſpilling of more human blood?" The truth ſeems to be, that Richard who was ſlender, and not tall, had one ſhoulder higher than the other; a defect eaſily ſwelled by the magnifying glaſſes of party, the diſtance of time, and the amplification of tradition, into ſhocking deformity. The old counteſs of Deſmond, who had danced with Richard, declared, that he was the handſomeſt man in the room, except his brother Edward; and John Rous, the antiquary of Warwickſhire, who ſaw Richard at Warwick, deſcribing his perſon, mentions no other defect than the inequality of his ſhoulders; and indeed the vigour and activity with which he exerted himſelf in battle, are an evident proof of his being poſſeſſed of that bodily ſtrength, which is never the lot of perſons much deformed.

Richard in the courſe of his progreſs through the country, reſided ſome time at Glouceſter, which he affected to favour, as the place from whence he derived his title. He was attended by the duke of Buckingham, who thinking no reward adequate to his late ſervices, was become ſo inſolent, that the king determined to humble his pride, and he retired in diſguſt to his caſtle of Brecknock. During his journey, Richard adminiſtered juſtice with great impartiality; and by an aſſiduous application to the intereſt of his ſubjects, ſeemed deſirous of wiping off the ſtain his character had contracted, from the bloody meaſures by which he aſcended the throne. From Glouceſter he repaired to York, where he had the pleaſure of receiving Geoffrey de Saſiola, ambaſſador from Spain, whom Ferdinand and Iſabella had ſent on purpoſe to renew the alliance between Caſtile and England. He was ſo pleaſed to find himſelf acknowledged by that princeſs, that he knighted the ambaſſador, and ſent very reſpectful letters to their Catholic majeſties, and even to their miniſters. In this interval, the duke of Buckingham raiſed a rebellion againſt Richard, aſſiſted by Moreton, biſhop of Ely, a perſon of ſingular penetration and addreſs. They agreed to declare for Henry, earl of Richmond, who ſhould marry Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. and by this alliance unite the intereſts of both houſes in his favour. They communicated their ſcheme to the old counteſs of Richmond, and the queen dowager, who ſtill continued in the ſanctuary of Weſtminſter. Both theſe princeſſes approving the propoſal, a friendſhip was eſtabliſhed between them and the duke of Buckingham, and each began to engage their adherents. In the mean time, the counteſs dowager of Richmond diſpatched two meſſengers to her ſon in Brittany, to acquaint him with the meaſures that had been entered into in his favour, and the terms on which he was invited to England. In conſequence of this advice, he repaired to the court of Brittany, and related the particulars of the plan to the duke, who promiſed his concurrence and ſupport. He then ſent letters to his mother and the duke of Buckingham, informing them of the progreſs he had made, and deſiring they would prepare for his reception in the beginning of October. Theſe ſucceſſes animated the reſolution of the confederates, who reſpectively began to exert their power and influence in promoting the main deſign. Richard ſuſpecting that ſome plot was forming againſt him, advanced from York towards the center of the kingdom, giving out orders for the troops to be in readineſs to march on the firſt notice. He then ſent a meſſenger to the duke of Buckingham, whom he imagined to be at the head of this conſpiracy, enjoining his attendance at court; but inſtead of obeying the order, he collected his forces, and retired to the weſtern provinces, where he expected to be joined by the reſt of the confederacy. The king, alarmed at the preparations which Buckingham had made in ſo ſhort a time, determined to go in queſt of the duke, and engage him before he ſhould be reinforced; but an unforeſeen accident kept them aſunder. Buckingham had advanced by haſty marches, to the ſide of the Severn, in order to join his friends in the counties of Devon and Dorſet, but the river had overflowed its banks to ſuch an extent, that, for ſix days, he could neither paſs the ſtream, nor find ſubſiſtence where he had encamped. His men, alarmed with ſuperſtitious terrors at this extraordinary event, and at the ſame time diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, abandoned their camp, and Buckingham in a few days was left with only one ſervant, who was faithful enough to attend his maſter in diſtreſs. He had now no other reſource than that of concealment, there expecting the arrival of the earl of Richmond, or ſome other accident might occaſion a revolution in the government. Thus forlorn he fled, diſguiſed in the habit of a peaſant, to the houſe of one Banniſter, a creature who had ſubſiſted on his bounty, and been raiſed by him to a moderate eſtate near Shrewſbury. But this ungrateful wretch betrayed him to the ſheriff of Shropſhire, who conducted him to Saliſbury, where he was beheaded without form of trial. His friends, alarmed at the news of this diſaſter, concealed themſelves in different retreats, and a great number of his adherents paſſed over to Brittany.

A. D. 1484.

Richard being thus unexpectedly ſucceſsful, he ſacrificed a great number of victims to his cruelty and ambition; but to attach lord Stanley, huſband to the counteſs of Richmond more firmly to his intereſt, he created him lord high conſtable of England. During theſe tranſactions Richmond received ſecret aſſurances from ſeveral noblemen, that he might rely on their ſupport, whenever they ſhould find a proper opportunity to declare againſt Richard; and among theſe was the lord Stanley, who was ſo much ſuſpected by the king, that he could not obtain leave to retire into the country, without leaving his ſon at court as an hoſtage. As Richard knew that the earl of Richmond could be only formidable from his projected marriage with the princeſs Elizabeth,

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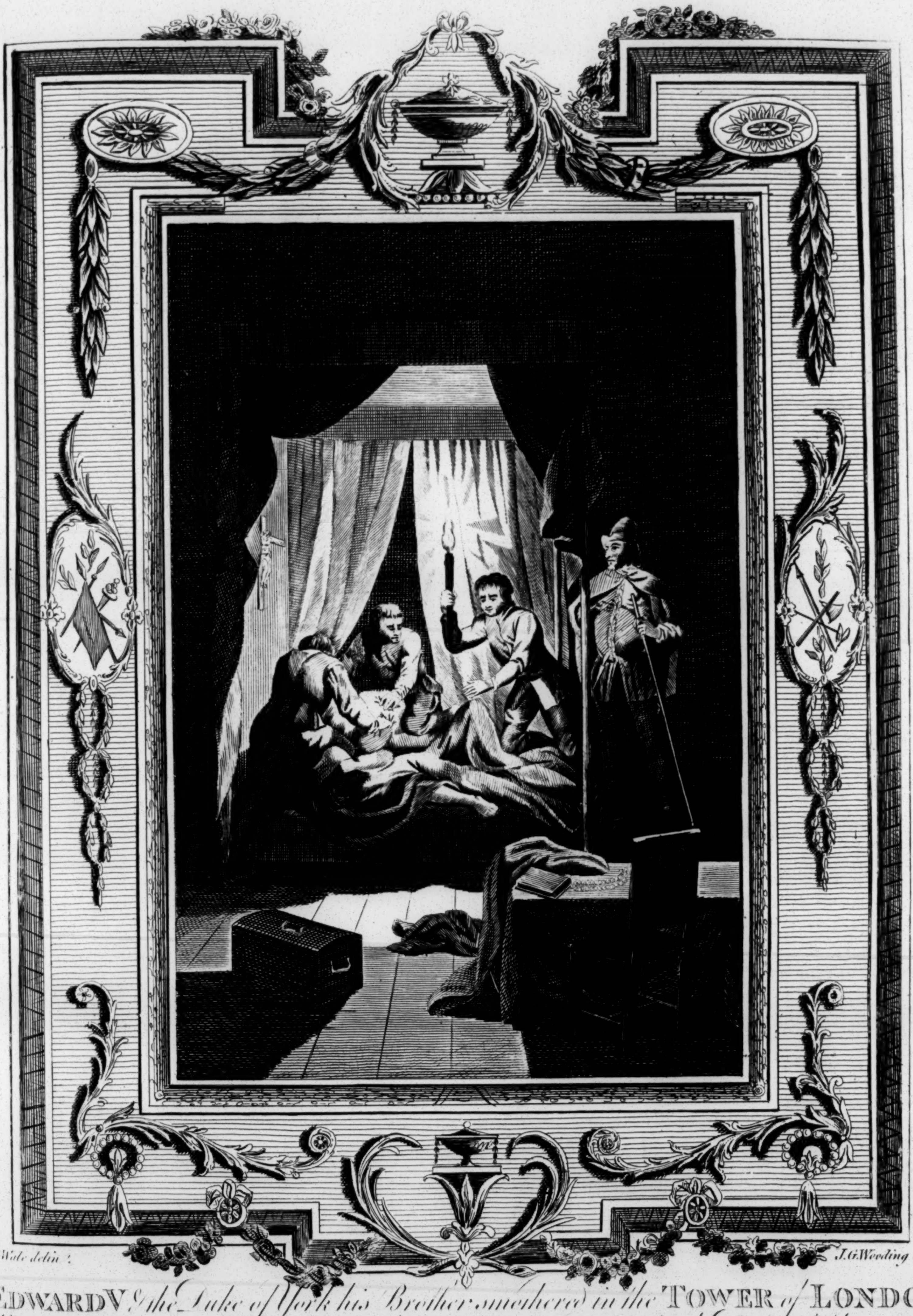

S. Wale delin.t   J. G. Wooding sculp.

EDWARD V. & the Duke of York his Brother smothered in the TOWER of LONDON by Tyrrel & his accomplices, which aſsaſsination was ordered by the Duke of Gloucester their Uncle afterwards RICHARD III.

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he reſolved to make her his own conſort. This could not be effected without the removal of his preſent wife, and prevailing on the pope to grant a diſpenſation for an inceſtuous marriage. He therefore began the execution of this ſtrange project, by making large offers to the queen-dowager, and confirming the ſame by a ſolemn oath, taken at an aſſembly of the lords ſpiritual and temporal. Allured by theſe offers, the queen left the ſanctuary and repaired to court with her five daughters, where they were graciouſly received. Having, as he imagined, accompliſhed the moſt arduous part of his plan, Richard concerted means for the removal of his wife, who had borne him only one ſon, who died about this time; and ſhe herſelf, being in a declining ſtate of health, ſoon followed him. He was now at liberty to wed his niece Elizabeth; but ſhe received his addreſſes with horror, and begged he would ever deſiſt from the diſagreeable ſubject: however, he did not deſpair of overcoming her antipathy, though he deferred his deſign, thinking it impolitic to force her inclinations. In the mean time all the exiles flocked to the earl of Richmond in Brittany, and ſolicited him to haſten his attempt for an invaſion, in order to prevent Richard's marriage with the princeſs Elizabeth, which would prove fatal to all their hopes. The earl, ſenſible of the urgent neceſſity of this attempt, without delay eſcaped into France, dreading the treachery of Peter Landais, the duke of Brittany's ſecretary, who had entered into a negociation with Richard for betraying him, where Charles VIII. who after the death of his father Lewis had ſucceeded to the throne, afforded him countenance and protection; and being, as uſual, deſirous of raiſing diſturbances in England, ſecretly encouraged the earl in collecting troops for his enterprize againſt that kingdom. The earl of Oxford, who on his being ſuſpected by Richard had been confined, now made his eſcape, and joining Henry, animated him to make the attempt with all poſſible expedition. They alſo informed him, that the character and conduct of Richard had brought upon him a general odium, and that he could not poſſibly land more opportunely, than at a time when the tyrant had made no preparations for oppoſing his deſcent.

A. D. 1485.

Encouraged by this intelligence, Henry haſtened his departure; and embarking with his forces, conſiſting of about ſix thouſand men, at Harfleur, on the laſt day of July, he landed without oppoſition at Milford-Haven, in Wales, on the ſeventh of Auguſt. He had directed his courſe thither, in hopes that the Welch, who conſidered him as their countryman, and had already been prepoſſeſſed by the duke of Buckingham in favour of his cauſe, would join his ſtandard, and enable him to make head againſt the uſurper. From Milford-Haven the earl proceeded to Haverford, where he was received with great demonſtrations of joy, and ſet out for Shrewſbury, intending to paſs the Severn. Stanley, and his brother Sir William, had raiſed a body of five thouſand men, under pretence of ſerving Richard, and they advanced to Litchfield, as if they intended oppoſition to the invader; but Sir William had a private conference with Henry, whom he aſſured of his brother's aſſiſtance, as ſoon as he could act with any proſpect of ſafety to his ſon, whom the tyrant ſtill detained as an hoſtage. Richard, not knowing where his enemy would land, had aſſembled his forces, and fixed his poſt at Nottingham, in the center of the kingdom; and having received advice that the earl intended to march to London, determined to attack him in his rout; and with this view encamped between Leiceſter and Coventry. Having granted commiſſions, empowering perſons in the different counties to oppoſe the enemy, he propoſed, on the firſt alarm, to march to the place expoſed to danger. Sir Walter Herbert, and Sir Rice ap Thomas, were entruſted with this authority in Wales; but the former made a feeble oppoſition to the earl of Richmond, and the latter immediately deſerted to him. Henry, on his advancing, was joined by Sir Gilbert Talbot, with all the vaſſals of the family of Shrewſbury; by Sir Walter Hungerford, and Sir Thomas Bouchier, with their friends; and the perſons of diſtinction who appeared in his camp, afforded him a favourable omen of future ſucceſs. The earl now drew near to Litchfield, from whence the lord Stanley retired at his approach, and took poſt at Atherſtone; and Henry, having preconcerted affairs with the two brothers, proceeded to Leiceſter, where he propoſed to hazard a deciſive engagement; but hearing that Richard had advanced from that town with the ſame deſign, he determined to meet him in the mid-way.

The two armies came in ſight of each other at Boſworth, on the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt. The king's army conſiſted of twelve thouſand men. Henry was at the head of ſix thouſand. The duke of Norfolk commanded the van-guard; Richard took poſt in the center, with his crown on his head, either as a mark of diſtinction, or to remind his troops that he was fighting for a kingdom. The earl of Richmond likewiſe drew up his troops in two lines; the firſt commanded by the earl of Oxford, and the ſecond by himſelf in perſon. Stanley, who had quitted Atherſtone, took up his ſtation in a piece of ground fronting the ſpace between the two armies, with four thouſand men; while his brother, Sir William, with three thouſand, ſtood facing him. Richard had too much ſagacity not to diſcover their intentions by this poſition; but kept the ſecret from his own men, for fear of diſcouraging them: however, he ſent orders to lord Stanley to join his army immediately; to which he only anſwered, that he would come when it was convenient. This ambiguous reply ſo enraged the king, that he would have ſtruck off the head of Stanley's ſon, had he not been diverted from his purpoſe by his eagerneſs to begin the battle, and the remonſtrances of his generals, who repreſented to him, that ſuch a cruel act could be attended with no advantage, and would certainly provoke the two Stanleys to join the enemy, whoſe intention at preſent might be to remain neuter, at leaſt till they ſhould perceive which ſide was moſt likely to prevail. The two leaders having harangued their troops, the earl of Richmond made a motion to the left, in order to avoid a moraſs that divided the two armies; by which movement he not only ſecured his right flank, but obtained the advantage of having the ſun in his back. The trumpets now ſounded a charge. The battle began with a general diſcharge of arrows, and the royal army advanced to cloſe combat. The lord Stanley perceiving that the duke of Norfolk extended his line in order to ſurround the enemy, did not give him time to execute his deſign, by ſuddenly poſting himſelf on the right of Richmond's line, in order to receive the front of the king's firſt line. This motion cauſing the duke of Norfolk to halt to cloſe his files, which had been too much opened by the extenſion of the lines, occaſioned a few ſolemn pauſes. But ſoon after, both ſides approaching nearer to an equality, the battle continued with equal ardour. Richard, in order to encourage his troops by perſonal valour, galloped to the front of the firſt line: there obſerving his brave competitor, who had quitted his ſtation with the ſame deſign, he couched his lance, and clapping ſpurs to his horſe, ſought with great eagerneſs to engage with him, in hopes that either Henry's death or his own, would decide the victory. He killed with his own hands Sir William Brandon, the earl's ſtandard-bearer, and diſmounted Sir John Cheyney. As Richard was thus endeavouring to make an attempt on the life of his rival, Stanley fell upon the flank of Richard's line, driving the right wing back upon the center; while the earl of Northumberland, who commanded a ſeparate body, ſtood wholly inactive. Norfolk, however, charged his numerous aſſailants with more fury than ever, and a dreadful carnage enſued. But the battle was no longer fought upon equal terms; the royal forces were intimidated by the deſertion of Stanley and his brother, while it inſpired Henry's army with unuſual courage. Senſible of his deſperate ſituation, the furious tyrant threw his eyes around the field; and diſcovering his rival at no great diſtance, he ſoon opened himſelf a paſſage to the ſpot, where Henry coolly intrepid, fought in perſon. He called aloud to him to pay the forfeit of his treaſon, and rebellious invaſion of his kingdom. Henry declined not the combat; but the two champions for a crown were hardly engaged, when Sir William Stanley, breaking in with his troops, ſurrounded Richard, who after performing the moſt aſtoniſhing acts of valour, fell, covered with wounds, in the midſt of thoſe he had ſlain. In this battle about four thouſand of the king's army periſhed; among whom were the duke of Norfolk, lord Ferrers of Charltey, Sir Robert Brackenburg, Sir Robert Piercy, and Sir Richard Ratcliff; while the loſs on the ſide of the victors was about one hundred men, of whom Sir William Brandon was the moſt conſiderable. The earl of Northumberland ſurrendered himſelf a priſoner, and obtained a pardon; the earl of Surry was ſent to the Tower, whence he was afterwards releaſed; but Cateſby, the infamous tool of Richard, was beheaded the next day at Leiceſter. After the engagement, Richmond devoutly acknowledged the interpoſing hand of Providence; then repairing to an eminence, he applauded the ſoldiers for their gallant behaviour, and promiſed them ample rewards for their ſervices. Richard's crown being found among the ſpoils of the field, was by lord Stanley placed upon the head of Henry, upon which the whole army ſaluted him as king. The body of the tyrant was found among the dead, beſmeared with blood; and being thrown careleſsly on the back of a horſe, was thus carried to Leiceſter, where, after having been expoſed two days, and treated with great indignity, it was buried in the church of the Grey-Friars, in a private manner; but Henry, in reſpect to his former dignity, ordered a tomb to be placed over his grave.

Thus was England delivered from an ambitious, cruel, unrelenting tyrant, after a reign of two years and two months, who was ſlain in the battle of Boſworth, which was fought the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt. He was the laſt of the Anjouvin race, ſurnamed Plantagenet, who had ſat on the Engliſh throne for the ſpace of three hundred and thirty years; and with his death cloſed the civil wars between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, after raging near thirty years, and in which above one hundred thouſand Engliſhmen had periſhed, with a great number of princes of the two houſes. Some years ago there was an original painting of Richard III. in the royal palace of Kenſington. The fancy at top, in imitation of painting upon glaſs, alludes to a ſtory in this king's reign, of Mr. Collingborn, a gentleman, who was executed for a rhime (ſaid to be wrote by him)

The cat, the rat, and Lovel the dog,
Rule all England under a hog.

This king's device being a white boar, and Henry VII. a dragon: at the bottom is repreſented a dragon overcoming a boar: the dragon was the enſign of Cadwallader, the laſt king of Britain, ſaid to be the anceſtor of Henry VII.

Richard was married to Anne, ſecond daughter of Richard Nevil, the great earl of Warwick; ſhe died, as ſome hiſtorians have ſuppoſed, of poiſon, given her by her huſband. By this lady he had one ſon, whom he created prince of Wales, and who died a little before his mother. He had likewiſe two illegitimate children, John of Glouceſter, and Catherine, married to William, earl of Huntington.

Character of Richard III.

His ſtature was of the middle ſize; his aſpect cloudy, ſevere, and forbidding; one of his arms was withered, and one ſhoulder higher than the other; whence he acquired the nick-name of Crook-back Richard. It muſt be owned, he had great perſonal courage; an uncommon degree of ſagacity; nor leſs of the moſt daring ambition; and, where his own intereſt was not concerned, he cauſed juſtice to be exactly adminiſtered. Yet, he was much more deformed in the qualities of his mind, than in the members of his body, being deſtitute of every ſocial quality, every generous ſentiment of humanity: no law of nature, no tie of conſanguinity, could reſtrain the violence of his boundleſs ambition, which ſeemed to engroſs his whole ſoul, and to ſtifle every emotion of conſcience. Some modern hiſtorians, from a deſire of appearing ſingular, have laboured to varniſh over the juſt characteriſtical diſplay of this reign. They may talk of his juſtice, piety, moderation, wiſe regulations, and ſalutary laws; but after the moſt candid allowances, conſiſtent with hiſtoric juſtice, which could reaſonably be granted, we leave every impartial reader to judge, whether any one of thoſe principles really influenced one action of his life, or, whether he ever practiced a good deed, from the only motive intrinſically meritorious, the love of doing good. For the honour of human nature, we do not wiſh Richard to be a monſter; nor, for the honour of impartiality, equally eſteemed, can we proſtitute the pencil of heaven-born truth. Let us ſtrip Richard of the obloquy thrown upon him by the partizans of Henry VII. ſtill it will be too evident from this ſhort hiſtory of his reign, that he was one of the moſt cruel, treacherous, and bloodthirſty tyrants, that ever diſgraced the Engliſh throne.

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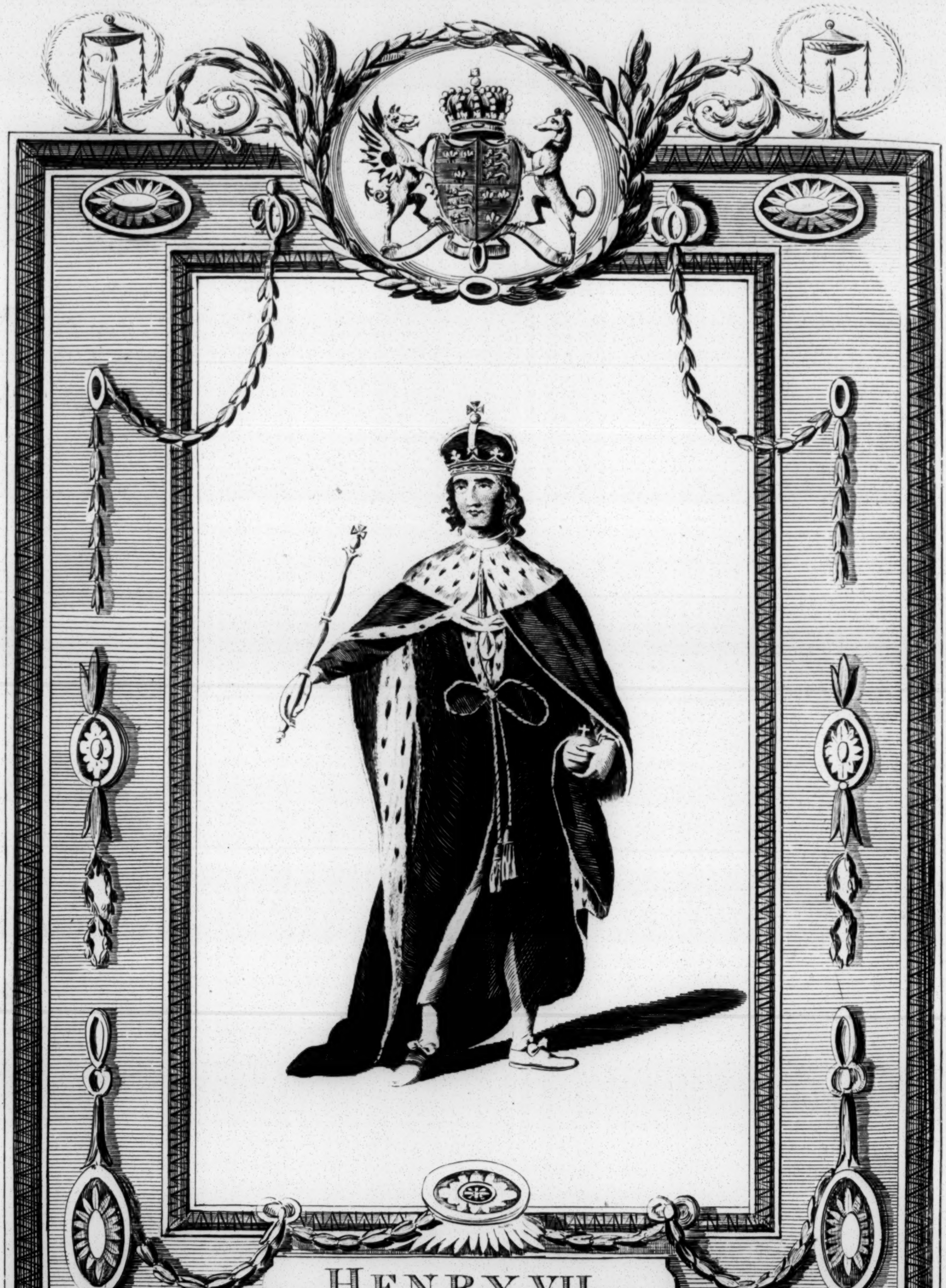

HENRY VII.

Wale delin.

Smith sculp.

Being elected King, he was crowned Oct.r 30. 1485,—and Died at Richmond, April 22. 1509.

BOOK VIII.

From the Union of the houſes of York and Lancaſter, to the Union of the crowns of England and Scotland under James I. the XLIIId. king of England, and firſt of Great Britain.

THE FAMILY OF TUDOR.

CHAP. I.

HENRY VII.

His acceſſion; pretenſions to the crown; and coronation—His marriage with the princeſs Elizabeth—An inſurrection fomented by viſcount Lovel, Sir Humphry and Thomas Stafford—Two pretenders to the crown, Lambert Simnel, and Perkin Warbeck, ſet up and ſupported by the York faction—A ſuccinct account of theſe two adventurers—State of Europe—An embaſſy from France—That kingdom invaded—The French purchaſe a peace—Sir William Stanley tried and executed—Inſurrection of the Corniſhmen, who are defeated at Blackheath—Execution of the duke of York, and of the earl of Warwick—Death of prince Arthur—King of Caſtile arrives in England—Intrigues of the earl of Suffolk—Death and character of King Henry VII.

A. D. 1485. HENRY, having given orders concerning the diſpoſal and march of his army, ſet out for London, which he entered on the twenty-ſeventh of Auguſt, amidſt the joyful acclamations of the people, who conſidered him as the auſpicious victor over a cruel tyrant, whoſe union with the fair Elizabeth would put a final period to all animoſity between the two roſes, which had ſo long manured the kingdom with the blood of its inhabitants. The root of Henry's family was John of Ghent, earl of Lancaſter, fourth ſon to Edward III. That prince was thrice married; firſt, to Blanche of Lancaſter, by whom he had two daughters; Philippa, married to John, king of Portugal; and Elizabeth, eſpouſed to John Holland, duke of Exeter; and a ſon, who afterwards aſcended the throne by the name of Henry IV. and whoſe male deſcendants became extinct in the perſon of Henry VI. ſecondly, to Conſtance, princeſs of Caſtile and Leon, who bore him one daughter, married to the king of Caſtile; and thirdly, to Catharine, widow of Sir Otter Swinford. This lady had for ſome years before her marriage lived with John of Ghent as his miſtreſs, and during that interval bore him four children; John Beaufort, duke of Somerſet; Henry Beaufort, cardinal of Wincheſter; Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter; and Joan Beaufort, counteſs of Weſtmorland. Theſe children were afterward legitimated by the ſame parliament, which excluded them from the throne. John Beaufort left a ſon called by his own name, who enjoyed his title of duke of Somerſet. The latter had only one daughter, named Margaret, who married Edmund Tudor, duke of Richmond, whoſe eldeſt ſon was Henry VII. This prince was the ſole repreſentative of the houſe of Lancaſter; and by his marriage with the princeſs Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of Edward IV. he united in his poſterity the titles of the two rival families. He had early imbibed an antipathy to the Yorkiſts, which neither experience nor time were ever able to efface; and his jealouſy induced him to commit to the Tower the earl of Warwick, then only ten years of age. When arrived at London, he proceeded directly to St. Paul's, in which church he offered up the ſtandard he had taken, and after divine ſervice, repaired to his lodgings at the biſhop's palace; where, in a few days, he aſſembled a council of all the nobility and gentry then in London, and ſolemnly renewed the oath he had formerly taken, to marry the princeſs Elizabeth. His coronation was now fixed for the thirtieth of October. In the interval, while neceſſary preparations were making, an epidemical diſtemper broke out in London. This dreadful diſeaſe, which ſwept away many thouſands, was, from the ſymptoms attending it, called the Sweating Sickneſs, and is thought to be the firſt time it ever appeared in the world. The patient commonly died, or recovered in twenty-four hours; but after it had for a few weeks exerted its fury, it began to abate, either from the alteration of the air, or from a proper antidote having been diſcovered. The confuſion this malignant fever occaſioned delayed the ceremony; and Henry employed the interval in rewarding the ſervices of his faithful adherents. John de Vere, earl of Oxford, was made conſtable of the Tower; Jaſper, earl of Pembroke, uncle to the king, alſo his tutor and guardian, was created duke of Bedford; the lord Stanley, early of Derby, and Sir Edward Courtenay, earl of Devonſhire. The alarming diſtemper having entirely ceaſed, the crown was placed on Henry's head by cardinal Bouchier, archbiſhop of Canterbury; and to augment the ſplendor of this ceremony, he inſtituted a body guard, conſiſting of fifty archers, called yeomen, under the command of a captain, to be always in attendance on his perſon. But leſt the people ſhould conſtrue this a mark of jealouſy, which ſeemed to intimate a diffidence of his ſubjects, he declared the inſtitution perpetual.

Eight days after the coronation, the parliament met on the ſeventh of November at Weſtminſter, and the king found no difficulty in obtaining an act of ſettlement agreeable to himſelf. Yet he ſeemed to have entertained ſome doubt, on what claim it was beſt for him to found his pretenſions. In his firſt ſpeech, he mentioned his juſt title by hereditary right; but leſt that ſhould be inſufficient, he added his claim by the judgment of God, who had enabled him to triumph over his enemies; but as this might look like aſſuming a right by conqueſt, he enſured to the people the enjoyment of their former properties and poſſeſſions. The parliament having enacted, "that the inheritance of the crown ſhould reſt, remain, and abide in him, and the heirs of his body," they next reverſed the ſentence of attainder that had been denounced againſt Henry and his adherents, and paſſed the ſame againſt the late king, under the name of Richard, and his principal partizans. Theſe confiſcations produced ſuch large ſums, as to obviate the neceſſity of any application to this parliament for granting a ſubſidy. Henry was not perfectly ſatisfied with the ſanction of his title by parliament; for in the following year he applied to papal authority for a confirmation of it; and as the court of Rome readily laid hold of every opportunity of extending its influence, Innocent VIII. made no ſcruple of granting a bull, in which all Henry's titles by ſucceſſion, marriage, conqueſt, and the choice of parliament, are enumerated: excommunication was pronounced alſo againſt all who ſhould oppoſe his preſent poſſeſſion, or his heirs in their future ſucceſſion to the crown. Having thus gratified his ambition and avarice, the king publiſhed a free pardon to all thoſe who had taken up arms, on condition of their ſubmitting to his government within a limited time; in conſequence of which great numbers quitted their ſanctuaries, and took the oaths of allegiance. This act of clemency tended greatly to quiet the minds of the people, and to introduce peace and harmony among all ranks and orders of men. On the prorogation of parliament, John Morton and Richard Fox were admitted members of the privy-council; the former of whom ſucceeded cardinal Bouchier in the ſee of Canterbury; the latter was made keeper of the privy-ſeal; and theſe prelates, in conjunction with Uſewick, the king's chaplain, maintained a very powerful influence at the helm of ſtate. He likewiſe beſtowed favours and honours on ſome of his particular friends. Edward Stafford, the duke of Buckingham's eldeſt ſon, was reſtored both to the honours of his family, and to his fortune. This proceeded from Henry's gratitude to the memory of Buckingham, who had firſt formed the plan of his advancement, and had made way for that great event by his own ruin. Chandos of Brittany was made earl of Bath; Sir Robert Willoughby, lord Broke; and Sir Giles Daubeny, lord Daubeny.

A. D. 1486. Henry now found it neceſſary to fulfil his promiſe, by marrying the princeſs Elizabeth. His nuptials were celebrated at London with ſuch demonſtration of joy as diſguſted him, who conſidered thoſe expreſſions of popular ſatisfaction as ſo many marks of affection to the houſe of York. The ſuſpicions which aroſe on this occaſion, made him conceive the utmoſt averſion to the queen, and diſturbed his tranquillity during his whole reign. His conſort, though virtuous, amiable, and perfectly obſequious, was conſtantly treated by him with the utmoſt coldneſs, and ſeldom met with a proper return of tenderneſs, or even of complaiſance; the malignant ideas of faction, in his ſullen mind, prevailing over every ſentiment of conjugal affection. Indeed, he always diſcovered a ſupercilious diſpoſition towards the friends of the houſe of York, many of whom felt the dire effects of his invincible antipathy. After the ceremony of his nuptials, the king made a progreſs into the northern counties, where Richard had many firm adherents, in order to remove their prejudices by his preſence and converſation. He paſſed his Eaſter at Lincoln; and during his reſidence in that place, information was ſent him, that viſcount Lovel, with Sir Humphry Stafford, and his brother Thomas, had privately left their ſanctuary at Colcheſter; but regardleſs of this intelligence, he proceeded to York, at which place he was informed, that the Staffords were approaching to inveſt the city of Worceſter, and that Lovel, at the head of three or four thouſand men, was advancing to ſurprize him in York. This information alarmed, but did not intimidate Henry, who having iſſued orders for levying troops in the county of York, ſuch was the ſucceſs of his officers, that in a ſhort time they raiſed a body of three thouſand men, the command of whom was conferred on the duke of Bedford. This nobleman was expreſsly commanded, not to approach too near the enemy; but to try every lenient method, in order to diſperſe them; particularly, to publiſh a pardon in the king's name, to all who ſhould lay down their arms and ſubmit. This expedient ſucceeded to Henry's wiſh, having had a greater effect on the commander, than on his followers; for Lovel, through fear of being deſerted by his troops, retired alone into Lancaſhire, where he lay ſome time concealed; and then croſſing the ſea, repaired to the court of the ducheſs of Burgundy. The two Staffords, when informed of this miſcarriage, raiſed the ſiege of Worceſter, and took ſanctuary in the church of Colnham; but it appearing that the privileges of that place did not extend to treaſonable offences, they were taken thence by force. Humphry was ſoon after executed at Tyburn, but the younger brother obtained a pardon, in conſideration of his youth, and his plea of having been miſled by his brother. The ſuppreſſion of this rebellion was followed by the birth of a prince, who was named Arthur, in memory of the renowned Britiſh hero, from whom the king affected to derive his origin. The nation cheriſhed ſome hopes, that this event would kindle the king's lukewarm affections into a glow of conjugal love; but when they perceived he was inflexibly obdurate; that he delayed the coronation of his queen; diſcovered an inveterate hatred on all occaſions to the houſe of York; and that his temper was moroſe and reſerved, they began to conceive an averſion to him. His enemies now took occaſion to inſinuate that they had made a bad exchange; they even hinted the king's intention of murdering the earl of Warwick, ſon to the duke of Clarence, whom he had committed to the Tower; and a report was propagated among the people, that Edward, duke of York, youngeſt ſon to Edward IV. had eluded his uncle's cruelty, by making his eſcape from the Tower. The univerſal joy expreſſed by the people at this report, induced Richard Simon, a prieſt of Oxford, to diſturb Henry's government, by raiſing a pretender to his crown; for which purpoſe he made choice of a pupil of his, one Lambert Simnel, the illegitimate ſon of a mechanic, a youth endowed with extraordinary abilities and perſonal accompliſhments. The ſeditious prieſt had firſt inſtructed his pupil to perſonate the duke of York; but another report prevailing about that time, that the earl of Warwick had found means to eſcape from the Tower, and obſerving that this report was alſo attended with equal ſatisfaction, he changed his plan, and made Simnel perſonate that unfortunate prince. Though nature had formed him for the part he was to act, yet he was thought to be better informed of ſuch circumſtances as related to the royal family, and particularly of the earl of Warwick's adventures, than he could have learned from Simon; whence it was conjectured, that the plan of this conſpiracy was laid by perſons of a higher rank, and that he had received proper inſtructions from the partizans of the houſe of York. It was even ſuſpected, that the queen dowager, diſcontented with the king, and offended at the ſtate of abſolute inſignificance to which ſhe was reduced, favoured this ridiculous enterprize. Henry himſelf ſeems to have been of this opinion; for he ſoon after cauſed the queen dowager to be cloſely confined in the monaſtery of Bermondeſey, and ſeized all her lands and revenues; nor did ſhe ever regain her liberty, but ended her life in poverty, ſolitude, and confinement. When Simon thought his pupil perfect in the part he was to act, he ſent him to Ireland, where the deception was not ſo likely to be diſcovered, and where the houſe of York had a number of friends among the people, Clarence having been their governor. Simnel on his arrival in Ireland addreſſed himſelf to the earl of Kildare. That credulous nobleman received him as a true Plantagenet. The populace followed his example. Simnel was received with acclamations of joy, and crowned in Dublin, with a diadem taken from a ſtatue of the virgin, under the title of Edward VI. In order to ſtifle this revolt in its infancy, Henry ordered Warwick to be taken from the Tower, and led in proceſſion through the principal ſtreets of London. This expedient had its proper effect in England; but in Ireland it was thought a ſtate trick, and the king was reproached with having exhibited a counterfeit Warwick.

In the mean time John, earl of Lincoln, ſon of John de la Pole, openly eſpouſed Simnel's cauſe. This nobleman, who poſſeſſed capacity and courage, whom his uncle Richard had declared preſumptive heir to the crown, openly eſpouſed his cauſe, and embarked for Flanders, in order to concert with his aunt Margaret, ducheſs dowager of Burgundy, proper meaſures to enſure the ſucceſs of this enterprize. That princeſs by her virtuous conduct had acquired great authority among the Flemings, and lived with much dignity upon the ample dowry ſhe inherited from her late huſband, Charles the bold. Incenſed at Henry's behaviour to her neice, and the inveteracy he had diſcovered to the partizans of the houſe of York, ſhe readily engaged in the ſcheme of ſupporting Simnel, and after conſulting with Lincoln and Lovel, hired a body of two thouſand German veterans, commanded by Martin Schwart, and ſent them to join Simnel in Ireland.

A. D. 1487. Elated with this unexpected reinforcement, the Iriſh determined to fix the ſeat of war in England, where they flattered themſelves with being joined by all who favoured the houſe of York. Henry, informed of their intentions, was employed in making preparations, to defend his throne againſt the impending ſtorm; and having levied troops in different parts of the kingdom, he put them under the command of the duke of Bedford, and the earl of Oxford. The marquis of Dorſet he confined in the Tower, from a ſuſpicion that he would reſent the injuries ſuffered by the queen dowager, his mother, and to pleaſe the people, by an appearance of devotion, he made a pilgrimage to the ſhrine of our lady Walſingham, who was famous for working miracles. The inſurgents now landed near Foudrey, in Lancaſhire, directing their march towards York; but finding themſelves diſappointed in the hopes they had formed, of being joined by multitudes of the Engliſh, it was determined to give Henry battle the firſt opportunity. With this view, the earl of Lincoln marched towards Newark, and encamped with his army, which conſiſted of only eight thouſand men, on a riſing ground, at Stoke, a village near Newark. In the mean time Henry with twelve thouſand men had reached Nottingham, with the reſolution of engaging the rebels without delay. Shrewſbury ſuſpecting Lincoln's deſign upon Newark, poſted himſelf between the enemy and that town. The next day, being the ſixth of June, Henry drew up his army in order of battle, upon the plain, which being very narrow, he could not extend his front, and was therefore obliged to form his troops into three lines. The inſurgents marched down in good order, and attacked the royaliſts with great intrepidity, hoping that ſhould they be able to break the king's firſt line, it would fall back on the other two, whereby his whole army would be thrown into confuſion. The battle was begun with great fury, and maintained for three hours with equal valour on both ſides. The Iriſh deſtitute of defenſive armour, were terribly galled by the arrows of their aſſailants; but the Engliſh troops under the earl of Lincoln, and the Germans under Schwart, made ſo noble a reſiſtance, that the greater part of Henry's vanguard was cut to pieces. In this deſperate conteſt, Martin Schwart was ſlain. The earls of Lincoln and Kildare met with the ſame fate; but at length, after a bloody conflict, their army was entirely routed, with the loſs of four thouſand men, who fell in the field of battle. Simnel, and his tutor Simon, were taken priſoners; the latter being a prieſt was committed to cloſe confinement, and never heard of after; but the former, as too contemptible to excite any apprehenſions of danger in Henry, was made a ſcullion in his kitchen, from whence he was afterwards promoted to the place of falconer. The lord Lovel was no more heard of; but Sir Thomas Broughton eſcaped to his own eſtate, where he lived and died in obſcurity. Henry, immediately after the battle, marched to Lincoln, and from thence to York, puniſhing in his progreſs with rigour all thoſe who had encouraged the rebels. To obviate any popular complaints that might ariſe from this ſevere treatment, the king reſolved to gratify his people in a matter which for ſome time they had paſſionately deſired. Though near two years had elapſed ſince the queen's marriage, ſhe had not yet been crowned. Henry now cauſed the ceremony of her coronation to be performed on the twenty-fifth of November, with the uſual formalities; and upon this occaſion, reſtored to liberty the marquis of Dorſet, who had been able to clear himſelf of all ſuſpicions entertained againſt him.

A. D. 1488. All domeſtic diſturbances having at this period ceaſed, Henry turned his thoughts to the affairs of Europe; which renders it neceſſary to explain the ſtate of the neighbouring kingdoms, in order to give a juſt idea of his tranſactions with his foreign neighbours. The throne of Scotland was at this time filled by James III. who had a narrow genius, with little induſtry; and though it was neceſſary for him to commit the reins of government to his miniſters, he was never able in the choice of them to pleaſe either himſelf or his people. Henry knowing if he attempted to conquer that kingdom, he ſhould never be able to retain the Scots in obedience without a regular military force, which was then unknown in England, choſe rather to renew a treaty with Scotland, and to this end ſent an embaſſy to James. But as the Scots never deſired a durable peace, they would only agree to a ſeven years truce, which was concluded. Spain was now become formidable by the union of Caſtile and Arragon, in the perſons of Ferdinand and Iſabella. They had undertaken the conqueſt of Grenada from the Moors, and nearly brought it to a concluſion; and the king being no longer awed by domeſtic enemies, began to enter into all the tranſactions of Europe, and to be diſtinguiſhed in every war and negociation. France had greatly increaſed in power and extent, having united to the crown Normandy, Dauphiny, Champaigne, Anjou, Burgundy, Provence, and Guienne. The nobles of Brittany had revolted againſt their late duke, Francis II. on account of his being governed by a favourite of very mean extraction, who oppreſſed the people; and the king of France conſidered this rebellion as a favourable incident for annexing that duchy to his crown, eſpecially as he was invited by the ſtates, to aſſiſt them againſt the intrigues of the duke of Orleans; who being diſguſted with the lady of Beaujeu, ſiſter of Charles VIII. had retired into Brittany, and greatly inflamed the diſcontented nobility. Charles therefore ſent an army into that duchy, under pretence of delivering the nobles from oppreſſion, but in reality to reduce that province. It was the intereſt of Charles to perſuade the king of England, that no hoſtile deſigns were entertained againſt Brittany, and ambaſſadors were ſent to England for that purpoſe; yet the Engliſh monarch clearly penetrated into the views of France; but either thinking that the attempt would prove abortive, or unwilling to incur the expences of a foreign war, he contented himſelf with obſerving a neutrality. The French met with very little oppoſition in their progreſs, and the nobles began to be alarmed for their ſafety. They were now convinced, that inſtead of aſſiſting them againſt the ambitious deſigns of the duke of Orleans, the very power they had called in for the preſervation of their liberty, was labouring to render them ſlaves. They therefore retired from the French forces, collected an army of ſixty thouſand men, and obliged the French to raiſe the ſiege of Nantz. Fluſhed with this ſucceſs, they raſhly engaged the French army at St. Aubin, and were totally defeated. The duke of Orleans himſelf fell into the hands of the victors, and the whole force of Brittany was diſſipated. Soon after this misfortune, Francis paid the debt of nature, and his death expoſed his dominions to a total revolution. The duke left an only daughter to ſucceed him; and it ſeemed evident the marriage of that princeſs would decide the fate of Brittany. But ſhe was in no condition to oppoſe the arms of France; for notwithſtanding the duke of Orleans was now a priſoner, and conſequently the pretence for invading Brittany no longer exiſted, the invaders continued their operations with the ſame avidity. Henry now thought proper to act as auxiliary to the princeſs Anne; but ſent over only ſix thouſand men; a force incapable of effecting any thing deciſive againſt the numerous armies of France. They acted entirely upon the defenſive; and inſtead of relieving, plunged the duchy into ſtill greater diſtreſs.

A. D. 1490. Yet that diſtreſs was not productive of unanimity among the Britons. The object of diſſention was the marriage of their ducheſs. At laſt the party of Maximilian prevailed; and the marriage of the ducheſs with that prince was celebrated by proxy, and Anne immediately aſſumed the title of queen of the Romans. But Maximilian was in no condition to give aſſiſtance to his diſtreſſed conſort; he was deſtitute both of troops and money, and embarraſſed by continual revolts of the Flemings. The court of France began now to perceive their error. It was found that it would be very difficult, perhaps impoſſible, to reduce the duchy of Brittany by arms, and that negociation only could annex it firmly to the French crown. Charles, the young king of France, had formerly been affianced to the daughter of Maximilian; and that princeſs, though too young to conſummate her marriage, had been ſent to the court of France to be educated, and now actually bore the title of queen. But notwithſtanding theſe engagements, it was perceived that it would be more advantageous for Charles to marry the ducheſs of Brittany, by which that rich province would be for ever annexed to the crown of France. The whole art of perſuaſion was therefore employed by the court of France, to convince the Britons, that they could never enjoy a happy tranquillity, but by being united to the French monarchy. The Britons were influenced by their ſuggeſtions; but the young ducheſs herſelf had imbibed the ſtrongeſt prejudices againſt Charles, whom ſhe conſidered as the author of all the misfortunes of her family: yet notwithſtanding her repugnance, ſhe conſented to ſacrifice both her engagements and prejudices, to the intereſt of the people; and her marriage

A. D. 1491. was celebrated at Langey in Tourane. The princeſs was then conducted to St. Dennis, where ſhe was crowned, and thence made a public entry into Paris. The daughter of Maximilian was ſent back to her father and the duchy of Brittany annexed to the crown of France; an acquiſition of the utmoſt importance to that kingdom. Maximilian tranſported with rage, threatened the moſt dreadful vengeance againſt Charles. Henry had alſo reaſon to reproach himſelf for his inaction: he ought to have ſupported the Britons with a force proportional to the importance of the union of Brittany with France. His chagrin ſtimulated him the more to revenge, as he piqued himſelf upon the depth of his policy. A war with France was always flattering and agreeable to the Engliſh, and Henry immediately ſummoned a parliament to obtain ſupplies. In this ſpeech, which he pronounced himſelf, after mentioning the affairs of Brittany, he told them, that Charles, elated with his ſucceſs, had even ſhewn a contempt of England, and refuſed to pay the tribute which Lewis XI. had ſtipulated to Edward IV. That ſo warlike a nation as the Engliſh ought to reſent this indignity: that for his part he was reſolved to lay claim to the crown of France itſelf; and by force of arms to maintain ſo juſt a title, tranſmitted to him by his anceſtors: that Creſſy, Poictiers, and Agincourt, were ſufficient to ſhew their ſuperiority over the enemy, and that he did not deſpair of adding new names to the glorious catalogue: that a king of France had been priſoner in London, and a king of England crowned at Paris: events that ſhould animate them to emulate the glory of their forefathers: that the domeſtic diſſentions of this kingdom had been the ſole cauſe of its loſing foreign dominions, and its preſent internal union would be the effectual means of recovering them: that if they had ſuch honour, and ſuch an acquiſition in view, brave men ought not to repine at advancing a little treaſure; and he hoped, by an invaſion of ſo opulent a kingdom, to increaſe rather than diminiſh the wealth of the nation. Theſe were oſtentatious boaſtings; but people of penetration, from Henry's known perſonal character, and the ſtate of political affairs, concluded that he did not intend to carry on the war with vigour. France was not in the ſame ſituation, as when former kings of England made ſucceſsful inroads into that country. The great fiefs were united to the crown; the nation had many able captains and veteran ſoldiers, and ſeemed rather in a condition to threaten her neighbours, than to afford them hopes of acquiring any conſiderable advantages againſt them. Maximilian wanted the revenue and military power neceſſary to ſupport his pompous title; and Ferdinand, while he made a ſhew of war, was actually negociating for peace. England herſelf was not free from domeſtic diſcontents; and in Scotland James III. Henry's friend and ally, having been murdered by his rebellious ſubjects, was ſucceeded by James IV. who was devoted to the intereſt of France. But the Engliſh parliament, inſtead of being influenced by theſe conſiderations, were inflamed with a deſire of conqueſt, and of enriching themſelves with ſpoils: they therefore granted the king two fifteenths; and the better to enable the nobility to attend him in this expedition, paſſed an act, by which they were empowered to ſell their eſtates, without paying any fines for alienation.

The love of military glory having A. D. 1492. now animated the Engliſh, they prepared with the greateſt alacrity to follow their prince; and many of the nobility ſold their eſtates, that they might appear in the field with the greater ſplendor, or borrowed large ſums, that they might head their followers in a manner becoming their rank. Having obtained ſupplies, and levied an army conſiſting of twenty-five thouſand foot, and ſixteen thouſand horſe, Henry embarked, and landed at Calais on the ſixth of October. The lateneſs of the ſeaſon being conſidered as an indication, that this campaign would ſoon be terminated, the king obſerved, "It is of little conſequence at what ſeaſon the invaſion is begun, as one ſummer will not be ſufficient for the reduction of France;" and yet perhaps, at that very time, he had begun a negociation for peace: for before the expiration of the year a peace was concluded; by the articles of which it was agreed, that the king of France ſhould diſcharge the debt contracted by his queen for the defence of Brittany, which was ſet down at ſeven hundred and forty thouſand crowns; and ſhould alſo pay the arrears of the penſion granted to Edward IV. by an annual tribute of twenty-five thouſand crowns, to Henry and his heirs. Thus lord Bacon obſerves, peace and war equally contributed to fill the coffers of Henry; the former giving him the money of his people, and the latter that of his enemies. The above mentioned treaty excited much clamour among Henry's ſubjects, who loudly complained, that he had fleeced his people for the maintenance of the war, which he had undertaken merely to enrich himſelf. This year the queen was delivered of a ſecond ſon, called Henry, who ſucceeded to the crown of England.

A. D. 1493. A new pretender was raiſed up on the continent by the ducheſs of Burgundy, more dangerous than Simnel, whom ſhe reported to be her nephew, Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, ſecond ſon to Edward IV. ſuppoſed to have eſcaped from the Tower, after the death of his elder brother. This impoſtor was a youth of engaging addreſs, and is ſaid to have been the ſon of one Warbeck a Jew, of Tournay, who had been converted to Chriſtianity, and whoſe buſineſs having called him to London in the reign of Edward IV. his wife was there delivered of a ſon. He was called Perkin, or Peter; and Edward, who was ſuſpected of having criminal converſation with Warbeck's wife, was his godfather. The comelineſs of his mein, and the verſality of his genius, rendered him extremely well adapted to the part he was to act. After having reſided ſome years in England, he was conveyed to Flanders, where he frequented the company of the Engliſh to retain his native tongue; and, as he grew up, exhibited ſuch mental and perſonal accompliſhments, as attracted the notice of the ducheſs of Burgundy, who reſolved to impoſe him on the Engliſh as a better claimant to the crown than Henry. With this view ſhe gave him private inſtructions, till he was perfectly acquainted with the character he was to aſſume. He was fully tutored in the particulars relative to the duke of York, whom he was to perſonate, together with the moſt minute tranſactions of Edward's court, which a child of eleven years old might be ſuppoſed to underſtand, and remember. He likewiſe received a circumſtantial detail of all the occurrences during his ſuppoſed reſidence in the ſanctuary, the manner of his brother's death, and his own eſcape. When he was perfectly verſed in theſe preparatory lectures, the ducheſs reſolved he ſhould avow his right to the crown of England; but in the mean time, to diſguiſe her deſign, ſhe ſent him to Portugal with lady Brompton, where he continued until Henry declared war againſt France; then ſhe directed him to embark for Ireland, and make his appearance in that country, which was firmly attached to the houſe of York. Purſuant to her inſtructions, he landed at Cork, and perſonated Richard Plantagenet, ſecond ſon to Edward IV. Being immediately joined by a ſtrong party, he wrote to the earls of Deſmond and Kildare, exhorting them to vindicate his claim, and ſtrengthen his intereſt by the addition of their vaſſals and dependents. Charles VIII. imagined that this pretender might be of advantage to him during his war with Henry, and Perkin was accordingly invited to the court of France. He was honourably received at Paris, acknowledged agreeable to his pretenſions, and accommodated ſuitable to the dignity of the character he ſuſtained, till the concluſion of the late peace, when Henry, without effect, applied to Charles for the ſurrender of this impoſtor. The French king, though he refuſed to violate the laws of hoſpitality, promiſed he ſhould have no ſuccours, and diſmiſſed him from his court.

Thus deprived of all hopes from that quarter, he retired to Flanders, and artfully addreſſed himſelf as a ſtranger to the ducheſs dowager. Margaret affected to doubt of the reality of his claim, and examined him in public touching that point, when he replied ſo pertinently, and deported himſelf with ſuch dignity, that ſhe and all the audience ſeemed convinced of his veracity. The ducheſs upon this acknowledged his relationſhip, diſtinguiſhed him by the title of the white roſe of England, appointed him a guard de corps, and ſhewed him every mark of honour due to the heir of a crowned head. When theſe tranſactions were divulged in England, the people ſeemed diſpoſed to favour the plot, partly through averſion to the king; and from an aſſurance, that this pretender was identically what he aſſumed. Sir William Stanley, chamberlain of the houſhold, the lord Fitzwalter, Sir Simon Montford, with ſome others, entered into a confederacy, to promote the claim of this youth, and ſent over emiſſaries to learn the particulars of the tranſactions at the Burgundian court. They had ſeveral interviews with the ducheſs and Perkin; after which they wrote to their employers, aſſuring them of their full conviction of the veracity of his aſſertions. Henry ſaw his danger, and that the utmoſt prudence was neceſſary to divert the force of the impending ſtorm. Could the king have aſcertained the death of the real duke of York, the conſpiracy muſt have fallen immediately to the ground; but of the five perſons who had been employed in the baſe aſſaſſination, two only remained alive; ſo that their teſtimony, though they agreed in the ſame ſtory, was not thought ſufficient to put the fact beyond all doubt and controverſy. However, he found a clue, by means of his ſpies, which guided him through the labyrinth of this myſtery. He diſcovered the pedigree and adventures of Perkin, and traced the whole conſpiracy from its firſt formation. The ſtory was immediately publiſhed for the ſatisfaction of the nation. He even gained over Clifford, one of the chief perſons in the court of the pretended prince to diſcover the ſecrets of his party. Henry had no ſooner procured neceſſary intelligence, together with the names of the principal conſpirators in England, than they were arreſted, John Ratcliffe, lord Fitzwalter, Sir Simon Montford, Sir Thomas Thwaites, William Daubeny, Robert Ratcliffe, Thomas Creſſenor, and Thomas Aſhwood, whom he cauſed to be apprehended at the ſame time, were convicted of holding treaſonable correſpondence with Perkin, and condemned to ſuffer death as traitors. The lord Fitzwalter was conveyed to Calais, where he might have obtained his pardon, had not his impatience of confinement prompted him to attempt his eſcape; and, on diſcovery, he ſuffered the rigour of the law, but the reſt obtained a free pardon.

A. D. 1494. Having thus ſuppreſſed the conſpiracy in England, Henry turned his attention to the concerns of Ireland, where he was informed the pretender had many powerful friends. He appointed his ſecond ſon, Henry, an infant of two years of age, viceroy of that kingdom, and Sir Edward Poynings, his deputy, with a very extenſive power over the civil, as well as military adminiſtration.

At his arrival in Ireland, he made diligent enquiry about thoſe whoſe loyalty was in the leaſt ſuſpected, and in a particular manner attacked the earls of Deſmond and Kildare, who had carried on an epiſtolary correſpondence with the pretender. The firſt ſtood on the defenſive, and eluded the power of the deputy, but the latter was ſent priſoner to England, whence he was ſoon diſmiſſed to his own country, with marks of eſteem. Henry wiſely preferring at ſuch a time, acts of clemency and indulgence, to thoſe of rigour and ſeverity. He then ſent a meſſenger to Ireland, with a formal amneſty in favour of the earl of Deſmond, and all the rebels in that kingdom; hoping by that means to quench the embers of rebellion, in a country, where the houſe of York had ſo many zealous adherents. During his reſidence in Ireland, he convened a parliament which is famous on record for the acts it paſſed in favour of England. But the prevalence of Henry's darling paſſion, ſubdued that honour, which his clemency had acquired; though he poſſeſſed more perſonal property than any prince that had ever ſat on the throne of England, his redundance ſerved but to ſtimulate his covetous deſires. To gratify his inordinate avarice, he had recourſe to the penal laws. The firſt perſon of eminence who was aggrieved in this manner, was Sir William Capel, alderman of London, who was condemned in the ſum of two thouſand ſeven hundred pounds, ſixteen hundred of which he paid by way of compoſition; but his moſt flagrant act of extortion and ingratitude, was his proſecution of the lord chamberlain Stanley, to whom he in a great meaſure owed his crown and dignity. Sir Robert Clifford, who was juſt arrived in England, repaired privately to Henry in the Tower, where he ſtill kept his court. Being ſummoned to appear before the council, he fell at the king's feet, and after imploring and receiving full aſſurance of pardon, declared, that Sir William Stanley was one of the confederates in the cauſe of the pretender. The king affected aſtoniſhment at this declaration, charging the informer to be very cautious of his allegations on pain of death, if the object of his charge ſhould be found innocent. Clifford perſiſted, and the chamberlain was put under an arreſt; and on examination owned to the charge, though it amounted to no more than a declaration, that he would never bear arms againſt Perkin, were he certain that he was the ſon of Edward IV. from this frank confeſſion, we may conjecture, that he confided in the ſervices he had done the king, and the influence of his brother, the earl of Derby, who had married Henry's mother. But his wealth proved his deſtruction, and all the favour he could obtain, was the reſpite of a few days, that he might prepare himſelf for death, which he did not ſuffer till the beginning of the following year, when he was ſucceeded in his office by lord Daubeny, a nobleman of great abilities. The king found in Stanley's caſtle of Holt, forty thouſand marks in money and plate, beſides jewels, furniture, cattle and effects to an immenſe value, and an eſtate of three thouſand pounds a year. Theſe inſtances of avarice and ingratitude incurred the general deteſtation of the people, who vented their ſpleen in ſevere libels and ſatires againſt the judges, the council, and the king himſelf; who was ſo incenſed, that he ordered five obſcure perſons, detected in diſperſing the papers, to be executed for treaſon.

A. D. 1495. By this conduct of Henry, the ſpirit of rebellion was rouſed, and the pretender's party began to put themſelves in motion. Theſe alarms determined Henry to make a progreſs into Lancaſhire, under pretence of paying a viſit to his mother, and his father-in-law, the earl of Derby, to ſatisfy them concerning the equity of the ſentence, paſſed upon their brother, Sir William Stanley. During Henry's reſidence in the north, Perkin determined to try his fortune in England. Accordingly, having been ſupplied with ſome troops and veſſels by the ducheſs of Burgundy, he embarked in July, and arrived on the coaſt of Kent, landed ſome of his people, to ſound the inclinations of the inhabitants. Theſe endeavoured to inveigle the Kentiſh men, by aſſuring them there was a ſtrong armament fitted out in Flanders, for ſupporting the claim of the duke of York; but the Engliſh, inſtead of acquieſcing with their deſire, conſulted the gentlemen of the county, who adviſed them to allure the pretender on ſhore, by pompous aſſurances, and then ſecure his perſon; but he was diſſuaded by his ſecretary from venturing his perſon on ſhore, and the Engliſh, finding that he ſuſpected their deſign, put to the ſword all that he had ſent on ſhore, except an hundred and fifty, who were carried priſoners to London, and afterwards executed on gibbets along the coaſt, by the king's orders; and Perkin, ſeeing the fate of his people retired to Flanders.

Henry ſoon after received advice, that the pretender had landed in Ireland, where he had large expectations from the friends of the houſe of York, by whom he had heretofore been greatly careſſed. But by this time the king had taken every meaſure, preventive of commotions in that kingdom; ſo that his deſigns were entirely fruſtrated. Being deprived therefore of all hopes of ſucceſs in Ireland, he repaired to Edinburgh, and demanded audience of James, in quality of duke of York. He was accordingly admitted, and by his ſkill and addreſs, wrought on that weak prince, that he not only received him with great hoſpitality, but gave him in marriage, his own kinſwoman Catharine Gordon, a lady eminent for her accompliſhments, both mental and perſonal.

A. D. 1496. James now undertook to eſpouſe the claim of Perkin to the Engliſh crown, and accordingly aſſembled a numerous army, which he led in perſon to Northumberland, accompanied by the pretender. There a manifeſto was publiſhed, inveighing againſt Henry as an uſurper, tyrant, and murderer, and promiſing honour and profits, to thoſe who ſhould join their lawful prince, and aſſiſt him in the depoſition of a robber, who had deprived him of his crown. This manifeſto had very little effect on the Engliſh, who were ſo intimidated by the ſucceſs and rigour of the reigning king, that they refuſed to hazard their lives and fortunes in behalf of a ſtranger, though they believed him to be the ſon of Edward. James, deſpairing of aſſiſtance from the Engliſh, and willing to indemnify himſelf for the expences of the expedition, ravaged the country with fire and ſword.

A. D. 1497. Henry ſummoned a parliament to meet in January, from whom he demanded a ſubſidy for the maintenance of the Scottiſh war, though he knew a peace might be eaſily effected. As he was aſſured of the ſucceſs of his negociation with Scotland, he determined to levy the ſubſidy granted with the utmoſt expedition, that he might amaſs the money before the concluſion of the peace. His collectors however met with a conſiderable oppoſition in the county of Cornwall, where the inhabitants loudly complained of their ſubjection to ſo grievous an impoſition. This diſcontent was increaſed by the inſinuations of one Michael Joſeph, a factious blackſmith at Bodmin, and Thomas Flammock, a turbulent lawyer, who aſſured the people, that the fiefs depending on the crown, were the funds aſſigned for the maintenance of ſuch wars; and that the king ought to apply them in caſe of an invaſion from Scotland, and not pillage his ſubjects under the ſanction of parliament. The populace being inflamed by this declaration, the lawyer and blackſmith offered to conduct them, till they ſhould be headed by ſome perſon of quality: and they immediately armed themſelves with ſuch weapons as they could procure. Under the lead of theſe two incendiaries, they marched through the counties of Devon and Somerſet, their numbers continually increaſing in their rout. At Taunton they murdered a collector, who had been very rigorous in the execution of his office; at Wells they were joined by the lord Audley, an ambitious nobleman, who being choſen their leader, conducted them through Saliſbury and Wincheſter, without ſuffering them to do the leaſt injury to the inhabitants. But inſtead of proceeding directly to London, according to their original deſign, they turned off towards Kent, hoping to be joined by a conſiderable party in that country, the inhabitants of which had been eminent for their zeal and for the liberty of the ſubject. But the noblemen and freeholders had taken ſuch wiſe precautions, that they could not obtain the addition of a ſingle man; which circumſtance diſcouraged a great number of the inſurgents, who returned to their own habitations. Thoſe who continued their march, boaſted, that they would either give the king battle, or make themſelves maſters of the metropolis, and accordingly proceeded to Blackheath, where they encamped between Eltham and Greenwich. Henry, who had already equipped an armament for the expulſion of any Scottiſh invaders, determined, on advice of this inſurrection, to keep the greater part of the troops in the ſouthern parts of the kingdom, ſending the earl of Surry with a detachment to guard the northern frontiers. As the rebels committed no outrages in their rout, he remained inactive, in order to ſound the principles of thoſe counties through which they paſſed, by the numbers which ſhould join them, hoping at the ſame time, that fatigued with the length of their march they would diſperſe. The citizens of London were terrified at their approach, till they beheld the king vigorouſly exerting himſelf in their defence, and even placing himſelf between them and the rebels; for he no ſooner received advice of their encampment on Blackheath, than he divided his army into three bodies; one of which, commanded by the earl of Oxford, marched round the hill, in order to cut off their retreat, and, if neceſſary, attack them in the rear. The ſecond, under the command of lord Daubeny, was deſigned to charge them in the front; and Henry himſelf, with the third diviſion, encamped in St. George's Fields, that he might be at hand to reinforce the others occaſionally, or in caſe of misfortune throw himſelf into London. Theſe precautions being taken, he declared his intention of engaging the rebels on Monday, though his real deſign was to give them battle on Saturday. This feint obtained the deſired ſucceſs. In the evening of the twenty ſecond of June, the lord Daubeny marched towards them in order of battle. Having repulſed an advanced guard on Deptford-bridge, he aſcended the hill, and found them on the heath drawing up their forces; but in apparent diſorder, not thinking of coming to action before Monday. Yet, notwithſtanding theſe diſadvantageous circumſtances, they fought with great intrepidity, and killed above three hundred of the royaliſts with their arrows. The lord Daubeny advanced to the charge with ſuch ardour of precipitation, that he was taken priſoner in the beginning of the action, but immediately reſcued by the valour of his men, who bore down on the rebels with ſuch impetuoſity that they were routed with great ſlaughter; and on their attempt of flight, found themſelves intercepted by Oxford's diviſion. The lord Audley, Flammock, and the blackſmith were taken, two thouſand were ſlain in the field, and the remainder, amounting to about fourteen thouſand, ſubmitted to the king's mercy. Audley was beheaded on Tower hill; Flammock and the blackſmith executed at Tyburn, and the reſt obtained his majeſty's pardon. James of Scotland availing himſelf of this inſurrection, aſſembled his army and inveſted the caſtle of Norham; but the earl of Surry marching to its relief, he retreated, and was purſued to his own country by the earl, who reduced the caſtle of Ayton, ſituated between Berwick and Edinburgh. But at the deſire of both ſovereigns conferences were ſoon after opened at Ayton, under the mediation of Don Pedro d'Ayala, the Spaniſh ambaſſador. The principal obſtacle to a treaty, was the objection of James to Henry's demand of delivering up Perkin; but it was, however, at length agreed, that James ſhould honourably diſmiſs the pretended duke of York, and afterwards proceed with the negociations as if he had never been in Scotland. In conſequence of this agreement, James told Warbeck, that he had ſupported his claim to the utmoſt of his power; that he had twice entered England at the head of an army; but as the Engliſh had refuſed to eſpouſe his cauſe, he could not imagine the Scots would, without their concurrence, be able to eſtabliſh him on the throne of that kingdom. He therefore exhorted him to concert ſome more probable plan, and chuſe ſome other country for his reſidence; at the ſame time aſſuring him, that he ſhould be honourably accommodated with ſhips and money, on his departure for another place. Perkin bore his misfortunes with magnanimity, gratefully acknowledged the favour and protection of James, and ſolicited conveyance for himſelf and his wife into Ireland. His requeſt was readily granted, and he arrived at Cork, where he ſtill found friends and adherents. On his departure from Scotland, the ambaſſadors at Ayton ſigned a truce for ſeven years; importing, that the two kings ſhould not make war on each other, by themſelves, their ſubjects, or any other perſon whatever; that certain points, as yet undecided, ſhould be referred to the arbitration of Ferdinand and Iſabella of Spain; and that the truce ſhould be prolonged till one year after the demiſe of that party who ſhould die firſt. Though the marriage between James and the king's daughter was omitted in the treaty, it afterwards took place, and produced an union between the two crowns.

A.D. 1498.

The Corniſh rebels, after their repulſe and return to their own county, proclaimed that the king's clemency was not the effect of principle, but apprehenſion of his own ſubjects, the greater part of whom entertained the ſame ſentiments with themſelves. This declaration prevailed on their friends and neighbours to join them in making another attempt againſt the government. Some of the moſt zealous amongſt them underſtanding that Perkin was in Ireland, propoſed that he ſhould be invited over, and appointed general of the expedition. A deputation was accordingly ſent to inform him, that if he would repair to Cornwall, he would find many attached firmly to his intereſt; who, with the aſſiſtance of his friends in other parts, might be able to place him on the throne of his anceſtors. Perkin accepted the invitation; and immediately embarking with about ſeventy men in four ſmall veſſels, landed at Whitſand-bay in the month of September. He was joined at Bodmin by a body of about three thouſand men, and iſſued a proclamation, in which he aſſumed the title of Richard IV. king of England; inveighed bitterly againſt Henry Tudor; and exhorted the people to take up arms and depoſe the uſurper; promiſing at the ſame time ample reward for their ſervice. He then advanced to Exeter, intending to eſtabliſh a magazine in that place, and keep it as a retreat in caſe of misfortune. Finding on his arrival that the inhabitants were well affected to the government, he reſolved to take the city by ſtorm. The neceſſary preparations were accordingly made; but his attempt miſcarrying, he was repulſed with the loſs of two hundred men, and his followers were ſo greatly diſpirited, that many of them returned to Cornwall. Several noblemen in the county of Devon aſſembled troops at their own expence to repel the inſurgents; and the king ordered the lord Daubeny to march towards Exeter, declaring he would follow him at the head of a numerous army. Perkin, alarmed at the news of theſe preparations, raiſed the ſiege, and retired to Taunton, where he declared he would hazard an engagement; but in the night withdrew, with ſome of his confidants to Beaulieu, in the New Foreſt. Lord Daubeny being informed of his retreat, detached three hundred horſe to beſet the ſanctuary, till they ſhould receive further orders. The rebels now finding themſelves deſerted by their leader, ſubmitted to the king, who pardoned them all, except a few ringleaders. He afterwards ſent a detachment of cavalry to St. Michael's Mount, to ſecure the lady Catharine Gordon, the wife of Perkin, foreſeeing that if ſhe was pregnant, the rebellion would be continued to another generation. When ſhe was brought into the king's preſence, he was ſo ſtruck with her beauty and modeſty of deportment, that he conſoled her with promiſe of protection; ſent her under a ſtrong guard to attend upon the queen; and beſtowed on her a conſiderable penſion, which ſhe enjoyed during his life, and ſeveral years after his deceaſe. Henry then proceeded to Exeter; and on his entrance, preſented his own ſword to the mayor, as a token of his favour and good-will to the citizens, who had ſo ſignalized themſelves in the defence of his government. Having thus ſuppreſſed the rebellion, he here called a council of war to deliberate on the fate of Perkin, who ſtill continued in the ſanctuary. After much debate, it was determined that the king ſhould pardon him, on condition of his explaining every circumſtance of the impoſture he had ſo long carried on. The deſperate ſtate of his affairs induced him to embrace the king's offer without heſitation, and quit the ſanctuary. Henry being deſirous of ſeeing him, he was brought to court, where the king obſerved him from a window, but would never admit him into his preſence. Afterwards he was conducted to London, and by the king's order rode in public through the ſtreets from Weſtminſter to the Tower, where one of his chief abettors was executed; and he himſelf ſigned a confeſſion, which was diſperſed through the nation; but it was ſo defective and contradictory, that it ſerved rather to perplex than explain the pretended impoſture.

A. D. 1499. Perkin, even in his captive ſtate, tampered ſo effectually with four ſervants belonging to Sir John Digby, lieutenant of the Tower, as by their means to procure his eſcape. They had for ſome time permitted him to converſe with the earl of Warwick, who had agreed with him to take the firſt opportunity to eſcape, which they perceived could not be done without murdering the lieutenant; a deſign which, if it had been ſucceſsful, would doubtleſs have ſhaken the pillars of Henry's throne; but the plot was diſcovered, and Edmund, earl of Warwick, was beheaded on Tower-hill, while Perkin made an inglorious exit at Tyburn with John Walter, mayor of Cork, one of his moſt faithful adherents. Tranquillity having now fixed her ſeat in England, the avarice of its monarch became more flagrant; who, as all pretence for the demand of parliamentary ſupplies was entirely obviated, determined to exhauſt the coffers of the rebel party. With this view, on pretence that they were ſubject to the rigour of the law, he inſiſted on their being indulged with ſeparate pardons, for which he extorted large ſums. He alſo appointed commiſſioners minutely to explore all, that had either directly or indirectly aſſiſted and favoured the revolt of Perkin Warbeck. Theſe inquiſitors were empowered to amerce at diſcretion, every individual who ſhould have the benefit of a pardon; and even ſeize the effects of the deceaſed, ſhould their heirs refuſe to make a compoſition. Such monſtrous oppreſſions augmented the popular clamour againſt Henry, and were in a great meaſure attributed to the counſel of cardinal Morton, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who died at this period to the general joy of the nation. He was ſucceeded in the metropolitan ſee by Henry Dean, biſhop of Saliſbury; and the public was ſoon convinced that Henry's extortions on his ſubjects was the effect of his own avarice, and not the counſel of Morton.

A. D. 1501. The earl of Saliſbury, nephew to king Edward IV. and brother to the earl of Lincoln who had fallen in the battle of Stoke, happened in his paſſion to kill a man; and though he was a branch of the houſe of York, the king would not indulge him with a pardon, but on condition of his appearing and pleading it in public. The haughty earl ſo deeply reſented this indignity, that he retired in diſguſt to his aunt Margaret, ducheſs of Burgundy. Henry, in order to prevent any deſigns he might form to his prejudice, ſent over emiſſaries, who, by large offers and promiſes, prevailed on him to be reconciled to the government. At this period, Catharine, daughter of Ferdinand, king of Arragon, arrived in England, and was married to Arthur, prince of Wales, with great ſolemnity, on the fourteenth of November, the prince being turned of fifteen, and the princeſs of eighteen years of age. Her dower amounted to two hundred thouſand ducats in money, jewels, and plate; and a third part of the principality of Wales, dukedom of Cornwall, and earldom of Cheſter, was aſſigned the princeſs, as a jointure in caſe of the demiſe of her huſband before his acceſſion to the throne. A treaty of marriage between the king of Scotland and Henry's daughter Margaret ſucceeded this match, which was ratified by the Scottiſh ambaſſadors at London on the twenty-fourth of January, and the nuptials ſolemnized by proxy amidſt the acclamations of the people, who hoped that this alliance would terminate the enmity which had ſo long ſubſiſted between the two nations. But the general joy which this marriage diffuſed through the kingdom, was ſoon damped by the death of the young prince Arthur, who departed this life at Ludlow about five months after his nuptials, univerſally regretted by the Engliſh, who from his extraordinary talents had conceived happy omens of his future adminiſtration. His brother Henry ſucceeded to his title and dignities.

A. D. 1503. Henry's queen, in the beginning of this year, paid the debt of nature to the joy of her huſband, who eſteemed it a fortunate event, as it freed him from a deteſted rival in his title to the throne. Public peace and domeſtic tranquillity now prevailed, and England might have been the ſeat of uninterrupted felicity, had not the inſatiable avarice of its king ſought out new methods of preying on the properties of his ſubjects. With theſe mercenary views he patronized two infamous miniſters called Empſon and Dudley, who followed the practice of the law, and had recourſe to all its chicaneries, in preferring indictments and falſe accuſations againſt the ſubjects, in order to extort money, by way of what thoſe robbers of the public called a mitigation. Nay, ſo egregiouſly inſolent were they, that they even tried pretended delinquents in private, without fair appeal, or verdict of jury; and this violation of the law of equity was countenanced by the king, who ſhared in the fruits of ſo ſcandalous an oppreſſion; nor could he be diverted from this diſgraceful conduct, by the remonſtrances of the honeſt, or groans of the oppreſſed; and even practiſed himſelf, what he enjoined on his infamous miniſters; a glaring inſtance of which we have in the iniquitous treatment of the earl of Oxford, who was eminently dignified at this time in conſideration of his ſervices in the field and the cabinet, in both which reſpects he had acquitted himſelf to the general approbation of his country. Henry took an opportunity of paying him a formal viſit at his caſtle at Henningham, and was received by Oxford with a magnificence becoming the dignity of his viſitor. On the king's departure, the earl's ſervants formed a long rank on each ſide through which his majeſty paſſed: ſurpriſed at ſo numerous a train, he turned to the earl and ſaid, "My lord, the report I heard of your hoſpitality is great, but I perceive it falls ſhort of the truth. Pray, are theſe handſome gentlemen and yeomen on both ſides of me, your menial ſervants?" The earl, with great modeſty replied, that he only entertained them on that occaſion, to do the more honour to his majeſty. Henry affected ſurpriſe at that anſwer, and replied, "By my faith, my lord, I thank you for my good cheer, but I cannot endure to have my laws broken in my ſight: my attorney muſt ſpeak with you." Nor did he fail in verifying his declaration; for the earl was afterwards obliged to compound for this miſdemeanour, by the payment of fifteen thouſand marks. Such ungenerous behaviour excited a general clamour; and the ſpirit of diſcontent was encouraged by the earl of Suffolk, whoſe profuſion had ruined his fortunes, which he hoped to repair by the formation of new projects againſt the king's perſon and government. Having acquired a degree of popularity as the ſurviving branch of the houſe of York, he privately engaged ſome perſons in his intereſt; and then retired to Flanders, in hopes of receiving ſuccour from the ducheſs of Burgundy. The king, on advice of theſe proceedings, employed Sir Robert Curſon, governor of the caſtle of Hammes, to practice the very expedient by which all the deſigns of Perkin had been formerly defeated. Sir Robert, on pretence of having been injured by Henry, retiring to Flanders, offered his ſervice to the earl of Suffolk, and acted his part with ſuch dexterity, that he ſoon diſcovered that nobleman's ſchemes, and the particulars of his connections. Intelligence was immediately conveyed to Henry, who iſſued writs for apprehending his brother-in-law, William Courtney, earl of Devonſhire, huſband to the princeſs Catherine, daughter of Edward IV. William de la Pole, brother to the earl of Suffolk, Sir James Tyrrel, and Sir John Wyndham; George, lord Abergavenny, and Sir Thomas Green, were arreſted at the ſame time upon ſlight ſuſpicion, but ſoon diſcharged. The earl of Devon, and de la Pole, though nothing material appeared againſt them, were detained priſoners during the king's life. Tyrrel, ſuppoſed to have been concerned in the death of Edward V. with Wyndham, and ſeveral others of leſs note, were hanged as traitors. Suffolk repaired to Flanders, where the archduke took him under his protection, after the demiſe of the ducheſs-dowager. The prince of Wales was now about thirteen years of age, of eminent talents, and a robuſt conſtitution; and his father having deſigned him for the church, he had received a more liberal education than his brother. The king, unwilling to refund one moiety of Catharine's dowry he had already received, and equally deſirous of obtaining the other, propoſed to Ferdinand that the young widow ſhould be married to Henry, prince of Wales, brother to her late huſband; the Spaniſh monarch readily conſented, provided the pope's diſpenſation could be obtained. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, a very great divine and able politician, honeſtly remonſtrated againſt this marriage; but Fox, biſhop of Durham, whoſe conſcience was ſtifled by intereſt, warmly oppoſed him, averring that the pope's diſpenſation would obviate all impediments civil or ſacred. Henry's darling paſſion bore down all before it; and though he was convinced of the propriety of Warham's reaſoning, and alſo, that the action was in itſelf unjuſtifiable on principles of moral rectitude; yet rather than refund, he determined to riſk all dangers and inconveniences, and therefore directed his agents at Rome, moſt importunately to ſolicit the diſpenſation.

A. D. 1504. The parliament aſſembled in the beginning of January, and Henry obtained a ſubſidy for the portion of his eldeſt daughter, by which he received much more than the ſum he had paid to the king of Scotland. He now indeed ruled with deſpotic ſway; a flagrant proof of which was the choice the houſe of commons made, of the venal and wicked Dudley for their ſpeaker. This parliament even condeſcended to grant a mercenary ſovereign whatever his avarice could crave, to the ſcandalous impeachment of their own honour, and monſtrous oppreſſion of thoſe whoſe cauſe they had undertaken to plead. In the mean time the king ordered the Body of Henry VI. to be removed from Windſor to Weſtminſter, where it was interred with great pomp. He alſo applied to the pope for a bull to canonize that monarch; but the miracles attributed to him after his death were ſo defective, in point of atteſtation, that his holineſs would not admit him to a place among the ſaints, without ſuch a conſideration as Henry's avarice would not permit him to afford; the deſign was therefore, by that means, entirely fruſtrated.

A. D. 1505. In this year, Henry concluded a treaty of commerce and intercourſe with the king of Spain, and conceived a deſign of marrying the widow of Ferdinand, king of Naples, that he might by that means obtain the large dower which had been aſſigned her in that kingdom. He therefore directed by private commiſſion, Francis Pearſon and other emiſſaries, to inform themſelves circumſtantially of every thing relative to the lady's perſon and fortune. But theſe agents diſcovering that the queen's large jointure in land had been converted into an annuity for life, they ſet out for Spain, without diſcloſing the intention of their journey to Naples.

Philip and Joan had for ſome time been proclaimed king and queen at Bruſſels; but were prevented from taking poſſeſſion of that kingdom by the war in Guelderland; and the pregnancy of the queen, who was in a ſhort time delivered of a princeſs, called Mary, afterwards queen of Hungary; but the war being terminated, and the queen in a condition for travelling, Philip equipped a powerful armament, and with his queen, embarked on the tenth of January. But the fleet was diſperſed by a violent ſtorm in the Channel, and the veſſel in which the king and queen embarked, driven into the harbour of Weymouth in Dorſetſhire. A. D. 1506. The peaſants, alarmed at the appearance of ſuch a numerous fleet, took to their arms; and Sir Thomas Trenchard, a knight of that county, being informed that the king and queen of Caſtile were landed, waited on them in perſon, and begged they would do him the honour to lodge in his houſe, till the king ſhould have notice of their arrival. Philip perceiving that the weather would not admit of their immediate embarkation, complied with his requeſt. Henry having been informed of their landing, he diſpatched the earl of Arundel to compliment them in his name, and aſſure them that he would with all convenient ſpeed, have the pleaſure of embracing them; and that, in the mean time, they might command his dominions. In order to haſten the interview, Philip ſet out for the court at Windſor, where he and his conſort were honourably received; though Henry was determined to avail himſelf of the accident that drove them into England. He propoſed, that as Philip had changed his condition in becoming king of Caſtile, the treaty of commerce between England and the Low Countries ſhould be renewed, with ſome alterations in favour of the Engliſh; and Philip readily aſſented to the propoſal. This affair being adjuſted, Henry propoſed a marriage between himſelf and Philip's ſiſter Margaret, widow of the duke of Savoy; and the king of Caſtile being allured by the proſpect of ſuch an alliance, the contract was immediately ſettled, Philip engaging to pay three hundred thouſand crowns in lieu of a dower to his ſiſter, together with a very conſiderable annuity. Not content with theſe advantages, Henry ſeemed reſolved to detain his gueſt till he ſhould deliver up the earl of Suffolk, from whoſe ſchemes and influence he ſtill apprehended ſome commotions. He therefore took occaſion in a private conference with Philip, to ſay with ſome emotion, "Sir, you have been ſaved on my coaſt, I hope you will not ſuffer me to be wrecked on your's." When the king of Caſtile deſired to know the drift of that addreſs, Henry replied, "I mean that wild extravagant fellow, my ſubject the earl of Suffolk, who is protected in your country, and begins to play the fool when others are tired of the game." To this Philip anſwered, "I thought your preſent circumſtances had raiſed you above all ſuch apprehenſions; but ſince his reſidence in Flanders gives you diſquiet, I will baniſh him from my dominions." The Engliſh monarch hinting a deſire of having him in his power, Philip told him, in ſome confuſion, that he could not deliver him up conſiſtently with his honour; and that ſuch a ſtep would ſtill more detract from the character of Henry, as the world would thence conjecture he had treated his gueſt as a priſoner. "I will venture to incur the diſgrace," ſaid Henry, "and ſo your honour will remain inviolate." Philip, finding him ſo ſolicitous, anſwered, "Sir, you give law to me, and I will dictate to you in my turn: Suffolk ſhall be delivered up to you, but on condition of your paſſing your honour that his life ſhall be ſafe." The propoſal being agreed to, Philip wrote to the earl of Suffolk, aſſuring him that he had obtained his pardon; which aſſurance being alſo confirmed by an expreſs meſſage from Henry, that nobleman returned to England, and was committed priſoner to the Tower. On the earl's arrival, Philip was permitted to purſue his voyage, after a reſidence of three months in England, during which he was inſtalled a knight of the garter, and conferred the honour of the golden fleece on the prince of Wales.

A. D. 1507. Empſon and Dudley ſtill continued their extortions, and in the courſe of this year commenced a ſevere proſecution againſt Sir William Capel, on pretence of miſconduct during his mayoralty, and fined him in the ſum of two thouſand pounds; but being exaſperated by former extortions he refuſed payment, and was committed to the Tower, where he remained till the death of the king. In the midſt of theſe vile oppreſſions, Henry was ſeized with the gout, which gradually affected his lungs, and produced a ſevere aſthma; notwithſtanding which he continued to tranſact the affairs of government, till his ſtate of health threatening approaching diſſolution, he began to make preparations for futurity. This viſitation of heaven, prevented the ſolemnization of the nuptials between him and Margaret of Auſtria, though the contract had paſſed the conſent of all parties. Henry finding himſelf in a gradual decay, affected concern at the extortions of Empſon and Dudley, diſcharging all priſoners that were confined for debt under forty ſhillings; and among other religious foundations, finiſhed and endowed the hoſpital of the Savoy, and built a beautiful chapel in Weſtminſter abbey, called after his name to this day.

A. D. 1509. Henry's diſorder now returning in a moſt violent degree, it ſoon carried him off this ſcene of exiſtence, on the twenty-ſecond of April, in the fifty-third year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign. He bequeathed to his ſon Henry the crown of England, together with eighteen hundred thouſand pounds in money, jewels, and plate, depoſited in the vaults of his palace at Richmond. He was born at Pembroke caſtle, and, as lord Bacon juſtly obſerves, "lieth buried at Weſtminſter, in one of the ſtatelieſt and daintieſt monuments of Europe, both for the chapel, and for the ſepulchre; ſo that he dwelleth more richly dead in the monument of his tomb, than he did alive at Richmond, or in any of his palaces."

By his queen Elizabeth, of the houſe of York, eldeſt daughter of Edward IV. he had three ſons and four daughters; Arthur, who died before him in the ſeventeenth year of his age; Henry, who ſucceeded him on the throne; and Edmund, who did not live to the years of diſcretion. Of his daughters, Elizabeth and Catherine died in their childhood; Margaret eſpouſed James IV. king of Scotland; and Mary, who had been betrothed to Charles, archduke of Auſtria, was married to Lewis XII. king of France; and after his death to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.

Many ſalutary ſtatutes were made during this reign; but the moſt important one was that, by which the nobility and gentry were allowed to break the antient entails, and alienate their eſtates; by which means the great fortunes of the barons were diminiſhed, and the property of the commons conſiderably increaſed.

In this reign laws were made againſt the exportation of money, bullion, and plate. Foreign merchants, who imported commodities, were obliged to expend all the money they acquired, by their ſales in Engliſh commodities, to prevent the ſpecie being carried in a clandeſtine manner out of the kingdom. The exportation of horſes was prohibited; and in order to promote archery, no bows were to be ſold at a higher price than ſix ſhillings and fourpence of our preſent money.

Beſides the chapel in Weſtminſter-abbey, Henry rebuilt, in 1498, the royal palace of Shene, which had been conſumed by fire, and gave it the name of Richmond, which it ſtill retains. He likewiſe founded a chapel in Windſor, and ſeveral monaſteries of Dominicans and Franciſcans. He turned into an hoſpital the palace of the Savoy, built under Henry III. by Peter, earl of Savoy: and he expended fourteen thouſand pounds in building a large veſſel, called the Great Harry, which was, properly ſpeaking, the firſt ſhip in the Engliſh navy.

During the laſt period, arts and ſciences began to emerge from that obſcurity under which they had been ſo long concealed. The city of Conſtantinople having been taken by the Turks, the Greeks, among whom ſome remains of learning were ſtill preſerved, being ſcattered by thoſe enthuſiaſtic barbarians, took ſhelter in Italy, and imported, together with their admirable language, a tincture of their ſcience, and their refined taſte in poetry and literature. The purity of the Latin tongue was alſo revived; the ſtudy of antiquity became faſhionable; and the love of learning gradually ſpread over the nation. But what ſtill more contributed to diſſeminate the ſciences, was the diſcovery of the art of printing. William Caxton, citizen and mercer of London, being ſent am-

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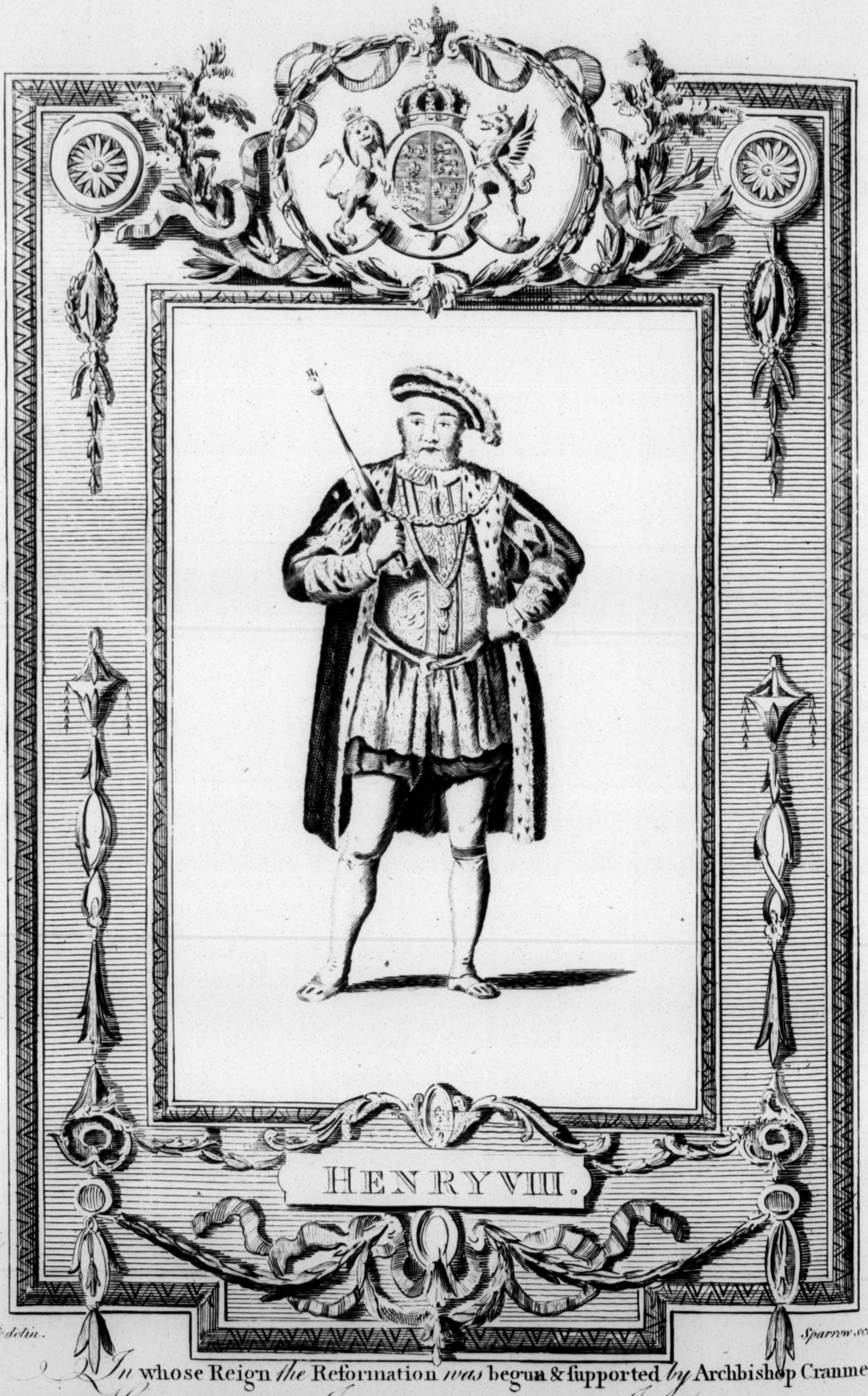


Wale delin. Sparrow sculp.

In whose Reign the Reformation was begun & supported by Archbishop Cranmer.
He was Crowned June 24.1509 — & Died Jan.y 28.1547.

baſſador by Edward IV. to the duke of Burgundy, learned that uſeful art, during his abode in the Low Countries, and introduced it into England about the year 1474. He tranſlated ſeveral books from the French, and printed them himſelf in one of the chapels in Weſtminſter-abbey, by permiſſion of John Iſlip, the abbot. The book on "the Game of Cheſs," dated 1474, but without Caxton's name, is generally reckoned the firſt production of the Engliſh preſs. The invention was ſoon purchaſed by the monaſteries, and preſſes were ſet up at Oxford, Cambridge, St. Albans, and other places.

During the reign of Henry VII. Chriſtopher Columbus, a Genoeſe, in 1492, ſailed from Cadiz, on the voyage, by which he diſcovered America; and a few years after, Vaſquez de Gama, a Portugueſe, doubled the cape of Good Hope, and opened a new paſſage to the Eaſt Indies: events that were attended with the moſt important conſequences, with reſpect to all the nations of Europe. Commerce and navigation being thus enlarged, induſtry and the arts were rapidly propagated; the nobles ſpent their fortunes in expenſive pleaſures; and men of inferior rank, not only acquired a ſhare in landed property, but created a property of a new ſpecies in ſtocks, commodities and credit.

It was only by accident, that Henry VII. had not a ſhare in the great naval diſcoveries, by which that age was diſtinguiſhed. Chriſtopher Columbus, after he had been ſeveral times repulſed by the court of Portugal and Spain, ſent his brother Bartholomew to London, in order to explain to Henry his great deſign, and to obtain his aſſiſtance in its execution. The king invited Chriſtopher to come to England; but his brother being taken by pyrates, was detained in his voyage; and in the mean while, Chriſtopher having obtained the countenance of Iſabella, was ſupplied with a ſmall ſquadron, and happily executed his enterprize. Henry, thus diſappointed, fitted out Sebaſtian Cabot, a Venetian, ſettled in Briſtol, and in the year 1498, that mariner ſailed to the weſtward in ſearch of new diſcoveries. Cabot reached the continent of America in about the ſixteenth degree of north latitude; and ſailing ſouthward along the coaſt, diſcovered Newfoundland and other countries, but returned to England without making any ſettlement. A like attempt was made by Elliot, and other merchants of Briſtol, in the year 1502. Thus, in the courſe of a few reigns, a general revolution took place in human affairs, and people gradually attained that ſituation, with reſpect to arts, ſciences, commerce, and other great improvements of different kinds, in which they have ever ſince perſevered, and even carried them nearer to perfection.

Character of Henry VII.

Henry was tall, ſtrait, and well-ſhaped, though ſlender; of a grave aſpect, and ſaturnine complection; auſtere, and reſerved in his addreſs and converſation, except when he had a favourite point to gain, and then no man was more eloquent or perſuaſive. He poſſeſſed a genius happily adapted to government; particularly ſo to the factious times in which he lived. He loved peace without fearing war. Though filled with continual ſuſpicions of his ſervants and miniſters, he diſcovered no timidity, either in the conduct of his affairs, or in the day of battle; and though often ſevere in his puniſhments, he was commonly leſs actuated by revenge, than by the maxims of policy. He inherited a fund of good ſenſe, greatly improved by ſtudy: his prudence and valour maintained order and regularity in the ſtate; and by theſe royal qualities, he humanized the ferocious manners of the nobility. His judgment was ſound; his ſagacity deeply political; and he poſſeſſed in a peculiar manner, the art of turning all his domeſtic troubles, and all foreign diſputes, to his own advantage: hence he acquired the appellation of the Engliſh Solomon, and was univerſally allowed to be the wiſeſt crowned head at that time in Europe. His laws were prudently enacted, punctually executed; and he was a warm patron of arts and commerce, thoſe inexhauſtible ſources of wealth. Yet it muſt be acknowledged, that notwithſtanding all his good qualities, the reign of this great monarch was more advantageous to his people, than honourable to himſelf, on account of two leading paſſions, by which his ſoul was continually agitated, and his conduct ever influenced: theſe were, a fear of loſing his crown, and a deſire of amaſſing riches. His ruling paſſion was inſatiable avarice, which he gratified at the expence of other people's happineſs, and ſometimes to the endangering his own inward tranquillity; whereby a ſtain is left upon his memory, which his activity, firmneſs, wiſdom, policy, and courage, cannot obliterate. Hence no king of England was ever more hated by his ſubjects, though this abhorrence was blended with a mixture of fear, excited by his uninterrupted ſucceſs and his extraordinary abilities; however, ſome national advantages were derived even from his jealouſy and avarice; ſince by the firſt he was led to aboliſh feudal tenures, which depreſſed the nobility; and by the laſt he was prompted to encourage induſtry and trade; becauſe it improved his cuſtoms, and enriched his ſubjects, whom he could afterwards pillage at diſcretion.

CHAP. II.

HENRY VIII.

The eſtabliſhment of his miniſtry—Puniſhments of Empſom and Dudley—Conſummates his marriage with Catharine of Arragon—Foreign affairs—War with France—King of Scotland makes a diverſion in favour of Lewis—A complete victory obtained over the Scots—Character and conduct of cardinal Wolſey—An interview near Calais between Henry and Francis I.—A war with France, and afterwards with Scotland—The invaſion of France and Italy—The battle of Pavia, in which Francis is taken priſoner, and recovers his liberty—Scruples concerning Henry's marriage with Catharine—Applies to the pope for a divorce—Commencement of the reformation, with the proceedings which led to it—Foreign affairs—An account of the Maid of Kent—Death of queen Catharine—Execution of queen Anne—Henry marries and diſlikes Anne of Cleves—Is divorced from her, and marries Catharine Howard—Eccleſiaſtical matters—A war with Scotland—The victory of Solway—Peace with France and Scotland—Perſecutions—Execution of the earl of Surry, and the attainder of the duke of Norfolk—Death and character of Henry VIII.

A. D. 1509. HENRY VIII. ſucceeded his father, in the eighteenth year of his age, with every advantage nature and fortune could beſtow. An unfeigned ſatisfaction appeared univerſally on his acceſſion and coronation. Amiable in perſon and addreſs, and poſſeſſed of immenſe wealth, this young prince ſaw himſelf at the head of a flouriſhing kingdom, where the arts and ſciences wanted only a liberal benefactor to promote their progreſs. The people had formed the higheſt expectation from his diſtinguiſhed abilities. His father, with a view to detach him from the conſideration of ſtate affairs, had hitherto engaged him in the purſuits of literature; he had made conſiderable advances in the languages, theology, and Ariſtotle's philoſophy; and he was no ſooner ſeated on the throne, than his diſpoſition appeared to be of a generous caſt; his liberality even bordered on profuſion. The paſſionate vehemence and impatience, which afterwards degenerated into tyranny, were now only conſidered as the faults of youth, that would be corrected by time; and the houſes of York and Lancaſter being fully united in his perſon, people expected from being obnoxious to no party, that impartial adminiſtration which had been long unknown. The beginning of his reign encouraged theſe favourable prepoſſeſſions. His grandmother, the counteſs of Richmond, was ſtill alive, and as ſhe was greatly eſteemed for her prudence and virtue, Henry liſtened to her advice, in the eſtabliſhment of his miniſtry and new council. This was compoſed of Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and lord chancellor; Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, ſecretary, and lord privy ſeal; Howard, earl of Surry, lord treaſurer; Talbot earl of Shrewſbury, lord ſteward of the houſhold; lord Herbert, chamberlain; Sir Thomas Lovel, maſter of the wards, and conſtable of the Tower; Sir Edward Poynings, comptroller; Sir Henry Manny, afterwards lord Manny; Sir Thomas Darcy, afterwards lord Darcy; Thomas Ruthal, doctor of laws; and Sir Henry Wyat. Theſe were thoroughly experienced in buſineſs, and were leſs unpopular than any other miniſters under the late king. By Henry's expences, the treaſures amaſſed by the father were gradually diſſipated: parties of pleaſure ſucceeded each other: carouſals, tilts, and tournaments, were exhibited with the utmoſt magnificence; and as the court was permitted, by the preſent tranquillity of the public, to ſeek gratification in every amuſement, little attention was paid to ſerious buſineſs. In the intervals between theſe diverſions, the king applied himſelf chiefly to muſic and literature, his favourite purſuits; and made ſuch proficiency in the former, as to compoſe ſome pieces of church-muſic, which were ſung in his chapel. However, the complaints of his people were not forgot; nor would he protect the inſtruments of his father's extortion. The ſpies and informers, who had long exerciſed an unbounded tyranny over the kingdom, now felt the iron-hand of juſtice; and fell victims to public reſentment. Empſom and Dudley, who had been ſo often loaded with execrations, were cited before the council to anſwer for their conduct. Empſom, in apologizing for himſelf and his aſſociate, told the council, that they were ſo far from deſerving cenſure, that the clamours of their enemies were levelled againſt actions, which ſeemed rather to merit a reward: that they were accuſed of having ſtrictly executed the laws, eſtabliſhed by general conſent; in doing which they had acted only in obedience to their ſovereign, to whom the conſtitution had intruſted the adminiſtration of juſtice; that it was not for them, who were inſtruments in the king's hands, to determine what laws were recent or obſolete, expedient, or pernicious, ſince they were all equally valid, while the legiſlature permitted them to remain unrepealed; that a licentious populace would naturally murmur againſt the reſtraints of authority; but the glory of all wiſe ſtates ever conſiſted in the juſt diſtribution of rewards and puniſhments; and that nothing could be expected but the ſubverſion of all government, when the judges were conſigned over to the mercy of the criminals, and the rulers to that of their ſubjects. The council perceived Empſom's arguments were unanſwerable, and therefore committed thoſe obnoxious miniſters to the Tower, till a new accuſation could be formed againſt them. After ſome deliberation it was determined to accuſe them of high-treaſon. To gratify the people they were charged with the improbable crime, of having entered into a conſpiracy againſt the late king, whom they were to put to death, and then to ſeize by force the adminiſtration of government. Of this ridiculous and abſurd accuſation they were found guilty by the jury, who were entirely influenced by popular prejudices; and their verdict being afterwards confirmed by a bill of attainder in parliament, they were accordingly executed.

This buſineſs being finiſhed, the council renewed their deliberations on the expedience of the king's conſummating his marriage with Catherine of Arragon. The chief objections urged againſt his eſpouſing her, were her former marriage with his brother, and the inequality of their years: on the other hand, the affections ſhe bore to the king, with her virtue, modeſty, and ſweetneſs of temper, were inſiſted on; as well as the advantage of cementing a cloſe alliance with Spain; the neceſſity of finding ſome confederate to counter-ballance the power of France; the large dowry to which ſhe was entitled as princeſs of Wales, and the expediency of fulfilling the late king's engagements; all theſe conſiderations determined the council, contrary to the primate's opinion, to adviſe Henry to celebrate the marriage. This was accordingly done, after which the coronation was performed on the twenty-fourth of June, immediately after the death of Margaret, counteſs of Richmond and Derby, the king's grandmother. But though the biſhop of Wincheſter had been ſucceſsful with regard to the conſummation of Henry's marriage, he ſoon perceived that his power began to decline. He had acquired ſuch habits of caution and frugality, during the preceding reign, that he could not now wholly lay them aſide. He remonſtrated againſt the ſchemes of diſſipation and expence, purſued by the young monarch, and by that means loſt his favour: while Surry, who made his own intereſt the ſole motive of his conduct, was very officious in promoting the liberality, pleaſure, and magnificence of the times. Wincheſter remonſtrated with him on his remarkable change of conduct, but without effect. Surry derived great advantages from the diſſipation of his maſter, and engaged him in ſuch a courſe of pleaſure that he became negligent of ſtate affairs, and willing to entruſt the government to the care of his miniſters. Fox was highly exaſperated againſt Surry, and determined to introduce a perſon who might be a ſpy upon his actions. He caſt his eyes upon Dr. Thomas Wolſey, as a perſon well qualified to anſwer his purpoſe. Wolſey was the ſon of a butcher at Ipſwich, but diſtinguiſhed by his prudence, his talents and his learning. He had recommended himſelf by his addreſs to Henry VII. who had employed him, with advantage, in ſome difficult commiſſions; and his inſinuating addreſs, his taſte for pleaſure, and his love of letters, could not fail of rendering him very acceptable to Henry.

A. D. 1510.

The domeſtic adminiſtration of Henry was rendered eaſy by the tranquillity of his ſubjects; but the wars in Italy ſtill raged with the utmoſt violence, and attracted the attention of all the princes of Europe; yet all parties courted Henry's alliance, while he was engaged by no immediate intereſt to join with any. Several great monarchies were eſtabliſhed, and none ſo far ſurpaſſed the reſt, as to give any pretence of jealouſy; and their internal force, by balancing each other, might long have maintained a general tranquillity, had not the active and enterprizing ſpirit of that ambitious pontiff, Julius II. excited among them the flames of war. By his intrigues a league had been formed at Cambray, between Lewis, Maximilian, Ferdinand, and himſelf, in order to overwhelm the commonwealth of Venice by their united arms; and Henry, though he had not the leaſt motive for it, allowed his name to be inſerted in the confederacy. Julius had no ſooner humbled the republic of Venice, than he was ambitious of expelling all foreigners, whom he termed barbarians, from Italy. He reſolved to make the tempeſt fall firſt upon Lewis, and ſeeking for a cauſe of quarrel with that monarch, ſought the alliance of other princes. He courted Henry's favour by ſending him a ſacred roſe, perfumed with muſk, and anointed with chryſm: he engaged in his intereſt Bambridge, archbiſhop of York, Henry's ambaſſador at Rome, whom he raiſed to the rank of cardinal; drew over Ferdinand to his ſide; and formed a treaty with the Swiſs cantons. Lewis exerted himſelf to repel the attacks of his enemies. To this end he endeavoured to deſpoil the pope of that ſacred character, by which he was rendered formidable; and in conjunction with Maximilian, determined to call a general council, that might give a check to the deſigns of the Roman pontiff. Henry was inclined to protect his holineſs from the enterprizes of Lewis; for Julius had given him hopes, that his ſervices ſhould be rewarded with the title, of the moſt Chriſtian King, which had hitherto been annexed to the crown of France. He therefore joined in an alliance formed by the pope, Spain and Venice, againſt the French king.

A. D. 1512. The glory of ſerving the pope, and of conquering provinces, excited the ambition of Henry; and the parliament readily granted ſupplies for an enterprize that was agreeable to the people. Ferdinand, always attentive to his own intereſt, when he ſeemed to be acting for that of others, perſuaded Henry, that it would be more for his advantage, not to land his troops at Calais, but at Fonterabria, where he might eaſily make a conqueſt of Guienne, and where he promiſed to aſſiſt him with a Spaniſh army. But the real intention of Ferdinand was to turn his force to the acquiſition of Navarre. Henry, not ſuſpecting the views of Ferdinand, agreed to the propoſal. The marquis of Dorſet was appointed general of the land forces, which were landed in the province of Guipiſcoa, about the middle of June. The Engliſh admiral, in his return, made ſeveral ſucceſsful attempts on the coaſt of Brittany, and being joined by a ſquadron of ſhips commanded by Sir Thomas Knivet, their depredations were continued with advantages. Alarmed at the attempts of the Engliſh, the French fleet of thirty-nine ſhips, was ordered to ſail from Breſt, under the command of Primauget, an admiral of great courage and conduct. The two fleets ſoon after met, and a furious engagement enſued. At length Primauget's ſhip was ſet on fire, and determining not to periſh alone, he bore down upon the Engliſh admiral, when grappling with her, both ſhips ſoon became involved in the ſame inevitable deſtruction. This dreadful ſcene ſuſpended the action between the other ſhips; they were ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at ſo terrible an appearance of horror and confuſion. After ſome time the French ſhip blew up, and in its exploſion deſtroyed the Engliſh. This alarming cataſtrophe, in which above ſixteen hundred men periſhed, ſo affected both parties, that the engagement was not renewed. The French retired to Breſt, and the Engliſh continued cruiſing in the channel. The duke of Alva, who commanded the Spaniſh forces, having joined the Engliſh, preparations were made for opening the campaign. But Dorſet, who was a ſtranger to Ferdinand's intentions, was ſurprized to find, that inſtead of purſuing the conqueſt of Guienne, his army moved towards the frontiers of Navarre. The Engliſh general complained of this ſtep. Ferdinand, in reply, obſerved, that as the king of Navarre was connected with France, he thought it would not be adviſeable to form the ſiege of Bayonne, till meaſures were taken for preventing that prince from cutting off their proviſions. Dorſet ſuſpecting, that little regard was paid to the intereſt of his maſter in this affair, and having no orders to invade Navarre, refuſed to comply, and remained in his quarters at Fonterabria, where his army kept that of the French in awe, and prevented its advancing to ſuccour Navarre; which enabled Alva to make himſelf maſter of Pampeluna, and obliged John to ſhelter himſelf in France. Alva again applied to Dorſet; but as he ſtill declined forming the ſiege of Bayonne, and inſiſted on invading another part of the king of Navarre's dominions, Dorſet perceiving now his ſiniſter intentions, obſerved, that he could not comply without new orders from his maſter. Upon this Ferdinand diſpatched Martin de Ampios, to London, to perſuade Henry, that the moſt favourable opportunities were loſt, by the refractory and ſcrupulous humour of the Engliſh general, it being neceſſary for him to act on all occaſions in concert with the duke of Alva, who was beſt acquainted with the ſituation of the country, and the reaſons of every operation. Mean while Dorſet obſerving, that his farther ſtay was of no uſe to the main deſign, and that his ſoldiers periſhed daily by want and ſickneſs, demanded of Ferdinand ſhips to convey him back to England. Ferdinand, who was bound by treaty to furniſh him whenever demanded with this ſupply, at laſt, after many delays, yielded to his importunity; but when Dorſet was embarking his troops, and preparing for the voyage, a meſſenger from Henry arrived with orders for them to continue in Spain; notwithſtanding which, the ſoldiers, diſcontented with the treatment they had received, mutinied, and obliged their officers to ſet ſail. The ill ſucceſs of this expedition diſpleaſed Henry; and the marquis of Dorſet found great difficulty in appeaſing him, by explaining Ferdinand's conduct.

A. D. 1513. Diſgraceful as this enterprize was, it ſerved to weaken France. Lewis was obliged to recall his forces to the defence of his own dominions, and by that means loſt all his Italian conqueſts. Julius triumphed in the diſgrace of the French monarch; but he did not long enjoy his good fortune, dying on the twenty-firſt of February, and was ſucceeded in the papal chair by the famous John de Medici, being Leo X. He was the patron of arts, and the friend of learning. Deſirous of attaching Henry firmly to his intereſt, he ſent him a veſſel laden with hams and wine. The arrival of this veſſel, which carried the papal banner, filled the Engliſh with exultation, and excited their natural antipathy againſt France. Thomas Wolſey, dean of Lincoln, and the king's almoner, was now at the head of affairs, having ſo far gained the king's favour, that he ſupplanted both Surry and Fox. His being near forty years of age, and a clergyman, were no reſtraints on the gaity with which Henry paſſed his careleſs hours. He introduced buſineſs and ſtate affairs during the intervals of amuſement; and then inſinuated thoſe maxims which he wiſhed him to adopt: he told him that while he truſted his father's counſellors with the conduct of his affairs, he had the advantage of employing perſons of wiſdom and experience; but as they did not owe their promotion to his favour, they ſcarcely thought themſelves accountable to him for the exerciſe of their authority; and by their cabals obſtructed buſineſs more than they promoted it by their age and experience; that while he choſe to paſs his time in the pleaſures to which he was invited by his youth and princely fortune, and in the ſtudies that would in time enable him to ſway the ſcepter alone, it would be beſt to entruſt his authority to one who was the creature of his will, and could entertain no view but that of promoting his ſervice; and if this miniſter had the ſame reliſh for pleaſure with himſelf, and the ſame taſte for learning, he might with the greateſt eaſe, at proper intervals, account to him for the whole of his conduct, introduce him gradually into the knowledge of public buſineſs, and thus, without a tedious conſtraint, initiate him into the art of government. The king entered into all Wolſey's views; and finding none ſo fit to execute this plan of adminiſtration as the man who propoſed it, he ſoon raiſed him to be a member of his council; and from thence to be his ſole and abſolute miniſter.

Wolſey, perceiving the ardour of Henry for war, exerted his abilities to provide an army, that might retrieve the martial glory of his countrymen. Hoſtilities were firſt commenced at ſea, but without any advantage to either of the contending parties. It was on the continent that the deciſive blows were intended to be ſtruck. The van of the army, conſiſting of eight thouſand men, was led by the earl of Shrewſbury, aſſiſted by the earl of Derby, the lords Fitzwalter, Haſtings, and Cobham, and Sir Thomas ap Rice, captain of the light horſe. This diviſion being landed at Calais, was ſoon followed by another body of ſix thouſand men, under the command of lord Herbert, chamberlain, attended by the earls of Northumberland and Kent, the lords Audley and Delawar, together with Carew, Curzon, and other gentlemen. Henry now prepared to follow his forces; but before his departure, he cauſed the unfortunate earl of Suffolk to be beheaded. What reaſons induced Henry to commit this cruel action, is not known. The French hiſtorians tell us, that it was in obedience to the dying commands of his father; while others think, that Henry poured his vengeance on this nobleman, for the conduct of his brother Edward de la Pole, who had accepted a command in the French ſervice. About the thirteenth of June, Henry landed at Calais with the third diviſion of his army, conſiſting of twelve thouſand men. He was attended by the duke of Buckingham, and many others of the principal nobility, but he ſoon perceived the little reliance to be placed on the engagements of princes; for among all his allies, the Swiſs only performed the conditions of the treaty. The emperor Maximilian had promiſed to join them with a body of eight thouſand men, but though he had received from Henry one hundred and twenty thouſand crowns for that purpoſe, he failed in his engagements. He made ſome atonement however to the Engliſh monarch, by joining him in the Low Countries, with ſome German and Flemiſh ſoldiers, who were of great ſervice in giving an example of diſcipline to Henry's new raiſed army. The emperor himſelf enliſted as a volunteer in the Engliſh army, and bluſhed not to receive an hundred crowns a day for his ſervice. Before the landing of Henry, the earl of Shrewſbury and lord Herbert, had laid ſiege to Terouane, on the frontiers of Picardy, and began the attack with vigour. Teligni and Crequi commanded in the town, which had a garriſon that did not exceed a thouſand men, but defended the place with great intrepidity, and were at laſt in danger, from the want of proviſions and ammunition of being obliged to ſurrender; but having ſent notice of their ſituation to Lewis, who had advanced with his army to Amiens, he gave orders to throw relief into the place. Upon this Fontrailles ſet out at the head of eight hundred horſemen, each of whom carried behind him two quarters of bacon, and a ſack of gunpowder. This ſmall body unexpectedly ruſhed through the Engliſh camp; and overcoming all oppoſition, advanced to the foſſee of the town, where each man threw down his burden, and immediately galloping back, were again ſo happy as to break through the Engliſh, and to ſuffer little loſs. But the Engliſh ſoon after fully revenged this inſult. Henry having received intelligence of the approach of the French horſe, who had advanced to protect Fontrailles, ordered ſome troops to paſs the Lis, and oppoſe them. This body of French cavalry, notwithſtanding they chiefly conſiſted of gentlemen, who had behaved in Italy with great gallantry, on ſeeing the enemy, were ſeized with ſuch an unaccountable panic, that they inſtantly fled. The duke of Longueville, who commanded the French, Clermont, Buſſi, d'Amboiſe, Imbercourt, the chevalier Bayard, and other officers of diſtinction, were made priſoners. This rout is ſometimes termed the battle of Guienegate, from the place where it was fought, but more generally the battle of the Spurs, becauſe that day the French made more uſe of their ſpurs than of their weapons.

Henry, who was now at the head of an army of fifty thouſand men, inſtead of profiting by this victory, and marching into the heart of France, as he might eaſily have done, returned to the ſiege of Terouane, which was ſoon after obliged to capitulate. The terrors of the French again revived; they were indeed ſcarcely ever in greater danger, and leſs able to defend themſelves againſt the powerful armies, with which they were on every ſide threatened, or aſſailed. Even many of the inhabitants of Paris, not thinking themſelves ſafe there, began to remove, without knowing where they ſhould find a greater place of ſafety. However the many blunders committed by the enemies of Lewis, extricated him from his difficulties. The Swiſs ſuffered themſelves to be ſeduced into a negociation by Tremoille, governor of Burgundy, and they accepted of the conditions he offered them. Maximilian adviſed Henry to lay ſiege to Tournay, a great and rich city on the frontiers of Flanders, with the hopes of freeing his grandſon from ſo troubleſome a neighbour as the French; and Henry, not conſidering, that this acquiſition would no way promote his conqueſts in France, was ſo imprudent as to follow his intereſted advice. Tournay being by its antient charters exempted from the burden of a garriſon, the burghers engaged, contrary to the remonſtrance of their ſovereign, to defend the city; but when they came to a trial their courage failed, and after ſuffering a few days ſiege, ſurrendered to the Engliſh. The biſhop of Tournay being lately dead, the chapter had elected a new biſhop, who was not inſtalled in his office; the king of England therefore beſtowed that ſee on Wolſey, his favourite, and put him in immediate poſſeſſion of the revenues. Henry, hearing of the retreat of the Swiſs, and finding the ſeaſon far advanced, returned to England, about the middle of October, with the greateſt part of his army. His youthful mind was highly ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of his firſt campaign; but people of judgment comparing his advantages with his progreſs, and the expence with his acquiſitions, were convinced, that this boaſted expedition was both ruinous and inglorious.

While Henry was thus employed, James IV. king of Scotland, who had declared for Lewis, ravaged the northern parts of Northumberland, at the head of fifty thouſand men. He made himſelf maſter of Norham, Etal, Werke, Ford, and other places of ſmall importance. Lady Ford was taken priſoner in her caſtle; and being preſented to James, ſo gained on his affections, that he ſpent in pleaſure the critical time, which, during the abſence of his enemies, he ought to have employed to better purpoſe. In the mean time, the earl of Surry, who commanded the Engliſh forces, marched into the North, to ſtop the ravages of the invaders. His army conſiſted of about twenty-ſix thouſand men; five thouſand of which had been ſent from the army in France. The Scots were encamped on the high grounds near the hills of Chiviot, in a very advantageous ſituation. The river Till ran in their front; nor could their camp be approached but by one narrow paſs, which was defended by artillery. Surry, perceiving that it would be madneſs to attack the enemy, diſpatched an herald to the Scottiſh monarch, offering to meet him in the plain of Milfield, to try the valour of their forces on equal ground. But the anſwer he received was far from being ſatisfactory, and he determined to have recourſe to a ſtratagem, in order, if poſſible, to draw the Scotch from their advantageous ſituation. He made a feint, as if he intended to march to Berwick, in order to enter Scotland, lay waſte the borders, and cut off his enemies proviſions: upon which the Scots, ſetting fire to their huts, marched down from the hills. Surry had obſerved their precipitate decampment, and the ſmoke concealing his motions, he paſſed the Till with his vanguard and train of artillery, at the bridge of Twiſel, while the reſt of his army croſſed the ſtream at a ford higher up the river. A battle being now inevitable, both ſides prepared for it with the greateſt tranquillity. The Engliſh army was divided into two lines. In the firſt, lord Howard led the main body, Sir Edmund Howard the right wing, and Sir Marmaduke Conſtable the left. In the ſecond, the earl of Surry commanded the main body, lord Dacres the right wing, and Sir Edward Stanley the left. The king of Scotland drew up his army on a riſing ground, and the front appeared in three diviſions: the right commanded by the earl of Huntley, aſſiſted by lord Hume; the center by the king himſelf, and the left by the earls of Lenox and Argyle. There was alſo a fourth diviſion, as a body of reſerve, under the command of the earl of Bothwel. In this poſition the armies approached each other, and met in Flouden field. The battle was begun by the earl of Huntley, who charged with ſuch fury, that he broke the wing of the Engliſh, and drove them off the field. But the ſame ſucceſs did not attend the other commanders. They could not ſupport the attack of the Engliſh, and Huntley, at his return, found the Scottiſh army in great diſorder. The diviſion commanded by Lenox and Argyle, were ſo elated with the ſucceſs of the other wing, that they broke their ranks; and notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of La Motte, the French ambaſſador ruſhed in the utmoſt confuſion upon the enemy, imagining themſelves ſure of victory. But they ſoon found the effects of their raſhneſs. Sir Edmund Howard, with his diviſion ſtood firm, and received them with great bravery; while Dacres, wheeling about during the action, fell upon the rear, and attacked them ſo furiouſly, that they could not ſuſtain the ſhock. The greater part of them were cut to pieces, and the reſt eſcaped by a diſorderly flight. This diſorder did not however intimidate the diviſion under the king and Bothwel. Animated by the valour of their leaders, they ſtill made head againſt the Engliſh; and forming themſelves into a circle, continued the engagement till night put an end to the ſlaughter. The darkneſs favoured the retreat of the Scots; nor were the Engliſh ſenſible of their having obtained the victory, till the morning diſcovered where the advantage lay. Ten thouſand Scots are ſaid to have periſhed on this occaſion, and the victors to have loſt about half that number. Others repreſent the numbers that fell on each ſide nearly equal: but it is certain the Engliſh loſt only perſons of ſmall note, while the flower of the Scottiſh nobility, with the king himſelf was ſlain. In ſearching the field, the Engliſh found a dead body, dreſſed in a habit like his, which reſembled him; and it being put into a leaden coffin, was ſent to London, where it was kept unburied for ſome time; James having died under the ſentence of excommunication, on account of his confederacy with France, and his oppoſing the holy ſee. Henry however obtained his abſolution from the pontiff, and the body was interred. The Scots aſſerted, that the body of their king was not found, but that of a younger gentleman, named Elphinſton, who, with ſeveral other volunteers, were dreſſed like the king. It was even affirmed, that James was ſeen to croſs the Tweed at Kelſo, and that he was aſſaſſinated by the vaſſals of lord Hume, who had been inſtigated to commit ſo enormous a crime by that nobleman. The populace were however perſuaded, that he was ſtill alive; and having ſecretly gone on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, would at length return, and again take poſſeſſion of the throne. The Scots long entertained this conceit. Such was the event of the battle of Flouden, fought on the ninth of September; and this victory afforded Henry a fair opportunity of inſiſting upon his own terms with Scotland, perhaps of conquering that kingdom; but on this occaſion he behaved with great generoſity. He liſtened to the requeſt of his ſiſter, the queen of Scotland, who had been appointed regent during her ſon's minority, and in compaſſion to her helpleſs condition, readily concluded a peace. At the ſame time he created the earl of Surry duke of Norfolk; Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk; lord Herbert, earl of Worceſter; Sir Edward Stanley, lord Monteagle, and Wolſey was created biſhop of Lincoln. Margaret of York, daughter to the duke of Clarence, obtained the title of counteſs of Saliſbury, as heireſs to her brother the earl of Warwick, beheaded by Henry VII.

A. D. 1514.

Lewis, perfectly ſenſible of the danger to which his kingdom was expoſed in the laſt campaign, appeaſed Leo X. by renouncing the council of Piſa, which had been transferred to Lyons; and the pontiff, in return, took off the excommunication that had been denounced againſt him and his kingdom. Ferdinand, who was advanced in years, and had no other ambition than to keep poſſeſſion of Navarre, which he had ſubdued, readily liſtened to the propoſals of Lewis, for prolonging the truce to another year, and of forming a more intimate connection between them, by marrying his ſecond daughter Renée, to Charles prince of Spain, grandſon to the Spaniſh monarch; with whom he was to have Lewis's claim to the duchy of Milan. The emperor Maximilian alſo acceded to the treaty. When Henry was informed of this tranſaction, he flew into a violent rage, loudly complaining, that his father-in-law, by his promiſes and profeſſions, had engaged him to be at enmity with France; and yet, without the leaſt warning ſacrificed his intereſt to his own ſelfiſh views, leaving him expoſed to all the dangers and expence of the war. But he loſt all patience, on hearing that Maximilian was alſo ſeduced from his alliance, and that propoſals had been agreed to for the marriage of Charles, prince of Spain, with the daughter of France. At this time, the duke of Longueville, who had been taken priſoner at the battle of Spurs, took advantage of Henry's vexation to procure a peace, which he knew to be eagerly deſired by his maſter; and therefore repreſented to Henry, that Anne, queen of France, being lately dead, an affinity might be formed, which would prove of advantage to both nations, and at once put a period to all differences; and that no marriage ſeemed more ſuitable than that of Lewis to the princeſs of England, whoſe youth and beauty afforded the moſt flattering hopes: that though it might appear ſomewhat unſuitable for a king of fifty-three years of age, to be married to a princeſs of ſixteen, yet the alliance would be attended with other advantages, more than ſufficient to compenſate for this inequality. Henry ſeemed to pay attention to this diſcourſe. Longueville therefore informed Lewis of the probability of bringing the affair to a happy concluſion, and received full powers for negociating the treaty. Hence the articles were eaſily adjuſted. Lewis agreed that Tournay ſhould continue in the hands of the Engliſh; that Richard de la Pole ſhould retire to Metz, and have a penſion aſſigned him by Lewis; and that Henry ſhould receive a million of crowns, as the arrears due by treaty to his father and himſelf; and that the princeſs Mary ſhould have four hundred thouſand crowns for her portion; and poſſeſs as large a jointure as any other queen of France had done. Agreeable to this treaty Mary was ſent with a ſplendid retinue to France, and was met by Lewis at Abbeville, where the marriage was celebrated. He was charmed with the beauty and accompliſhments of the young princeſs: but being ſeduced into a courſe of gaiety and pleaſure, unſuitable to his declining ſtate of health, he died in leſs than three months after his marriage, to the great concern of the French, who unanimouſly gave him the honourable title of the father of his people. His young queen ſoon after married Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.

A. D. 1515. The archbiſhop of York was poiſoned at Rome by his chaplain, in revenge for a blow the prelate had given him. Information was immediately ſent to Henry of this cataſtrophe; and the pope determined to keep the ſee of York vacant, till the king's pleaſure ſhould be known. He did not wait long; Henry immediately conferred it upon Wolſey, and the pontiff confirmed his election. Wolſey by his ambition, raiſed himſelf many enemies, which only ſerved to rivet him the faſter in the confidence of Henry, who was fond of ſupporting the choice he had made againſt all oppoſition. That prelate, knowing the king's imperious temper, had the art to conceal from him the aſcendant he had obtained; and while all public councils were under his ſecret direction, he conſtantly pretended a blind ſubmiſſion to his maſter's will. He preſerved the king's affection by entering into his pleaſures; he gratified his indolence by conducting his buſineſs; and in both caſes prevented the jealouſy which would naturally have ariſen from his exorbitant acquiſitions, and oſtentatious courſe of life. Beſides enjoying the adminiſtration of Tournay, he, on eaſy leaſes, obtained the poſſeſſion of the revenues of Bath, Worceſter, and Hereford; biſhopricks filled by Italians, who, being permitted to reſide abroad, were willing to compound for this indulgence by yielding to him a conſiderable ſhare of their incomes. He held the abbey of St. Albans, and many other church preferments *in commendam.* He was even permitted to unite to the ſee of York, firſt that of Durham, and then that of Wincheſter; and there appeared to be no end of his acquiſitions. The pope, obſerving his great influence over Henry, endeavoured to engage him to his intereſt, by creating him a cardinal. Under colour of exacting a regard to religion, he carried the ſtate and dignity of a churchman to a moſt exorbitant height. He had a train conſiſting of eight hundred ſervants, many of whom were knights and gentlemen: even ſome of the nobility put their children into his family, as a place of education; and that they might gain their patron's favour, allowed them to bear offices as his ſervants. All who were diſtinguiſhed by their ſkill in any art or ſcience, paid their court to him, and none paid it in vain. He was a generous patron of literature, and gave encouragement to every branch of erudition, both by his private bounty and public inſtructions. This generous munificence procured him the approbation of the wiſe: but not ſatisfied with this, he ſtrove to dazzle the eyes of the populace, by the ſplendor of his equipage and furniture, the embroidery of his liveries, and the richneſs of his own apparel. He was the firſt clergyman in England who wore ſilk and gold on his habit, his ſaddles and the trappings of his horſes. His cardinal's hat was bore aloft by a perſon of rank; and when entering the king's chapel, he would permit its being laid on no place but the altar. The talleſt and moſt comely prieſt that could be found carried before him a ſilver pillar, with a croſs on the top; and another prieſt of equal ſtature and beauty, bore the croſs of York, even in the dioceſe of Canterbury. Warham, chancellor and archbiſhop of Canterbury, being averſe to all diſputes, choſe to retire from public employment, and reſigned his office of chancellor; on which the great ſeal was delivered to Wolſey. Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, who had long directed the affairs of government, and even introduced Wolſey to the king's favour, could not bear to find himſelf neglected. He obtained permiſſion to retire to his biſhoprick, and when leaving the council board, he told the king, that "he hoped he would not ſuffer the ſervant to be greater than the maſter." "Fear not my good lord biſhop," replied Henry, "It ſhall be my care that ſubjects ſhall obey, and not command." The duke of Norfolk, alſo, finding the king's money almoſt exhauſted, reſigned his office of treaſurer; and Suffolk, offended at the king's having refuſed to pay a debt, which he had contracted while in France, lived in privacy. Thus Wolſey was left to enjoy the power and favour of the king without a rival. And though his dignity increaſed the number of his enemies, it exalted his perſonal character; for no chancellor ever excelled this able ſtateſman, nor ever ſhewed greater impartiality in his deciſions, or more enlarged knowledge of law and equity, or deeper penetration.

Francis I. who aſcended the throne, on the death of Lewis XII. was a prince of great courage, and wanted only the additional quality of diſcretion, to render him ſuperior to all the princes of Europe. He renewed the treaty made by his predeceſſor with Henry, and induced by the ardour of conqueſt, he paſſed into Italy. His deſign was to conquer the duchy of Milan, and wreſt it once more from the unhappy family of Sforſa. The Venetians ſupported him, who wanted at leaſt to recover the Veroneſe, of which they had been ſtripped by the emperor Maximilian. His oppoſers were pope Leo X. an intriguing, politic prince, and Maximilian, worn out with age and infirmities: but his moſt dangerous enemies were the Swiſs, irritated againſt France, by the refuſal of Lewis XII. to fulfil the treaty concluded before Dijon, and inflamed with the harangues of Matthew Schaner, cardinal of Sion. They had aſſumed the title of "Defenders of the popes, and protectors of princes;" and indeed for the laſt ten years this appellation was not merely imaginary. Francis, on his march to Milan, continued to negotiate with that nation. Practiſed in the art of diſſimulation, they amuſed the king with empty promiſes, till they had received advice, that the military cheſt of France was arrived, when they deſcended from the mountains into the plain, though deſtitute of cavalry, and oppoſed the progreſs of the French arms. A dreadful battle enſued, at Marignan, near Milan. The victory was conteſted with a perſeverance hitherto unknown: and it required all the heroic valour of Francis to inſpire his troops with courage, to ſupport themſelves againſt the deſperate aſſaults of theſe mountaineers. After a bloody action in the evening, night intervened with her gloomy darkneſs between the combatants. The king ſlept on the carriage of a cannon, within fifty paces of a Swiſs battalion. As ſoon as dawn appeared, the action was renewed with redoubled fury; and it was not till the Swiſs had loſt their braveſt troops, that they could be prevailed upon to retire. The field was ſtrewed with twenty thouſand ſlain on both ſides; and the old marſhal Trivulzio, who had been preſent at eighteen pitched battles, uſed to call this "the battle of the giants." This victory was followed by the reduction of the Milaneſe. Both the pope and the Swiſs became allies to Francis. He compelled Maximilian to reſtore the Veroneſe to the Venetians; and procured for Leo X. the duchy of Urbino, which ſtill belongs to the church of Rome. Sforza himſelf tired with the viciſſitudes of fortune, diſguſted with the tyranny of the Swiſs, and deſirous of privacy and repoſe, put himſelf into the hands of Francis; and after ſtipulating for an annual penſion of thirty thouſand ducats, reſigned his pretenſions to the duchy of Milan, and retired into France. Shortly after the Germans were driven out of Italy; and both Henry and his miniſter were diſappointed in their deſigns of leſſening the power of France.

A. D. 1516. In the following year Henry concluded a truce with the regent of Scotland for one year, that he might have an opportunity of deſtroying the influence of that nobleman, by means of the Humes, who were devoted to his intereſt. In order to this he inſiſted, that the Scottiſh parliament ſhould ſend the duke or Albany to France, as it was dangerous to truſt the young king in the hand of his preſumptive heir, and threatened on their non-compliance, to take other meaſures for the ſafety of his nephew. This remonſtrance proving ineffectual, the Humes perſuaded the earl of Arran to claim the regency; but the duke of Albany, being informed of the conſpiracy, decoyed them to the court, and cauſed them to be executed as traitors.

The death of Ferdinand, the Catholic, and the ſucceſſion of his grandſon Charles to his extenſive dominions, made Francis ſenſible, of the neceſſity of gaining the confidence and friendſhip of Henry; and for that purpoſe, he paid his court by flattery and preſents to Wolſey. He diſpatched Bonnivet, admiral of France, to London, with orders to employ all that inſinuation and addreſs in which he excelled, to procure the cardinal's good graces. The ambaſſador took an opportunity to expreſs his maſter's concern, that by miſtakes and miſapprehenſions, he had been ſo unfortunate as to loſe a friendſhip which he ſo highly valued as that of his eminence. Wolſey liſtened to theſe honourable advances, and from thenceforward expreſſed himſelf in favour of the French alliance. Francis even entered into ſuch confidence with him, as to aſk his advice in his moſt ſecret affairs, and in every difficult emergency had recourſe to him, as to an oracle of wiſdom. The cardinal made no ſecret to Henry of this private correſpondence; and the king had ſuch an opinion of his miniſter's capacity, that he ſaid, he verily believed, he would govern Francis as well as himſelf. At length Bonnivet informed the cardinal of his maſter's deſire to recover Tournay; on which Wolſey took an opportunity to repreſent to the king and council, that the diſtance between Tournay and Calais was ſo great, that, in caſe of a war, it would be very difficult, if not impoſſible, to keep open the communication between them: that as it was ſeated on the frontiers both of France and the Low Countries, it might be attacked on either ſide, and that it could not be preſerved even in time of peace, without a garriſon, to be a check upon the mutinous inhabitants, who were diſcontented with the Engliſh government; and that its poſſeſſion, though precarious and expenſive, was entirely uſeleſs, with reſpect to annoying the dominions of either Charles or Francis. Theſe reaſons meeting with no oppoſition, a treaty was entered into for ceding Tournay: and it was agreed, that the dauphin ſhould be contracted to the princeſs Mary, though both of them were infants, and that city be conſidered as the princeſs's dowry. But Henry having been at great expence in building a citadel there, Francis agreed to pay him ſix hundred thouſand crowns, at twelve annual payments, and to allow a yearly penſion of twelve thouſand livres to the cardinal, as an equivalent for the revenue of the biſhopric of Tournay.

A. D. 1517. While theſe negociations were carrying on between the courts of England and France, Germany was agitated with thoſe theological diſputes, which produced the reformation. Martin Luther, an Auguſtine monk, and profeſſor of divinity in the univerſity of Wirtemberg, in Germany, undertook to refute divers doctrines of the church of Rome. Leo. X. at firſt diſregarded his writings, as the weak efforts of an obſcure monk. His whole attention was indeed bent to filling his treaſury by the traffic of indulgencies. In this ſale he chiefly employed the Dominicans. The Auguſtine friars were highly affronted, becauſe this lucrative occupation was not as uſual entruſted to them; eſpecially, as they had ſome time ſince been employed in Saxony, and had acquired both reputation and profit. Martin Luther, ſtimulated to revenge, was loud in his declamations againſt the church of Rome. He was a perſon of great learning, genius, and ſpirit, inflexible and opiniative; and their was no want of abuſes whereon to ground his invectives. Religion, often proſtituted, had become a cloak for the moſt ſordid rapacity, and the moſt unpardonable ambition. An inceſſant cry of reformation reſounded from all quarters, and Luther knew how to take advantage of it. He, however, confined himſelf, in his firſt writings, to expoſe the doctrine of indulgencies, and, perhaps, had then no other deſign. But he went farther than he at firſt intended, as is the caſe with all religious diſputants; and it has been ſaid, with ſeeming probability, that the beſt method of inducing this zealous reformer to change his opinion, would have been by a preſent of a cardinal's hat; but the contempt in which he was held by the church of Rome, proved fatal to her power.

Luther now ſounded openly a defiance to the holy ſee. He exhorted all princes to throw off the papal authority; he railed againſt private maſſes; and met with the greater applauſe, by inveighing againſt the ſale of them. His writings, full of zeal and fury, ſpread over Europe. The doctrines he inculcated were flattering to its princes, becauſe they furniſhed them with a pretence for throwing off the pope's dominion, and for enriching themſelves with the wealth of eccleſiaſtics. The Dominicans, ſupported by the pope's nuncios, cauſed his books to be burnt. His holineſs thundered out a new bull againſt him; but Luther, now protected by the princes of Germany, was not to be intimidated; he even ordered the pope's bull and decretals to be burnt in the public market place of Wirtemberg.

A. D. 1518. During theſe diſputes, the pope inveſted Wolſey with a legantine power, together with a right of ſuſpending all the laws of the church for one year. On obtaining this new dignity, he diſplayed his grandeur with great parade. On ſolemn feaſt-days, he ſaid maſs after the manner of the pope; was ſerved by biſhops and abbots; and even engaged the firſt nobility to give him water and the towel. Wolſey now erected an office, which he termed a legantine court; and as he was thus, by means of the pope's commiſſion, and the favour of the king, inveſted with all eccleſiaſtcal and civil power, none knew what bounds he would ſet to the authority of his new tribunal. He directed the members of this court to inquire into all matters of conſcience; and into all thoſe actions which, though not cognizable by law, were contrary to good morals.

People were offended on ſeeing a man ſo fond of pomp and pleaſure, ſevere in repreſſing the leaſt appearance of licentiouſneſs in others; and this court was rendered the more obnoxious, from Wolſey's making one John Allen judge in it, whom he himſelf, as chancellor, had condemned for perjury; and as he extorted fines from all whom he was pleaſed to find guilty, or received bribes to drop proſecutions, it was concluded, that the cardinal had a ſhare in thoſe wages of iniquity. To the tyranny of this court, the clergy and monks were particularly expoſed; and as their lives frequently gave a juſt handle againſt them, they were obliged to pay large ſums to purchaſe an indemnity. Wolſey, not ſatisfied with this authority, pretended to aſſume, by virtue of his commiſſion, the juriſdiction of all the biſhops courts, particularly that of judging all matters reſpecting wills and teſtaments. None dared to complain, till archbiſhop Warham ventured to lay before the king the diſcontents of the people. Henry pretended ignorance, ſaying, "A man is no where ſo blind as in his own houſe. But do you, father, go to Wolſey, and tell him, if any thing be amiſs, that he amend it." This only ſerved to ſtrengthen the cardinal's enmity to Warham; but Allen, his judge, being proſecuted by one London in a court of law, and being convicted, the clamour at laſt reached the king's ears, and he expreſſed ſuch diſpleaſure, that Wolſey ever after was more cautious in exerting his authority. It muſt be confeſſed, in favour of this noble perſonage, that, conſidering the whole of his adminiſtration impartially, he made uſe of his power for the good of his country. His poſt of chancellor placed him at the fountain of juſtice, and never was it better adminiſtered. He was a firm ſupporter of the poor; and enforced ſeveral laws for the protection of the mercantile and induſtrious part of the people. We have already obſerved, that he was a great friend to literature. At this time the arts, under his patronage, found encouragement; trade was improved; and manufactures were carried on with ſucceſs. Wolſey ſpared no pains to diſcover perſons of literary accompliſhments, nor thought any rewards too great to beſtow upon them. He employed no miniſters but ſuch who were ſcholars; and under his adminiſtration, the dignified offices of the law, the church, and the ſtate, were filled with men whoſe literary merit was their only recommendation.

A. D. 1519. The attention of Henry was now excited by the death of Maximilian the emperor, which left vacant the firſt ſtation among the Chriſtian powers, and, of courſe, affected the general ſyſtem of Europe. Inſtantly the kings of France and Spain became candidates for that crown; and, by money and intrigues, endeavoured to obtain the great point of their ambition. Henry likewiſe put in his claim; but Pace, his miniſter, who was ſent to the electors, found that he was too late, all thoſe princes having engaged their votes. Francis and Charles profeſſed to carry on their rival pretenſions without enmity. Francis declared, that his brother Charles and he were fair and open ſuitors to the ſame miſtreſs; and that, as the moſt fortunate would obtain her, the other muſt reſt ſatisfied. But every one apprehended this extraordinary moderation would be of ſhort duration, and that the minds of two ſuch candidates would ſoon be imbittered againſt each other. Charles at laſt prevailed; though the king of France had continued to the laſt to believe, that the majority of the electoral college was engaged in his favour. He was now filled with indignation, at being publicly diſappointed in an affair of ſuch importance. From hence, joined to the oppoſition of intereſt, aroſe that emulation between them which kept that age in motion, and formed a remarkable contraſt between theſe two princes. Both of them were endowed with extraordinary abilities: they were brave, aſpiring, and active; beloved by their ſubjects, feared by their enemies, and reſpected by all Europe. Francis, who was open, frank, and liberal, carried theſe virtues to an exceſs which was prejudicial to his affairs. Charles, who was politic, artful, and frugal, was better qualified to obtain ſucceſs in negociations and wars: the one was by far the moſt amiable man, and the other the greateſt prince. Fortune, without the aſſiſtance of prudence or valour, never raiſed on a ſudden ſuch power as centered in the emperor Charles V. He had ſucceeded to the poſſeſſion of Caſtile, Arragon, Granada, Auſtria, the Netherlands, and Naples; was elected emperor; and a little before his time, the bounds of the earth ſeemed to be enlarged, that he might poſſeſs the unrifled treaſure of the new world. His dominions in Europe were richer, and more extenſive, than any that had been known ſince the time of the Romans: France only, by being a compact, rich, and populous country, placed between the provinces of the emperor's dominions, was able to oppoſe his progreſs. However, Henry, by the ſituation and ſtrength of his kingdom, was able to hold the balance between thoſe powers; and had he known how to improve, by his prudence and policy, this extraordinary advantage, it would have made him a greater prince than either of thoſe monarchs, who ſeemed to ſtrive for the dominion of Europe. But Henry was vain, capricious, imperious, and impolitic, guided by his paſſions, and under the direction of a favourite. Indeed, he was ſometimes actuated by friendſhip for foreign powers, but oftener by his reſentment; ſeldom by his true intereſt.

A. D. 1520. This character of Henry, Francis was well acquainted with, and therefore ſolicited an interview with him near Calais, in hopes of obtaining his friendſhip and confidence by familiar converſation. The king of France had promiſed Wolſey fourteen votes in the conclave on the demiſe of Leo; but the cardinal thought the aid of the emperor would more effectually conduce to raiſe him to this ſummit of power; and therefore began to detach his maſter from the intereſt of France, and engage him in that of the houſe of Auſtria. However, he would not ſo far declare himſelf as to prevent his aſſiſting at the propoſed interview, which would afford him an opportunity of diſplaying his magnificence before the court of France; but was at the ſame time determined, that Francis ſhould gain no advantage by it to the prejudice of the emperor. He therefore ſeconded the requeſt of the French monarch; and Henry, who was equally fond of empty pageantry, conſented to the propoſal. Charles, being informed of this intended interview, reſolved to pay the king of England a higher compliment, by viſiting him in his own dominions; and while Henry was preparing to depart for Calais, the emperor, on the twenty-fifth of May, landed at Dover, whither the court immediately haſted to receive their royal gueſt. The next day he was met by Henry in perſon, who conducted him to Canterbury, where he was entertained with the utmoſt ſplendour. Charles paid his court to Wolſey in the moſt artful manner, promiſing his aſſiſtance in procuring for him the papacy, whenever there ſhould happen a vacancy. There was, however, little appearance, that this promiſe would be claimed. Leo X. was a young man, and likely to fill the papal chair when the name of Wolſey would only exiſt: yet the promiſe from Charles ſoothed the ambition of the powerful prelate, who, in conſequence, devoted himſelf ſolely to the intereſt of the emperor. Charles, after ſtaying five days, took leave, and embarked at Sandwich for Flanders, well ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of his viſit.

The ſame day that Charles left England, Henry ſet ſail for Calais, with his queen and the whole court; and thence proceeding to Guiſnes, a ſmall town near the frontiers, took up his reſidence in a ſuperb wooden edifice, erected near the place appointed for the interview. It was furniſhed in a moſt oſtentatious manner; and from the chapel was a private gallery that reached to the caſtle of Guiſnes. Francis, attended with a ſplendid retinue, repaired to Guiſnes, a few miles diſtant from Calais. On the ſeventh of June, the two monarchs met on horſeback in the valley of Ardres, within the Engliſh pale; for Francis agreed to pay this compliment to Henry, in conſideration of his having croſſed the ſea to viſit him. Wolſey, to whom the regulation of the ceremonial had been entruſted by both kings, contrived this circumſtance in honour of his maſter. The nobility, both of England and France, here diſplayed their magnificence with ſuch profuſion, that the place of interview was ſtiled, *The Field of Cloth of Gold.* The two monarchs having alighted, ſaluted each other in the moſt cordial manner, and retired arm in arm to a rich tent pitched for their reception, where they held a private conference. Here Henry propoſed an amendment of ſome of the articles of their former alliance, and began with reading the preamble to the treaty, "I, Henry, king;" and pauſing a moment, added only, "of England," without mentioning "France;" on which Francis, obſerving this delicacy, expreſſed his approbation by a ſmile, and ſoon after paid Henry a compliment of a more flattering nature. He obſerved the diſtruſtful precautions uſed whenever he had an interview with Henry; the number of their attendants and guards were counted on both ſides; every ſtep was ſcrupulouſly meaſured; and when the two kings propoſed to pay a viſit to the queens, they left their reſpective quarters at the ſame inſtant on the diſcharge of a culverin, and paſſed by each other in the middle point of diſtance between the places they were each of them going to.

Francis, who was himſelf a man of honour, incapable of diſtruſting others, in order to put an end to this tedious ceremony, one day took with him only two gentlemen and a page, with whom he rode into Guiſnes. The guards were ſurprized at the preſence of the French king, who called aloud to them, "You are all my priſoners; conduct me to your maſter." Henry was equally aſtoniſhed; and taking him in his arms, ſaid, "Brother, you have paid me a moſt agreeable compliment, and hereby ſhewed what full confidence I may place in you: from this moment I ſurrender myſelf your priſoner." Then taking from his neck a collar of pearls, worth fifteen thouſand angels, and putting it about that of Francis, deſired him to wear it for his ſake. Francis agreed, on condition of Henry's wearing a bracelet which he preſented to him, worth double the value of the collar. From that moment they viſited each other without the leaſt precaution; a generous diſdain of ſuſpicion produced a perfect confidence; and the reſt of their time was ſpent in feſtivals and tournaments. The two kings entertained each other with theſe kinds of amuſements, without paying much attention to ſerious buſineſs. Nothing of importance paſſed during the interview, but an agreement, that after Francis ſhould have diſcharged the million of crowns ſtipulated in the laſt treaty, he ſhould continue to pay to the king of England an annual ſum of one hundred thouſand livres; that in caſe the dauphin ſhould become king of England by his marriage with the princeſs Mary, this penſion ſhould be enjoyed by her and her heirs for ever; and that the diſputes between England and Scotland ſhould be referred to the arbitration of the French king's mother, and cardinal Wolſey. On the twenty-fourth of June the two monarchs parted, and Henry, with his retinue, returned to Calais. The emperor, uneaſy with regard to the event of this interview, came to Gravelines, where he was met by Henry, and the moſt cordial aſſurances of mutual eſteem paſſed between them. At the ſame time the emperor renewed his promiſes of aſſiſting Wolſey in obtaining the triple crown, and put him immediately in poſſeſſion of the revenues belonging to Bajadox and Palencia in Caſtile; an acquiſition which rendered the revenues of Wolſey nearly equal to thoſe of the crown itſelf. Charles here completed the favourable impreſſion he had begun to make on Henry and Wolſey, and effaced all the friendſhip which the frank and generous temper of Francis had kindled in their minds. Henry, on the eleventh of July returned to Calais, and embarking for England with the firſt fair wind, arrived there, with his retinue, in ſafety.

A. D. 1521. Charles V. ſoon after his coronation, aſſembled a diet at Worms, where he ſummoned Luther to appear, granting him a ſafe conduct for his perſon. He accordingly appeared; but refuſing to retract his tenets, was, with his diſciples, proſcribed by public edict. Every zealous votary of the church now entered the liſts againſt this reformer; among the reſt, Henry declared himſelf a champion for his holineſs. He was particularly incenſed againſt Luther, for the ſeverity with which he had treated Thomas Aquinas, an author highly eſteemed by him and Wolſey; and therefore wrote a treatiſe, *de ſeptem Sacramentis*, in which he vehemently oppoſed Luther with reſpect to the article of indulgencies, the number of ſacraments, and the papal authority. This work was preſented to his holineſs in full conſiſtory, who received it with marks of the higheſt reſpect; and with the unanimous conſent of the college of cardinals iſſued a bull, in which he conferred upon Henry the honourable title of "Fidei Defenſor," *Defender of the Faith*; a title ſtill retained by the kings of England.

The emulation and political jealouſy that ſubſiſted between Charles and Francis, ſoon produced hoſtilities between them. The French ſent an army into Navarre, to replace the family of d'Albert on the throne of that kingdom. Had the French general confined himſelf to the reduction of Navarre, his conduct could not have been conſidered as a breach of the peace between Charles and Francis; but he had no ſooner ſubdued that country, than, finding the kingdom of Spain itſelf was in the utmoſt diſorder from an inſurrection of the people, he thought the opportunity too favourable to be rejected, and immediately laid ſiege to Logrogno in Caſtile. The Caſtilians were now convinced of their folly; the appearance of a foreign enemy put an end to their domeſtic diſſentions; they attacked the French with ſo much fury, that they drove them from their intrenchments, and even expelled them out of Navarre. Robert de la Marck, duke of Bouillon, had the aſſurance to attack the emperor's dominions in the Low Countries; and Charles, not doubting but that Robert was inſtigated by Francis, raiſed a powerful army, and openly commenced hoſtilities againſt the French monarch. But while theſe ambitious princes were at war with each other in different parts of their dominions, they ſtill profeſſed the ſtrongeſt deſire of peace, and continually carried their complaints to Henry, as to their common umpire. Henry, pretending to be neutral, adviſed them to ſend their ambaſſadors to Calais, in order to negotiate a peace under the mediation of the pope's nuncio.

The emperor, knowing the partiality of theſe mediators in his favour, demanded the reſtitution of Burgundy, though it had been ceded to France many years by treaty; and though its being in his poſſeſſion would give him an entrance into the heart of that kingdom: he alſo inſiſted on being freed from the homage conſtantly paid by his anceſtors for Flanders and Artois, though he himſelf had engaged to renew it by the treaty of Noyon. Theſe terms being rejected by Francis, the congreſs broke up, and ſoon after Wolſey went to the emperor at Bruges, where he was received with the ſame ſtate and magnificence as if he had been a crowned head; and there, in his maſter's name, concluded an offenſive alliance againſt France with the emperor and the pope. It was ſtipulated, that England ſhould invade that kingdom with forty thouſand men.

Wolſey was no ſooner returned to England, than he commenced a proſecution againſt the duke of Buckingham, conſtable of England, the firſt nobleman both for family and fortune in the kingdom, who had unfortunately given the cardinal ſome cauſe of diſguſt. He was deſcended by a female line from the duke of Glouceſter, ſon of Edward III. and being infatuated with the whims of judicial aſtrology, and the vain predictions of a viſionary monk, he flattered himſelf with the hopes of one day ſucceeding to the crown; and even meditated ſome project againſt the life of the king. For this he was brought to his trial; and the duke of Norfolk, whoſe ſon, the earl of Surry, had married Buckingham's daughter, was created lord ſteward on this ſolemn occaſion. He was tried by one duke, a marquis, ſeven earls, and twelve barons, by whom he was condemned; but as his crime appeared to have proceeded from indiſcretion, rather than deliberate malice, the people, by whom he was beloved, expected he would be pardoned; and imputed that diſappointment to the influence of the cardinal. However, the king's jealouſy of all who were allied to the crown, was alone ſufficient to render him implacable againſt this nobleman. The office of conſtable was now forfeited, and never after revived in England. After his trial he was remanded back to the Tower, where he received a meſſage from the king, intimating that his puniſhment was mitigated to decapitation. Accordingly he ſuffered death, to the univerſal regret of the people. A little after this melancholy event, Leo X. died in the flower of his age, and in the ninth year of his pontificate. He was ſucceeded in the papal throne by Adrian VI. who had been tutor to the emperor Charles. This pontiff was a perſon of great integrity, candour, and ſimplicity of manners; but the prejudices of the reformers againſt the church were ſo violent, that he rather hurt the cauſe by his ſteady attachment to thoſe virtues.

A. D. 1522. The emperor dreaded the reſentment of Wolſey, which he expected would reſult from his diſappointment by the election of Adrian; and therefore, to prevent the breach this might make in their friendſhip, Charles paid another viſit to England on the twenty-ſixth of May, when he not only flattered the vanity of the king and the cardinal, but renewed his promiſes of ſeconding Wolſey's pretenſions to the papal chair. Whereupon the cardinal, being ſenſible that the great age and infirmities of Adrian promiſed a ſpeedy vacancy, concealed his mortification, and flattered himſelf with the hopes of being ſucceſsful at the next general election. Charles alſo renewed the treaty concluded at Bruges, and agreed to indemnify both the king and Wolſey, for the revenue they ſhould loſe by a breach with France. Still farther to ingratiate himſelf with Henry and the Engliſh in general, he gave to Surry, admiral of England, a commiſſion, conſtituting him high-admiral of his dominions, and he himſelf was inſtalled knight of the garter. After ſtaying ſix weeks in England he embarked at Southampton, and in ten days returned to Spain.

Henry now avowed the league he had made with the emperor, and alledged that Francis was the aggreſſor; but the truth ſeems to have been, that he was incenſed againſt the French monarch for ſuffering the duke of Albany to return from France to Scotland, where he had been detained at his requeſt, in order to procure an aſcendency in the Engliſh council during the abſence of the regent. Beſides, he was afraid the duke would marry his ſiſter, the queen dowager of Scotland, as ſhe had applied to the pope for a divorce from her huſband, the earl of Angus; and the duke of Albany had ſupported her ſuit at the court of Rome. Notwithſtanding the regent's declaring that he had no ſuch intention, his own wife being ſtill living, Henry wrote to the Scottiſh parliament, accuſing the duke of having formed a deſign upon the crown, to the prejudice of the lawful heir, and requiring them to baniſh him the realm. To this they replied, that he had been miſinformed concerning Albany's deſign; that he himſelf encountered the intereſt of his nephew, by fomenting broils in his kingdom; and that if he did not renew the truce, the regent would endeavour to defend their country from his attacks. Henry had no ſooner received this anſwer, with a letter from his ſiſter, upbraiding him with baſe and diſingenuous conduct, than he ſent lord Dacres, with five hundred men to the borders, with a commiſſion to proclaim, that the Scottiſh parliament were to make peace with him at their peril by a certain time. His deſign in this was to afford a pretence to his own party for refuſing to ſerve the regent, ſhould he attempt to make a diverſion in favour of Francis. The duke of Albany having raiſed an army to make a deſcent upon England, many noblemen of diſtinction refuſed to involve their country in an unneceſſary war with that kingdom; the regent, therefore, finding his deſign of ſerving his French ally defeated, propoſed a truce, to which Henry aſſented; and the regent returned to Paris, to concert new meaſures with Francis. This monarch being apprized of what had paſſed between Henry and the emperor, ſent letters patent to Henry, in which he inſerted the articles of the treaty of London, whereby they were bound to mutual aſſiſtance; and then demanded the execution of that treaty, to which he had ſolemnly ſworn. Henry again affirmed, that Francis was the aggreſſor; and as he had violated his promiſe with reſpect to the duke of Albany, declared war againſt him as a diſturber of the peace of Europe. For the ſupport of this war, the king, with the advice of the cardinal, iſſued warrants to all ſheriffs and conſtables, to number the people from the age of ſixteen and upwards, and to ſpecify the effects of each individual, that he might borrow a tenth from the laity, and a fourth from the clergy, beſides a loan of twenty thouſand pounds, which he expected from the city of London. This expedient produced great clamours againſt the cardinal, as author of the impoſition; and the merchants of London flatly refuſed to aſcertain the value of their effects, which being diſtributed in various channels of commerce, could not be ſpecified; ſo that Henry was obliged to have recourſe to more lenient methods.

A. D. 1523. The bloody ſtandard of war was now diſplayed; ambaſſadors on both ſides were recalled; the effects of merchants in both countries were ſeized; and Henry fitted out a ſtrong fleet for making prizes, and protecting the Engliſh commerce. But as the plan of operations for the approaching war was likely to be extenſive, there was a neceſſity for calling a parliament, and demanding a ſubſidy for the enſuing year. The ſeſſions was opened with a ſpeech from the cardinal; who after enhancing the great advantages that would accrue to the nation from the alliances lately concluded with the powers on the continent, required one fifth of all lay effects, payable in four years. This demand produced very ſtrong debates; though the members were at length wrought into compliance.

In the middle of Auguſt, the Engliſh army, under command of the duke of Suffolk, paſſed over to Calais. On his arrival at St. Omers, he was joined by three thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, in the Imperial ſervice. It was now determined to march along the banks of the Somme, and, if poſſible, to provoke the enemy to a deciſive engagement: but the French had learned wiſdom from paſt misfortunes; they contented themſelves with harraſſing the van of the Engliſh army with flying parties; and depended on the ſtrength of their frontier garriſons, and the advanced ſeaſon of the year, to prevent the Engliſh from taking up their winter quarters in their country. This prudent meaſure anſwered their expectations; for though the duke of Suffolk made himſelf maſter of Bray, Montdidier, Roye, and ſeveral other conſiderable places, and even advanced within eleven leagues of Paris, he found it would be impoſſible for him to canton his troops in the places he had taken, as the duke of Vendome lay in Paris with a large body of forces, and the marſhal Tremouille was forming another, by draughts from the garriſons of Picardy. He was therefore obliged to return to Calais, in order to put his army into winter quarters; but before he reached that fortreſs, many of his ſoldiers periſhed by the inclemency of the weather. In conſequence of this retreat, moſt of the places he had taken during the campaign, fell again into the hands of the French. Nor had Charles any better ſucceſs in the attempt he made, at the ſame time, upon Gaſcony. His forces inveſted Bayonne; but the French general, Leutrec, made ſuch a noble defence, that the Spaniards, after ravaging the adjacent country, were obliged to abandon the enterprize. By theſe untoward events, the French were animated to exert themſelves againſt the powerful alliance formed againſt their country; and, in all probability, Francis would have been able to have ſupported himſelf, notwithſtanding all the efforts of his enemies, had not the conſtable of Bourbon, the moſt able of all his generals, perſecuted by the hatred of the ducheſs of Angouleme, the king's mother, ſacrificed the love of his country to his reſentment, and entered into the ſervice of the emperor. He was immediately created generaliſſimo of his armies, and marched into the duchy of Milan, which the French had again invaded under admiral Bonnivet, his greateſt enemy. Bonnivet was but an indifferent ſoldier, and a worſe ſtateſman. He croſſed the Alps at the head of thirty-three thouſand men, and made himſelf maſter of Navaro, and ſome other places of leſs importance in Italy; and had he marched directly to Milan, he might, perhaps, have recovered that city for his maſter; but he loſt ſo much time in treating with the inhabitants, that the conſtable of Bourbon had an opportunity of putting the place in a poſture of defence. The remainder of the campaign was conſumed in ſeveral fruitleſs attempts upon Cremona, and other places, none of which he was able to reduce. The Italian generals ſaw his inabilities, and took care to cut off his proviſions; ſo that Bonnivet was obliged to retire into Piedmont, where he put his army into winter quarters. During theſe tranſactions pope Adrian VI. died; and by the concurrence of the Imperial party, Clement VII. of the family of the Medicis, was elected in his room.

It was impoſſible for Wolſey to avoid being convinced of the emperor's inſincerity; and he had now full conviction that Charles would never ſecond his pretenſions to the papal dignity. This new diſappointment to his aſpiring hopes, he highly reſented and inſtantly began to prepare for an union between Henry and the French king. In the mean time, concealing his diſguſt, he congratulated the new pope on his promotion, and applied to him for the continuance of the legantine powers, conferred upon him by the two former popes. Clement, ſenſible of the importance of his friendſhip, granted him theſe powers for life, and thus, in a manner, inveſted him with the whole papal authority in England; of which in ſeveral inſtances, the cardinal made a good uſe.

Europe was by this time ſo intimately connected by intereſts and alliances, that war could hardly be kindled in one part, without diffuſing itſelf through the whole: but the cloſeſt of all the leagues was that between France and Scotland. In order therefore to diſſolve this connection, ſo prejudicial to the intereſts of England, Henry ſent an army into Scotland under the command of the earl of Surry, who had reduced the town of Jedburgh to aſhes. The Scotch had neither king nor regent to conduct them, and the Engliſh monarch, who knew their diſtreſſed ſituation, was determined to puſh them to extremity, in hopes of compelling them to renounce their French alliance, and embrace the friendſhip of England. He even endeavoured to allure them with the proſpect of contracting a marriage between the lady Mary, heireſs of England, and their young monarch; and the queen dowager, with the whole party enforced the advantages of this alliance. But the propoſal was warmly objected to by the oppoſite party, who alledged, that ſuch a meaſure would deſtroy the liberty of that kingdom, and render it dependent on England. The number and influence of theſe two parties were ſo nearly poiſed, that the leaſt addition, on either ſide, would have been ſufficient to preponderate. This was at length effected in favour of Scotland, by the arrival of the duke of Albany, who, by the advice of the eſtates, had aſſembled an army, to retaliate on the Engliſh the ravages they had lately committed. With this view he advanced towards the borders; but when his army was paſſing the Tweed, at the bridge of Mulcroſs, they were ſo warmly oppoſed by the Engliſh, that Albany was obliged to retreat. He then encamped his army oppoſite to Werk caſtle, the fortifications of which had been lately repaired, and detached a body of troops to beſiege that fortreſs, which made a gallant defence. Though the Scotch and French auxiliaries carried the outworks, the garriſon charged them ſo cloſely that they were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. In a few days after this miſcarriage, the duke of Albany departed for France, and never more returned to Scotland; which, diſtracted by inteſtine commotions, left Henry at full liberty to proſecute his other deſigns, in conjunction with his continental alliance.

A.D. 1524.

The different ſtates of Italy having expelled the French, reſolved to puſh their ſucceſſes no farther. They had all entertained a jealouſy of the emperor; which was increaſed by his refuſing the inveſtiture of Milan, a fief of the empire, to Francis Sforza, whoſe title he had acknowledged, and in whoſe defence he had engaged; whence it was concluded, that he himſelf intended to obtain that important duchy, and afterwards to reduce Italy to ſubjection. This induced Clement to ſend orders to his nuncio in England, to mediate a reconciliation between her and France. But Wolſey, though diſguſted with the emperor, reſolved to have the glory of producing this great change, and therefore prevailed on the king to reject the pope's mediation; and even a new treaty for the invaſion of France was concluded between Charles and the king of England. Charles agreed to ſupply the duke of Bourbon with a powerful army, to enable him to conquer Dauphiny and Provence; and Henry conſented to pay him a hundred thouſand crowns for the firſt month, and either to continue the ſame monthly, or to enter Picardy with a powerful army. Bourbon was to enjoy the provinces, with the title of king; but to hold them in fee of Henry as king of France. Henry was to have the reſt of that kingdom, and Charles the duchy of Burgundy.

Bonnivet, the French general in Italy, having given offence to the Swiſs by his haughty carriage, theſe hardy mountaineers abandoned the French army, and returned to their own country. Deſerted by theſe forces, Bonnivet ſaw the neceſſity of a retreat. He left his camp, and was followed by the combined army. A ſharp action enſued, in which the greater part of Bonnivet's rear was cut to pieces. The chevalier Bayard was mortally wounded: he was conſidered as the model of ſoldiers and men of honour; and obtained the title of the "Knight without fear, and without reproach." When this brave gentleman could no longer ſupport himſelf on horſeback, he ordered his attendants to ſet him under a tree, and turn his face towards his enemies, that he might die in that poſture. Every perſon ſeemed to ſhare in his misfortune. The ſoldiers as they paſſed dropped a tear. The allied generals, and among the reſt the conſtable of Bourbon, came round him, expreſſing their concern for his preſent condition. "Pity not me," cried he to Bourbon, "I die in the diſcharge of my duty: they alone are objects of pity, who fight againſt their prince and their country."

The pope now began to be alarmed for Italy. The conſtable of Bourbon had paſſed the Alps, and entered Provence at the head of ten thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and eighteen pieces of cannon. The defenceleſs towns of Antibes, Frejus, Vignolles, and Aix, fell an eaſy conqueſt; and the conſtable ſat down on the nineteenth of Auguſt before Marſeilles, which was defended by a garriſon of three thouſand foot, and two hundred men at arms, beſides nine thouſand inhabitants who fought on this occaſion. About the ſame time the Spaniſh admiral, who had been ſent with a ſtrong fleet from Genoa to aſſiſt the land forces, made himſelf maſter of Toulon. The ſiege was carried on with the utmoſt vigour for about a month; when the approach of Francis, at the head of forty thouſand men, obliged the conſtable to abandon the enterprize, and retreat, with ſome precipitation, into Italy. Had Charles been ſatiſfied with defending his own dominions, in all probability he might have rendered all the deſigns of his enemies abortive; eſpecially as the Engliſh were by no means ſanguine for carrying on the war with vigour. But he was deſirous of recovering the Milaneſe, and accordingly croſſed the Alps at mount Cenis; and the conſtable being in no condition to oppoſe him, he marched immediately to the capital of that duchy, and entered the city without oppoſition. Advice was now received, that Francis had undertaken the ſiege of Pavia, one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in Italy, and well provided for making a ſtout defence. Francis puſhed the ſiege with the utmoſt fury, and made ſeveral breaches in the walls; but the vigilance of Leyva, the governor, rendered all his attempts fruitleſs, for he threw up new intrenchments behind the breaches; he made an attempt to turn the courſe of the Teſin, which defended one ſide of the city; but in one night, an inundation of the river deſtroyed all the mounds, which his ſoldiers had for a long time been raiſing.

A. D. 1525.

In the mean while Peſcara and Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, aſſembled forces from every quarter; and Bourbon, having pawned his jewels, went into Germany, raiſed twelve thouſand Landſquenets, and joining the Imperialiſts, the combined army, amounting to twenty thouſand men, advanced to raiſe the ſiege of Pavia; while the emperor was ſo deſtitute of money for the payment of his army, that they were kept to their ſtandards by the hopes of plunder; and had Francis raiſed the ſiege before their approach, and retired to Milan, they muſt have in a ſhort time diſbanded; but having once ſaid, that he would either take Pavia, or periſh in the attempt, he was determined to ſuffer the utmoſt extremities, rather than change his purpoſe. The French camp being ſurrounded with intrenchments, the Imperial generals contented themſelves for ſome days with cannonading the enemy; when the Swiſs having deſerted their poſt, they attacked the intrenchments of the beſiegers about midnight, on the twenty-fifth of April. Upon the firſt alarm, Francis put himſelf at the head of two thouſand cavalry, and fell with ſuch impetuoſity upon a body of troops commanded by Peſcara, that the general was unhorſed, and dangerouſly wounded; and the whole corps would have been totally ruined, had not the duke of Bourbon, who had already made dreadful havoc in another part of the camp, haſtened to his aſſiſtance. The conteſt was now unequal; but the French, to defend the perſon of their king, gathered round him, and fought with all the fury of men driven to deſpair. La Pleſſe, la Tremouille, Galcas de San Severino, and admiral Bonnivet, were ſlain by his ſide. The king defended himſelf with aſtoniſhing vigour; his horſe was killed under him, and he received a deſperate wound in his leg; but he ſtarted up, and ſtill fought on foot with amazing valour. Pomerant, an officer of ſome diſtinction, who had followed the duke of Bourbon in his revolt, came up at that inſtant; and ſeeing the king in ſuch a dangerous ſituation, aſſiſted him in keeping off the ſoldiers, who preſſed forward to take him alive. At the ſame time he deſired that the duke of Bourbon might be called, to receive the king as a priſoner. But Francis, tranſported with rage, declared, that he would ſooner periſh, than deliver his ſword to a traitor. "Send for Lannoy, viceroy of Naples," continued he, "to him I will ſurrender." That officer accordingly came; and the king ſaid to him, "M. de Lannoy, take this ſword; it is that of a king, who is not a priſoner from cowardice, but the accidents of fortune." Lannoy received the ſword upon his knee; kiſſed his hand with the profoundeſt reſpect; and preſented him his own ſword, ſaying, "I beg your majeſty will be ſo good as to receive mine, which has this day ſpared the lives of many Frenchmen. It does not become an officer of the emperor to leave a king diſarmed, though a priſoner." Lannoy, however, did not think Francis ſafe in the army. He feared the German forces might ſeize his perſon as a ſecurity for their pay; and therefore conducted him immediately to the ſtrong caſtle of Pizzeghitone, where he remained for ſome time under the care of Alvazon, the Spaniſh governor, who ſerved him with the greateſt reſpect.

Charles, on receiving this news, behaved with the appearance of great moderation. He diſplayed a concern for Francis's ill fortune, and a ſenſe of the calamities to which the greateſt monarchs are liable. He forbad any public rejoicings at Madrid, and ſaid, that every expreſſion of triumph ſhould be deferred, till he obtained a victory over the infidels; he diſpatched orders to the garriſons on the frontiers, to commit no hoſtilities againſt the French, and talked of inſtantly concluding a peace upon honourable terms. But this appearance of moderation was only hypocritical, and he inſtantly formed ſchemes of gratifying his ambition, by improving this fortunate event to the utmoſt advantage. Pennaloſa, the meſſenger of this extraordinary news, in paſſing through France, delivered a letter from Francis to his mother, who reſided at Lyons, which contained only theſe few words: "Madam, All is loſt, except our honour." The princeſs, whom he had left regent, was ſtruck with the greatneſs of the calamity. Every thing ſeemed to foretell inevitable ruin. The kingdom was without an army; without generals; without money; on every ſide encompaſſed by implacable and victorious enemies. But the over-ruling power of Providence, who can bring good out of evil, cauſed this misfortune to produce a ſudden change of politics in England, which was to be the means of ſalvation to France. The king determined to lend her his aſſiſtance, and thus to obtain the glory of raiſing a fallen enemy. Henry had been for ſome time jealous of the emperor's power, and diſſatisfied with his conduct; his pride now completed the diſguſt of the Engliſh monarch. Charles had hitherto always written to him with his own hand, and ſubſcribed himſelf, "Your affectionate ſon and couſin;" but now he dictated his letters to his ſecretary, and only ſubſcribed himſelf, "Charles." An incident of this kind could not fail of wounding the pride of Henry; and the reſentment of Wolſey, twice deceived by him, now exerted its whole force. Thus prompted by his own inclination, and the advice of the cardinal, the Engliſh monarch imparted his ſentiments to the ducheſs-regent of France, who ſending her ambaſſadors to the court of London, a treaty of peace and alliance was actually ſigned by the two parties on the thirtieth of Auguſt. The chief articles of this treaty were, that all tranſactions of the late war ſhould lay dormant for ever; that the two powers ſhould ſuccour each other, in caſe of an aſſault from a third; that the commercial intercourſe ſhould be revived, and neither nation harbour the rebellious ſubjects of each other; that the priſoners on both ſides ſhould be releaſed, and their ſeveral allies comprehended in the treaty; but that neither ſhould maintain or protect thoſe allies in any uſurpations, made ſince the treaty of London in the year 1518; that Francis ſhould, in three months after his releaſe, ratify the treaty; for the fulfilment of which the conſtable of Bourbon, the dukes of Vendome and Longueville, the count of St. Poll, with ſeveral other noblemen, and nine of the chief cities of France, ſhould engage. In a previous convention it was alſo agreed, that the court of France ſhould pay Henry two millions of crowns, as a compenſation for all the arrears and demands which the Engliſh monarch had on the French king; and that the queen-dowager of France, wife to the earl of Suffolk, ſhould be paid all the arrears of her jointure.

Henry expected the natural conſequence of this alliance would be an expenſive war; he therefore committed the recruiting of his almoſt exhauſted treaſury to Wolſey, at whoſe inſtigation commiſſions were iſſued in the king's name, for levying throughout the realm one-ſixth of all lay revenues, and a fourth of the effects of the clergy. This was conſidered as ſuch an incroachment on the liberty of the ſubject, and violation of Magna Charta, that it produced a general clamour throughout the kingdom, and had almoſt occaſioned a rebellion. The complaints of the people were ſo loud, that the king was obliged to diſavow his miniſter's proceedings; and declared by writs, circulated through all the counties of England, that he would exact nothing, and that he required only what they ſhould contribute by way of benevolence. The people were far from being ſatisfied with this mode of raiſing ſupplies. Some diſapproved it on account of their inability, and others becauſe of its illegality. The magiſtrates of London refuſed to ſubmit to the impoſition, alledging, that the practice of raiſing money by benevolence had been aboliſhed by Richard III. The cardinal, awed as it were by this noble ſtand of the citizens, declared he would receive privately whatever they ſhould think proper to advance. This ſubmiſſion of the cardinal prevented any farther oppoſition from the city, but had no effect on the country. The people of Eſſex and Suffolk flew to their arms, pouring forth bitter execrations againſt the cardinal; inſomuch that Henry, perceiving his government was in danger of becoming unpopular, thought proper to ſummon his council, and demanded to know, by whoſe advice the late loan and benevolence had been undertaken, diſclaiming, at the ſame time, all unlawful methods of raiſing money. Wolſey took the meaſure upon himſelf; adding, that he acted in conformity to the opinion of the judges, who affirmed, that the king might demand any ſum by commiſſion, and that the council had confirmed this decree. Henry appeared to be ſomewhat ſatisfied with this evaſive behaviour of the artful cardinal, and the fault was imputed to the judges, who had given them wrong information; upon which a general pardon was iſſued to all delinquents, either on account of the loan or benevolence. Still more to ſatisfy his ſubjects, the king was induced to ſcrutinize the conduct of his favourite; and he found ſo many inſtances of tyrannical oppreſſion, that he burſt forth into a violent paſſion, and ſeverely checked his preſumption; but the ſubtle cardinal ſoon found means to appeaſe his maſter, by inſinuating, that his intereſt was the fundamental motive of his actions, and that all the wealth he had amaſſed would revert to the crown; as a confirmation of which declaration, he preſented to Henry his ſtately palace at Hampton court. Towards the cloſe of this year, Henry Fitzroy, the king's natural ſon, was created duke of Somerſet, earl of Nottingham, and lord high-admiral of England; and cardinal Campeius was made biſhop of Saliſbury.

A. D. 1526.

The emperor's diſſembled moderation was of ſhort continuance; and every one was ſoon convinced, that inſtead of being ſatisfied with his vaſt dominions, they only ſerved to prompt his ambition to acquire a ſtill more extenſive empire. He even demanded ſuch terms of his priſoner, as would for ever have deſtroyed the balance of Europe. Francis declared, that he was reſolved to ſuffer any extremity, rather than conſent to ſuch unreaſonable demands; and accordingly ſent into France a public act, ſigned by his own hand, conſenting that his ſon, the dauphin, ſhould be placed on the throne, and he himſelf ſpend the remainder of his days in captivity. But finding how little he had to expect from the emperor, his gloomy reflections, added to want of exerciſe, threw him into a languiſhing illneſs. Charles was now alarmed, leſt the death of his captive ſhould deprive him of all the advantages he propoſed to extort from him; and therefore paid him a viſit in the caſtle of Madrid. On his approaching the bed in which Francis lay, the ſick monarch ſaid, "You come, Sir, to viſit your priſoner." "No," anſwered Charles, "I come to viſit my brother and my friend, who ſhall ſoon be reſtored to liberty." He then uttered many ſoothing ſpeeches, which had ſo good an effect, that Francis, from that time, began to recover; and employed himſelf in concerting the terms of the treaty with the emperor's miniſters.

A. D. 1527. Moſt of the powers of Europe now intereſted themſelves in procuring the liberty of the French monarch; and Charles was at length induced to abate ſomewhat of his rigour, by the apprehenſion of a general combination being formed againſt him. He therefore ſigned a treaty on the fourteenth of January, at Madrid, whereby it was ſtipulated, that Francis ſhould relinquiſh to the emperor the duchy of Burgundy, with its ſovereignty, and dependencies, within ſix weeks after his return to France: that Francis ſhould be ſet at liberty in his own kingdom by the tenth of March, when the dauphin and the duke of Orleans, his two eldeſt ſons, ſhould be put into the emperor's hands, as hoſtages; that if any difficulty ſhould occur with regard to the reſtitution of Burgundy, Francis ſhould return to Madrid, and remain there till the full performance of the treaty; that he ſhould reſign all pretenſions to the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, the lordſhip of Genoa, the counties of Aſti, Arras, Tournay, Montaigne, St. Amand, Liſle, Douay, Orchies, Heſdin; and alſo all ſovereignty which he could claim over the counties of Flanders and Artois: that the emperor ſhould reſign all his rights and pretenſions to the cities and lordſhips of Peronne, Montdidier, Rouen, Guiſnes, and Ponthieu; together with all the cities and territories on the river Somme: that the duke of Bourbon ſhould be reſtored to all the eſtates and poſſeſſions he formerly enjoyed. Theſe articles Francis engaged to ratify at the firſt town he ſhould enter upon his arrival in his own dominions. But though he was remarkable delicate in regard to the principle of honour, he did not think himſelf bound by a promiſe which force had extorted from him, and which was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the ſtates of Burgundy. However, Francis offered the emperor two millions of crowns as an equivalent for Burgundy; but Charles would not conſent to the leaſt alteration in the treaty. The French monarch therefore concluded an alliance againſt the emperor, with Clement VII. the Venetians, and the principalities of Italy; a confederacy, of which the king of England was declared the protector. Charles, incenſed at this league, determined to take ample vengeance on thoſe allies who had deſerted him in time of danger; particularly the Roman pontiff, who, though he had chiefly owed his election to the good offices of the emperor, had ſo ungratefully abandoned the intereſt of his benefactor. He ordered the duke of Bourbon to advance towards Rome, and attack the pope in his capital. Bourbon executed the emperor's commands with the greateſt bravery and conduct, but was killed as he mounted a ladder to ſcale the walls. His death inſpired his followers with fury and revenge. Rome, taken by aſſault, was pillaged, and became a ſcene of the moſt ſhocking barbarities. That renowned city never ſuffered more even from barbarians, than now from the hands of Chriſtians, whatever was reſpectable in modeſty, whatever ſacred in religion, ſeemed only to increaſe the brutality of the ſoldiers. The pope himſelf was taken priſoner, and treated with every indignity.

When intelligence was brought the emperor of the ſucceſs of his arms againſt the Roman capital, he affected the utmoſt ſorrow, put himſelf and his whole court into mourning, and ordered prayers to be offered up for the deliverance of the pope. But the artifice was too groſs to impoſe even upon the ignorant and ſuperſtitious multitude. It was remarked even by the vulgar, that a letter under his own hand, to his generals in Italy, would be more effectual than all his prayers. It was very different with Francis and Henry; they were extremely concerned for the misfortunes of the pontiff, and agreed to carry their arms into Italy. Wolſey himſelf croſſed the ſeas to have an interview with Francis, who met him at Amiens; where it was ſtipulated, that the duke of Orleans ſhould marry the princeſs Mary: and as it was apprehended Charles would immediately ſummon a general council, both monarchs conſented not to acknowledge it, but to govern the churches in their reſpective dominions by their own authority, during the pope's impriſonment. Soon a new treaty was negociated between the two monarchs, by which Henry renounced his antient pretenſions to the crown of France; and Francis, in return, bound himſelf and his ſucceſſors, to pay annually the ſum of twenty thouſand crowns. Spain was now become the terror of the Engliſh; and the animoſity ſo long entertained againſt the French entirely ſubſided. Though Charles was alarmed at this alliance between France and England, yet he refuſed to ſubmit to the conditions inſiſted upon by the allies. He receded indeed from his demand of Burgundy, as the ranſom for the two princes; but inſiſted that Francis ſhould evacuate all his Italian conqueſts before they ſhould recover their liberty. The conditions being rejected, the Engliſh and French heralds, purſuant to their inſtructions, declared war againſt the emperor, and ſet him at defiance. Charles anſwered the herald with great moderation; but reproached the Frenchman with his maſter's breach of faith, and returned his inſults. The French monarch retaliated this charge by giving the emperor the lie; and challenges were formally ſent to each other by theſe great princes. But though they were both undoubtedly brave no duel took place. His holineſs ſoon after this altercation, eſcaped in diſguiſe to Orivetto.

A. D. 1528. During the confinement of the pope, Henry firſt declared his intention of being divorced from his queen Catharine. This memorable part of Engliſh hiſtory has ever been liable to various conjectures, as principle or intereſt have ſuggeſted. Now to aſcertain motives of action, an exemption from the bias of either, and an adherence to the eternal, invariable maxims of equity, are indiſpenſibly neceſſary. Proceeding therefore on thoſe principles with which we at firſt ſet out, it ſhall be our buſineſs to trace this part of our hiſtory, regardleſs of preceding affirmations, or the conjectural opinions of other writers, any further than they correſpond with truth and reaſon. The king now profeſſed ſcruples of conſcience relative to his marriage with Catharine, as that princeſs had before been eſpouſed to his elder brother Arthur, and deſired that archbiſhop Warham might conſult the Engliſh prelates on that ſubject. The primate complied with his requeſt, and in a few days preſented him with a writing, condemning the marriage, as contrary to all laws both human and divine. This declaration was ſubſcribed by all the prelates, except Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter, whoſe name is ſaid to have been counterfeited by cardinal Wolſey. The next point neceſſary for the furtherance of Henry's deſign, was the conſent and approbation of the Roman pontiff, and with this view, doctor Knight was diſpatched to the court of Rome, with four papers for the ſignature of his holineſs. The firſt was a commiſſion to cardinal Wolſey, to judge and determine the affair, in conjunctions with ſome Engliſh prelates. The ſecond was a decretal bull, annulling the marriage between the king and Catharine, as that princeſs had been previouſly eſpouſed to his brother Arthur. The third contained a diſpenſation for Henry's marrying another wife; and the fourth, an engagement never to revoke the other three. After much importunity, the pope ſigned the commiſſion, and the bull of diſpenſation for the king, promiſing to ſend the other decretal bull for annulling the marriage,

riage, when he ſhould have conſidered the ſubject more maturely. Henry not ſatisfied with this reply, ſent other ambaſſadors, deſiring his holineſs to grant his requeſt without limitation. Clement thus harraſſed with repeated importunities, appointed Wolſey and Campegio, his legates *a latere* conſtituting them his vicegerents in the cauſe of the divorce, and inveſting them with his whole authority. Theſe conceſſions were made at different periods, in order to protract the time, and before the decretal paſſed, Lautrec the French general died of the plague, and the army was ruined; ſo that Clement had nothing to fear from the confederates. He therefore directed Campegio to dally as long as poſſible, and forbear giving ſentence of the divorce, till he ſhould receive freſh orders under his own hand. Campegio on his arrival in England began his legation, with exhorting the king to live in harmony with Catharine, and deſiſt from the proſecution of the divorce. This advice proving ineffectual, he endeavoured to perſuade the queen to agree to the ſeparation; but Catharine rejected his counſel, alledging that ſhe was the king's lawful wife, and would remain ſuch till declared otherwiſe by the pope's ſentence. Incenſed at theſe tedious proceedings, Henry ſent Sir Francis Bryan, and Peter Vannes to Rome, to diſcover the cauſes of delay. They were alſo directed to ſearch the pope's chancery for a pretended brief, which the Spaniards aſſerted, confirmed the diſpenſation of Catharine's marriage, granted by pope Julius; to propoſe ſeveral expedients to facilitate the ſentence; and to offer a guard of two thouſand men to aſſiſt his holineſs, in caſe of neceſſity; but if this propoſal ſhould be rejected, to counterballance the threats of Charles, with thoſe of Henry. Theſe agents finding the pope ſtill undetermined, plainly told him, that ſhould he refuſe the ſatisfaction their maſter expected from him, England would renounce him and all his ſucceſſors. They obſerved, that the ſubjects of England, wanted only their king's permiſſion to ſhake off all obedience to the papal power. Theſe remonſtrances had no effect on Clement, who anſwered in general terms, and pretended to think himſelf in ſo dangerous a ſituation, that nothing but ſome unforeſeen and extraordinary event could give him relief. But though the pope refuſed, or at leaſt evaded compliance with Henry's full deſire, he continued to heap favours on Wolſey; granted him two bulls to ſuppreſs ſeveral ſmall monaſteries, and made divers other grants to gratify that prelate. This year Henry ſent ambaſſadors to his nephew, James of Scotland, with propoſals of peace; which on account of the diſtractions of that kingdom could not be effected; a truce was however concluded at Berwick for five years.

A. D. 1529. Wolſey, informed that Clement had been ſeized with a dangerous malady, hoped now to be exalted to the papal chair without much difficulty. But his hopes were ſoon blaſted, by the recovery of that pontiff; who being acquainted with what had paſſed during his illneſs, looked on Wolſey as a dangerous competitor, who might one day ſupplant him on pretence of his illegitimacy, on account of which he had been already threatened with depoſition, by the emperor. However he thought it prudent to conceal his reſentment, and as a mark of his regard for Henry and his favourite, expedited the neceſſary bulls for confirming Wolſey in the biſhopric of Worceſter, which he had juſt received on the death of Richard Fox, the late incumbent. In the mean time, Henry importuned the legates to proceed on their commiſſion, and they met for that purpoſe, on the thirty-firſt of May, when they appointed adjuncts to aſſiſt them in examining the papers and evidences, and then ſummoned the king and queen to appear before them on the eighteenth of June. When aſſembled, the queen's agents objected to the authority of the legates, but their refuſal being overruled, the king and queen appeared perſonally, on the twenty-firſt day of the month. Henry anſwered to his citation, but the queen being called on, roſe up, and falling on her knees before Henry, addreſſed him in the following manner; "I am a poor helpleſs woman, and a ſtranger in your dominions, where I can neither expect impartial judges, nor diſintereſted council. I have been your wife about twenty years, have borne you ſeveral children, and ever ſtudied to pleaſe you. I proteſt you found me a virgin, for the truth of which aſſertion, I appeal to your conſcience. If I have been guilty of any crime, let me be put away with ſhame. Our parents were eſteemed wiſe princes, and had doubtleſs good counſellors, when they concluded on our marriage. I will not therefore ſubmit to the authority of this court. My lawyers are your ſubjects, and dare not ſpeak freely on my behalf, for which reaſon I deſire to be excuſed till I hear from Spain." Having thus ſpoke, ſhe aroſe, and making a low reverence to the king, retired from the court.

After her departure, Henry declared, that ſhe had ever been a dutiful and affectionate wife, and that the whole tenor of her conduct, had been agreeable to the ſtricteſt rules of probity and honour; but that his conſcience being diſquieted, he had reſolved to try the lawfulneſs of his marriage, for the eaſe of his mind, and the benefit of his ſucceſſion. The queen being again ſummoned to appear, appealed to the pope, and was declared contumacious. Twelve articles were now drawn up, to be diſcuſſed by the examination of evidence. They declared, that prince Arthur, and the king were brothers; that prince Arthur had eſpouſed Catharine, and conſummated the marriage; that on the death of Arthur, Henry, by virtue of a diſpenſation, had married the widow; that this marriage with his brother's wife, was forbidden by laws both human and divine; and, that upon complaints, which the pope had received, his holineſs had deputed them to try and decide the affair. Impatient of delay, the king ſent for Wolſey, and reproached him in the moſt outrageous manner; and a few hours after, diſpatched the earl of Wincheſter, father to Anne Boleyn, miſtreſs of his paſſions, to the cardinal, ordering him to repair with Campegio, to the queen's court in Bridewell, and endeavour to perſuade, or terrify her into compliance, for withdrawing the appeal, which both ſhe and the emperor had entered againſt the court's proceedings. The cardinal obeyed, but the queen inſiſted as ſhe could hope for no juſtice in England, on waiting the opinion of the Spaniſh court, before ſhe proceeded any further. Her deportment to the prelates, was ſuch as became conſcious integrity, blended with virtuous reſolution. While the legates were proceeding very ſlowly in the proceſs, the emperor's envoys deſired the pope to refer the cauſe to Rome, and the Engliſh miniſters exerted all their influence to prevent it. Both ſides threatened to depoſe him on account of his illegitimacy, which furniſhed the pontiff with a reaſon for poſtponing a declaration, till he had concluded a treaty with Charles, which was no ſooner ratified, than he told the Engliſh agents, he was determined to have the cauſe of the divorce tried at Rome; and for that purpoſe ſigned a bull of avocation, on the fifteenth day of July, which he immediately diſpatched to England. But his miniſters aſſured his holineſs, that the avocation of the divorce, would certainly deprive the holy ſee of the ſpiritual dominion of England. Clement, nevertheleſs, refuſed to retract his reſolution any further, than by prolonging the citation till Chriſtmas. From this period we may date the commencement of Wolſey's fall, who had behaved during the whole proceſs, with ſuch indifference, as ſeemed highly inconſiſtent with that zealous concern, which on all other occaſions he affected to manifeſt for the intereſt of his maſter.

The emperor neglected no means, that had a probable tendency to ruin that prelate in the opinion of Henry; he invented defamatory reports of him, and by means of his emiſſaries, the king received copies of letters, ſaid to be written by the cardinal to his holineſs, to diſapprove the divorce; while Anne Boleyn imputed the miſcarriage entirely to Wolſey's neglect, and her reſentment was proportioned to the greatneſs of her diſappointment.

Her father, now promoted to the title of lord viſcount Rochfort, had removed her from court, in order to prevent ſcandal; but when the commiſſion was annulled, ſhe returned at the king's deſire. The king, to diſpel his chagrin, made a progreſs through the kingdom; and on his return, lay in the houſe of Mr. Creſſy, at Waltham-croſs. This gentleman had committed the education of his two ſons, to Thomas Cranmer, a doctor in theology, eminent for his piety and learning, and a ſecret favourer of the doctrine of Luther. At ſupper he was deſired to give his ſentiments of the divorce, and being preſſed on the ſubject, he propoſed, that the king ſhould conſult all the univerſities of Europe, as the moſt effectual method of deciding the controverted point. When the king exclaimed, with a tranſport of joy, "That Cranmer had got the right ſow by the ear;" and he conceived ſo favourable an opinion of him, that he ordered him to follow the court, and ever after conſulted him in all caſes of importance. On his return from this progreſs, he ſent a meſſenger to the cardinal, demanding the great ſeal, which he at firſt refuſed to deliver; but on the king's writing to him the next day, he reſigned it to the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and it was given to Sir Thomas Moore, a man of eminent learning and integrity. Campegio, foreſeeing the final ruin of his colleague, took his leave of the king, and in a few days ſet ſail for Italy. On the ninth of October, Hales the attorney general, preferred an impeachment againſt Wolſey, accuſing him of having violated the ſtatute of premunire. He owned the charge, pleaded ignorance of the ſtatute, and ſubmitted himſelf to the king's mercy. But being out of the king's protection, his goods and chattels were forfeited to the king; and his palace of York-houſe, afterwards known by the name of Whitehall, was ſeized for his majeſty's uſe, together with all the rich furniture, and treaſure he had accumulated. Humbled by this reverſe of fortune, he petitioned the king for a protection for his perſon, which he immediately obtained, with a free pardon. He was reſtored to the ſees of York and Wincheſter, and recovered of his own effects the amount of ſix thouſand pounds in plate, money, and furniture: and received ſeveral kind meſſages from the king and Anne Boleyn, from whence it appears, that Henry's intention at this juncture, was to humble the pride, not to ruin the fortune of his old miniſter. Theſe favourable ſentiments were however of ſhort continuance; his enemies ſoon gained the aſcendant at court, and brought into the houſe of lords, an impeachment of high treaſon againſt him: but when it was ſent down to the houſe of commons, Thomas Cromwell, one of the members, who had been Wolſey's ſervant, defended him with ſuch ſtrength of argument, that the bill was rejected, and the proſecution dropped. The cardinal diſcovered as much puſillanimity in adverſity, as he had arrogance and preſumption in proſperity; and at length ſickened in conſequence of ſo many repeated mortifications. His indiſpoſition ſeemed to rekindle the king's affection. He had formerly ſent him a valuable ring as a teſtimony of his protection, which the cardinal received on the road to Wincheſter, and was ſo affected with the kindneſs of his ſovereign, that he alighted, and fell on his knees in a tranſport of joy. Henry now ſent him another preſent of a ruby, by his phyſician, doctor Butts, who aſſured him that he ſhould ſoon have a more convincing proof of his majeſty's affection. Theſe inſtances of the royal favour, contributed to the recovery of the cardinal, who obtained the king's permiſſion to reſide at Richmond-palace for the benefit of the air.

A. D. 1530. In the beginning of the year, Henry's agents returned from the continent, with the opinion of the foreign univerſities, concerning the legality of his marriage; thoſe of Paris, Angiers, Bourges, Orleans, Thoulouſe, Bologna, Ferrara, and Padua, unanimouſly agreed that the king's marriage with Catharine, being contrary to all laws, human and divine, could never be rendered valid by the diſpenſation of pope Julius II. The Engliſh univerſities ſubſcribed to the ſame opinion, though not without great oppoſition from the maſters of arts, eſpecially at Oxford, and a ſharp conteſt at Cambridge. Henry having obtained theſe declarations in his favour, and finding his application to the pope ineffectual, prevailed on his chief prelates and nobility, to ſend a remonſtrance, by way of letter, to the pontiff; in which, having mentioned the obligations his holineſs owed to the king, and the deciſion of the univerſities, they gave him to underſtand, that ſhould he refuſe to do juſtice in the affair of the divorce, they would renounce their connection with the ſee of Rome, and ſeek for other remedies. To this letter, which was ſigned by cardinal Wolſey, four prelates, two dukes, two marquiſſes, thirteen earls, two viſcounts, twenty-two abbots, and eleven commoners, the pope wrote an anſwer to juſtify his conduct. But this apology was ſo far from being admitted, that Henry, in order to anticipate any ſtep that might be taken in favour of Catharine or the cardinal, iſſued a proclamation, forbidding all perſons whatever to publiſh any thing from Rome or elſewhere, that ſhould be contrary to his royal prerogative; or to divulge any thing of that nature on pain of incurring his indignation, and the penalties ſpecified in the ſtatute of proviſos and premunire. He alſo appointed ſeveral learned men, to collect, compare, and publiſh, all that had been, or could be advanced in favour of the divorce, together with the opinions of the univerſities, and a particular anſwer to Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, in defence of the marriage. In the mean time, the mind of Wolſey was alternately poſſeſſed by hope and deſpair. In the beginning of his diſgrace, he had been reduced to great neceſſity, from which he was relieved by the biſhop of Carliſle; but afterwards his affairs ſeemed to take a more favourable turn. He received a full pardon, conſiderable appointments, kind meſſages from the king, and was permitted to ſit among the peers in parliament; but at length his enemies prevailed on Henry, to ſend him an order for retiring to his archbiſhopric of York. He obeyed, but with much reluctance; and proceeded by ſhort ſtages to Cawood, attended by a train of an hundred and twenty horſemen, diſtributing alms and benedictions with great liberality. In ſhort, in adverſity, he affected a reformation from thoſe practices by which he had incurred the popular odium, when he was deprived of the power of putting them in exerciſe. Upon his arrival at York, the earl of Northumberland was ordered, without paying any regard to his eccleſiaſtical character, to arreſt him for high treaſon, and conduct him to London, in order to ſtand his trial. The haughty ſpirit of the arrogant Wolſey was much dejected by this event, and being ſeized with the flux in the beginning of his journey, it was with much difficulty that he reached Leiceſter-abbey. When the abbot and monks advanced to pay their formal compliments, he told them, that he was come to lay his bones among them; and ſoon after, finding the arreſt of the king of terrors at hand, he addreſſed himſelf to Sir William Kingſton, conſtable of the Tower, to whoſe charge he was committed in the following terms. "Had I ſerved my God with the ſame fidelity as I have ſerved my king, he would not have abandoned me in my old age; but this is my juſt reward. I pray you commend me to the king, deſiring him to remember all that paſſed between us, touching the affair of queen Catharine; and then his majeſty may determine whether or not I have given juſt cauſe of offence. He is a prince of royal courage, but rather than be thwarted in his pleaſure, would riſque the loſs of one half of his realm. I have kneeled before him three hours ſucceſſively, to diſſuade him from compliance with his will and appetite, and could not prevail; therefore, maſter Kingſton, if ever you be of his council, deliberate ſeriouſly upon what you intend to adviſe, for if once he ſets his heart upon any thing, he is not to be diverted from the purſuit." During this ſpeech, his voice faultered, and in a few minutes after he expired. Thus fell the famous cardinal Wolſey, a churchman of great abilities, intolerable pride, and unmeaſurable ambition. He exhibits a ſtriking inſtance of the folly of thoſe, who imagine the paths of worldly greatneſs the paths of happineſs. His character has been loaded with the moſt violent cenſures; but great allowances ſhould be made for the obſtinacy and violence of Henry's temper; and the king's obſtinacy often obliged him to purſue meaſures his better judgment condemned; and as the remaining part of Henry's reign was more criminal than that in which his councils were directed by Wolſey, there may be reaſon to ſuſpect the partiality of thoſe hiſtorians who have endeavoured to throw ſuch a load of reproaches on this great miniſter.

A. D. 1531. The proteſtant religion at this time had a great number of favourers. The king reſolved to renounce all papal juriſdiction, and in the affair of the divorce, abode by the determination of his own parliament and clergy.

For this purpoſe both the parliament and clergy met in convocation, on the ſixth of January. The chancellor opened the ſeſſions with declaring, That the king did not deſire the diſſolution of the marriage from carnal motives, but from conſcientious ſcruples, and his zeal for the welfare of the kingdom, that the ſucceſſion might not be diſputed after his deceaſe. Then he produced a great number of treatiſes, penned by the ableſt divines and caſuiſts, on the ſubject of divorce, and the deciſions of the univerſities of France, Italy, and England. The king then imparted his deſign to the convocation of the clergy, who, without heſitation, declared againſt the marriage. Notwithſtanding this inſtance of complaiſance, Henry proceeded gradually to diminiſh the eccleſiaſtical power, and by means of the influence of archbiſhop Warham, Thomas Cromwell, and ſome others of the council, obtained the title of "Supreme head of the church," with this ſaving clauſe, "as far as conſiſtent with the laws of Chriſt." The convocation of York reſolved alſo to preſent his majeſty with eighteen thouſand eight hundred pounds; but as they had not owned the king's ſupremacy in the act, they were informed it would not be accepted; they were therefore obliged to follow the example of the other convocation. Henry ſatisfied with this acquiſition of power, indulged them with a pardon. He now cauſed the controverſial writings on the ſubject of the divorce to be publiſhed, that all his ſubjects might underſtand the caſe before the next ſeſſion. As he was very deſirous of obtaining Catharine's conſent to a ſeparation, he ſent ſeveral peers to perſuade her to wave her appeal; and when they preſſed her to refer the cauſe to four eccleſiaſtics, and as many ſeculars, ſhe replied, ſhe would pray to God to ſend the king a quiet conſcience; but as ſhe was his lawful wife, was determined to abide by her right, till the court of Rome ſhould declare the contrary. Finding her inflexible, Henry ſent her word, that ſhe was at liberty to chuſe her place of reſidence at any of his manors; and ſhe replied, "to whatever place ſhe might be removed, ſhe could not be removed from the ſtation of his wife." She firſt repaired to Moore, and then to Eaſthamſtead, and afterwards to Ampthill.

The humiliation of the prelates was highly pleaſing to the Engliſh in general; they now began openly to diſcuſs abſtruſe points of religion, and were by their intemperate zeal hurried into dangerous extremes. Henry, alarmed at their commotions, reſolved to convince the people, that though he had renounced the papal juriſdiction, he had no intention to violate the fundamental laws of Chriſtianity; and therefore iſſued orders for the rigorous puniſhment of heretics; in conſequence of which, two eccleſiaſtics and a lawyer were condemned to the flames in Smithfield.

A. D. 1532. In the month of January, the commons, who were privately inſtructed by the court, preſented an addreſs, intreating his majeſty to conſent to the reformation of abuſe, which had crept into the immunities enjoyed by the clergy. The king anſwered, that before he could aſſent to ſuch a propoſal, he muſt hear what the clergy had to alledge in their own defence; by which he meant to inſinuate, how much they ſtood in need of the royal protection. Several acts were paſſed which ſlightly affected ſome of the privileges of that body, though theſe were fully compenſated by a decree, abſolving them from paying annates to the pope, which had always been a heavy burthen. The parliament alſo declared, that the king ſhould be at liberty, to annul, or confirm this act, within a limited time; and if in that interval, he ſhould compromiſe his difference with the court of Rome, it ſhould be deemed inviolable; but ſhould the pope, on account of this act, pretend to harraſs the kingdom with ſentences of excommunication and interdict, theſe ſentences ſhould be wholly diſregarded; and all the clergy were ordered to celebrate divine ſervice, as if they had never been iſſued. About this time the king received a letter from the pope; importing, that he had heard of his putting away his queen, and maintaining an illicit commerce with another perſon, to the diſgrace of his character, and contempt of the holy ſee, before which the ſuit was ſtill depending. He therefore exhorted him to diſcard his miſtreſs, and take back his lawful wife, by which means he would avoid a rupture with the emperor, and preſerve the peace of Chriſtendom, which was the only ſecurity againſt the progreſs of the Turks. In anſwer to this letter, Henry reproached his holineſs with ignorance, partiality, and deceit; declaring he had no intention of making any further attempts on his authority, unleſs provoked; deſiring he would conform to the opinion of ſo many learned caſuiſts, and do juſtice according to the dictates of his conſcience. Clement, inſtead of gratifying the king in his deſire, by a citation, ſummoned him to appear in perſon, or by proxy, at Rome, to anſwer to the queen's appeal, and he accordingly ſent Sir Edward Karne, as his excuſator. The plea of defence was argued in the conſiſtory, and after much debate, was neither allowed nor rejected. While theſe points were debating at Rome, the parliament met again in April, and in the courſe of the ſeſſion, one Temſe moved, that an addreſs might be preſented to the king, deſiring his majeſty to recall the queen, and prevent all the inconveniencies that might attend the illegitimation of the princeſs. Henry, incenſed at this freedom, chid the ſpeaker of the houſe, and appealed to the teſtimony of his own conſcience, for the juſtification of his conduct. At this period the plague broke out in London, and the parliament was therefore prorogued till the enſuing February. After this prorogation, Sir Thomas Moore, dreading the conſequences that might attend a total ruption with the court of Rome, and diſapproving the proceedings of Anne Boleyn, reſigned the office of chancellor, which was conferred on Sir Thomas Audley.

A. D. 1533. Henry was privately married to Anne Boleyn, by Rowland Lee, afterwards biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry, in the preſence of Cranmer, who now had ſucceeded Warham, in the metropolitan ſee, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and Anne's father, mother, and brothers. The parliament meeting in the month of February, the convocation of Canterbury was aſſembled at the ſame time, and required to give their opinions of the following queſtions: Whether or not the diſpenſation granted by pope Julius, was ſufficient to render the marriage of Henry and Catharine binding and valid? and whether or not the conſummation of Arthur's nuptials with that princeſs had been fully demonſtrated? The convocation declared that the pope had no power to grant diſpenſations contrary to the law of God; and that the conſummation of the firſt marriage had been as fully proved as the nature of the caſe would admit. This anſwer from both the convocations of Canterbury and York, determined the king to proceed upon the cauſe of the divorce, before the judicature of his own clergy. This courſe he was the rather inclined to purſue, as he was no longer able to conceal his marriage with Anne Boleyn, who was now become pregnant; and it was therefore neceſſary to make it public, in order to ſave her reputation. The archbiſhop being privately inſtructed, demanded permiſſion of his majeſty to determine the affair of his former marriage with Catharine, whoſe conſent to the divorce, the king had endeavoured to procure by fair means; but all proving ineffectual, the queen was ſummoned to appear at Dunſtable. This citation ſhe abſolutely refuſed; upon which Cranmer pronounced ſentence, declaring her marriage null, as being contrary to the law of God; and confirmed at the ſame time the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn, who was crowned on the firſt day of June. The lord Montjoy was ſent by Henry with this ſentence to Catharine, who ſtill refuſed to ſubmit; and the king ordered, that for the future, ſhe ſhould have no other title, than that of princeſs dowager of Wales. The pope incenſed at theſe proceedings, aggravated by a book which Henry had written againſt the papal juriſdiction, reverſed the ſentence, declaring that the king himſelf ſhould be excommunicated, unleſs he renounced all that had been committed againſt the holy ſee, before the end of September. But Henry had gone too far to recede; however, at the interceſſion of Francis, he ſent Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, Sir Francis Bryan, and Sir John Wallop, accompanied by Edward Bonner, an arrogant meddling prieſt, to attend at the interview between Francis and Clement, at Marſeilles. Bonner, ſoon after the marriage was performed, demanded an audience of his holineſs, and told him, that the king of England had appealed to a future council, from any papal ſentence, that either was or might be given againſt him. This preſumption ſo much incenſed his holineſs, that he threatened to have Bonner thrown into a cauldron of melted lead; Francis alſo expreſſed his indignation at the arrogance of the Engliſh prieſt, and engaged to aſſiſt the pope in chaſtiſing him for ſuch an affront, but ſuffered the delinquent however to eſcape. This intervention of Bonner ſeemed to deſtroy all hopes of an accommodation, yet Francis did not deſpair of ſeeing the matter brought to a happy concluſion. On his return to Paris, he diſpatched John de Bellay, biſhop of that ſee, with new propoſals to Henry, who agreed to the diſputes being decided at Cambray, by judges that could not be ſuſpected of partiality. The biſhop having gained this point, ſet out in the middle of winter for Rome, and found Clement diſpoſed to embrace this expedient, in caſe Henry would ſign a writing, by which he ſhould bind himſelf to abide by the determination; and in order to avoid delay, fixed a day for the return of the courier, with the inſtrument from England. No ſooner were the emperor's miniſters apprized of theſe proceedings, than they preſſed the pope to revoke his engagement, and obtained a promiſe from his holineſs, that if the courier did not arrive by the time appointed, he would pronounce ſentence againſt Henry. The meſſenger not arriving within the limitted time, the biſhop of Paris applied for a reſpite of ſix days alone: but the pope intimidated by the menaces of the Imperialiſts, refuſed to comply with this requeſt. He publiſhed a bull, declaring the validity and legality of Henry's marriage with Catharine, and commanding that prince, on pain of eccleſiaſtical cenſure, to recall his wife. The courier arrived in two days after this deciſion, from England, with full power for the biſhop of Paris to grant what the pope had demanded; and ſeveral cardinals adviſed the pontiff to revoke the ſentence; but the emperor's partizans prevailed upon him to reject the propoſal. Thus England was wholly diſmembered from the ſee of Rome.

A. D. 1534. The parliament meeting in the month of January, began the ſeſſion with an act, repealing the ſtatute of Henry IV. againſt heretics; not that they intended to exempt them from the penalty of the laws, but in order to hinder the clergy from being ſole judges in ſuch caſes; it was decreed, that for the future, heretics ſhould be tried by the laws of the land, without any regard to the canon law. By another ſtatute it was enacted, that no ſynod ſhould be held by the clergy, without the king's licence; that his majeſty ſhould nominate ſixteen perſons from the parliament, and as many from the clergy, to examine the canons and conſtitutions of the church, with power to aboliſh ſuch as were uſeleſs, and confirm thoſe that were neceſſary. This parliament alſo paſſed an act of attainder, againſt Elizabeth Barton, the holy Maid of Kent, a native of the pariſh of Aldington, who was employed by certain eccleſiaſtics, to raiſe diſturbances in the kingdom. This girl being ſubject to hiſterical fits, was perſuaded by Richard Maſter, the pariſh prieſt, that ſhe was inſpired from above; and like other fanatics, exhibited various ſymptoms of phrenzy, by diſtorting her face, vehement exclamations, and even affirming, that the Virgin Mary had appeared to her, and told her ſhe ſhould never recover, till ſhe had viſited her image, which was erected in a neighbouring church; with many other abſurdities ſhocking to common ſenſe. As ignorance is the mother of ſuperſtition, and credulity, the device gained in a ſhort time many partizans, who gloried in the abuſe of their reaſon, and degradation of thoſe ſublime faculties, with which the common parent of nature had endued them, and were eaſily induced to broach the moſt palpable nonſenſe: they held private meetings, and debauched from their allegiance numbers of people, among whom were many of the inhabitants of Richmond, Greenwich, and Canterbury. At length the king, apprehenſive of the conſequences of this impoſture, ordered the maid and her accomplices to be examined in the Star-chamber, where ſhe confeſſed the device, and publicly read on a ſcaffold, in St. Paul's church, the articles of their confeſſion. From thence they were conveyed to the Tower, and being tried and found guilty of a moſt pernicious impoſture, were executed at Tyburn, the twentieth day of April.

This parliament alſo paſſed an act, declaring the king's marriage with Catharine void, and ſetting the ſucceſſion upon the iſſue of his lawful wife Anne, whether male or female; after which, the members having ſworn to maintain the ſucceſſion, the two houſes were prorogued to the third day of November. The parliament had no ſooner broke up, than Henry ſent commiſſioners throughout the kingdom, to adminiſter the oath to all his eccleſiaſtical ſubjects; importing, that they would be faithful to the king, queen, their heirs and ſucceſſors; that they held the king to be "the ſupreme head of the Engliſh church," and the pope no more than another biſhop. This oath was voluntarily taken by the majority of the clergy; but Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, with Sir Thomas Moore, abſolutely refuſed. Sir Thomas declared, he was willing to ſwear to the ſucceſſion, provided they would allow him to draw up the oath himſelf. Cranmer and Cromwell expreſſed much concern for him, and endeavoured to convince him by arguments: and Cranmer propoſed, that his expedient ſhould be accepted; but the king being incenſed againſt them, they were ſent to the Tower, debarred the uſe of pen and paper; and Fiſher, to the eternal diſgrace of his ſovereign, was ſtripped of every thing in his old age, but a few rags which hardly covered his nakedneſs.

Having in vain endeavoured to perſuade to ſubmiſſion, Henry began to apprehend a ſtorm from his nephew Charles, who had undertaken to execute the pope's ſentence, and propoſed to render his union with Francis ſtill more firm, for their common ſafety. But before his deſign could be carried into execution, pope Clement died, and was ſucceeded by cardinal Farnere, who aſſumed the title of Paul III. On the twenty-third of November, the Engliſh parliament enacted ſeveral important laws, to deſtroy all future connection between the kingdom and the pope. They confirmed the title of ſupreme head of the church, which the clergy had already beſtowed on the king. They declared all thoſe who ſhould ſpeak, write, or imagine any thing to the prejudice of the king or queen, guilty of high treaſon. When they had broke up, the king iſſued a proclamation, to ſuppreſs the name of the pope, and eraze it from all books and writings. By this time the reformation had made a conſiderable progreſs in England; the writings of Luther were well known to the ſubjects of Henry, and the bible was tranſlated into the Engliſh language by Tindal, who had retired into the Low Countries. The biſhop of London ordered ſome copies of this tranſlation to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, and ſeveral perſons ſuffered martyrdom with amazing reſolution. Theſe ſeverities, however, inſtead of ſuppreſſing, ſerved only to ſtrengthen the ſpirit of religious oppoſition, which was ſtill farther inflamed by the quarrel of the Roman pontiff. The reformation was favoured by Anne Boleyn, archbiſhop Cranmer, and ſecretary Cromwell; but at the ſame time it was ſtrongly oppoſed by the duke of Norfolk, biſhop Gardiner, and many other eccleſiaſtics, who frequented the court. Henry himſelf adhered firmly to the Roman faith, and had written more than once againſt Luther, who treated him in a very ſcurrilous manner; and though that reformer afterwards humbled himſelf by letter to the king, he could never forgive the inſolence of his firſt attack. Though Henry had aboliſhed the papal juriſdiction, and concluded a treaty of peace with his nephew the king of Scotland, he did not enjoy that tranquillity which he might have expected to reap from his ſucceſs. He gave a looſe to his paſſions, and became boiſterous, cruel and arbitrary. The monks having incenſed him by perſonal reflections, he reſolved to execute his vengeance on them without mercy. He was particularly exaſperated againſt the new pope, Paul III. who created the biſhop of Rocheſter a cardinal, as a recompence for his having denied the king's ſupremacy; and to ſhew his reſentment, ordered the oath to be once more tendered to that prelate, who refuſing it as before, was condemned and executed as a traitor. Sir Thomas Moore was alſo inveigled into a conference about the ſupremacy; and ſome hints, joined to his former conviction, ſerved as a pretext for taking away his life. He was accordingly condemned and beheaded; but Henry incurred much reproach from the death of a man revered for his honeſty, and admired for his learning, and facetious humour, which he exerted to the very cloſe of life. In conſequence of theſe proceedings, the pope denounced ſentence of excommunication againſt Henry, abſolving all his ſubjects from their oath of allegiance: he ordered all eccleſiaſtics to retire from his dominions; commanded the nobility to riſe up in arms againſt him; laid the kingdom under an interdict; forbade all Chriſtians to communicate with the Engliſh; annulled all treaties which other powers had concluded with Anne Boleyn; and declared all the children, which ſhould be produced by that marriage, illegitimate, and incapable of ſucceſſion. The king, informed of this attack, ſent ambaſſadors to the proteſtant princes, who had entered into a league at Smalcade in Germany, to propoſe an union of intereſt; but theſe powers, whoſe main deſire was to enjoy liberty of conſcience, wiſely avoided any connection with a prince who condemned their doctrines, and even perſecuted thoſe of his ſubjects, by whom theſe doctrines were profeſſed.

Henry now determined a general viſitation of the monaſteries, in order to enquire ſtrictly into the titles, revenues, and morals of the friars and nuns, and the regulations obſerved in each order. By this expedient, he propoſed to wreak his vengeance on the monks, who had oppoſed his deſigns, and augment his own revenue with their ſpoils. Thomas Cromwell being appointed viſitor general, nominated ſubſtitutes to examine the monaſteries, and theſe deputies were no friends to monaſtic inſtitutions, did not fail to exaggerate the particulars in their reports. They firſt menaced the delinquent friars and nuns, with the utmoſt rigour of the law, and then hinted, that in order to conceal the faults of which they had been guilty, they ſhould reſign their houſes to the king, who would take care to provide for the ſubſiſtence of every individual. The reports of theſe viſitors, according to ſome hiſtorians, are of ſo enormous a nature, that they cannot be related without offending decency and ſhocking moderation; which, added to the motives of the viſitation, and the prejudice of the deputies, we think ſufficient to juſtify an omiſſion of the particulars. During theſe tranſactions, the king deprived cardinal Campegio, and an Italian, called Ghinacer, of their biſhoprics of Saliſbury and Worceſter; and beſtowed them upon Nicholas Shaxton, and Hugh Latimer, who favoured the reformation.

A. D. 1536.

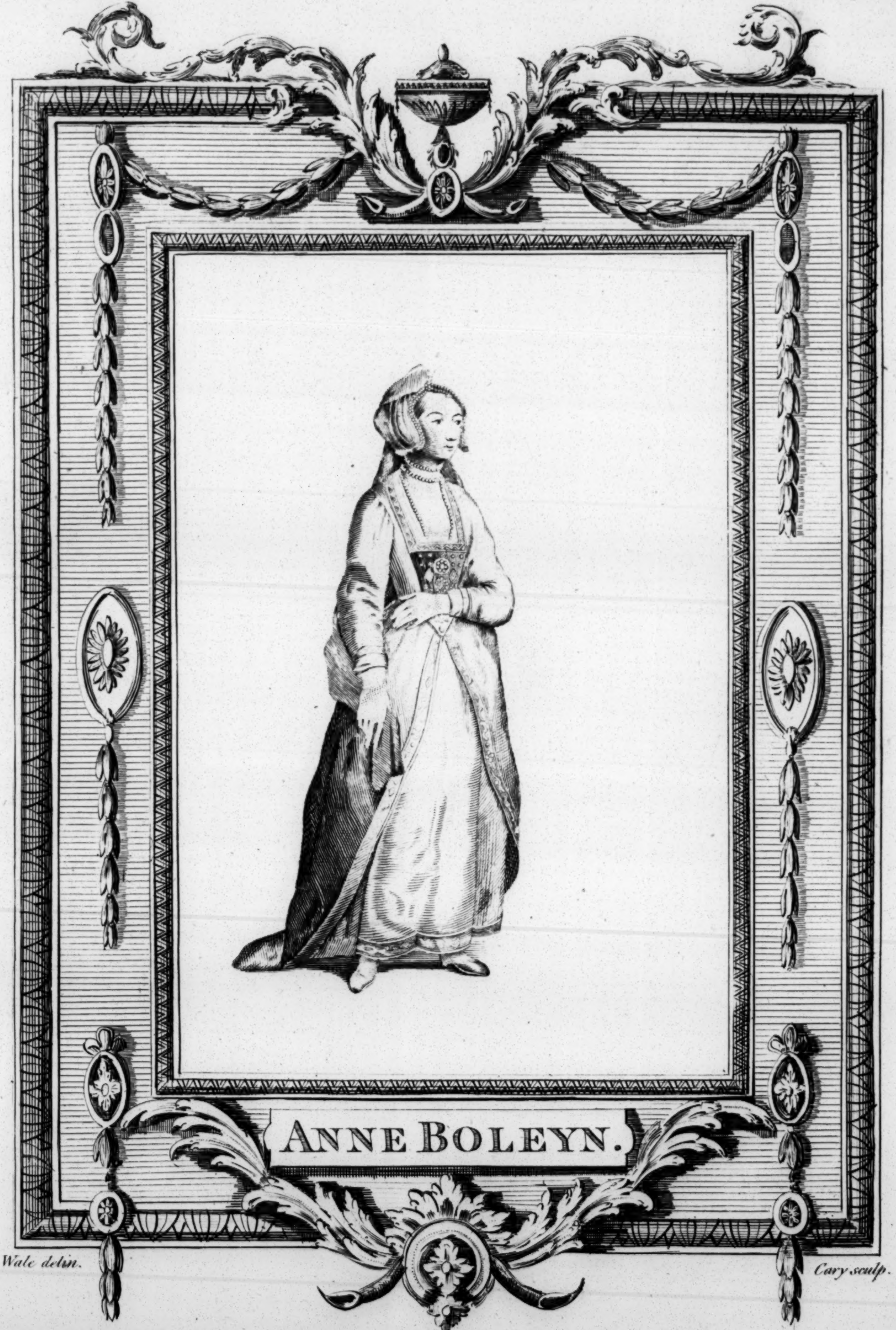
This year was uſhered in with the death of the unhappy and much injured queen Catharine, which happened at Kimbolton in Somerſetſhire, on the twenty-ninth of January in the fifty third year of her age, after having ſuſtained a long ſeries of afflictions. She lived on the penſion aſſigned her, as princeſs dowager of Wales, and notwithſtanding her ill treatment in this kingdom, diſcovered not the leaſt inclination of leaving it, being ſuppoſed to be detained by her paternal care of the princeſs Mary. A little before her death, ſhe wrote a letter to the king, in which ſhe addreſſed him as her moſt dear lord, king, and huſband, and aſſured him of her ſincere forgiveneſs, for all the calamities, in which his ungovernable paſſion had involved her, and concluded with theſe remarkable words; " I make this vow, that mine eyes deſire you above all things." This pathetic letter greatly affected Henry, who is ſaid to have dropped ſome tears at the remembrance of a woman, whoſe virtues deſerved a better fate. She was buried in the abbey church of Peterborough, which Henry afterwards converted into a cathedral. Though good effects have ariſen from the divorce of this princeſs, an impartial view of Henry's character, and that of the unhappy Catharine, together with the whole progreſs of his conduct reſpecting it, and the circumſtances antecedent to it, muſt ſurely convince every honeſt, unprejudiced mind, that it was a flagrant injury done to the perſon and character of an honourable and virtuous woman. They being joined in a ſtate of wedlock, by a compulſive act of their parents during their minority, if Henry had effected the divorce immediately on his arrival at maturity of judgement, the candid might have been induced to think, that he acted from conſcientious motives; but as it was deferred to a remote period, and his queen, even by his own confeſſion, had evinced the moſt virtuous and amiable qualities, we refer it to the ingenious reader, whether his conduct in this reſpect was intrinſically good or bad, according to thoſe eternal maxims of truth, on which all religion is founded.

The parliament meeting for diſpatch of buſineſs, an act was paſſed, ſuppreſſing all monaſteries, whoſe revenues did not exceed two hundred pounds a year, and appropriating their income to his majeſty's uſe. By which ſtatute the crown acquired a yearly revenue of thirty thouſand pounds, beſides a capital of above one hundred thouſand pounds, ariſing from the plate, ornaments, and effects of churches and convents. The king then erected a new court of juſtice, called the court of augmentation of the crown revenues, for taking cognizance of all ſuch ſequeſtrations. At this period the king was petitioned to employ ſome able perſons to tranſlate the ſcriptures, and the queen ſeconded the petition, with which Henry complied; and, though the tranſlators are not known, the work was in three years printed at Paris. The king, having thus obtained all his deſires, diſſolved that parliament, after it had continued ſitting ſix years. During theſe tranſactions, the queen was delivered of a dead male child, to the unſpeakable chagrin of the king, who looked on this accident as a judgement from heaven. His love for Anne Boleyn now began to cool, while the beauty of Jane Seymour, one of the queen's ladies, raiſed a new flame in his breaſt, and his paſſions were ſo ſtrong and impetuous, that he ſacrificed every thing to their gratification. Theſe concurring motives for his alienation from the queen, were ſtrengthened by her own deportment, which was too frank and unguarded to ſcreen her from the imputation of levity and indiſcretion. Her enemies, particularly the duke of Norfolk, and thoſe who adhered to the old religion, took advantage of this diſpoſition to inflame the king's jealouſy, the principal fomenter of which was lady Rochford, who hinted to the king, that his queen carried on a criminal correſpondence with her own brother, the lord Rochford; and this inſinuation, through the diſguſt he had taken to Anne, and his new paſſion for Jane Seymour had vaſt effect. As ſhe favoured the reformation, the partizans of the pope conſpired her ruin; and ſhe was not only accuſed of inceſt with Rochford, but alſo of criminal converſe with Henry Norris, groom of the ſtole, Weſton and Brereton, gentleman of the king's privy chamber, and Smeton, a muſician. Theſe charges were very defective in point of evidence, yet they were ſufficient to ruffle the mind of Henry, who is ſaid to have ſeen the queen, at a tournament at Greenwich, to drop her handkerchief to one of her minions, that he might wipe his face, having overheated himſelf in the exerciſe. Whatever might be the cauſe, he commanded the queen to be confined to her chamber, and the ſuſpected delinquents to be committed to the Tower. The queen imagined at firſt that the king was in jeſt, but when ſhe found it was a ſerious affair, ſhe retired to her cloſet, and prepared for death. This reverſe of fortune affected her ſo ſenſibly, that ſhe was ſeized with hyſteric fits, during which ſhe exhibited ſigns of a moſt violent agitation. When ſhe was conveyed to the Tower, ſhe fell on her knees, and appealed to heaven for her innocence. Cranmer alone, of all her adherents, preſerved his friendſhip inviolate; and as far as the king's impetuoſity would allow him, endeavoured to remove the violent and unjuſt prejudices which he had conceived to her detriment; but all his attempts proved ineffectual. On the fifteenth of May, the queen and her brother Rochford, were brought to their trial before the duke of Norfolk, as lord high ſteward for the occaſion, the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, the earl of Arundel, and twenty-five other peers. The unfortunate queen was charged with criminal converſation with her brother, and four others; and alſo with having conſpired the king's death. She pleaded, Not guilty, and diſtinctly anſwered all the evidence that was brought againſt her. She was, however, convicted, and condemned to be burnt, or beheaded, at the pleaſure of the king. Her brother alſo was condemned to be beheaded and quartered; nor did this ſatisfy the vengeance of Henry, who cauſed her marriage to be proclaimed null and inſufficient, on account of a pre-contract between her and the earl of Northumberland, and her daughter illegitimate. When brought to the ſcaffold, ſhe ſaid ſhe was come to die, as ſhe had been adjudged by the law; ſhe prayed heartily for the king; and deſired the people would judge of him with charity; ſhe took leave of all the ſpectators, deſiring they would pray for her, and having ſpent ſome time in devotion, ſubmitted to the fatal ſtroke, which was given by an executioner, ſent over from Calais. Thus came to an untimely end the unhappy Anne Boleyn, a ſacrifice to the impetuous paſſions of Henry, inflamed by the malicious ſuggeſtions of her enemies. The king, eager to gratify his brutal appetite, and wholly regardleſs of decency and decorum, eſpouſed lady Jane Seymour, on the very day that ſucceeded her execution. In the month of June, a ſtatute was enacted by a new parliament, repealing the former act of ſucceſſion; declaring the children of the two firſt marriages illegitimate, excluding them from the inheritance from the crown, and adjudging it after the king's death, to his iſſue by lady Jane, or any other wife he might afterwards eſpouſe. This parliament alſo paſſed an act, whereby all thoſe, who in any manner attempted to re-eſtabliſh in England, the authority of the biſhop of Rome, ſhould incur the penalty of premunire.

Cromwell and Cranmer ſtill maintained their influence at court; and the latter was appointed the king's vicegerent in all eccleſiaſtical affairs. In this character he informed the convocation, at the king's deſire, that the rites and ceremonies of the church ſhould be reformed by ſcripture, and in a few days produced a ſet of articles drawn up by Henry himſelf, concerning the doctrines of religion; that the clergy might examine them, and make a faithful report of their deliberations.

In this debate, the friends and enemies of the reformation declared themſelves openly. Cranmer was joined by Goodrick, biſhop of Ely; Shaxton, of Saliſbury; Latimer, of Worceſter; Barlow, of St. David's; Fox, of Hereford; and Hilſey, of Rocheſter. The other party were headed by Lee,

archbiſhop



ANNE BOLEYN.

Wale delin.

Cary sculp.

She was married to Henry VIII. Novr. 14. 1532 — & beheaded May 19. 1536,
on a charge of Adultery.

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archbiſhop of York; Stokeſly, biſhop of London; Tonſtan, of Durham; Gardiner, of Wincheſter; Longford, of Lincoln; Sherburn of Chicheſter; Nix, of Norwich; and Kite of Carliſle. But Cranmer and Cromwell had the king's ear, and perſuaded him, that the abuſes of which they demanded an abolition, tended directly to the ſupport of papal uſurpation. After very warm debates, the convocation agreed to certain articles, digeſted in the form of conſtitutions, and importing, that the Holy Scripture was the foundation of faith, together with the creeds of the apoſtles, the council of Nice, and Athanaſius; that baptiſm was abſolutely neceſſary, as well as penitence, comprehended in the three acts of contrition, auricular confeſſion, and amendment of life; that the real body of Chriſt was preſent in the euchariſt; that juſtification was attained by regeneration, compoſed of contrition, faith, and charity; that images ſhould be retained in churches, though worſhip ſhould not be paid to the image, but to God alone; that ſaints ought to be honoured, though without believing that they could grant what was in the gift of God alone; that they might, nevertheleſs, be invoked without ſuperſtition, and their feſtivals obſerved; that the number of theſe might be abridged by the king's authority; that the uſual ceremonies of the church ſhould be retained, ſuch as the prieſt's veſtments, holy-water, conſecrated-bread, tapers on Candlemas-day, aſhes on Aſh-Wedneſday, palms on Palm-Sunday, proſtration before the croſs on Good-Friday, hallowing of the font, exorciſms, and benedictions; that prayers ſhould be put up for departed ſouls, and alms given for maſſes and obſequies; but as the place they were in, and the pains they ſuffered, were not aſcertained by ſcripture, they ſhould be referred to the mercy of God; that purgatory, and the pope's power of delivering ſouls from thence, ſhould be exploded.

The act for the ſuppreſſing ſmall monaſteries, which took place in the month of Auguſt, occaſioned great clamours among the people; who, inflamed by the ſuggeſtions of the monks, inſinuating, that the king meant to deſtroy all the monaſteries, without exception, aſſembled in Lincolnſhire, to the number of twenty thouſand, under the conduct of doctor Mackrel, prior of Barlins, diſguiſed like a cobler. Theſe ſent a petition to court, requeſting the king to conſider and redreſs the grievances to which they were expoſed; but his majeſty, inſtead of granting their requeſt, publiſhed a very ſevere anſwer, and ſent the duke of Suffolk againſt them, at the head of ſome forces levied for that purpoſe. This conduct ſerved only to inflame the inſurgents, and gave the clergy an opportunity of repreſenting the ſtate of the people to be as really enſlaved as that of the Turks; and that they were now to expect an extermination, not only of popery, but Chriſtianity itſelf. Several perſons of diſtinction among them privately correſponded with the duke of Suffolk, and aſſured him, that their ſole view was to bring by degrees the common people to a ſenſe of their duty; and that if the king would indulge them with an amneſty, they would diſperſe without bloodſhed. The duke acquainted his majeſty with this information; who, in conſideration of a commotion excited in Yorkſhire, publiſhed an amneſty in favour of the Lincoln revolters, who immediately diſperſed, though ſome of them joined the inſurgents of York. Theſe were preceded by prieſts with crucifixes, and the paſſion of Chriſt was painted on their banners. They compelled all the freeholders either to join them or fly the country; and re-eſtabliſhed the monks who had been diſpoſſeſſed. The earl of Shrewſbury having armed his vaſſals to oppoſe their progreſs, was created king's lieutenant againſt the conſpirators; the duke of Suffolk being ordered to remain in Lincolnſhire, to prevent any freſh commotions in that county. Several noblemen alſo were commiſſioned to inliſt men; and the king himſelf began to aſſemble an army under the command of the duke of Norfolk. Theſe proceedings gave riſe to a freſh rebellion. Two gentlemen, called Muſgrave and Tilby, putting themſelves at the head of eight thouſand peaſants, made an attempt upon Carliſle, from which, however, they were repulſed, and afterwards entirely defeated by the duke of Norfolk. Muſgrave eſcaped; but Tilby, with ſeventy of his followers were taken, and hanged upon the walls of Carliſle.

A. D. 1537. An event now happened of a more joyous and important nature. This was, the birth of a young prince at Hampton-court, on the twelfth day of Auguſt, who was baptized by the name of Edward; and though the mother died in a few days after her delivery, it afforded Henry infinite ſatisfaction, as it gratified his pride, and removed all doubts with reſpect to the ſucceſſion. Six days after his birth, the infant was created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Cheſter. At the ſame time the queen's brother, Sir Edward Seymour, lately made lord Beauchamp, was created earl of Hertford; Sir William Fitzwilliams, earl of Southampton; Sir William Paulet, lord St. John; and Sir John Ruſſel was dignified with the title of lord Ruſſel.

A. D. 1538. The late commotions had ſo incenſed the king againſt the whole monaſtic ſect, that he determined on its total abolition. His reſolution, in this particular, appears to have been actuated by intereſt, as well as reſentment; for he appropriated the rents and riches of the convents and monaſteries, which at his inſtigation were razed, to his own private uſe. He therefore again ordered a general and minute viſitation of the monaſteries, in conſequence of which, as before, the deputies made the moſt indecent and horrid reports. This ſoftened all oppoſition to Henry, who attacked the ſhrine of St. Thomas a Becket at Canterbury, which excelled all others in magnificence and pretended ſanctity. We have obſerved, vaſt numbers of pilgrims reſorted to this famous ſhrine, and even preferred it to thoſe of Chriſt, and the Virgin Mary; for in one year, the offerings made at the altar of Chriſt, and the Virgin, did not exceed four pounds, while thoſe at the ſhrine of Becket, amounted to between eight and nine hundred. Lewis VII. of France had viſited this tomb, and preſented it with a jewel, which was deemed the richeſt in Europe. The ſhrine was now broken and taken down, together with the gold that adorned it, to an immenſe value. The king ordered his bones to be burned, his name to be erazed from the calendar, and the office for his feſtival expunged from the breviary. Theſe proceedings were no ſooner known at Rome, than that city was filled with ſatires and libels againſt the perſon and conduct of Henry. He was branded with the moſt notorious infamy and ſacrilege, and compared to the moſt cruel and lawleſs tyrants that ever ſoiled the pages of hiſtory. His emiſſaries at Rome informed him, that the intelligence from England was generally directed to cardinal Pole; in conſequence of which he wreaked his revenge on that eccleſiaſtic, by cauſing ſeveral of his relations to be apprehended and executed as traitors. The pope now publiſhed his bull of excommunication, and endeavoured to excite the neighbouring princes againſt him; and even offered his kingdom to James of Scotland, provided he was able and willing to ſubdue it. Henry, informed of the publication of this bull, exacted from the biſhops and abbots a new oath, by which they renounced the pope's authority; and a new tranſlation of the Bible, printed at London, being preſented to him by Cromwell, he permitted copies of it to be diſtributed throughout the kingdom. At the ſame time he ordered the clergy to read the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the ten commandments in the Engliſh tongue. They were directed to inſiſt on practical religion, and expoſe the futility of pompous rites and ceremonies. The biſhop of Wincheſter was, by this time, returned from France; and though averſe to the reformation, diſguiſed his ſentiments ſo artfully, that the king beſtowed on him ſome degree of confidence, on account of his complaiſance and ſubmiſſion. This prelate raiſed a perſecution againſt thoſe who denied the real preſence in the euchariſt; and one John Nicholſon was burned in Smithfield, with circumſtances of horrid barbarity. In the mean time cardinal Pole maintained a private correſpondence in England, and is even ſaid to have aſpired at the crown through a marriage with the princeſs Mary; but the king diſcovering his intrigues, ordered his correſpondents to be executed as traitors. On the twenty-eighth of April, the law of the ſix articles, commonly called the bloody ſtatute, was enacted, denouncing death againſt all thoſe who ſhould deny tranſubſtantiation; maintain the neceſſity of communicating both ſpecies; affirm that it was lawful for prieſts to marry; that the vows of chaſtity might be violated; that private maſſes were uſeleſs; and that auricular confeſſion was not neceſſary to ſalvation. This ſtatute was ſuggeſted by biſhop Gardiner, who aſſured the king, that nothing would more effectually prevent the formation of a league againſt him, than thus to convince the world that he had not varied the eſſentials of religion; and that no perſon could accuſe him of hereſy while he maintained theſe ſix articles, which ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed the true catholics from ſectaries and innovators. Cranmer vehemently oppoſed this ſtatute; but as ſoon as the bill paſſed he ſent his wife to Germany, of which ſhe was a native. This parliament, which was wholly at the king's devotion, confirmed him in the poſſeſſion of the religious houſes which he had ſuppreſſed, and empowered him to erect ſome new biſhoprics. Six hundred and forty-five monaſteries were ſuppreſſed in England and Wales, of which twenty-eight had abbots, who enjoyed a ſeat in parliament; ninety colleges were demoliſhed, together with two thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-four chantries and free chapels, the annual revenue of the whole being equal to one hundred and ſixty-one thouſand and one hundred pounds. From this fund, Henry is ſaid to have increaſed the number of colleges and profeſſors in the univerſities, and founded the biſhoprics of Weſtminſter, Oxford, Peterborough, Briſtol, Cheſter, and Glouceſter; that of Weſtminſter was diſſolved by queen Mary, and Benedictines placed in the abbey; but queen Elizabeth converted it into a collegiate church, and a ſeminary for young ſcholars.

From his conſcientious behaviour, Cranmer ſtill retained the king's eſteem, though he oppoſed the ſix articles; and therefore inſinuated to him, as he could not be ſatisfied in his mind till the people ſhould be fully convinced of his right to the ſupremacy, that nothing would more contribute to that end than a free uſe of the ſcriptures; by which they would be aſſured that the pope's authority was not founded on the word of God. Henry no ſooner ſignified his approbation to this propoſal, than Gardiner vehemently oppoſed it; and the two prelates diſputed on the ſubject in the preſence of the king, who decided in favour of Cranmer, telling the other he was but a novice, in compariſon with his learned and experienced antagoniſt. Letters patent were therefore granted to the ſecretary, importing, that the ſubjects of England ſhould have the free uſe of the Bible tranſlated into their mother tongue, and that for five years there ſhould be no impreſſions of the Bible, or any part of it, but ſuch as he ſhould appoint.

At this period Anne of Cleves, who had been ſome time contracted to Henry by means of Cromwell, arrived in England. When the king heard of her landing at Rocheſter, he went thither incognito to ſee his future conſort, and found her ſo different from her picture, which had been drawn by Sir Hans Holbein, that in the violence of his paſſion he ſwore they had brought him a Flanders mare. Reflecting, however, that her brother the duke of Cleves, was one of the moſt conſiderable potentates in Germany; that her brother-in-law, the duke of Saxony, was the chief of the league of Smalcade; and that the emperor was then at Paris, endeavouring to detach Francis from the intereſt of England; he thought it moſt prudent to eſpouſe the princeſs, and the nuptials were ſolemnized on the ſixth day of January.

A. D. 1539.

The parliament having aſſembled on the twelfth of April, Cromwell opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he informed both houſes, that the king, in order to end all religious diſputes, had appointed commiſſioners to examine the controverted articles, that a rule of faith might be eſtabliſhed upon the word of God alone; and that after ſuch a ſtandard ſhould be fixed, he was determined to inflict the ſevereſt puniſhment on thoſe who ſhould dare to diſſent from the public creed; a determination nearly reſembling the decrees of that church, which Henry pretended to aboliſh. Theſe commiſſioners being approved by parliament, were ordered to begin their examination without delay; and in the mean time the king created Cromwell earl of Eſſex. During this ſeſſion, the order of the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem was diſſolved, on pretence of their attachment to the pope and emperor, and all their effects in England and Ireland confiſcated for the uſe of the king, who allotted three thouſand pounds yearly for their ſubſiſtence. Shortly after the prorogation of this parliament, the fall of Cromwell was reſolved on, and the means of effecting it concerted and executed. The duke of Norfolk, and biſhop Gardiner, did not fail to add to the diſcontent of the king, who had expreſſed great diſſatisfaction on account of the marriage. They repreſented, that the kingdom was filled with mal-contents on account of religion; that they looked upon Cromwell as the author of thoſe meaſures, which they diſapproved; that he had acquired an immenſe fortune by oppreſſion; and that the ſacrificing him to the reſentment of the public, would conciliate the favour of his ſubjects. The king, wrought on by theſe inſinuations, gave up his favourite to the vengeance of the people, hoping by that means to recover their affection. But this deſign was kept ſo ſecret, that he attended the council about the middle of June, when he was arreſted for high treaſon by the duke of Norfolk, and ſent priſoner to the Tower. The fall of this miniſter gave great ſatisfaction to the people, who now remembered the meanneſs of his extraction, the inſolence of his manners, and the ſelf-intereſted views of his whole conduct. His power was envied even by the reformers; whom, though he favoured, he could not protect; and therefore they attributed that to apoſtacy, which probably was only the effect of inability. The Romans hated him as the grand cauſe of all their calamities; and indeed he never favoured either party, but as it ſuited his intereſt. Cranmer alone, of all his friends, adhered to him in his diſtreſs, and went farther in eſpouſing his cauſe with the king, than any other man would dare to do; but all his interpoſition was ineffectual; for Cromwell, without being heard in his own defence, was, by a bill of attainder, found guilty of divers hereſies and treaſons, and condemned to ſuffer death, in whatever manner the king ſhould think proper to direct. This was ſucceeded by the diſſolution of the marriage between Henry and his new wife; a diſſolution on which he was determined, not only on account of his averſion to Anne of Cleves, but principally becauſe he was enamoured of Catharine Howard, daughter of lord Edmund, and brother to the duke of Norfolk. The king was highly pleaſed with Catharine, and Gardiner made frequent entertainments at his own houſe for the royal lover and his miſtreſs; the ſtratagem ſucceeded; the king was ſo pleaſed with his miſtreſs, that he offered to make her his partner in the throne; and in conſequence of this new connection, Cromwell, his miniſter, was executed without delay, all his ſervices being diſregarded or forgotten.

A.D. 1540. To procure a divorce from Anne of Cleves, now wholly engroſſed Henry's attention; and he found no difficulty in obtaining a deciſion from the convocation in his favour. The houſe of lords, with a committee of the commons, waited on the king with an addreſs, deſiring he would give orders for trying the validity of his marriage. A commiſſion was accordingly granted. They immediately proceeded to the examination of witneſſes, and the ſubſtance of their evidences amounted to theſe particulars; that there had been a pre-contract between the queen and the marquis of Lorrain; that the king having married againſt his will, had not given a pure, inward, and complete conſent; and that he had not conſummated the marriage. Theſe objections were certainly very frivolous; but as the queen made no oppoſition, they were thought ſufficient; ſentence was pronounced for a diſſolution of the marriage, and the deciſion of the clergy was ratified by the parliament. The queen expreſſed no diſſatisfaction. She was ſatisfied on being informed, that the king would, by letters patent, declare her his adopted ſiſter, and give her precedence before all the ladies in England, except his own wife and daughters; that an eſtate of three thouſand pounds a year ſhould be allotted for her maintenance; and that ſhe might either live in England, or return to her own country. She choſe the former; and was even prevailed upon to write a letter to her brother, the duke of Cleves, informing him that ſhe had been treated in the moſt tender, generous manner by the king, though ſhe could not have him for her huſband; and conjuring him not to break the harmony that ſubſiſted between the two courts, on account of any thing that had happened to her in England. Thus was her marriage diſſolved on the moſt frivolous pretences that ever were urged before a court of juſtice. Soon after this divorce from Anne of Cleves, Henry married Catharine; the ceremony being performed on the eighth of Auguſt following. But this marriage had no effect on the cruelty of Henry, which ſeemed to have taken poſſeſſion of his ſoul. His councils being directed by Norfolk and Gardiner, the reformers underwent a ſevere perſecution, and the ſix bloody articles, as they were called, were rigorouſly executed. Dr. Barnes, Thomas Gerard, and William Jerome, vicar of Stepney, were condemned to the ſtake for hereſy; but they did not ſuffer alone: three bigotted catholics ſhared the ſame fate, and periſhed in the ſame flames, for denying the king's ſupremacy. Barnes diſcuſſed theological queſtions even at the ſtake; and as the debate between him and the ſheriff turned upon the invocation of ſaints, he ſaid, that he doubted whether the ſaints could pray for us; but if they could, he hoped, in half an hour, to be praying for the ſheriff and all the ſpectators. This promiſcuous puniſhment of proteſtants and catholics, gave occaſion to a foreigner then in England to ſay, that it was of no conſequence whether they were for or againſt the pope, ſince both loſt their lives for their opinions.

An inconſiderable rebellion broke out at this time in Yorkſhire, headed by Sir John Nevill; but being ſoon ſuppreſſed, Nevill and the other officers were executed. The king's ſuſpicion fell upon cardinal Pole, to whoſe intrigues he ſuppoſed this rebellion was owing; and this to him was a ſufficient reaſon for making the counteſs of Saliſbury, who then lay under ſentence of death, ſuffer for her ſon's offences. On the twenty-ſeventh of May, ſhe was led to the place of execution; and in theſe diſtreſsful circumſtances, this venerable matron ſtill maintained the ſpirit of that long race of monarchs from whom ſhe was deſcended. She abſolutely refuſed to lay her head on the block, alledging, that ſhe would not ſubmit to an unjuſt ſentence, when ſhe had received no trial; telling the executioner that if he would have her head, he muſt win it in what manner he could; and ſhaking her venerable locks, ran about the ſcaffold, while he followed her with his axe, aiming many ineffectual ſtrokes at her neck, before he could give her the fatal blow. Thus periſhed the daughter of the duke of Clarence, the laſt of the Plantagenet line, which had governed England during the ſpace of three hundred years. Soon after the counteſs of Saliſbury's death, lord Leonard Grey, who had formerly rendered ſervice to the crown, was alſo beheaded for treaſon.

A.D. 1541. The above inſurrection in the north, induced Henry to make a progreſs thither, in order to quiet the minds of the people, at the ſame time that he hoped to terminate thoſe diſorders, by puniſhing with the utmoſt ſeverity all who dared to diſturb the tranquillity of his kingdom. The inhabitants, who were no ſtrangers to the cruelty of his diſpoſition, endeavoured to deprecate his vengeance, by offering him a conſiderable ſum of money. Henry accepted the commutation, and deſiſted from carrying his inhuman deſigns into execution. Before he left London, he had diſpatched Sir Ralph Sadler into Scotland, to propoſe an interview with James V. Scotland had for ſome time felt the fury of the catholics, the reformation having reached that kingdom; while the torch of civil diſcord ſtill blazed both in the northern and ſouthern parts of the Britiſh iſles. Patrick Hamilton, a young man of noble family, deſigned for the church, having, about the year 1527, been ſent abroad for his education, imbibed the opinion of the reformers; and, on his return to Scotland, diſſembled not his religious ſentiments. A Dominican, who had inſinuated himſelf into his friendſhip, accuſed him before the archbiſhop of St. Andrews. He was tried; condemned to be burnt for his errors; and ſuffered with the reſolution of a hero. At the ſtake, he cited his accuſer to the tribunal of Jeſus Chriſt: and the Dominican, aſtoniſhed at his conſtancy, and touched, perhaps, with remorſe for his ungrateful conduct, ſoon after loſt his ſenſes, and expired. The death of Hamilton, who was now conſidered both as a prophet and a martyr, brought over a great number of proſelytes to the reformation. Among others, was friar Foreſt, who became a zealous preacher, extremely attached to the holy ſcriptures; which, in thoſe times, was conſidered as a ſure characteriſtic of hereſy. Foreſt was therefore brought to his trial, and condemned to the flames. While the prieſts were deliberating on the moſt proper place for his execution, one adviſed them to burn him in a cellar; for (ſaid he) the ſmoke of Mr. Patrick Hamilton affected all thoſe on whom it blew. Such was the ſtate of the reformation in Scotland, when James received the invitation from Henry to meet him at York. The nobility perſuaded him to accept the offer, hoping that if an union was formed between the two princes, they ſhould be enabled to enrich themſelves with the ſpoils of the church. The clergy were alarmed; they dreaded the conſequences of ſuch an interview; and determined, if poſſible, to prevent it. They repreſented the danger of making any innovations in the eſtabliſhed religion; the pernicious conſequences of aggrandizing the nobility, already too powerful; the hazard of putting himſelf in the hands of the Engliſh; and the dreadful ſituation of his country, ſhould he, by purſuing ſuch impolitic meaſures, loſe the friendſhip of France. At the ſame time they offered him a preſent gratuity of fifty thouſand pounds, Scots, and promiſed, that the church ſhould be always ready to contribute liberally to the neceſſities of the ſtate. Theſe repreſentations, aſſiſted by the influence of the queen, induced James to change his reſolution. He delayed his journey for ſome days, and then ſent excuſes to the Engliſh monarch, who waited for him at York. Henry was not of a temper to bear tamely this affront; he vowed the moſt ſevere revenge; but an event happened which rendered it neceſſary for him to return to his capital.

The agreeable perſon and diſpoſition of Catharine, had entirely captivated the king's affections, who thought himſelf very happy in his new marriage; but the queen's conduct was far from meriting his tenderneſs. One Laſcelles, while Henry continued at York, informed Cranmer of her diſſolute life, who had been little better than a common ſtrumpet. He offered to confirm his information by the evidence of his ſiſter, who had lived a ſervant in the family of the old ducheſs of Norfolk, at whoſe houſe the queen had been educated, and where ſhe had carried on a criminal intrigue with Derham and Mannock, two menial ſervants, whom ſhe had admitted to her bed. This intelligence, which it was as dangerous to conceal as to diſcover, Cranmer communicated to the earl of Hertford and the chancellor; and they agreeing that it ought not to be buried in ſilence, the prelate wrote a narrative of the whole, and conveyed it to Henry, who having peruſed it, was ſeized with inexpreſſible confuſion and aſtoniſhment; inſomuch, that at firſt he gave no credit to the information. However, the king's jealouſy and impatience, happily for Cranmer, who was in a very dangerous ſituation, would not ſuffer him to reſt till he knew the certainty of the matter. The privy-ſeal was therefore ordered to examine Laſcelles, but with ſuch precautions, as might preſerve the queen from ſcandal, ſhould ſhe be found innocent. Laſcelles perſiſted in what he had ſaid; and appealing to his ſiſter's teſtimony, that nobleman went to Suſſex, where the woman reſided, and found ſhe was extremely particular as to facts. Mannock and Derham were both arreſted, who had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of their danger. They both confeſſed repeated acts of impurity with the queen before her marriage. It was alſo proved, that ſhe had ſince entertained one Culpepper a whole night in her chamber. Three maids of the family were admitted into her ſecrets, and one of them had even paſſed the night with her and her lovers. When Henry received the report of theſe examinations, his grief and diſtraction deprived him of ſpeech; he could only vent his diſtreſs in a torrent of tears. He appointed the primate, the chancellor, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Suffolk, and the biſhop of Wincheſter, to interrogate the queen. She at firſt denied the charge; but finding her illicit amours were fully diſcovered, ſhe confeſſed the whole to the archbiſhop, who wrote the narrative from her mouth, which ſhe ſigned with her own hand. Henry, now fully convinced of the infidelity of his queen, was determined to take a ſevere revenge on her and all her accomplices.

A. D. 1542. In order to ſatiate his vengeance, a parliament, the uſual inſtrument of Henry's tyranny, was immediately ſummoned. The two houſes having received the queen's confeſſion, preſented an addreſs to the king, in which they entreated him not to be vexed with this untoward accident, to which all men were ſubject, but deſired leave to paſs a bill of attainder againſt the queen and her accomplices; and begged him not to give his aſſent to the bill in perſon, which, by renewing his grief, might endanger his health; but by commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe; and there being a law in force, by which it was treaſon to ſpeak ill of the queen, they craved his royal pardon, if any of them ſhould tranſgreſs that ſtatute. On receiving a gracious anſwer, they voted a bill of attainder againſt the queen for high treaſon, and the viſcounteſs of Rochford, who had conducted her ſecret amours; and in this bill were alſo comprehended Culpepper and Derham. They paſſed at the ſame time a bill of attainder for miſpriſion of treaſon againſt the old ducheſs of Norfolk, the queen's grandmother; her uncle, lord Howard and his lady; the counteſs of Bridgewater, and nine other perſons, for knowing the queen's vicious courſe of life before her marriage, and concealing the ſame; as if Henry could expect that near relations would be ſo far inſenſible of natural affection and ſhame, as to reveal the ſecret criminal actions of their families. The king, however, pardoned the ducheſs of Norfolk, and moſt of the others condemned for miſpriſion of treaſon, though ſome of them were long detained in confinement. The parliament, among other curious matters, enacted, that any perſon who knew, or vehemently ſuſpected any guilt in the queen, and did not, within twenty days, reveal it to the king, or his council, ſhould be guilty of treaſon; and that if the king married any woman who had been incontinent, taking her for a true maid, ſhe ſhould be guilty of treaſon, unleſs ſhe previouſly revealed her guilt to him. The people made themſelves extremely merry with this clauſe. It was pleaſantly remarked, that the king muſt, for the future, look out for a widow, as no reputed maid would ever venture to incur the penalty of the ſtatute. Theſe acts being paſſed, the queen and lady Rochford were beheaded, the twelfth of February upon Tower hill. Catharine Howard confeſſed her miſconduct in the former part of her life; but endeavoured to perſuade the world, that ſhe had never tranſgreſſed the rules of virtue ſince her marriage. Lady Rochford experienced very little pity from the ſpectators; her execution was conſidered as a judgment from heaven, for her having been the principal cauſe of the death of Anne Boleyn, and that of her own huſband. And this notorious inſtance of her profligate life, tended greatly to clear their characters in the opinion of the world.

Some time ſince Henry had appointed a commiſſion, conſiſting of two archbiſhops, ſeveral biſhops, and a conſiderable number of doctors of divinity, and by virtue of his eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy, had ordered him to aſcertain proper articles of belief, and to eſtabliſh uniformity of ſentiment in matters of faith and practice. Before the commiſſioners had made any conſiderable progreſs, the parliament had, in the laſt year, paſſed a law, by which they ratified all the tenets which theſe divines ſhould afterwards eſtabliſh with the king's conſent; and thus were not aſhamed of expreſsly declaring, that they took their religion upon truſt, and had no other rule, in ſpiritual concerns, than the arbitrary will of Henry. The produce of the labours of theſe commiſſioners, was a ſmall work, entitled, "The Inſtitutions of a Chriſtian Man; which was received by the convocation, and voted to be the ſtandard of orthodoxy. In this work the ſacraments, which a few years before were allowed to be three, were again augmented to ſeven, agreeable to the ſentiments of the Romiſh church. Soon after, the people had an opportunity of ſeeing another inſtance of the king's inconſtancy; for not being long ſatisfied with his inſtitutions, he ordered another book to be compoſed, called "The Erudition of a Chriſtian Man," and publiſhed this new model of orthodoxy by his own authority and that of his parliament. It differs from the former work; but Henry was no leſs poſitive in his new, than he had been in his old creed, and required the faith of the nation to veer about at his ſignals. In both theſe works the king took particular care to inculcate the doctrine of paſſive obedience. He now retracted the permiſſion he had ſo lately given his ſubjects in general to read the ſcriptures, reſtraining that conceſſion only to gentlemen, and even theſe were commanded to read in ſuch a manner, "that it be done quietly and in good order." He likewiſe made alterations in the miſſal, and ordained, that the name of the pope ſhould be eraſed, or blotted out of every book wherein it was mentioned. Thus by endeavouring to ſet bounds to the opinions of his ſubjects, and by entering himſelf into eccleſiaſtical diſputes, he induced them to apply to the ſtudy of divinity; and it was in vain for him, notwithſtanding his arguments, creed, and penal ſtatutes, to expect to bring his ſubjects to a cordial agreement with his religious ſentiments.

At this time Henry was determined to reſent the affront he had received from the king of Scotland. He complained of James having afforded an aſylum to ſeveral Engliſh rebels, and reproached him with breach of promiſe, with reſpect to the intended interview. He alſo, to give a more ſpecious colour to his hoſtile proceedings, obſerved, that his nephew had detained territories belonging to England. He likewiſe revived the old claim to the vaſſalage of Scotland, and ſummoned James to do homage to him for that kingdom, as his liege lord. James, on being apprized of his uncle's intention, began to put himſelf into a poſture of defence, but ſent two ambaſſadors to London, with terms of accommodation. Theſe, under various pretenſions, were detained, till Henry was ready to take the field; and were even then obliged to attend the army ſent into their country, under the command of the duke of Norfolk, whom Henry called the ſcourge of the Scots. The earl of Southampton was appointed to command the van; but he died at Newcaſtle, univerſally regretted for his abilities as a ſtateſman, and his approved courage and prudence as a general. On the twentieth of October, the Engliſh forces entered Scotland, and were met by a herald from James, who expoſtulated with the duke of Norfolk, on the injuſtice of invading the kingdom before any declaration of war had been publiſhed. But his remonſtrances were in vain: the Engliſh general ravaged all the country bordering on the Tweed, and retired to Berwick on account of the ſeverity of the weather. The earl of Huntley had indeed been ſent to James, with ten thouſand men; but his forces were ſo inferior to the Engliſh, that he was obliged to act wholly on the defenſive. Mean while the Scottiſh monarch levied an army of fifteen thouſand men; and being joined by the earl of Huntley with a train of artillery, he determined to invade England on the weſtern ſide of Solway Frith. James repaired thither in perſon, but when ready to take the field, he left the army under the command of Oliver Sinclair, his favourite, who was hated by the Scottiſh nobility. The conſequences of ſuch an imprudent action were ſoon apparent. The officers choſe to ſacrifice their king, their country, and their own honour, rather than ſerve under a perſon they deteſted; ſo that when Sinclair read his commiſſion, at the head of the army, the nobility retired from their poſts, and the ſoldiers following their example, threw down their arms, by which mutiny, uproar and confuſion univerſally prevailed. A body of five hundred Engliſh, under the command of Sir Thomas Warton, who hovered round the Scottiſh camp, to obſerve the motions of the enemy, perceiving the diſorder in their ranks, attacked them with ſo much fury, that they ſought their ſafety in a precipitate flight. The earls of Caſſils and Glencairn, the lords Maxwell, Fleming, Somerville, and Gray, the general Sinclair, with about two hundred gentlemen, and eight hundred common ſoldiers, were taken priſoners, and all their artillery and baggage fell into the hands of the Engliſh. This rout happened on the twenty-fourth of November, at Solway Moſs, in the neighbourhood of Carliſle. James was then at Caerlaveroc, where he received the alarming intelligence of the defeat and diſperſion of his army by an handful of Engliſh forces. Being of a high ſpirit, and the ſame time of a melancholy diſpoſition, he loſt all command of his temper. His rage againſt his nobility, by whom he imagined he had been betrayed; his ſhame at his army having been defeated by a handful of men, with his dread of the conſequences, had ſuch an effect upon him, that he would admit of no conſolation, but entirely abandoned himſelf to deſpair. His body waſted, his death evidently approached, and he had no iſſue living; when hearing that his queen was ſafely delivered, he aſked, with ſome emotion, whether ſhe had brought him a ſon or a daughter? Being told the latter, he turned himſelf in his bed, and exclaimed, ſaying, "The crown came with a woman, and it will go with one. How many miſeries await this poor kingdom! Henry will make it his own, either by arms, or by marriage." A few days after he expired, on the fourteenth of December, in the flower of his age. James V. was a prince of conſiderable abilities and virtues; whoſe perſonal courage and vigilance, fitted him for repreſſing thoſe diſorders to which Scotland, during that age, was ſo much expoſed. He took care that juſtice was adminiſtered with impartiality and rigour; but as he ſupported the church, and the common people, againſt the rapine of the nobility, he did not eſcape the hatred of that order.

Henry was no ſooner informed of his nephew's death, than, as James had foreſeen, he projected the ſcheme of uniting Scotland to his own dominions, by marrying his ſon Edward to the infant heireſs of that kingdom. Having called together the Scotch noblemen, who were his priſoners, he ſeverely reproached them for their pretended breach of treaty; and then, ſoftening his tone, propoſed this marriage as a means of preventing for the future thoſe diſorders ſo prejudicial to both kingdoms; offering to reſtore them to liberty, without ranſom, on condition of their favouring the marriage. They readily aſſented to this propoſal; and being conducted to Newcaſtle, delivered hoſtages to the duke of Norfolk for their return, if the intended nuptials ſhould not be completed; and thence proceeded to Scotland, where affairs were in much confuſion.

A. D. 1543.

The primate, cardinal Beaton, had long been conſidered as principal miniſter of ſtate to James, and was at the head of the party which defended the privileges of the eccleſiaſtics.

cleſiaſtics. He had now put himſelf in poſſeſſion of the government, and with the aſſiſtance of the queen dowager, obtained the conſent of the convention of the ſtates; while James Hamilton, earl of Arran, who claimed that honour, was excluded. This nobleman was next heir to the crown by his grandmother, the daughter of James III. and therefore ſeemed beſt entitled to poſſeſs the high office into which the cardinal had intruded himſelf. The proſpect of his ſucceeding the infant princeſs, in caſe of her death, procured him many partizans. He was of a moderate genius, of a quiet diſpoſition, and favoured the reformation; whence thoſe who zealouſly promoted it were attached to him. By means of theſe adherents, joined to the vaſſals of his own family, and the noblemen who had been priſoners in England, he ſo effectually oppoſed the cardinal's adminiſtration, that he was declared governor; at the ſame time the cardinal was committed to cuſtody, under the care of lord Seton; and a negociation was ſet on foot for the marriage of the infant queen with the prince of Wales. But the cardinal primate having prevailed on Seton to reſtore him to liberty, he aſſembled the moſt conſiderable eccleſiaſtics: and repreſenting the imminent danger to which they were expoſed, perſuaded them to collect privately a large ſum of money; by means of which he engaged to overturn the ſchemes of his enemies. The partizans he acquired by pecuniary favours, repreſented the union of England as a certain forerunner of ruin to the church; and Sadler, the Engliſh ambaſſador, received many inſults from perſons whom the cardinal, in hopes of bringing on a rupture, inſtigated to commit theſe acts of violence. Sadler, however, prudently diſſembled the matter, till the day appointed for the delivery of the hoſtages, and then ſummoned thoſe who had been reſtored to liberty, to fulfil their promiſe of returning into captivity; but all of them refuſed to obey, except Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Caſſils, who preferred his honour to his liberty. Henry was ſo charmed with his noble behaviour, that he received him with great marks of eſteem, loaded him with preſents, and gave him his liberty without ranſom. Beaton was not diſpleaſed at this refuſal of the priſoners, though it reflected diſgrace on their country. He well knew that they muſt now depend wholly on the government for ſupport, and oppoſe the Engliſh with all their power. A war was now expected between the two kingdoms, and Francis engaged to ſupport the intereſt of Scotland. But however deſirous the French monarch might be of aſſiſting his Scottiſh allies, the war he was already engaged in with the emperor, rendered it very difficult to ſend forces ſufficient to ſupport them againſt the power of the Engliſh monarch. Matthew Stuart, earl of Lenox, was then at the French court; and Francis being informed, that he was engaged in an antient, hereditary enmity with the family of Hamilton, by whom his father had been murdered, propoſed that he ſhould viſit his native country, and join in ſupporting the cardinal and the queen-mother; promiſing that a ſupply of money, and, if neceſſary, even military ſuccours ſhould be ſent after him. He was alſo flattered with the hopes of eſpouſing the queen-dowager; and in caſe of the death of Mary, the infant princeſs, of aſcending the Scottiſh throne in preference to the earl of Arran, whoſe legitimacy was liable to ſome objections. Tempted by theſe alluring proſpects, Lenox returned to Scotland, and on his arrival, exerted all his intereſt for breaking off the marriage treaty. He aſſembled a conſiderable number of forces, in order to wreſt the young queen from the hands of the regent; who being unwilling, or unable to contend with his enemies, agreed to an accommodation. This important point being gained, the queen and the cardinal, who had now no farther occaſion for the aſſiſtance of Lenox, deſired Francis to recal him: but the earl, informed of their deſign, withdrew to his caſtle of Dumbarton, and the following year threw himſelf into the arms of the Engliſh.

This oppoſition in Scotland to Henry's views, confirmed him in the reſolution he had before taken, of uniting his arms to thoſe of the emperor, who earneſtly courted his alliance. A league was therefore formed in which the two monarchs agreed to enter France, each with an army of twenty-five thouſand men, and to require of Francis to pay Henry all the ſums he owed him, and to depoſit Andres, Terouene, Montreuil, and Bologne, as a ſecurity for the regular payment of his penſion for the future. Should theſe conditions be rejected, they agreed to challenge for Henry the crown of France, or at leaſt the duchies of Normandy, Aquitaine, Guienne; and for Charles the duchy of Burgundy, with ſome other territories. A meſſage was now ſent to the French king, requiring him to renounce his alliance with the Turks, and to make reparation for the damage the infidels had done in Chriſtendom. Francis refuſed a compliance with the haughty demand, and a declaration of war was the conſequence. In the mean time an event happened, which gave the reformers ſome hopes of enjoying their religion unmoleſted. On the twelfth of January, the king had married Catharine Parr, the widow of Nevill, lord Latimer; a woman of great virtue, and well affected to the reformed religion. By this marriage Henry fulfilled the prophecy uttered in jeſt, that he would be obliged to marry a widow. But this event did not put an end to the perſecutions carried on againſt the reformers; for a few days after the king's marriage, Anthony Perſonne, a prieſt; Robert Teſtwood, a ſinging man; and Henry Fulmer, a taylor; were, at the inſtigation of Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, burnt at Wincheſter for reading the writings of the reformed. At the ſame time the biſhop's own ſecretary was executed for denying the king's ſupremacy.

In France the campaign was opened by the duke of Cleves, an ally of Francis, who gained a victory over the emperor's forces. Francis in perſon made himſelf maſter of the whole duchy of Luxemburgh, without reſiſtance; and afterwards taking Laddrecy, added ſome fortifications to it. Charles at length aſſembled a powerful army in the Netherlands, and having taken almoſt every fortreſs in the duchy of Cleves, reduced the duke to ſubmit to ſuch terms as he was pleaſed to preſcribe. Being then joined by ſix thouſand Engliſh, he inveſted Landrecy, and covered the ſiege with an army of upwards of forty thouſand men. Francis advanced at the head of an army which was little inferior, as if he intended to give battle to the emperor, or to force him to raiſe the ſiege: but while the two armies were facing each other, the French king found an opportunity of throwing ſuccours into Landrecy, and then made a ſkilful retreat; on which Charles, finding the ſeaſon far advanced, went into winter quarters.

A. D. 1544.

A period being put to military operations, Henry ſummoned a parliament, which met on the 14th of January; and after declaring the prince of Wales, or any of the king's male iſſue, firſt and immediate heir to the crown, reſtored the princeſſes Mary and Elizabeth to the right of ſucceſſion; yet Henry would not allow the act to be reverſed, which had declared them illegitimate; but prevailed on the parliament to confer on him the power of ſtill excluding them, if they refuſed to ſubmit to any conditions he ſhould be pleaſed to impoſe on them. In this parliament the law of the ſix articles was mitigated; and it was enacted, that no perſon ſhould be tried upon any accuſation for offences comprized in that ſanguinary ſtatute, except on the oath of twelve perſons: that no perſon ſhould be arreſted for any ſuch offence before he was indicted; and that any preacher, charged with ſpeaking in his ſermon contrary to theſe articles, muſt be indicted within forty days. In the ſame ſeſſion, Henry made no mention of a ſupply: but as his wars both in France and Scotland, together with his uſual prodigality, had involved him in great expence, he filled his coffers by other methods. Though he had a little before cauſed all his debts to be aboliſhed, he required new loans from his ſubjects, and raiſed the price of gold from forty-five ſhillings, to forty-eight ſhillings an ounce; and ſilver from three ſhillings and ninepence, to four ſhillings an ounce. He even coined ſome baſe money, and ordered it by proclamation to paſs current. He appointed commiſſioners for levying a benevolence, by which he extorted above ſeventy thouſand pounds from the people. Read, alderman of London, refuſing to contribute his ſhare, or not coming up to the expectation of the commiſſioners, was enrolled as a foot ſoldier, and ſent with the army into Scotland, where he was taken priſoner. Roach, who had been equally refractory, was caſt into priſon, and obliged to pay a large compoſition, before he could recover his liberty. Thus all the valuable privileges of Engliſhmen were ſacrificed to the lawleſs will of a tyrant.

A. D. 1545. The whole winter was employed by Francis in fitting out a fleet to invade the coaſts of England. They ſailed early in the month of July; and on the eighteenth advanced towards the Engliſh fleet, then riding at St. Helens. Here a cannonade began, which laſted ſeveral hours, but with very little effect, the art of gunnery being then in its infancy. Finding their attempt to deſtroy the Engliſh ſhips abortive, they landed on the Iſle of Wight, where they committed the moſt dreadful ravages, till the militia of the country advanced againſt them, and drove them to their ſhips. The king now found it impoſſible for him to ſupport this expenſive war, without having recourſe to his parliament, who granted him a ſmall ſubſidy. The clergy were more liberal, and it is remarkable, that during the eſtabliſhment of the catholic religion, greater ſums were always contributed by the church than the laity. Hence the emperor, when he was informed of the ſuppreſſion of the Engliſh monaſteries, and of Henry's profuſe donations of their revenues among his courtiers, is reported to have ſaid, not knowing that trade and commerce are the true ſources of riches, "That Henry had killed the hen which brought him the golden eggs." But though the parliament were ſo remarkably tenacious of their own money, they were amazingly profuſe with regard to the ſubſtance of others. They now beſtowed on Henry all the revenues of the univerſities, chapels, and hoſpitals. The king, however, took care to inform the univerſities, that he meant not to incroach upon their endowments. Some idea may be formed of the proſtitution of this parliament by one of their ſtatutes, in which they acknowledge, that the king had always been by the word of God, ſupreme head of the church of England: that the biſhops and other eccleſiaſtics had no manner of juriſdiction, but by his royal mandate; and that he alone was inveſted with full authority, to correct all manner of hereſies, errors, vices and ſins. Henry made a long and elaborate ſpeech to this parliament, in which he complained of the diſſentions that prevailed among his ſubjects with regard to religion. He told them, that the ſeveral pulpits were become a kind of batteries againſt each other; where one preacher called another heretic and anabaptiſt, which were retaliated by the opprobrious terms of papiſt and hypocrite: that he had permitted his people the uſe of the ſcriptures, not in order to furniſh them with matter for diſpute and railing, but that he might enable them to reform their conſciences, and inſtruct their families: that he was grieved to the heart to find how that precious jewel was proſtituted, by being introduced into converſation at every alehouſe, and employed as a pretence for decrying the ſpiritual and legal paſtors: he was ſorry to obſerve, that the word of God, while it was the object of their enquiries, had very little influence on their practice; and though an imaginary knowledge ſo much abounded, charity was daily going to decay. Theſe obſervations were certainly juſt; but the example of the king, who encouraged diſputes, was ill adapted to promote that charity and peaceable diſpoſition to the eſtabliſhed opinion he ſo ſtrongly recommended.

The war between England and France was diſtinguiſhed by no great events. While Charles was employed in the ſiege of St. Diſier on the Marne, which made a brave defence, the Engliſh forces aſſembled in Picardy; on which Henry, inſtead of marching forward to Paris, laid ſiege to Bologne; and the duke of Norfolk to Montreuil. During the courſe of the ſiege, Charles had taken St. Diſier, when finding the ſeaſon much advanced, and that all his ſchemes for ſubduing France were likely to prove abortive, he liſtened to terms of accommodation with Francis; and to obtain a pretence for deſerting his ally, ſent a meſſenger to require Henry to meet him before Paris with his army. Henry anſwered that he could not raiſe the ſiege of Bologne with honour, and that Charles had firſt broken the agreement, by beſieging St. Diſier. The emperor, upon receiving this anſwer, concluded a peace with Francis at Creſſy, in which no mention was made of England. After which he ordered his troops to depart from Picardy. Henry, who had taken Bologne, was now obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Montreuil, and returned to England. Mean while the war with Scotland was conducted feebly, and with various ſucceſs; and principally conſiſted in inroads made by the Engliſh into that country. At length the Scottiſh leaders, in order to induce their troops to make a ſteady defence, ordered all their cavalry to diſmount, and reſolved to wait the aſſault of the Engliſh, on ſome high grounds near Ancram. The Engliſh, whoſe paſt ſucceſſes had made them deſpiſe the enemy, on ſeeing the Scotch horſe led off the field, thought the whole army was retiring, and haſtened to the attack. The Scots received them in good order; and being favoured by the ſurprize of the Engliſh, who expected no reſiſtance, and alſo by the advantage of the ground, ſoon put them to flight, and purſued them with great ſlaughter. Evers and Latoun, the two Engliſh commanders, were both ſlain, and above a thouſand men made priſoners. The victory was obtained by the Scots on the ſeventeenth of February. Some time after Francis ſent them three thouſand five hundred auxiliaries; on which the governor aſſembled an army of fifteen thouſand, at Haddington; then marching to the eaſtern borders of England, laid waſte the country wherever he came with little reſiſtance; after which he returned into Scotland, and diſbanded his army. The earl of Hertford revenged this inſult by ravaging the middle and weſt marches.

A. D. 1546. Theſe misfortunes induced Henry, whoſe animoſity againſt Francis was neither violent nor perſonal, to think of liſtening to the terms which had been offered for a peace. He had ſufficiently gratified his capricious humour, by the ſhort war he had carried on againſt his former ally; and having reaſon to apprehend from his great increaſe in corpulency, and viſible decay of ſtrength, that his end was approaching, he was deſirous of finiſhing a quarrel, which might prove dangerous to the kingdom during the minority of his ſon. Francis being equally with Henry deſirous of a peace, it was concluded on the following conditions: “ That the king of France ſhould pay regularly the penſion ſettled by former treaties: that Francis ſhould pay in eight years the ſum of two millions of golden crowns, in conſideration of the penſion, and the expence Henry had been at in reducing Bologne: that the king of England ſhould keep poſſeſſion of Bologne, together with its territories, till the whole debt was diſcharged: that when the ſums ſhould be paid to Henry, Bologne ſhould be reſtored to France, in the ſame condition as when taken by the Engliſh.” In this peace the emperor was included; and with regard to Scotland, Henry agreed that it ſhould enjoy the ſame benefit, provided the Scots gave him no cauſe to make war upon them. Thus Henry terminated a war which had coſt him above one million, three hundred, and forty-three thouſand pounds ſterling; and all he had acquired in return, was only a bad ſecurity for a debt which did not amount to one-third of the value. All Henry's expeditions were much of the ſame kind.

However, this ceſſation of hoſtilities afforded the Engliſh monarch leiſure to attend to domeſtic affairs; and he ſoon found returning upon him his madneſs of introducing new ſyſtems of faith, and endeavouring to eſtabliſh uniformity of opinion among all ranks of people. He had hitherto ſtrictly ordered divine ſervice to be performed in no other language than the Latin; but he now permitted the litany, a conſiderable part thereof, to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue. He added to it one petition, “ to be ſaved from the tyranny of the biſhop of Rome, and from all his deteſtable enormities.” Cranmer endeavoured to induce Henry to make farther innovations, and had probably ſucceeded; but Gardiner, who was ſent on an embaſſy to Charles, writing to the king that the emperor threatened to break off all intercourſe with him, if he carried his oppoſition to the Romiſh religion to greater extremities, the ſucceſs of Cranmer's deſigns was for ſome time diſappointed. This year Cranmer loſt his moſt ſincere and powerful friend, Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, brother-in-law to Henry. The queen-dowager of France, Suffolk's conſort, had died ſome years before. This nobleman was well affected to the reformation; took every opportunity to ſupport its profeſſors; and had always maintained a cordial and ſteady friendſhip with the king. Henry was informed of Suffolk's death, when ſitting in council; and immediately expreſſed his own ſorrow for the loſs, and extolled the merits of the deceaſed. He declared, that during the whole courſe of their friendſhip, his brother-in-law had never once attempted to injure an adverſary; and had never even whiſpered a word to the diſadvantage of any man. He then added, “ Is there any of you, my lords, who can ſay as much of yourſelves?” Then looking round in all their faces, ſaw plainly the conſciouſneſs of guilt in their confuſion. Deprived of this ſupport, Cranmer became expoſed to the cabals of the courtiers. The catholics repreſented to Henry, that the ill ſucceſs of his laudable zeal for enforcing the truth, was entirely owing to the primate, whoſe encouragement and example were the ſecret ſupport of hereſy. Henry, ſeeming to yield, deſired the council to enquire into Cranmer's conduct. The primate being now conſidered as loſt, his old friends, as well as his enemies, began to treat him with contempt. He was obliged to ſtand among the ſervants ſeveral hours at the door of the council chamber, before he was admitted; and was then told, that they had determined to ſend him to the Tower. Cranmer inſtantly appealed to the king himſelf; but finding his appeal diſregarded, he produced a ring which he had received from Henry, as a pledge of his favour and protection. The council were now confounded, and on coming before the king, he ſeverely reproved them; obſerving, that he was well acquainted with the primate's merit, as well as with their malignity and envy, but was determined to curb all cabals; and ſince gentle methods were ineffectual, he would teach them by the ſevereſt diſcipline, a more dutiful concurrence in promoting his ſervice. The duke of Norfolk, Cranmer's principal enemy, apologized for their conduct; and declared, that their only intention was to ſet the primate's innocence in a full light, by bringing him to an open trial. Henry, however, was highly diſpleaſed with their conduct, and obliged them all to embrace Cranmer, as a proof of their cordial reconciliation.

But though Henry thus extended his favour to the primate, his pride and peeviſhneſs, which was encreaſed by his declining ſtate of health, prompted him to puniſh, with freſh ſeverity, all who preſumed to differ from him in opinion, eſpecially in his favourite articles of faith. Anne Aſcue, a young woman of beauty and great merit, who had entered into a ſtrict connection with the queen, was accuſed of having denied the real preſence in the ſacrament; and the king, inſtead of paying the leaſt regard to her ſex and age, was the more provoked, that a woman ſhould dare to oppoſe his ſentiments. Bonner, by his menaces, prevailed on her to make a ſeeming recantation; but ſhe qualified it with ſuch reſerves, that it did not ſatisfy that furious prelate. She was therefore thrown into priſon, where ſhe compoſed prayers and diſcourſes to ſtrengthen her reſolution to ſuffer. Anne now wrote to the king, declaring, that with regard to the myſtery of the euchariſt, ſhe believed as much as Chriſt had revealed of it, and as much as the catholic church required; but as ſhe could not be brought to acknowledge her aſſent to the king's explications, this declaration was conſidered as a freſh inſult. Wriotheſley, then chancellor, who was ſtrongly attached to the catholic party, being ſent to examine her with reſpect to her patrons at court, ſhe refuſed to diſcover any of her friends; and though put to the torture in the moſt cruel manner, ſhe ſtill continued reſolute in preſerving an inviolable ſecrecy. Her conſtancy exceeded the barbarity of her perſecutors, and baffled all their efforts. She was then condemned to be burnt alive; but her limbs being ſo diſlocated by the rack that ſhe could not ſtand, ſhe was carried in a chair to the ſtake. With her were conducted John Laſſels, one of the king's houſhold, Nicholas Belenian, a prieſt, and John Adams, a taylor, who had been ſentenced to ſuffer the ſame puniſhment, for a ſimilar crime. When they were tied to the ſtake, the chancellor ſent to inform them, that their pardon was ready drawn and ſigned, if they would recant their errors. They, however, only conſidered this offer, as a new ornament to their crown of martyrdom; and beheld with tranquillity the executioner kindling the flames by which they were to be conſumed. Even in the midſt of theſe, they ſeemed to glory in their ſufferings. The fidelity of Anne Aſcue ſaved the queen on this occaſion; yet ſhe ſoon after found herſelf in the utmoſt danger of falling a victim to the dogmatical zeal of her huſband. Henry, who was now of a bad habit of body, was afflicted with an ulcer in his leg, which threatened his life, and at the ſame time increaſed that peeviſh paſſionate temper to which he was ſubject. The tenderneſs of Catharine was remarkable on this occaſion; ſhe attended him with the utmoſt aſſiduity, and uſed every method in her power to ſooth his pains, and prevent thoſe dreadful guſts of humour ſo frequent and fatal in their conſequences. The king's favourite topic in converſation was polemical divinity;

nity; and Catharine was frequently obliged to diſcuſs the more abſtruſe tenets of religion with him. Whether her arguments were too ſtrong for the king to anſwer, or whether ſhe inadvertently dropt ſome expreſſions that ſhewed ſhe was attached to the Lutheran principles, is not abſolutely known; but it is certain, Henry, provoked at her preſuming to differ from him, complained of her obſtinacy to Gardiner, who, glad of an opportunity to inflame the quarrel, praiſed the king's anxious concern for preſerving the orthodoxy of his ſubjects; and ſhrewdly obſerved, that the more elevated, and the nearer to him the perſon chaſtized, the greater terror would be ſtruck by the example, and the more glorious would the ſacrifice appear to poſterity. The chancellor, on being conſulted, corroborated Gardiner's opinion; and Henry, hurried on by his impetuous temper, and encouraged by his counſellors, ordered articles of impeachment to be drawn up againſt the queen. The articles were ſoon after brought to be ſigned. Fortunately for Catharine, the chancellor dropped the fatal paper, which being found by one of the queen's friends, was immediately put into her hands. She was ſenſible of her extreme danger, but did not deſpair of eluding the efforts of her enemies; and paying her uſual viſit to the king, found him in a more placid temper than ſhe expected. He began to diſcourſe on his favourite ſubject, and ſeemed to challenge her to enter upon it; but ſhe gently declined the converſation, obſerving, that ſuch profound ſpeculations were ill ſuited to the natural weakneſs of her ſex. Women, by their firſt creation, ſhe ſaid, were made ſubject to men: the male being created after the image of God, the female after the image of the male: it was the huſband to chuſe principles for his wife, and the duty of the wife to adopt implicitly the ſentiments of her huſband; and as to herſelf, it was doubly her duty, from her being bleſſed with a huſband, who by his rare judgment and learning, was not only qualified to chuſe principles for his own family, but for the moſt wiſe and knowing part of the nation. "Not ſo, by St. Mary," replied the king. "You are now become a doctor, Kate, and better fitted to give, than receive inſtruction." To this ſhe meekly replied, that ſhe was ſenſible how little ſhe was entitled to theſe praiſes; that though ſhe did not uſually decline any converſation, however ſublime, when propoſed by his majeſty, ſhe was ſenſible that her thoughts could be of no ſervice, but to give him a little momentary amuſement; that ſhe found converſation was apt to languiſh, when it was not revived by ſome oppoſition; and ſhe ſometimes ventured to pretend to be of contrary ſentiments, in order to give him the pleaſure of refuting her; and by this innocent artifice ſhe alſo propoſed to engage him to diſcourſe on topics, whence ſhe had obſerved, by frequent experience, that ſhe reaped much profit and inſtruction. "And is it ſo, ſweet-heart?" replied the king; "We are now perfect friends again." He then embraced the queen with great affection, and ſent her away with aſſurances of his kindneſs and affection. On the day following, her enemies, to whom this ſudden change was unknown, prepared to convey her to the Tower, agreeable to the king's warrant. Henry and Catharine were converſing amicably in the garden, when the chancellor appeared with forty of the purſuivants. The king went to him as he ſtood at ſome diſtance, and reproached him in the ſevereſt terms; frequently calling him, which Catharine overheard, knave, fool, beaſt; and at length ordered him to depart his preſence. She afterwards interpoſed to mitigate the king's anger; on which he cried, "Poor ſoul, you little know how ill entitled that man is to your good offices." The queen, from thence forward, took great care not to offend Henry by the leaſt contradiction; and Gardiner, who had maliciouſly endeavoured to widen the breach, could never after again regain his favour.

Soon after Henry's tyrannical diſpoſition broke out againſt the duke of Norfolk, who was by his birth allied to the throne, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ſervices to the ſtate. He was uncle to two of Henry's queens, and conſidered as the greateſt ſubject in the kingdom. He was an implacable enemy to the reformers, and had taken every opportunity to enforce the laws againſt them. The earl of Surry, his ſon, was a young nobleman of great merit, but of very little diſcretion. Hurried away by his ambition, and exaſperated by ſome affronts he had lately received, he very imprudently irritated the peeviſh humour of Henry by certain menacing expreſſions; and the king, perſuaded that he entertained views of marrying the princeſs Mary, determined to prevent the great power of his family from becoming formidable to the government during his ſon's minority. Both Norfolk and Surry were arreſted, and ſent priſoners to the Tower. The accuſation of the earl of Surry conſiſted of his having entertained in his family ſome Italians, who were ſuſpected to be ſpies from his holineſs; he was accuſed alſo of a correſpondence with cardinal Pole, one of his domeſtics having paid a viſit to that prelate in Italy; and becauſe the earl quartered the arms of Edward the Confeſſor upon his eſcutcheon, he was ſuſpected of aſpiring to the crown; though it was well known this had been done, with the approbation of the heralds, during many years. However frivolous theſe charges may now appear, they were then thought ſufficient to find him guilty of high treaſon. He is ſaid to have made at his trial a moſt eloquent and ſpirited defence; yet he was condemned by the lord chancellor, and, on the twelfth of December, beheaded on Tower hill. This noble earl was diſtinguiſhed by every accompliſhment that became a ſcholar. He had made ſome ſucceſsful attempts in poetry; and being ſeized with the romantic gallantry of that age, had in every maſque and tournament celebrated the praiſes of his miſtreſs, by his pen and his lance. He encouraged the fine arts by his patronage and example; he excelled in all military exerciſes; his ſpirit and ambition were equal to his talents and his quality. The innocence of the duke of Norfolk was ſtill more apparent than that of his ſon; though his ducheſs, with whom he lived on bad terms, had been ſo baſe as to inform his enemies of all ſhe knew againſt him, as did alſo Elizabeth Holland his miſtreſs; yet his accuſers could diſcover no greater crime than his having ſaid that the king was ſickly, and could not hold out long, and that the kingdom, from the diverſity of religious opinions, was likely to fall into diſorders. Henry well knew that all the accuſations he could alledge againſt him, would not be ſufficient to find him guilty in a trial before his peers. He therefore ordered a bill of attainder to be preferred againſt him, and he was declared guilty of high treaſon, without evidence, or being heard in his own defence. Cranmer had for many years been of the oppoſite party, and received many injuries from the duke; yet he refuſed to have any ſhare in a tranſaction, which reflected diſgrace on all who were concerned in it. When therefore he was informed, that the commons had paſſed the bill, he retired to his ſeat at Croydon, appearing no more at court, till he was ſent for to aſſiſt the king in his laſt moments.

A. D. 1547.

Theſe now approached with haſty ſteps. The hour of his diſſolution was at hand; but Henry was become ſo froward, that no perſon had courage to inform him of his dangerous ſituation; and as ſome, during this reign, had ſuffered the puniſhment of traitors for foretelling his death, all were afraid, leſt, in the tranſports of his rage, he ſhould, on this pretence, inflict death on the author of ſuch friendly intelligence. At length, Sir Anthony Denny ventured to inform him of the fatal ſecret, and to exhort him to prepare for his diſſolution. The king heard him with patience; expreſſed his reſignation; and deſired that Cranmer might be ſent for; but before the archbiſhop arrived he was ſpeechleſs, though he retained his ſenſes. The prelate deſired him to give a ſign of his dying in the faith of Chriſt; on which he ſqueezed his hand with great fervency, and immediately expired, on the twenty-eighth of January, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign. When he was taken ill, fearing leſt Norfolk ſhould eſcape him, he ſent to deſire the commons to haſten the bill: they obeyed; and the king having affixed the royal aſſent to it by commiſſion, iſſued his mandate for execution on the morning of the twenty-ninth of January; but news arriving at the Tower that Henry had expired that night, the lieutenant deferred obeying the warrant; and the council thought it not adviſeable to begin a new reign with the death of the greateſt nobleman in the kingdom, eſpecially as his ſentence was conſidered both as tyrannical and unjuſt.

Near a month before his deceaſe, Henry had made his will, in which, purſuant to an act of parliament, he ſettled the ſucceſſion upon prince Edward and his iſſue; then to the lady Mary; and next to the lady Elizabeth; but with this condition, that the two princeſſes ſhould not marry without conſent of the council he had appointed for the government of his minor ſon, under the penalty of forfeiting their title to the crown. After his own children, he ſettled the ſucceſſion on Francis Brandon, daughter to his ſiſter the queen of France, by the duke of Suffolk; and then on Eleanor Brandon, the younger ſiſter of Francis; thus paſſing over the poſterity of his eldeſt ſiſter the queen of Scotland. By another clauſe, he named the following ſixteen executors; the archbiſhop of Canterbury; the lord chancellor; the earl of Hertford, uncle to young Edward; the lord St. John; the lord Ruſſel; the lord viſcount Liſle; Cuthbert Tunſtal, biſhop of Durham; Sir Antony Brown; Sir Edward Montague; the chief juſtice Bromley; Sir William Paget; Sir Anthony Denny; Sir William Herbert; Sir Edward Watton, and his brother Dr. Watton. To the lords, appointed his executors, he left five hundred marks, and to the commoners three hundred; and enjoined them to diſcharge all his debts. He made the prince of Wales heir to all his moveables; but ſtrictly charged him to be ſubject to the advice and control of his council, till he ſhould be eighteen years of age. He left three thouſand pounds per annum to each of his daughters, with ten thouſand pounds addition, as their whole fortune, if his executors thought proper. To the queen he left three thouſand pounds in plate and jewels, and a thouſand pounds in money. Another clauſe of his will ſuggeſted, that he was far from being ſettled with regard to his notions in religion; ſeeing he left a ſum for maſſes to be ſaid for delivering his ſoul from purgatory, though he had deſtroyed every inſtitution his anceſtors and others had eſtabliſhed for the ſuppoſed benefit of their ſouls; and though in all the articles of faith he had publiſhed during his latter years, he had left the doctrine of there being ſuch a place as purgatory doubtful. By his firſt wife, Catharine of Spain, he had two ſons, and one daughter; namely, Henry, born January the firſt, 1511, and who died on the twenty-ſeventh of February following; and another ſon, who died ſoon after his birth. His daughter was Mary, who aſcended the throne on the death of her brother Edward. By his ſecond wife, Anne Boleyn, he had the famous queen Elizabeth, and a male child ſtill born. By his third wife, Jane Seymour, he had a ſon, named Edward, who ſucceeded him immediately in the throne. By his three wives, Anne of Cleves, Catharine Howard, and Catharine Parr, he had no iſſue. By Elizabeth, widow of Gilbert Taillebois, he had a natural ſon, named Henry Fitzroy, created duke of Richmond and Somerſet, and afterwards made lord lieutenant of Ireland, who died in the eighteenth year of his age.

During this reign, the only expedient employed to ſupport the military ſpirit, was the revival and extenſion of ſome old laws for the encouragement of archery; but the countenance given to letters by Henry and his miniſters, contributed to render learning faſhionable in England; and Eraſmus mentions, with great ſatisfaction, the regard paid by the nobility and gentry to men of knowlege. The king himſelf having a taſte for letters, he encouraged the ſame in others, and founded Trinity college in Cambridge. Wolſey founded Chriſt church in Oxford, which he intended to call Cardinal college: but upon his fall, before he had entirely finiſhed his ſcheme, all the revenues were ſeized by the king; and this violence is ſaid to have given that miniſter greater concern than all his other misfortunes. Henry, however, afterwards reſtored its revenues, and only changed its name.

In this reign, attempts were made to fix the wages of artificers: luxury in apparel was prohibited by repeated ſtatutes; and ſome of the king's miniſters were empowered to fix the prices of poultry, cheeſe, and butter; as alſo thoſe of beef, veal, pork, and mutton. Beef and pork were ordered to be ſold at a half-penny a pound, and veal at near three farthings, the money of that age. In 1544, an acre of good land in Cambridgeſhire let at a ſhilling, which is about eighteenpence of our preſent money.

It was not till the end of this reign, that either ſallads, turnips, carrots, or other edible roots, were produced in England, all theſe vegetables being formerly imported from Flanders and Holland. When queen Catharine wanted a ſallad, ſhe was obliged to ſend a meſſenger thither on purpoſe. The planting of hops, and the uſe of them, were introduced from Flanders about the beginning of this reign.

In 1546 a law was made for fixing the intereſt of money at ten per cent. which was the firſt legal intereſt known in England. All loans of that nature were formerly conſidered as uſurious. The intereſt of money was, in the preamble of this act, treated as illegal and criminal; and the prejudices againſt it were ſo ſtrong, that in the following reign the law allowing intereſt was repealed.

At this time, the Engliſh artificers in general were much ſurpaſſed in dexterity, induſtry, and frugality, by foreigners: hence aroſe violent animoſities; the former complaining, that all their cuſtomers left them, and went to foreign tradeſmen. In 1517, the Engliſh artificers being moved by the ſeditious ſermons of one Dr. Bele; and the artifices of Lincoln, a broker, raiſed an inſurrection in London, in which the apprentices and others began by breaking open the priſons, where ſome perſons were confined for inſulting foreigners. They then proceeded to the houſe of Meutas, a Frenchman, where they killed ſome of his ſervants, and plundered his goods. Neither the mayor, nor Sir Thomas More, ſo greatly reſpected in the city, were able to appeaſe them: they even threatened cardinal Wolſey, who was obliged to fortify his houſe. Tired at laſt with theſe diſorders, they diſperſed, when ſome of them were ſeized by the earls of Shrewſbury and Surry. A proclamation was then iſſued, that women ſhould not meet together to babble and talk; and that all men ſhould keep their wives in their houſes. The next day the duke of Norfolk entered the city at the head of thirteen hundred armed men, and enquired into the tumult; on which Bele, Lincoln, and ſeveral others, were ſent to the Tower, and condemned for treaſon. Lincoln, and thirteen others, were executed; and the other criminals, amounting to four hundred, were brought before the king with ropes about their necks; when falling on their knees, they cried for mercy, whereupon Henry diſmiſſed them without farther puniſhment.

READERS,

As we are now treating of miſcellaneous articles, we take this opportunity to return you our hearty thanks for the attention and encouragement you have obligingly afforded us hitherto. Through the whole of this work, the writer has endeavoured without intentionally offending either the members of his own, or any other communion, ſtate partizans, and ſectaries of different denominations, to relate every fact with juſtice, clearneſs, and preciſion. It has been his earneſt deſire, that in every page, truth ſhould guide his pen, and impartiality dictate to his heart. His abilities may not be ſo ſplendid as ſome of his predeceſſors, who have travelled the ſame road before him, but for integrity, combined with indefatigable induſtry, he will not give place to any one. He has aſſiduouſly endeavoured to merit your approbation, and it is natural for him to flatter himſelf, that he has not wholly laboured in vain. If a love of fame is a univerſal paſſion, he does not wiſh to be ſingular; but he deſires only an honourable reputation, which is the main ſpring of human action. In the courſe of reading, you have doubtleſs met with ſeveral particulars, not to be found in any other performance of the like kind; and to render this hiſtory agreeable to his public profeſſions, a New and Complete Work, as alſo ſtill more to gain your good opinion, he propoſes at the cloſe of this and ſome ſucceeding reigns, to preſent you with the lives of our moſt eminent reformers; or memoirs of thoſe great characters who were the chief inſtruments of delivering the church of England from its dependence on the church of Rome. We ſhall begin with the life of Thomas Cromwell.

Memoirs of the life of Thomas Cromwell, earl of Eſſex, and knight of the garter.

THOMAS, Lord CROMWELL, was an eminent friend and ſupporter of archbiſhop Cranmer; a principal inſtrument in the reformation, and a lively example of the inſtability of all worldly grandeur, which flouriſhes to day like a blooming flower, to morrow is cut down and deſtroyed, and all its fair beauty is known no more.

His father was a blackſmith at Putney; and of conſequence cannot be ſuppoſed to have been capable of beſtowing any extraordinary education upon him. He improved however what he had; and having attained to the ſkill of writing and reading, and to ſome ſmall knowledge of the Latin tongue, (which indeed was the ſtandard learning of thoſe times) he determined when he grew up, to travel; and accordingly went abroad, though in what capacity, or at whoſe expence, we know not: he received great advantage in his travels, gaining a knowledge not only of ſeveral modern languages, but alſo of mankind; and at length was retained at Antwerp by the Engliſh merchants there, as the clerk or ſecretary to their factory.

But an opportunity preſenting itſelf of viſiting Rome, he relinquiſhed his office and readily embraced it. The church of St. Botolph, at Boſton in Lincolnſhire, had at that time a famous gild of the Virgin, to which ſeveral popes had granted large indulgences, which were then highly valued, and very beneficial to the holy ſociety. Deſirous of having them renewed by the then pope Julius II. they diſpatched two perſons, with a conſiderable ſum of money to Rome, to procure this renewal. Theſe men met with Cromwell at Antwerp; and finding him well fitted to ſolicit the cauſe, to which they conceived themſelves unequal, they perſuaded him to go along with them. Accordingly he went and was of ſingular ſervice to them. For finding, that the readieſt way to the pope's favour was by courting his appetite, he preſented him with ſome fine diſhes of Engliſh jelly, which was then unknown at Rome; which ſo delighted the taſte of his holineſs, that, commanding them to teach his cooks the method of making this jelly, he readily granted Cromwell and his Lincolnſhire friends the pardons and indulgencies they came to requeſt.

Cromwell had, at this time, very little regard for religion, as he uſed frequently to confeſs in his future days, with regret, to his worthy friend Cranmer. His life was buſy and wild: he ſerved as a ſoldier under the duke of Bourbon, and was at the ſacking of Rome; and at Bologne he aſſiſted John Ruſſel, afterwards earl of Bedford, in making his eſcape, when he had like to have been betrayed into the hands of the French. The writings of Eraſmus, however, then made ſo much noiſe in the world, that they drew the attention of Cromwell; and it is a remarkable inſtance of his memory and induſtry, that in his journey to and from Rome, he learned by heart the whole New Teſtament of that writer's tranſlation; which probably laid the foundation of that proteſtant and reforming ſpirit, whereby he ſo much diſtinguiſhed himſelf afterwards.

Upon his return to England from his travels, he was taken into the family and ſervice of cardinal Wolſey, who at that time ruled deſpotic in the favour of king Henry. Cromwell's fidelity recommended him to the cardinal's high eſteem; he made him his ſolicitor, and aſſigned him the chief care of thoſe buildings at Oxford and Ipſwich, which he was erecting for the ſervice of knowledge.

Wolſey falling ſoon after into diſgrace with the king, Cromwell ſhewed the integrity and gratitude of his ſoul, by uſing every effort to procure his reſtoration; and when articles of high treaſon were ſent down to the houſe of commons, of which Cromwell was then a member, he defended the cardinal with ſo much eloquence and underſtanding, that no treaſon could be laid to his charge. Thus he procured great reputation, and his honeſty and abilities were equally commended.

The cardinal's houſhold being diſſolved, Cromwell, recommended by Sir Chriſtopher Hales, maſter of the rolls, and Ruſſel earl of Bedford, was admitted into the king's ſervice; though the king, from ſome wrong repreſentations, reſpecting the demolition of the ſmall monaſteries for Wolſey's colleges, had conceived prejudices againſt him, which ſeveral about the court were very willing to inflame. However, upon converſing with the king, reſpecting the diſputes he then had with the pope, he ſo much approved himſelf to his majeſty, that he took him into the higheſt degree of favour. The firſt remarkable ſervice he did the king, was his preparing the way for an abolition of the pope's ſupremacy in his realms. Cromwell told him, that while the clergy took the oath, they then were uſed to take, to the pope, he was but an half king; convinced of which, the king gave him his ring, ſent him to the convocation then ſitting; where he proved to the biſhops, that they were all under a premunire; in that they had not only conſented to the power legatine of the cardinal, but becauſe they had all ſworn to the pope, contrary to the fealty of their ſovereign lord the king, and therefore had forfeited to the king all their preferments and poſſeſſions. The biſhops were confounded; but upon his producing the oath, they could not deny it; and were content to buy their peace by a preſent to the king of one hundred eighteen thouſand eight hundred and forty pounds.

Honours now began to fall thick upon him. In the year 1531, he was knighted; and ſucceſſively promoted from one great place to another, till at length, in the year 1539, he was conſtituted earl of Eſſex, and lord high chamberlain of England. He was made in ſucceſſion maſter of the king's jewel-houſe, and a privy counſellor, clerk of the hanaper, chancellor of the exchequer, principal ſecretary of ſtate, and maſter of the rolls, chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge, lord keeper of the privy ſeal, knight of the garter, a baron of the realm under the title of lord Cromwell of Okeham in Rutlandſhire; where a privilege, in memory of him, remains to this day; the people claim a ſhoe (or a gratuity in its ſtead) from the foot of every baron's horſe which enters that town; and in the caſtle, (of which he had a grant from king Henry) and upon the caſtle gate, there are now many ſuperb gilt horſe ſhoes, which have been given by different noblemen, who have paſſed through Okeham.

But the offices in which he laboured moſt effectually for the ſuppreſſion of popiſh ſuperſtition, were thoſe of viſitor general of the monaſteries throughout England, and vicar general and vicegerent over all the ſpirituality under the king, who was now declared ſupreme head of the church, the pope's ſupremacy being aboliſhed in England. And under this high character Cromwell ſat above the archbiſhop, as the king's repreſentative.

Not elevated by his power, he proceeded with indefatigable induſtry and zeal to promote the reformed religion. Towards which nothing conduced more than the abominable ſcenes which were diſcovered in the abbies and monaſteries, as well as the ridiculous impoſtures which were carried on in many of them. "Had nothing, ſays an hiſtorian, appeared againſt thoſe religious foundations, but the vice and profligacy of the abbots, abbeſſes, nuns, and friars, the people would have naturally thought that the inſtitution, which was good in itſelf, ought not to have been aboliſhed for the corruption of the members, who might have been changed and reformed. But a more effectual method was choſen, for opening the eyes of the people, with reſpect to the pretended ſanctity of relics, images, and all the other trumpery of ſuperſtition. The viſitors were inſtructed to examine, and, if poſſible, diſcover the arts by which the minds of the vulgar were infatuated; and then the whole machinery of monkiſh impoſture was detected: not but that the ſcandalous vices practiſed in convents were likewiſe publiſhed, in order to undeceive the nation. The impurities of Sodom and Gomorrah are ſaid to have been exceeded at Battle-abbey, Chriſtchurch in Canterbury, and ſeveral other convents. They found innumerable inſtances of whoredom, adultery, onaniſm, and other unnatural luſts and beaſtly practices; with arts to prevent conception, and procure abortion, among the nuns who were debauched. With reſpect to monkiſh idolatry and deceit, Reading ſeems to have been the repoſitory of the nation: there the viſitors found an angel with one wing, who brought over the head of the ſpear which pierced the ſide of Jeſus Chriſt, with ſuch an inventory of other relics, as filled up four ſheets of paper. At St. Edmundſbury they ſeized ſome of the coals that roaſted St. Lawrence, the parings of St. Edmund's toes, the penknife and boots of Thomas à Becket, a great quantity of the real croſs, and certain relics to prevent rain, and the generation of weeds among corn. The houſe of Weſt-acre had pawned a finger of St. Andrew for forty pounds, but this the viſitors did not think proper to redeem. There was a crucifix at Bexley in Kent, diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the Rood of Grace, which had been long in reputation, becauſe it had been ſeen to bend and raiſe itſelf, to ſhake the head, hands and feet, to roll the eyes, and move the lips. This puppet being brought to London, (by the order of lord Cromwell) was broke in pieces, in ſight of the people, at St. Paul's-croſs, where, with their own eyes, they ſaw the ſprings by which it had been actuated."— Theſe, and a thouſand other inſtances of monkiſh deluſion, were diſcovered, which ſerved greatly to ſupport the friends of the reformation, and to diſparage the popiſh cauſe.

Cromwell however did not think it ſufficient to reſt in a demolition of popery; he uſed every proper endeavour to ſpread real knowledge, and to diffuſe the ſacred light of pure inſtruction through the nation. Favoured by Anne Boleyn, and aſſiſted by Cranmer, this great man procured an explanation of the principal branches of true religion to be printed and diſperſed; enjoined reſidence upon the clergy; gave them orders to preach no more upon the abſurdities of popiſh ſuperſtition, but upon the ſubſtantial duties of chriſtianity; he adviſed them to exhort the people to teach their children the great eſſentials of the Chriſtian faith, the creed, the Lord's prayer, the commandments, &c. in their mother tongue: and, as the moſt important work of all, he not only procured a tranſlation to be made of the ſcriptures into the Engliſh language, but alſo enjoined every pariſh to purchaſe one copy of the largeſt ſort, that it might be conſtantly read in the churches. This was the death-blow of popery, as reformation owes its life and continuance to the peruſal of the holy ſcriptures in the vulgar tongue.

While he was thus active in promoting true and ſound religion, free from the foppery of image-worſhip, and unpolluted with the falſe dependencies of pardons, bulls, maſſes, &c. he carried his faculties ſo meekly, ſhewed at once ſo great and ſo humble a mind, and ſet ſo great an example of Chriſtian virtue, that the buſineſs of reformation flouriſhed happily under his hands. Two hundred poor people were every day ſerved at the door of his houſe in Throgmorton-ſtreet, with bread, meat, and drink, ſufficient for them. And his grateful remembrance, and remuneration of ſome old friends, who had ſerved him in his low eſtate, gained him a general eſteem.

Amongſt the reſt, his kindneſs to Freſcobald, a Florentine merchant, muſt not be omitted, who had relieved Cromwell in Italy, when he was reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs. Freſcobald himſelf being afterwards brought low, came to England to recover ſome debts, where the lord Cromwell finding him out, not only aſſiſted him in recovering his dues, not only paid him back what he lent him in Italy, but alſo made him a preſent of ſixteen hundred ducats more. And now that we are upon this ſubject, we cannot paſs by his gratitude to a poor woman that kept a victualling-houſe at Hounſlow, with whom Cromwell, in the days of his low eſtate, contracted a debt (mighty to her) of forty ſhillings, which he remembered, and repayed as ſoon as he was able, and ſettled a penſion of four pounds a year, (a conſiderable ſum in thoſe times) with the allowance of clothing, as long as ſhe lived. Many other inſtances of the ſame kind are related. "Infinite almoſt, ſays a writer of his life, were the private benefits which he did, in helping poor pious men and women out of trouble and great diſtreſſes.

Yea, his whole life was full of ſuch examples; being a man ordained of God to do good to many, eſpecially to deliver ſuch as were in danger of perſecution for the ſake of religion.

But his virtues were no ſecurity againſt the malice and envy of his enemies. His low birth rendered him offenſive to the nobility: his zeal for the reformation to Stephen Gardiner, and the Roman catholics; ſome unpopular ſteps had irritated the nation; and the wife he had procured for king Henry from Germany, Anne of Cleves, not pleaſing the king, he began to loſe ground: add to this, that the monarch's amorous eye was caſt upon another lady, whoſe family were no friends to Cromwell. In ſhort, the virulence of his enemies prevailed; and though he was ſatisfied that he was too great to ſtand long, yet he was arreſted at the council-table, in conſequence of ſeveral high accuſations by the duke of Norfolk, when he leaſt ſuſpected it, and was ſent to the Tower.

He had the common fate of all diſgraced favourites; his ſummer friends forſook, his enemies inſulted him. Archbiſhop Cranmer only retained ſtill ſo much of his former ſimplicity, that he could not learn theſe court arts; and therefore the next day he wrote earneſtly to the king concerning him; in his letter he ſays—" Who cannot be ſorrowful and amazed, that he ſhould be a traitor againſt your majeſty? he who was ſo advanced by your majeſty? he whoſe ſurety was only by your majeſty? he who ſtudied always to ſet forward whatſoever was your majeſty's will and pleaſure? he that cared for no man's diſpleaſure to ſerve your majeſty? he that was ſuch a ſervant, in my judgment, in wiſdom, diligence, faithfulneſs, and experience, that no prince in this realm ever had? he that was ſo vigilant to preſerve your majeſty from all treaſons, that few could be ſo ſecretly conceived, but he detected the ſame in the beginning? If the noble princes of happy memory, king John, Henry II. and Richard II. had had ſuch a counſellor about them, I ſuppoſe they would never have been ſo traiterouſly abandoned and overthrown, as theſe good princes were."

But all this availed not; his enemies were determined to deſtroy him, and fearing his eloquence and abilities, they would not allow him a fair trial by his peers, but convicted him of hereſy and treaſon, he was condemned unheard, and upon the authority of a bill which he had unhappily promoted himſelf. He wrote to the king in the moſt pathetic terms:—" Wher' I have bene accuſyd, ſays he in his letter, to your Mageſtye of treaſon. To that I ſay, I never in alle my lyfe thought wyllingly to do that thyng that myght or ſholde diſpleaſe your mageſtye; and much leſs to do or ſay that thyng which of itſelf is ſo high and abominable offence; as God knowyth, who I doubt not ſhall reveal the trewthe to your highneſs. Myne accuſers your grace knowyth, God forgive them: for, as I ever had love to your honor, perſon, lyfe, proſperitye, helthe, welthe, joy, and comfort; and alſo to your moſt dere and moſt entyerly belovyd ſone, the prynce his grace, and your proceedyngs: God ſo helpe me in this myne adverſitie, and conffound me yf ever I thought the contrary. What labours, paynes, and travailes I have taken, according to my moſt bounden dutye, God alſo knowyth: for, yf it were in my power, (as it is in God's) to make your mageſtye to live ever young and proſperous, God knowyth I wolde; if it hadde bene, or were in my power to make yow ſo ryche, as ye myght enrych all men, God helpe me, as I wolde do hit. If it hadde bene, or were in my power to make your mageſtye ſo puyſſant, as alle the world ſholde be compellyd to obey yow, Chriſt he knowyth I wolde; for ſo am I of alle othyr moſt bounde; for your mageſtye hath bene the moſt bountiful prynce to me, that ever was kyng to his ſubjects: ye, and more like a dere father (your majeſtye not offendyed) than a maſter. Such hath bene your moſt grave and godly counſayle towards me, at ſundry tymes. In that I offended I ax yowr mercy. Should I now, for ſuch exceeding goodneſs, benygnyte, liberalitie, and bounty, be your traytor, nay then the greateſt paynes were too little for me. Should any faccyon, or any affeccyon to any point make me a traytor to your mageſtie, then all the devyls in hell confound me, and the vengeance of God light upon me; yf I ſholde once have thought yt, moſt gracious ſovereign lord.

——" Sir, as to your common welthe, I have aftyr my wytte, power and knowledge, travayled therein, havyng had no reſpect to perſons (your mageſtye only except) and my dewtye to the ſame; but that I have don any injuſtice, or wrong wylfully I truſt God ſhall bere my witnes, and the world not able juſtly to accuſe me.——

——" Nevertheleſs, Sir, I have medelyd in ſo many matyers, under your highnes, that I am not able to anſwer them all. But one thyng I am well aſſured of; that wyllingly and wyttingly I have not had wille to offend your highnes: but hard it is for me, or any other, medelyng, as I have done, to live under your grace, and your laws, but we muſt daylie offend."—After which he proceeds to clear himſelf of ſome particular matters laid to his charge. And concludes the whole in theſe words.

" Wryten with the quaking hand, and moſt ſorrowful heart of your ſorrowful ſubject, and moſt humble ſervant and pryſoner, this Saturday, at your Tower of London."

In another letter to the king he concludes with theſe words:——" beſeeching muſt humbly your grace to pardon this my rude writing, and to conſider that I a moſt woeful priſoner, ready to take the death, when it ſhall pleaſe God and your majeſty; and yet the frail fleſh inciteth me continually to call to your grace for mercy and grace for mine offences, and thus Chriſt ſave, preſerve, and keep you.

" Written at the Tower this Wedneſday, the laſt of June, with the heavy heart and trembling hand, of your highneſs's moſt heavy and moſt miſerable priſoner and poor ſlave,

T. C.

" Moſt gracious prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy."

The king was ſo much moved with this letter, that he cauſed it to be read three times. But the charms of Catharine Howard, the malice of the duke of Norfolk, and Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, the ſworn enemy of all the reformed, prevailed! and after ſix weeks impriſonment in the Tower, a warrant was ſent for his execution on Tower-hill.

When he came upon the ſcaffold, his affection for his ſon made him cautious in what he delivered, and leſs careful to aſſert his own innocence. " I am come hither to die, ſaid he, and not to purge myſelf, as maie happen ſome thynke, that I will, for if I ſhould do ſo, I wer a very wretch and miſer; I am by the lawe condemned to dye, and thanke my Lord God that hath appointed me thys deth for myne offence: for ſithence the time, that I had yeres of diſcretion, I have lived a ſinner, and offended my Lorde God, for the which I aſke him hartely forgeveneſs. And it is not unknoune to many of you, that I have bene a great traveler in this worlde, and beyng but of a baſe degree, was called to high eſtate; and now I have offended my prince, for the which I aſke him hartely forgiveneſs, and beſeche you all to praie to God with me, that he will forgeve me. O Father forgeve me, O Son forgeve me, O Holy Ghoſt forgeve me, O three perſons in one God forgeve me," &c. After this kneeling down he went on with a prayer, which we will give at length, as it fully ſhews his religious ſentiments.—" O Lord Jeſus, which art the only health of all men living, and the everlaſting life of them which die in thee: I, wretched ſinner, do ſubmit myſelf wholly to thy bleſſed will, and being ſure that that thing cannot periſh which is committed to thy mercy: willingly now I leave this frail and wicked fleſh, in ſure hope, that thou wilt in better wiſe reſtore it unto me again at the laſt day, in the reſurrection of the juſt: I beſeech thee, moſt merciful Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that thou wilt, by thy grace, make ſtrong my ſoul againſt all temptations, and defend me with the buckler of thy mercy, againſt all the aſſaults of the devil. I ſee and know, that there is in myſelf no hope of ſalvation, but all my confidence, hope, and truſt is in thy moſt merciful goodneſs; I have no merits, nor good works that I may alledge before thee; of ſins and evil works, alas, I ſee a great heap; but yet, through thy mercy, I truſt to be in the number of them, to whom thou wilt not impute their ſins, but will take and accept me for righteous and juſt, and make me an inheritor of thine everlaſting kingdom. Thou, merciful Lord, was born for my ſake; didſt ſuffer hunger and thirſt for my ſake; didſt teach, pray, and faſt for my ſake; all thy holy actions and works, thou wroughteſt for my ſake; thou ſuffereredſt moſt grievous pains and torments for my ſake; finally, thou gaveſt thy moſt precious blood to be ſhed upon the croſs for my ſake: now, moſt merciful Saviour, let all theſe things profit me, that thou haſt freely done for me, which haſt alſo given thyſelf for me. Let thy blood cleanſe and waſh away the ſpots and foulneſs of my ſins: let thy righteouſneſs hide and cover my unrighteouſneſs; let the merits of thy paſſion and blood-ſhedding, be ſatisfactory for my ſins: give me, Lord, thy grace, that my faith waver not, but be firm and conſtant to the end; that my hope in thy mercy, and life everlaſting, may not decay; that love wax not cold in me. Finally, that the weakneſs of my fleſh be not overcome by the fear of death! Grant, O moſt merciful Father, that when death ſhall ſhut up the eyes of my body, that the eyes of my ſoul may ſtill behold and look upon thee, and when death hath taken away the life of my tongue, that my heart may cry and ſay unto thee, Lord, into thy hands I commend my ſoul; Lord Jeſus, receive my ſpirit. Amen."

Having finiſhed this prayer, he addreſſed himſelf to the people, deſiring them "to praie for the kynges grace, that he may long live with you in healthe and proſperitie. And after him, that his ſonne prince Edward (that goodly ympe) maie long reign over you. And once again, I deſire you to praie for me, that ſo long as life remaineth in this fleſhe, I waver nothyng in my faithe." After which he ſubmitted his neck to the executioner, who mangled him in a barbarous and terrible manner.

"Thus (ſays an able writer) fell Thomas lord Cromwell, under the weight of his fickle and cruel maſter's diſpleaſure, Henry VIII. after he had ſerved him with great faithfulneſs, courage, and reſolution, in the moſt hazardous, difficult, and important undertakings. As for the lord Cromwell's character, it is no wonder, that between papiſts and proteſtants it ſhould be various. The firſt repreſent him as a crafty, cruel, ambitious, and covetous man, and an heretic, (which contains all vices, with them, in one word); the latter aſſure us, that he was a perſon of great wit and excellent parts, joined to extraordinary diligence and induſtry; that his apprehenſion was quick and clear, his judgment methodical and ſolid, his memory ſtrong and rational, his tongue fluent and pertinent, his preſence ſtately and obliging, his heart large and noble, his temper patient and cautious, his correſpondence well laid and conſtant, his converſation inſinuating and cloſe; none more dextrous in finding out the deſigns of men and courts, and none more reſerved in keeping a ſecret. Though he was raiſed from the meaneſt condition to a high pitch of honour, he carried his greatneſs with wonderful temper, being noted, in the exerciſe of his places of judicature, to have uſed much moderation, and in his greateſt pomp to have taken notice of, and been thankful to mean perſons of his old acquaintance. In his whole behaviour he was courteous and affable to all; a favourer in particular of the poor in their ſuits, and ready to relieve ſuch as were in danger of being oppreſſed by their mighty adverſaries. He was one of the chief inſtruments in the reformation; and though he could not prevent the promulgation, he ſtopped the execution, as far as he could, of the bloody act of the ſix articles.—As he was good abroad, ſo was he alſo at home: calling his ſervants yearly to give an account of what they had got under him, and what they deſired of him, warning them to improve their opportunities; becauſe, he ſaid, he was too great to ſtand long; providing for them as carefully as for his own ſon, by his purſe and credit, that they might live as handſomely when he was dead, as they did when he was alive. In a word, we are aſſured, that for piety towards God, fidelity to his king, prudence in the management of his affairs, gratitude to his benefactors, dutifulneſs, charity and benevolence, there was not any one then ſuperior to him in England."—And it deſerves to be remembered, that he preferred more men of integrity and abilities, both eccleſiaſtics and laymen, than any one of his predeceſſors in power had ever done. Reader, admire and imitate his great example.

His monument bore the following inſcription:

Cromwell, ſurnamed the Great,
Whom Wolſey firſt raiſed
From the forge, to eminent good fortunes;
Whom Henry the eighth uſed as his inſtrument
To ſuppreſs the pope's ſupremacy, and to diſſolve religious ſtructures;
Whom he advanced to the higheſt pitch of honour and authority;
Whom he caſt down ſuddenly, and bereft both of life and dignities;
Lies here interred.

Character of King Henry VIII.

Lord Herbert has juſtly remarked, that the hiſtory of this prince is his beſt character and deſcription. Indeed his conduct was ſo different in the different periods of his life, and he was ſo frequently inconſiſtent with himſelf, that to give an accurate ſummary of leading qualities, which conſtitute a character, is a very difficult taſk. In his youth he was ſincere, open, gallant, and liberal; in his more advanced years, he became rapacious, arbitrary, froward, fretful, and ſo wantonly cruel, that he ſeemed to delight in the blood of his ſubjects. His exterior qualities were fit to captivate the multitude, being handſome in his perſon; but in the latter part of his life he grew very corpulent. The regard which he acquired among foreign princes, is a circumſtance which entitles him in ſome degree to the name of a great prince; while the tyranny, the barbarity, and abſolute power he maintained at home, will not admit of his being termed a good one. A liſt of his vices would contain many of thoſe that are moſt diſhonourable to human nature; ſuch as injuſtice, cruelty, pride, arrogance, obſtinacy, profuſion, rapacity, preſumption, caprice, and pedantic bigotry: by which he was rendered a dupe to the flattery of his own courtiers, and, at times, to the intrigues of foreign princes. In his earlier years, when he had no hopes of aſcending the throne, he applied to his ſtudies with great ſucceſs, making a conſiderable proficiency both in philoſophy and divinity; yet his

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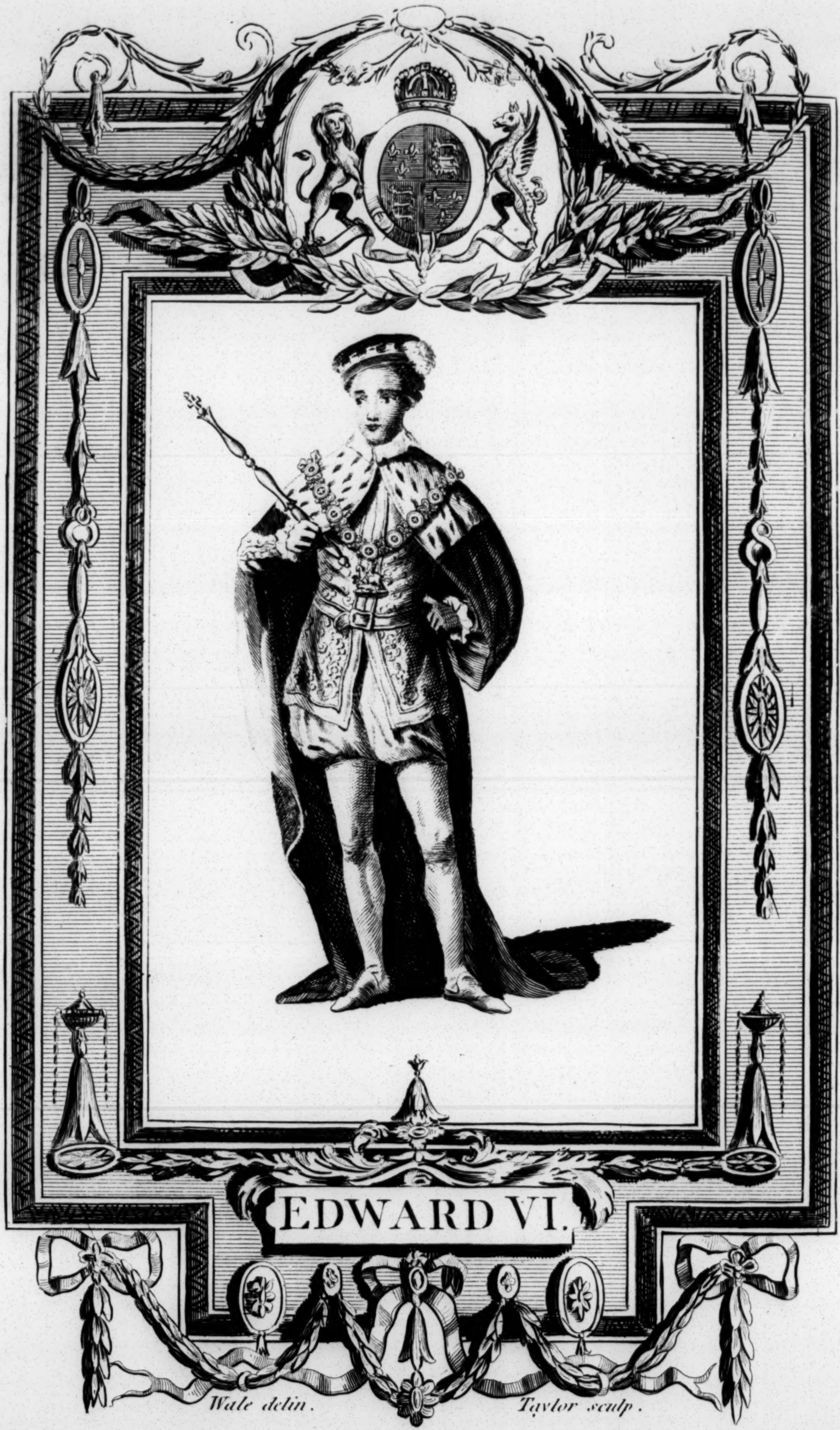

EDWARD VI.

Wale delin. Taylor sculp.

He was Born Octr. 12. 1537.— Crowned on Sunday Feby. 20. 1547.— Died of a Consumption at Greenwich July 6. 1553.— And was Succeeded according to his Will, by his Cousin Lady Jane Gray, who being soon after deposed, was beheaded with her Husband and Father, by order of Mary I. Feby. 12. 1554.

ſtock of knowledge was of little ſervice to himſelf, and much leſs to his people. He aſcended the throne, eſteemed for his affability, and generoſity, but theſe qualities degenerated gradually, into moroſeneſs and an inſatiable avarice; to which he ſacrificed every laudable principle. He arrogated to himſelf a lawleſs dominion over the reaſon of others, and ſet himſelf up as chief arbiter in all religious diſputes. He wreſted the ſupremacy from the ſee of Rome, rather from reaſons of ſtate, private convenience, and the impulſe of brutal paſſions, than motives of right reaſon, juſtice, and conſcience. Affecting a ſuperiority to human nature, he became a ſtranger to its tendereſt emotions, and a ſlave to its impetuous paſſions. He never contributed to happineſs, of which he was not to partake; if therefore there are any traces of beneficence in his life, they aroſe not from a view of alleviating the anxieties of others, but procuring repoſe for himſelf. His conduct, with reſpect to religion, ſtirred up many diſputants; while his bigotry and deſpotiſm blaſted the fruits of free enquiry. As he perverted law to the deſtruction of humanity, ſo he eſtabliſhed a religion of his own on the ruins of reaſon. But of all his diſgraceful foibles, his capricious amours are moſt glaring; and no human being, one would think, can read of a man in the character of a monarch, who having obtained poſſeſſion of the moſt deſirable object of his paſſion, could ſend her to the block, in order to pave the way for the gratification of a new, unwarrantable deſire, without ſhuddering at the hideous thought. The cruel fate of the unfortunate Anne Boleyn, will fix an eternal mark of infamy on his character; ſo that however foreign nations might reſpect his power, and his own ſubjects forget his vices, impartial hiſtory will regard Henry VIII. as a monſter. Nevertheleſs, though encircled with vices, he was evidently an inſtrument in the hand of Providence, to lay the foundation of thoſe civil and religious liberties, we, of this age, now enjoy. The great diſpoſer of all events frequently purſues means, to us the moſt improbable, hereby confounding the wiſdom of the wiſe, in order to execute his benevolent and gracious deſigns. In the hiſtory of the Jews, we find a remarkable ſucceſſion of good and bad kings, all of whom were made ſubſervient to the grand deſign of infinite wiſdom, the introduction of Chriſtianity; and here, in our Engliſh annals, we may plainly ſee, that the inordinate paſſions, and very vices of a proud, arrogant tyrant, were employed to procure mankind the ſecond moſt invaluable gift of heaven, the Proteſtant religion.

CHAP. III.

EDWARD VI.

Proclaimed king—Proceedings of the regency and executors of the late king's will—The earl of Hertford, Edward's maternal uncle, is made protector—A creation of nobility, and the king's coronation—Proceedings of the council againſt the chancellor—Progreſs of the reformation—Gardiner's oppoſition thereto, who is ſent to the Fleet—Foreign affairs—Wiſhart burnt for hereſy in Scotland—Aſſaſſination of cardinal Beaton—Hertford, now duke of Somerſet, revives the claim of ſuperiority over Scotland, and commences hoſtilities againſt that kingdom—The battle of Pinkey, a nobleman's ſeat of that name—The rigour of ſeveral former ſtatutes mitigated; and moſt of thoſe againſt the Lollards, among which were the ſix bloody articles, repealed—Intrigues of lord Seymour, who is beheaded—Perſecutions carried on by the proteſtants—Joan Bocher, an anabaptiſt, committed to the flames—Commotions and inſurrections of the people in ſeveral counties of England—A peace with France and Scotland—Proceedings of the council againſt the duke of Somerſet, at the inſtigation of Warwick—The duke ſent to the Tower—A new council of regency formed—A peace with France and Scotland—Warwick obtains the title of earl of Northumberland—Reſolves to ruin the duke of Somerſet, who is tried, condemned, and executed—A new parliament ſummoned, and the order of ſucceſſion changed by the king's letters patent—Death and character of Edward VI.

A.D. 1547. EDWARD VI. who, at the time of his father's death reſided at Hertford with his ſiſter Elizabeth, was conducted from thence by the earl of Hertford and Sir Thomas Brown, to the Tower of London, where he was received by the council, aſſembled in a body, and proclaimed king of England. The regent and counſellors had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of their reſpective offices, than they departed from the late king's appointment in a principal article. It was intimated, that the dignity of government required that one of the number ſhould be choſen as a repreſentative of the king, who might receive addreſſes from foreign ambaſſadors, diſpatches from foreign miniſters, and whoſe name ſhould be uſed in all public buſineſs. This propoſal was oppoſed by the chancellor Wriotheſley, who repreſented this innovation as an infringement of the late king's will, which being ſtrengthened by act of parliament, could only be altered by the ſame authority by which it was eſtabliſhed. The executors and counſellors were of a different opinion; and readily acquieſced in a propoſal, which ſeemed well calculated to preſerve the public peace and tranquillity. It was therefore agreed to name a protector; and they made choice of the king's maternal uncle, the earl of Hertford; who being ſtrongly intereſted in his ſafety, and having no claim to inherit the crown, could never have any ſeparate intereſt to induce him to put Edward's perſon or authority in danger. This change in the adminiſtration was made known to the public by proclamation; and diſpatches were ſent to inform all foreign courts of it. All in poſſeſſion of any office now reſigned their former commiſſions, and accepted new ones in the name of the young king. Even the biſhops themſelves were obliged to make the ſame ſubmiſſion. They then, agreeable to Henry's intention a little time before his death, proceeded to ſupply the titles which had fallen by attainders, or the failure of iſſue; evidence was examined touching the particulars of Henry's promiſes; in conſequence of which they created Hertford the protector; duke of Somerſet, marſhal and lord-treaſurer; Wriotheſley, earl of Southampton; the earl of Eſſex, marquis of Nottingham; Dudley, viſcount Liſle, earl of Warwick; Sir Thomas Seymour, baron Sudley; and Sir Richard Rich, Sir William Willoughby, and Sir Edward Sheffield, were promoted to the dignity of barons. As ſoon as the obſequies of the late king were performed, young Edward was crowned with great magnificence on the twentieth of February; and after the ceremony an amneſty was publiſhed; from which, however, the duke of Norfolk, cardinal Pole, Edward Courtney, eldeſt ſon of the marquiſs of Exeter, with three other perſons, were excluded. The friends of religious liberty now congratulated themſelves on theſe new arrangements of government, openly avowing their ſentiments, even while the laws continued in full force againſt them. The king himſelf was educated in the reformed religion, and had already exhibited ſtriking proofs of genius, capacity, and an amiable diſpoſition, averſe to cruelty and perſecution.

The religion and politics of the earl of Southampton, who was of a fierce, turbulent diſpoſition, being very different from thoſe of the council, the protector reſolved to ſeize the firſt opportunity to expel him from the regency; nor was he long waiting for a pretence. Wriotheſley granted a commiſſion under the great ſeal, to empower four lawyers, Southwell, Tregonell, Oliver, and Bellaſis, to execute, in his abſence, the office of chancellor; a ſtep which he took of his own authority, without the conſent of the king, or the regents. On complaints being made to the council, they conſulted the judges, who determined, that the commiſſion was illegal, and that the chancellor, by preſuming to grant it, had not only forfeited the great ſeal, but was liable to puniſhment. The council ſummoned him to appear before them; when he endeavoured to ſhew, that if the commiſſion he had granted was illegal, it might be declared null and void, and all the ill conſequences of it eaſily prevented; but as he held his office by the will of the late king, founded on an act of parliament, he could not loſe it without a trial in parliament. Notwithſtanding this defence, the council declared he had forfeited his office; that he ſhould be fined, and conveyed to his own houſe, and there remain a priſoner during pleaſure. The duke of Somerſet now obtained a patent from the young king, in which he was named protector, with full regal power; and all the executors, except the earl of Southampton, were, with the twelve additional counſellors, aſſigned to him for a council. He reſerved a power of nominating others at pleaſure, and was bound to conſult ſuch only as he thought proper, without incurring penalties from any law, ſtatute, or proclamation. Thus the protector made himſelf maſter of the government: however, the connivance of the executors, and their acquieſcence, made this change univerſally ſubmitted to; and the young king diſcovering an extraordinary regard for his uncle, who was, in the main, a man of moderation and ſtrict probity, no objections were made to his aſſumed power. Men of ſenſe, who obſerved the nation divided by the religious zeal of oppoſite parties, eſteemed it neceſſary to entruſt the government to one perſon, who might, by checking the efforts of all parties, ſecure the public tranquillity.

The protector had, for a long time, been conſidered as a ſecret partizan of the reformers; and, being now freed from reſtraint, made no ſcruple of diſcovering his intention to correct all abuſes in the antient eſtabliſhed religion. He took care, that all who were entruſted with the king's education ſhould be proteſtants; and as the young prince grew extremely fond of every kind of literature, eſpecially of theological, for one of his tender years, it was foreſeen, that in the courſe of his reign the Romiſh religion would be totally aboliſhed in England. In all the duke of Somerſet's ſchemes to this end, he had conſtantly recourſe to the advice of Cranmer, who being poſſeſſed of moderation and prudence, was deſirous of bringing over the people by inſenſible innovations, to that ſyſtem of doctrines and diſcipline, which, in his opinion, was the moſt pure and perfect. He ſeems to have intended the eſtabliſhment of an hierarchy, which, from its being ſuited to a great and ſettled government, might remain a perpetual barrier againſt the efforts of Rome, and might retain the reverence of the people, after the firſt fervours of zeal were diminiſhed. The perſon who moſt zealouſly oppoſed the deſigns of Cranmer, was Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter; who, from his having diſpleaſed Henry, had no place in the council, but gained by his capacity, experience, and bigotry, the higheſt confidence of his party. He magnified the great wiſdom and learning of the late king, and inſiſted on the neceſſity of perſevering in conformity to the eccleſiaſtical model of that learned monarch, at leaſt till the young king ſhould be of age. He defended the uſe of images, which the proteſtants now openly attacked; and biſhop Ridley having decried holy water in a ſermon, he wrote an apology for it, and maintained, that, by the power of the Almighty, it might be rendered an inſtrument of doing good, equally as St. Peter's ſhadow, the hem of Chriſt's garment, or the clay and ſpittle laid upon the eyes of the blind.

An act of parliament having, in the laſt reign, inveſted the crown with legiſlative power, and royal proclamations, even during a minority, were armed with the force of laws, the protector, ſupported by this ſtatute, reſolved to employ his authority in favour of the reformers; and having, for a time, ſuſpended the juriſdiction of the biſhops, he appointed a general viſitation throughout England. The viſitors, who conſiſted of a mixture of clergy and laity, had ſix circuits aſſigned them; and beſides correcting the immoralities of the clergy, were inſtructed to bring the diſcipline and worſhip ſomewhat nearer to the reformed churches. In conducting this delicate affair, Cranmer and Somerſet ſhewed the greateſt moderation. The viſitors were to retain, for the preſent, all images which had not been abuſed by idolatrous worſhip; to inſtruct the people not to deſpiſe the ceremonies that were not yet abrogated; and only to avoid ſome particular ſuperſtitions, as uſing of conſecrated candles in order to drive away the devil; and the ſprinkling of their beds with holy water. In order to reſtrain the abuſes of preaching, twelve homilies were publiſhed, which the clergy were enjoined to read to the people; and all of that order were prohibited from preaching any where, but in their pariſh churches, without permiſſion. Theſe meaſures met with ſome oppoſition from Bonner, but he ſoon after retracted and acquieſced. Gardiner continued to oppoſe them with great ſteadineſs; which drawing on him the indignation of the council, he was ſent to the Fleet, where he was treated with ſome ſeverity. Tunſtal, biſhop of Durham, having alſo made ſome oppoſition to the new regulations, was diſmiſſed the council board; but, for the preſent, no farther ſeverity was exerciſed againſt him, he being a man of moſt unexceptionable character, and great moderation.

Let us now turn our attention to, and take a curſory view of foreign affairs. The pope had at laſt, with much reluctance, and after long delays, ſummoned a general council, which was aſſembled at Trent, and was employed in aſcertaining the doctrines, and correcting the abuſes of the church. The emperor, deſirous of retrenching the court of Rome, and of gaining over the proteſtants, promoted the latter object of the council. The Roman pontiff, finding his own greatneſs concerned, deſired rather to employ them in the former: he inſtructed his legates to protract the debates, and to engage the divines in diſputes concerning the nice points of faith canvaſſed before them; but the legates ſoon found it neceſſary to interpoſe, in order to appeaſe the animoſities which aroſe among the divines, and to bring them to ſome deciſion. The difficulty of this taſk made them, under the pretence that the plague had broken out at Trent, ſuddenly transfer the council to Bologna, where they hoped it would be more immediately under his holineſs's direction. The emperor, in order to render religion ſubſervient to his views, reſolved to make uſe of the charge of hereſy, as a pretence for ſubduing the proteſtant princes, and oppreſſing the liberties of Germany; but found it neceſſary to prevent the combination of his adverſaries, by concealing his intentions under the deepeſt artifices. He ſeparated from the proteſtant confederacy, the palatine and the elector of Brandenburg. He made war on the elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Heſſe; took the former priſoner, and by treachery, prevarication, and breaking a ſafe conduct he had granted to the latter, detained him captive. He now appeared to have reached the ſummit of his ambition; and while the German princes were aſtoniſhed at his ſucceſs, they were diſcouraged by receiving the news of the death of Henry VIII. and then of Francis I. who, in every calamity, were their uſual refuge. Henry II. who ſucceeded Francis in the throne, was leſs haſty in his reſolutions, and had leſs animoſities againſt the emperor Charles V. than his predeceſſor. Being governed by the duke of Guiſe, and cardinal Lorrain, he liſtened to their advice, in giving immediate aſſiſtance to Scotland, his antient ally; which had loudly claimed the protection of France, a little before the death of Henry. The religious diſputes and ſtruggles on account of the reformation in Scotland, became daily more violent; but the reſolution taken by cardinal Beaton, the primate, to employ the moſt rigorous puniſhments againſt the reformers, quickened its progreſs. Wiſhart, a gentleman by birth, was celebrated for his extenſive learning, his zeal, the purity of his morals, and for being poſſeſſed of talents neceſſary to draw the attention and affections of the people, ſo that he became a very popular preacher. The magiſtrates of Dundee, in which place he exerciſed his miſſion, were alarmed at his ſucceſs; and being unable or unwilling to treat him with great rigour, denied him only the liberty of preaching, and then baniſhed him out of their juriſdiction. Wiſhart, filled with indignation at his being thus rejected, together with the word of God, threatened them with ſome dreadful calamity, and withdrew to the weſtern part of the country, where he daily increaſed the number of his followers. Meanwhile the plague breaking out in Dundee, people exclaimed, that the town had drawn down the vengeance of heaven by expelling their pious preacher; and that the peſtilence would continue till he was recalled. Wiſhart no ſooner was informed of the ſentiments of the people in his favour, than he returned; but leſt the contagion ſhould ſpread by the aſſembling of multitudes together, he fixed his pulpit on the top of a gate, where the infected ſtood within, and the others without; and in this ſituation enforced his ſentiments with ſurpriſing ſucceſs. This made cardinal Beaton reſolve to ſtrike a terror into the minds of the people, by the puniſhment of their excellent preacher. He accordingly prevailed on Bothwell to arreſt him, and to deliver him into his hands, contrary to a promiſe he had made that unhappy man. The cardinal, being poſſeſſed of his intended victim, conducted him to St. Andrews, where he was tried, and condemned to the flames for hereſy. The cardinal, finding that though he had gained over Arran, the governor, to his party, he would not concur in Wiſhart's condemnation and execution, reſolved to bring him to puniſhment, by executing his ſentence without the aſſiſtance of the ſecular arm; and he himſelf beheld the diſmal ſpectacle from his window. Wiſhart, who ſuffered with the utmoſt reſignation, obſerved the triumph of his inſulting perſecutor, and foretold, that in a few days he ſhould lie in the ſame place, as low as he was now exalted. This prophecy of the patient martyr was ſoon after accompliſhed; for his diſciples, enraged by the cardinal's cruelty, formed a conſpiracy againſt him; and having joined with them Norman Leſly, who had been ill-treated by the primate, conducted their enterprize in the moſt ſecret manner. One morning early they entered the cardinal's palace, which he had ſtrongly fortified; and though they were no more than ſixteen perſons, turned out a hundred tradeſmen and fifty ſervants, whom they ſeized ſeparately before their intentions were ſuſpected, and then ſhut the gates. The noiſe in the caſtle had alarmed the cardinal, who barricadoed the door of his chamber; but finding that they had brought fire in order to force an entrance, he opened the door, and reminding them that he was a prieſt, conjured them to ſpare his life. Two of the aſſaſſins then ruſhed upon him with drawn ſwords; but a third, named James Melvill, ſtopped their career. and filled with the madneſs of enthuſiaſtic zeal, deſired them to reflect, that this ſacrifice was the work and judgment of God, and ought to be executed with becoming deliberation and gravity. Then turning the point of his ſword towards Beaton, he cried, "Repent, thou wicked cardinal, of all thy ſins and iniquities, but eſpecially of the murder of Wiſhart, that inſtrument of God for the converſion of theſe lands. It is his death which now cries for vengeance againſt thee, and we are ſent by God to inflict the deſerved puniſhment: for here, I proteſt before the Almighty, that it is neither hatred of thy perſon, nor love of thy riches, nor fear of thy power, which moves me to ſeek thy death, but only becauſe thou haſt been, and ſtill remaineſt an obſtinate enemy to Jeſus Chriſt, and to his Holy Ghoſt." Then, without allowing Beaton time to finiſh his prayers, or to expreſs repentance agreeable to his exhortation, he ran him through the body, and the cardinal fell dead at his feet. Scotland had the misfortune of five ſhort reigns, being ſucceſſively followed by as many long minorities. Juſtice had been continually interrupted by the cabals and factions of the nobility; and the hands of adminiſtration were now weakened by the death of the cardinal, who, though cruel, was poſſeſſed of great abilities. However, the queen-dowager, who was a woman of extraordinary talents and virtue, exerted herſelf as much as poſſible in ſupport of the government, in order to ſupply the weakneſs of Arran the governor.

The government of England having been ſettled, the protector bent his whole attention towards proſecuting the war with Scotland. He aſſembled an army of eighteen thouſand men, and equipped a fleet of ſixty ſail; one half of which were ſhips of war, and the other loaded with ammunition and proviſions. The command of the fleet was given to lord Clinton; while Somerſet himſelf, aſſiſted by the earl of Warwick, led the land forces. Alarmed at this powerful armament, the French ambaſſador applied, by orders from his court, to the regency, deſiring that a negociation might be opened, in order, if poſſible, to reſtore peace between the two kingdoms, without the effuſion of human blood. This requeſt was complied with; and Tunſtal, biſhop of Durham, and Sir Thomas Rowe, were appointed to meet the Scottiſh commiſſaries at Newcaſtle, where the conferences were begun on the fourth of Auguſt. But the Engliſh plenipotentiaries refuſing to proceed, unleſs their preliminary of a marriage between the two ſovereigns ſhould be granted; and the Scottiſh commiſſioners declaring they had no power to conſent thereto, the negociation was broke off, and the protector entered Scotland on the fourth of September. Previous to the commencement of hoſtilities, the duke publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he recapitulated the reaſons that induced the Engliſh to have recourſe to arms; urging, by a variety of arguments, even the neceſſity of the marriage of the young queen of Scots with the king of England. Theſe arguments were drawn from the ſituation of the two kingdoms, which nature, by ſurrounding them with the ocean, ſeemed to have deſigned for one nation; from the ſimilarity of the inhabitants in their laws, language, cuſtoms, and manners, whereby they were naturally adapted to be united, and to become one people; from the equality of the young king and queen, with regard to age and fortune; from the imminent danger to which Scotland was perpetually expoſed from the hoſtile attempts of a powerful and richer neighbour; and from the many advantages that muſt reſult to the inhabitants of both kingdoms, from living in a ſtate of peace and ſecurity. The protector added, that excluſive of theſe conſiderations, poſitive engagements had been made for concluding this alliance; and that the Scots were bound in honour to perform, what their intereſt and ſafety ſo ſtrongly demanded. The Scots, inſtead of aſcribing theſe reaſonable propoſals to their true cauſes, imputed them to fear, united with diſtruſtful circumſtances; and the protector ſoon found, that the attachment of the queen-dowager to France, and to the Romiſh religion, would render all his remonſtrances ineffectual: he therefore reſolved to compel the Scots, by force of arms, to adopt a meaſure, which no motives of policy or prudence could induce them to embrace. He accordingly continued his march towards Edinburgh, without meeting with any oppoſition, except from a few caſtles, which were eaſily reduced.

Arran had aſſembled the whole force of the kingdom; and his army, which was double in number to that of the Engliſh, had taken poſt at Muſſelburgh on an advantageous ſpot of ground, ſecured by the river Eſke, about ſix miles from Edinburgh; and the Engliſh encamped at the village of Preſton-Pans, at the diſtance of about two miles from the enemy. In this ſituation, ſeveral ſkirmiſhes happened between the light troops of each army. Arran having detached the beſt part of his cavalry to inſult the Engliſh quarters, and theſe being attacked by lord Grey and Sir Francis Bryan, were entirely defeated, after a furious engagement, in which lord Hume was dangerouſly wounded, and about eight hundred Scots left dead on the field. Somerſet finding it impoſſible to draw the Scots to an action, and fearing he ſhould be diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, ſent an herald to Arran, offering to abandon his enterprize, and to pay all the damages the Scots had ſuffered from his troops, provided he would give his promiſe, that the young queen ſhould not be given in marriage to any foreign prince, till ſhe arrived at an age of chuſing an huſband for herſelf. The moderation of theſe terms induced the Scots to imagine that the Engliſh were intimidated, and that if they were attacked, the victory would be certain. At the ſame time the prieſts and monks, many of whom had entered the camp, made them to believe that the Engliſh were deteſtable heretics, who being abhorred of God, were expoſed to the divine vengeance, whence their arms could never be crowned with ſucceſs. A movement made by Somerſet towards the ſea, as if he intended to eſcape with his army on board the ſhips, confirmed them in this opinion. Elated with this imagination, and determined to cut off his retreat, they quitted their camp, croſſed the river Eſke, and advanced with great precipitation into the plain, where the Scottiſh regent drew up his army in three diviſions: the firſt, which conſiſted of his beſt troops, was commanded by the earl of Angus; the ſecond by the regent; and the third by the earl of Huntley. The earl of Argyle headed a body of Highland archers, who formed a guard to the artillery. The protector was much pleaſed at this motion of the Scottiſh army; and as the Engliſh had uſually been victorious in regular engagements, he conceived the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs. He formed his van on the left, fartheſt from the ſea, upon an aſcent, where he ordered them to remain, until the enemy ſhould approach. He drew up his main body and his rear towards the right; and beyond the van he poſted lord Grey, at the head of the men at arms, and directed them to flank the Scots, but not till the front of both armies ſhould be engaged. The enemy advancing along ſhore, were galled with the artillery from the Engliſh ſhips; lord Graham was killed, and the Highlanders thrown into confuſion; when the lord Grey, obſerving their ſituation, neglected his orders, quitted his poſt, and at the head of his weary armed horſe, attacked the Scottiſh infantry, hoping to decide the action by one vigorous effort. But he was checked in his career by a ditch, behind which were poſted ſome Scottiſh infantry armed with ſpears, who charged them ſo warmly that lord Grey was wounded, his men routed, and their ſtandard in great danger of being loſt; and had the Scots been furniſhed with cavalry to have improved their advantage, a total overthrow of the Engliſh muſt have enſued; but as they were almoſt deſtitute in that reſpect, lord Grey had time to rally his horſe behind his infantry. Meanwhile the protector, Sir Ralph Sadler, and Sir Ralph Vane, exerted themſelves with great activity and ſucceſs in rallying the cavalry. Warwick diſcovered great preſence of mind in preſerving the ranks of the foot, on which the horſe had recoiled. He directed Sir Peter Meutas, captain of the foot arquebuſiers, and Sir Peter Gamboa, captain of ſome Italian and Spaniſh arquebuſiers, to advance on horſeback, with orders to fire on the Scottiſh infantry. They marched to the ſlough, and continually diſcharged their pieces full in the face of the enemy. The ſhips galled them in flank; the artillery, planted on an eminence, deſtroyed them in front; the Engliſh archers poured in upon them an inceſſant ſhower of arrows; and the van-guard advanced leiſurely, and in good order from the hill. The van of the Scots being diſmayed, began to retreat, which was ſoon changed into flight, which was begun by the Iriſh archers. The panic communicated itſelf to the main body; and proceeding to the rear, the field became a ſcene of terror, confuſion, conſternation, and overthrow. The Engliſh obſerving this from the heights, began the purſuit with loud ſhouts, which ſtill added to the diſmay of the vanquiſhed. The horſe, eager to revenge the repulſe they had received in the beginning of the action, made great ſlaughter among the flying enemy; and for the ſpace of five miles from the field of battle to Edinburgh, the ground was ſtrewed with dead bodies. The carnage was inexpreſſibly terrible. About three thouſand eccleſiaſtics, who made a ſeparate body, were maſſacred without mercy. Never was victory more deciſive, or purchaſed at an eaſier rate by the conquerors. The Engliſh loſt not more than two hundred men; but according to the moſt moderate computation, above ten thouſand of the Scots were ſlain, and about fifteen hundred taken priſoners. This action, which was fought on the tenth of September, was called the battle of Pinkey, from a neighbouring nobleman's ſeat of that name. The queen-dowager and Arran fled to Stirling;

while the earl of Lenox and lord Wharton, entering the weſt marches at the head of five thouſand men, took and plundered Annan, and ſpread devaſtation over all the neighbouring counties. Had the protector improved his advantage, he might have compelled the Scots to ſubmit to any terms he could have impoſed; but he was impatient to return to England, where he heard cabals were forming againſt his authority, in which his own brother was a principal. Having therefore taken ſeveral caſtles, and reduced to ſubmiſſion ſome counties on the borders, he departed from Scotland. The fleet not only deſtroyed all the ſhips along the coaſt, but took Broughty in the Frith of Tay; and having fortified it, left a garriſon there. Arran, in order to gain time till ſuccours could arrive from France, deſired leave to ſend commiſſioners to treat of a peace; on which Somerſet, appointing Berwick for the place of conference, left Warwick with full powers to negotiate; but the Scotch commiſſioners never appeared.

Somerſet, ſoon after his return to England, convened a parliament, and obtained a patent, empowering him to arrogate all the honours and privileges that any princes of the blood, or any uncles of the kings of England had ever poſſeſſed. He even obtained a patent appointing him to ſit on the throne, upon a ſtool or bench, on the right hand of the king. Theſe honours were invidious to the old nobility, and created the duke many powerful enemies. But if the protector diſcovered his vanity in aſſuming ſo much ſtate, he merited the higheſt applauſe on account of the ſtatutes, enacted through his influence, in this ſeſſion of parliament; by which the rigour of former ſtatutes were greatly mitigated, and ſome ſteps taken for ſecuring the liberties of the people. All laws were repealed which extended the crime of treaſon beyond the limits aſſigned it by the ſtatute of the twenty-fifth of Edward III. together with all laws made during the late reign for extending the crime of felony; all former laws againſt Lollards or heretics; and the bloody ſtatute of the ſix articles; no perſon was to be accuſed of words, but within a month after they were ſpoken. That ſtatute which gave the force of law to the king's proclamations, was alſo repealed. Hereſy, however, ſtill continued to be a capital crime, puniſhable by fire; but as there now remained no preciſe ſtandard by which that crime could be aſcertained, it entirely depended upon the rigour or lenity of the judges. Thus, by theſe repeals, many of the moſt rigorous laws that had ever paſſed in England were annulled; and, after the prevalence of tyranny for a long ſucceſſion of years, ſome dawn both of civil and religious liberty began to appear. Several laws were alſo paſſed by this parliament, which greatly contributed to promote the reformation. The cup was reſtored to the laity; private maſſes were aboliſhed. The king was empowered to create biſhops, without any election of the chapter; and all proceſſes, in the biſhops courts, thoſe of Canterbury excepted, were to be carried on in the king's name, and ſealed by his ſeal, as in the courts of common law. They alſo granted to Edward all the foundations for chantries, chapels, and colleges, of which Henry had not taken poſſeſſion. The preamble to this ſtatute premiſes, that theſe funds ſhould be employed to good and godly uſes, in erecting grammar ſchools, in farther augmenting the revenues of the univerſities, and in making better proviſion for the poor and needy. But the rapacious courtiers had already, in their imaginations, divided the ſpoil; and it was not long before it was ſhared out among them. Cranmer, and ſeveral other prelates, were of opinion, that the revenues of the church, by the impropriation of tythes, and other methods of alienation, were already too much reduced. The primate, therefore, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the bill, and was joined by the biſhops of London, Ely, Norwich, Hereford, Wincheſter, and Chicheſter; yet, notwithſtanding this oppoſition, it was paſſed into a law. By this act, not fewer than two thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-four religious foundations, fell into the hands of the crown. We have already obſerved, that the protector was obſtructed in the proſecution of the war in Scotland, by the intrigues of his brother Thomas, who had married Catharine Parr, the queen-dowager, and had lately been created lord high-admiral of England. He had already gained ſuch an aſcendancy over Edward, that he had perſuaded him to write a letter in his own hand to the houſe of commons, recommending him to their choice as governor of his perſon. Though this attempt ſtruck at the foundation of the protector's greatneſs, he ſtill endeavoured to reclaim his brother by gentle, munificent methods; but finding he was ſtill determined to purſue his ſchemes, Somerſet found it neceſſary to ſummon a parliament, as the only authority that could ſupport him againſt the machinations of his brother. Before the ſeſſion opened, he informed the council of the letter his brother had obtained from the young king, and which he propoſed to lay before the houſe. The council was alarmed at this circumſtance, and ſeveral lords were deputed to diſſuade the admiral from purſuing his raſh projects; yet he continued firm to his purpoſe, till the council threatened to deprive him of all his poſts, commit him to the Tower, and indict him upon the ſtatute which made it death for any perſon to diſturb the eſtabliſhed government. Theſe menaces awakened his attention. He ſaw the conſequences that might reſult from diſobeying the council, and thought proper to abandon his enterprize; but was never thoroughly reconciled to his brother.

A. D. 1548.

In the beginning of this year, the council made ſeveral alterations in the ceremonies of religion. They iſſued orders, forbidding the uſe of candles in proceſſions on Candlemas-day; palms on Palm-Sunday; and proſtrations before the croſs on Good-Friday. They left the people at liberty to practice, or lay aſide, auricular confeſſion; and ordered all images to be removed from the churches. As the people were much diſtracted by the oppoſite opinions of their preachers, the council firſt endeavoured to remedy that inconvenience, by laying ſome reſtraints on preaching; but finding this expedient ineffectual, they impoſed a total ſilence on the preachers, and by this means put an end at once to all the polemical contentions of the pulpit: a reſtraint which, in the nature of things, could only be temporary. But the farther Somerſet proceeded in the reformation of England, the more averſe were the queen-dowager, and the clergy of Scotland, to an union with that nation. Beſides, the hoſtile attempts made againſt Scotland being neither regular, nor puſhed to the laſt extremity, only ſerved to inſpire that nation with the ſtrongeſt averſion, which was courted in ſo violent a manner. Even the perſons who were inclined to the Engliſh alliance, were averſe to its being impoſed on them by force of arms; and the earl of Huntley pleaſantly ſaid, that he did not diſlike the match, but the manner of wooing. The queen-dowager obſerving, that theſe were prevailing ſentiments, called a parliament, in which it was propoſed, that the young queen ſhould, for her greater ſecurity, be ſent to France. Some objections were made to this propoſal; but theſe being anſwered, and the arguments ſtrengthened by French gold, which was plentifully diſtributed among the nobles, and alſo by the zeal of the clergy, who dreaded the conſequences of the Engliſh alliance, it was determined to ſend the queen to her antient ally. Accordingly the young queen, attended by the lords Areſkine and Levingſtone, embarked on board a fleet deſtined for France, and ſafely arrived at Breſt, whence ſhe was conducted to Paris, and was ſoon after contracted to the dauphin.

In the month of May the expected ſuccours from France, arrived in the Frith, to the number of ſix thouſand, half of whom were Germans, with ſome pieces of artillery, under the command of D'Eſſe d'Eſpanvilliers. Small as this ſeaſonable ſupply was, it raiſed the ſpirits of the Scots under their misfortunes. The ſiege of Haddington was immediately undertaken; and the Scots had the good fortune to ſurprize and cut off a party ſent to its relief, under the command of Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Thomas Palmer. But on the approach of the earl of Shrewſbury, at the head of twenty-two thouſand men, they raiſed the ſiege, and retired with great precipitation. Shrewſbury, however, made no attempt to diſtreſs the enemy: he contented himſelf with reinforcing the garriſon, and leaving a large ſupply of proviſions and ammunition in the place. This was effected without the leaſt oppoſition, and the earl immediately returned to England. While the war was thus weakly conducted in Scotland, the reformation under the protection of Somerſet and Cranmer, gained great ground in England. The parliament meeting on the twenty-fourth of November, enacted a ſtatute, by which prieſts were permitted to marry; and another confirmed the new liturgy, which was much the ſame as that now uſed by our church of England. But though the protector was cordially attached to the progreſs of this work, prudence required, that he ſhould proceed with caution, as the Romiſh religion had ſtill many votaries, and himſelf many enemies; among whom his own brother was the moſt inveterate and dangerous. He had renewed his former practices, and carried them to a much greater length. The queen dowager, his wife, had ſome time ſince died in child-bed; and he flattered himſelf with the hopes of eſpouſing the princeſs Elizabeth, who was then in her ſixteenth year, and ſeems to have liſtened to the inſinuations of a man, poſſeſſed of every talent proper to captivate the affections of the fair. But as Henry had excluded his daughters from the ſucceſſion, if they married without the conſent of his executors, which Seymour could never hope to attain, it was concluded, that he propoſed to effect his purpoſe by expedients ſtill more raſh and criminal. He could depend upon ten thouſand of his ſervants and retainers, and had provided arms for their uſe. He bribed all who had immediate acceſs to the king's perſon; endeavoured to bring over the young prince to his intereſt; vilified his brother's adminiſtration; and by his promiſes and perſuaſions, induced many of the principal nobility to join his party.

A. D. 1549. Somerſet on being informed of theſe alarming circumſtances endeavoured by gentle methods, and even heaping new favors upon the admiral, to bring him back to his duty; but all his endeavours proved ineffectual; he rejected every offer, and ſet his brother at defiance. The protector therefore now began to think of uſing more ſevere methods. He laid the whole of his conduct before the council; who drew up a charge againſt him, conſiſting of thirty-three articles, and he was committed to the Tower. This quarrel was inflamed by the earl of Warwick, who had formed a deſign of raiſing his own fortune on the ruin of both the brothers. This ſecret incendiary was the ſon of Dudley, one of Henry VII. judges. The late king had reſtored the blood of young Dudley, by act of parliament, and finding him a man of abilities, entruſted him with many important commands; raiſed him to the dignity of viſcount Liſle; conferred on him the poſt of admiral; and gave him, by his will, a place among the executors. During the minority, Dudley obtained the title of earl of Warwick; and having undermined the credit of Southampton, was one of the chief of the protector's counſellors. But his vices obſcured all his virtues; for he had an exorbitant ambition, a contempt for juſtice, and inſatiable avarice; and finding lord Seymour, whoſe abilities he chiefly dreaded, was involving himſelf in ruin by his raſh conduct, he reſolved to remove the principal object of his greatneſs, by puſhing him down the precipice. Somerſet, finding his brother's ſeditious ſchemes endangering the public peace, was the more eaſily perſuaded by Warwick to proceed againſt him. Some of his accomplices were now taken into cuſtody; yet the protector ſtill ſuſpended the blow, and ſhewing himſelf unwilling to ruin his brother, offered to deſiſt from the proſecution, if he would promiſe to be cordially reconciled to him, renounce all his ambitious hopes, and be contented with enjoying a private life in the country. Seymour anſwered the friendly offer only by menaces. On which commiſſioners were ſent to interrogate him in priſon; but he refuſed to anſwer the queſtions that were put to him: deſired that his trial might proceed in a legal method; that the witneſſes might be confronted with him; and that the heads of his accuſations ſhould be laid before him. Theſe reaſonable demands were denied him; and a bill of attainder was preferred, which paſſed the houſe of lords without any material oppoſition. The commons were more ſcrupulous; ſome of the members objected againſt the whole method of proceeding by bills of attainder; and required a formal trial ſhould be given to every man before his condemnation. This oppoſition alarmed the miniſtry. A meſſage was ſent from the king, requiring them to proceed; ordering, at the ſame time, thoſe narratives which had ſatisfied the lords to be laid before them. This conceſſion produced the deſired effect; the bill paſſed in a very full houſe: near four hundred voted for it, when not above nine or ten were againſt it. The royal aſſent immediately followed, and lord Seymour was ſoon after, on the tenth of May, beheaded, contrary to the ſenſe of the nation in general, who, not without reaſon, accuſed the protector of cruelty and injuſtice, in depriving his brother of life, without legal proofs of the ſeveral articles of accuſation alledged, many of which were of a very frivolous nature.

Though the proteſtant reformers had renounced opinions, which for ſeveral ages had been eſteemed infallibly certain, they had ſo little idea of true religious liberty, which allows no limits to private judgment, conſcience, and freedom of enquiry, and which maintains Chriſtian charity for men of every perſuaſion, that they were ready to burn all who preſumed to differ from them, in the ſame flames from which they themſelves had narrowly eſcaped.

The new liturgy, though received and approved by all who wiſhed well to the reformation, yet met with very great oppoſition from the catholic party, they were unwilling to abandon the tenets of their antient religion, and exerted their whole intereſt to raiſe diſturbances in the nation. A great variety of opinions prevailed, and all attempts to reduce them to uniformity were fruitleſs. Hence the council granted a commiſſion to the primate and ſome others, to examine and ſearch after all anabaptiſts, heretics, and contemners of the new ritual. Theſe they were enjoined, if poſſible to reclaim, to impoſe penance on them, and to give them abſolution; or if they continued obſtinate, to impriſon, excommunicate, and deliver them over to the ſecular arm. Several perſons were taken up for maintaining heretical opinions, but being prevailed upon to abjure them, were diſmiſſed. A woman, named Jan Bocher, an anabaptiſt, who denied the incarnation of Chriſt, perſevered in her error, and was committed to the flames. Cranmer, though of a mild diſpoſition, thought it neceſſary to puniſh her; and having engaged Edward to ſign her ſentence, the young monarch told him, with tears in his eyes, that if any wrong was done, the guilt ſhould lay entirely upon his head. Cranmer uſed every argument to reform the woman, but in vain; on which he ſuffered the ſentence to be executed. Soon after one Van Paris, a Dutchman, was condemned for having embraced the hereſy of Arius, and ſuffered with ſo much reſolution and fanatical zeal, that he embraced with tranſport the faggots which conſumed him. But theſe ſeverities were ill calculated for removing the evil; they tended rather to increaſe than exterminate error: however they produced at that time a temporary effect; a conformity to the new liturgy was eſtabliſhed, and the murmurs againſt the late innovations ceaſed. The lady Mary alone, refuſing to admit the eſtabliſhed modes of worſhip, continued to adhere to the maſs. On her being teazed and menaced on this account, ſhe applied to the emperor, who uſing his intereſt with Sir Philip Hobby, the Engliſh ambaſſador, ſhe obtained from the council a temporary connivance.

No inſtitution can well be ſuppoſed to have been more prejudicial to the intereſts of mankind, than that of the monks and friars, yet it was attended with many ſalutary effects, which ceaſing with the monaſtic order, occaſioned much murmuring among the people of England. When the monaſteries were ſuppreſſed, a great number of monks were under the neceſſity of living by their labour, ſo that every kind of employ was overſtocked. The monaſtic eſtates had been farmed out, on moderate terms to vaſt numbers of common people, who were thereby enabled to maintain their families on the profits of agriculture; but the lands being now divided among the nobility, the rents were raiſed, and the farmers perceiving that wool was a more profitable commodity than meal, converted their arable land into paſtures. In conſequence of this, bread became dear, to the unſpeakable diſtreſs of the poor. As multitudes were deprived of employ, and therefore of ſubſiſtence, through the neglect of agriculture, the nation abounded with complaints againſt the nobility, as the ſources of this wretchedneſs. The protector attended to the remonſtrances of the ſufferers, and reſolved to exert his utmoſt endeavours in redreſſing their grievances. In order to remove the ſubject of their complaints, he appointed commiſſioners with full power to try and decide all cauſes relative to incloſures, highways and cottages. This meaſure being very diſpleaſing to the nobility and gentry, they exclaimed againſt the commiſſion as illegal; and the peaſants imagining their deſign was to reduce them to ſervitude, determined to redreſs themſelves by force of arms. The inſurrection began at once in ſeveral counties of England, as if the populace had engaged in a general conſpiracy. The rioters in Wiltſhire were diſperſed by Sir William Herbert; thoſe in the neighbouring counties of Oxford, and Glouceſter, by lord Gray of Wilton. Many of the inſurgents were ſlain in the field; others ſuffered by martial law. The malcontents of Devonſhire, amounting to ten thouſand, were headed by one Humphrey Arundel, an experienced ſoldier, and encouraged by the preaching of ſome eccleſiaſtics. They preſented a petition to the king, deſiring liberty to practice the antient ceremonies of the Roman church; and redreſs of various grievances. Theſe demands the council anſwered by a formal manifeſto, concluding with an offer of pardon on their immediate ſubmiſſion; but the monks perſuaded them, that an abject ſurrender of themſelves, would be attended with the moſt grievous oppreſſion and inthralment. Thus inſtigated, they undertook the ſiege of Exeter, which was gallantly defended by the inhabitants. Lord Ruſſel then lay at Honiton, when being joined by Sir William Herbert, lord Grey, and ſome others, he marched to the relief of Exeter, which was now reduced to the laſt extremity. Theſe jointly attacked the rebels, drove them from all their poſts, ſlew a great number both in the action and purſuit, and took many priſoners. Arundel, and the other leaders were conducted to London, tried and executed; and thoſe of the lower claſs were condemned by martial law. The ſedition in Norfolk was more alarming, and terrible in its conſequences. The inſurgents amounted to ſixteen thouſand, under the conduct of one Kit, a tanner, and Conyers, an eccleſiaſtic, who performed the office of their chaplain. Theſe committed all manner of outrages, and preſented to the king a ſet of articles, demanding that farms ſhould be reduced to the antient rents; that the price of wool ſhould be abated; and that all incloſures ſhould be laid open. The king promiſed them pardon on ſubmiſſion. Diſdaining the offer, they eſtabliſhed their quarters on Mouſhold-hill, near Norwich, where Kit the tanner ſat in judgment under a large tree, ſince known by the name of the oak of reformation. They inveſted and reduced the city of Norwich, and then impriſoned the mayor with ſome of the principal citizens. The marquis of Northampton was firſt ſent againſt them, but was worſted in an action, in which lord Sheffield loſt his life. The protector then detached the earl of Warwick thither, with an army of ſix thouſand men, which had been raiſed for the Scottiſh war; and by this means he furniſhed his inveterate enemy with an opportunity of augmenting his fame and character. Warwick having routed ſeveral detachments of the rebels, at laſt attacked their main body, and put them to flight. Two thouſand of them were ſlain in the action and purſuit. Kit their ringleader eſcaped from the field, but being taken next day in a barn, was hung in chains at Norwich caſtle, and nine of his accomplices ſuffered on the oak of reformation. The rebels in Yorkſhire, hearing of the fate of their companions, embraced the offer of pardon, and laid down their arms, and a general amneſty was ſoon after publiſhed by the protector. Yet, though all commotions in England were now ſuppreſſed, they were productive of very bad conſequences, with reſpect to the foreign intereſt of the nation.

The forces deſtined for Scotland having been detained in England; and M. de Thermes landing there with freſh ſuccours from France, he had leiſure to reduce the diſtracted ſtate of that unhappy country to ſome order. He took the caſtle of Boughty, and put the whole garriſon to the ſword. Haddington however held out againſt all his efforts, and it was determined to reduce the place by famine. But this was not eaſily effected; ſupplies were continually thrown into the place during ſummer, ſo that all his attempts proved unſucceſsful. At laſt winter accompliſhed what his whole power could not perform. The inclemency of the weather was an obſtacle not to be ſurmounted by the Engliſh. The earl of Rutland received orders to diſmantle the place. He accordingly marched thither at the head of a ſtrong body of forces, demoliſhed the fortifications, and brought off the garriſon. Nothing was now left to the Engliſh of all their conqueſts in Scotland, except the caſtles of Lauder, Douglas, Eymouth and Roxburgh. Nor were theſe all the ill conſequences that reſulted from the late commotions. Henry II. of France, encouraged by the inteſtine troubles of England, made an effort to execute his favourite ſcheme of recovering Bologne. The court had for ſome time been apprehenſive that he had formed that deſign, and ſent over ſecretary Paget to the court of Charles V. in order to conclude an alliance with the emperor. But that powerful monarch having formed a deſign of extending his dominions, by acting the part of a champion for the catholic religion, liſtened not to the advances made by the court of England, for entering into a ſtrict confederacy. In the mean time Henry II. entered the territories of Bologne at the head of a numerous army, took ſeveral caſtles, equipped a powerful fleet, and attempted a deſcent on the iſlands of Guernſey and Jerſey; but a ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips being immediately fitted out, fell upon the enemy, and drove them from the iſlands, with the loſs of above a thouſand men. Diſappointed in receiving the expected aſſiſtance from the emperor, Somerſet was deſirous of concluding a peace with France and Scotland; eſpecially as he was in no condition to ſupport the neceſſary expences, and had experienced the difficulties and dangers that attended miniſters in demanding and raiſing new ſubſidies: at the ſame time he was reſolved to complete the great work of the reformation ſo ſucceſsfully begun. He therefore determined to ſacrifice Bologne, in order to gain the friendſhip and aſſiſtance of Henry. But when he propoſed the reſtitution of that place in council, he met with the ſtrongeſt oppoſition from his enemies; who knowing he was in no condition to carry on the war, were determined for that very reaſon, to oppoſe every meaſure that had the leaſt tendency to procure a pacification, and to embrace the firſt opportunity that offered to deprive him of his dignity.

Somerſet, after he had procured the patent, by which he, in a manner, obtained regal authority, had paid but little attention to the opinion of the other executors and counſellors. All who were not entirely devoted to him were ſure to be neglected. The haughtineſs of his carriage, joined to an inferior capacity, and an unlimited authority, irritated daily the diſcontented. Warwick, in particular, having entered into a cloſe connection with Southampton, who had been admitted into the council, formed a ſtrong party, who had determined to ruin the protector. The nobility were greatly diſpleaſed with the regard he had ſhewn the common people, to which they aſcribed the late inſurrections; and from his popular meaſures apprehended a revival of ſimilar diſorders. He had directed a court of requeſts in his own houſe for the benefit of the poorer claſs of people, and readily embraced every meaſure calculated to promote their intereſt and ſafety. Yet his intereſt with the people was far from being conſiderable. The Romiſh party, who had great influence on the lower ranks, were his declared enemies, and took every opportunity of decrying his conduct. His brother's attainder and execution; the great eſtate he had ſuddenly acquired; the magnificent palace in the Strand, which ſtill bears his name, to furniſh ground and materials for which, the pariſh church of St. Mary, and three biſhops houſes had been pulled down; theſe actions had given his enemies too many advantages over him; they miſrepreſented all the meaſures of his adminiſtration, and even his imprudencies were magnified into crimes. At length, after ſeveral complaints and diſputes, lord St. John, preſident of the council, the earls of Warwick, Southampton, with five other members, met at Ely-houſe, where the earl of Warwick reſided, on the ſixth of October; and aſſuming to themſelves the whole power of the government, ſent for the lord mayor and aldermen of London; before whom they arraigned the protector's conduct, and commanded them to obey no orders but what were iſſued by themſelves. The ſame injunctions were laid on the lieutenant of the Tower. The next day Rich, lord chancellor, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Shrewſbury, and other perſons of high rank, joined the malcontents; and ſecretary Petre, whom the protector ſent to treat with his enemies, choſe to remain with them. Somerſet, on being informed of this defection of the counſellors, removed the king from Hampton-court to Windſor-caſtle; and arming his friends and ſervants, ſeemed reſolved to ſtand on his defence; but finding that no perſons of rank adhered to him, except Cranmer and Paget; that the city and Tower had declared againſt him; that the people did not riſe at his ſummons; and that he was even deſerted by his confidants; he loſt all hopes, and applied to his enemies. This ſtep induced the lord Ruſſel, Sir John Baker, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, and three other counſellors, who had hitherto remained neuter, to join Warwick's party. The council now vindicated themſelves in a proclamation, and wrote to the ſame purpoſe to the princeſſes Mary and Elizabeth. They then addreſſed the king, and, after the humbleſt proteſtations of duty and ſubmiſſion, declared, that they were the council appointed by his father, and had choſe the duke of Somerſet protector, under the expreſs condition of his being guided by their advice; but he had uſurped the whole authority, and had not only neglected, but oppoſed their councils, they therefore begged, that he would reſtore them to his confidence, and diſmiſs the protector's ſervants. The king complied with their requeſt, and Somerſet only capitulating for gentle treatment, it was promiſed him. Yet, notwithſtanding this, he was ſent to the Tower, with ſome of his friends and partiſans, among whom was Cecil, diſtinguiſhed afterwards in the reign of queen Elizabeth. On the fourteenth of October he was brought before the council, and articles of impeachment exhibited againſt him, of which the following were the chief: that he had not obſerved the conditions on which he had been made protector; that he had treated with ambaſſadors without notifying it to the counſel; and had, by his own authority, diſpoſed of governments and biſhoprics; that he had held a court of requeſts in his own houſe; that he had debaſed the coin; that he had iſſued proclamations in the affair of incloſures, contrary to the opinion of the whole council; that he had not taken care to ſuppreſs the late inſurrections, but had on the contrary ſupported and encouraged them; that he had occaſioned the loſs of the forts in the territory of Bologne, by neglecting to furniſh them with proviſions and ammunition; that he had endeavoured to inſtill into the king a bad opinion of his counſellors, by perſuading him that they intended to deſtroy him; that he had cauſed the lords of the council to be proclaimed traitors; that he had maliciouſly, not only put the king in great fear, by carrying him ſuddenly to Windſor, but thrown him into a dangerous diſeaſe; that he had armed himſelf and his ſervants; and, laſtly, that he intended to fly to Guernſey or Jerſey. The duke having received no previous notice of theſe articles, could not be prepared to give his anſwer, and was therefore remanded back to the Tower. A revocation of the protector's office was now publiſhed under the great ſeal. But all the arts of Warwick could not perſuade the well-meaning part of the council to believe the duke guilty of any thing intentionally bad, either againſt the king or the conſtitution of his country. They indeed thought him too obnoxious to the landed intereſt of England, to continue longer at the head of affairs; and therefore willingly engaged in meaſures for removing him from the ſeat of power. The marquis of Northampton, the earls of Warwick and Southampton, the lords St. John, Ruſſel, and Wentworth, were appointed regents, and the principal adminiſtration of the government entruſted with the earl of Warwick,

wick, but without any title that might give him the leaſt authority over the other counſellors.

The popiſh party aſcribing all the late innovations to Somerſet's councils, were now elevated with the hopes, that his fall would pave the way for the reſtoration of their antient religion. But Warwick, whoſe views were guided ſolely by ambition, knowing that it would not be eaſy to eradicate the principles of the reformation out of Edward's mind, declared for the new doctrine. Bonner was deprived of the ſee of London, and the earl of Southampton, head of the catholics, treated with ſuch diſgrace, that he retired abruptly from court, dying ſoon after of chagrin and diſappointment. Somerſet, who wanted ſpirit to ſupport his diſgrace with dignity, was prevailed upon to confeſs, on his knees, before the council, all the articles of the charge exhibited againſt him; a ſubmiſſion that diſgraced him in the eyes of the nation. The parliament deprived him of all his offices, and condemned him in a large fine. But Warwick, thinking his abject behaviour had effectually deſtroyed the ſmall remains of his authority, readmitted him into the council; and even agreed to an alliance between their families, by the marriage of his ſon, lord Dudley, with the lady Jane Seymour, daughter to Somerſet.

A. D. 1550. Though a project for concluding a peace with France, by the reſtoration of Bologne, had ſerved for a pretence againſt the protector's adminiſtration, yet the new council were inclined to adopt the meaſure, and ſent the earl of Bedford, and other commiſſioners, with full powers to negotiate. Henry II. refuſed abſolutely to pay the two millions of crowns, which his predeceſſor had acknowledged to be due to the crown of England, as the arrears of penſions; and offered four hundred thouſand crowns for the reſtitution of Bologne, which was accepted, and ſix hoſtages given for the performance of this article. Scotland being comprehended in the treaty, the Engliſh agreed to reſtore Dunglas and Lauder, and to demoliſh the fortreſſes of Eymouth and Roxburgh. A peace was no ſooner concluded, than a ſcheme was formed to enter into cloſer alliance with France, and it was ſoon after agreed, that Edward ſhould marry Elizabeth, daughter of Henry, and all the articles of this project were fully ſettled, though it never was carried into execution. The deſign of marrying the king to the daughter of a prince who was a violent perſecutor of the proteſtants, could not be agreeable to that party in England; but in every other reſpect the council ſteadily promoted the reformation. The peace was celebrated with great rejoicings, though very far from being agreeable to the people. They plainly diſcerned, that thoſe who accepted of four hundred thouſand crowns, inſtead of two millions which Francis I. had engaged to pay, were the very perſons who had ſo rancorouſly inveighed againſt Somerſet, for merely propoſing a reſtitution of Bologne upon reaſonable terms. This inconſiſtent proceeding raiſed ſuch a clamour among the people, that the earl of Warwick thought proper to divert their attention to other objects, that might conduce more to their ſatisfaction. He enquired into the practices of thoſe who had embezzled the king's revenue, or had been guilty of oppreſſion in the execution of their offices, and theſe, on conviction, he puniſhed with the utmoſt rigour. This ſeverity of juſtice, though ariſing from ignoble motives, pleaſed the nation in general, and eſtabliſhed Warwick's authority among the great, who perceiving the vigour with which he acted, began to dread the weight of his reſentment. In the courſe of this year, Thirley reſigned the ſee of Weſtminſter, which was united to that of London, and beſtowed upon Ridley, biſhop of Rocheſter. Polydore Virgil, who had reſided forty years in England, obtained permiſſion to paſs the remainder of his days in his own country, in conſideration of his having devoted the greateſt part of his life to the compilation of the Engliſh hiſtory.

The reformation now greatly prevailed in England, being patronized by the king, and promoted by the indefatigable labour of archbiſhop Cranmer. Warwick alſo had declared his intention of compleating this great work, and now began to carry his deſign into execution. A proſecution was commenced againſt Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, who in ſeveral inſtances had rendered himſelf obnoxious to the adminiſtration. He was required to acknowledge his former miſbehaviour, and confeſs the juſtice of his confinement; to own that the king was ſupreme head of the church; that the power of making and diſpenſing with holidays was part of the prerogative; that the common-prayer book was a godly commendable form; that the king was a complete ſovereign in his minority; that the ſtatute of the ſix articles was juſtly repealed; and that the king had full authority to correct and reform what was amiſs in eccleſiaſtical diſcipline. The biſhop made no difficulty of ſigning all theſe articles, except the firſt. He maintained, that his conduct had been always inoffenſive, and declared, that he would never own himſelf guilty of faults he had not committed. But the council, who intended not to accept from him any acknowledgments, multiplied articles in proportion to his ſubmiſſion. At laſt the prelate, from a dread of totally diſhonouring his former conduct by mean compliances, determined to act with vigour. He refuſed to ſign any articles they might preſent to him; and was depoſed from his ſee by a commiſſion appointed for that purpoſe. Several other biſhops, much leſs ſuſpected, and troubleſome than Gardiner, underwent the ſame fate; as Day, biſhop of Chicheſter; Heathe, of Worceſter; and Vaiſy, of Exeter. About the ſame time an order was iſſued by the council, for purging the library at Weſtminſter of all miſſals, legends, and other ſuperſtitious books. Many of theſe were plated with gold and ſilver, and curiouſly emboſſed. Great havoc was alſo made in the libraries of Oxford, in which printed books and manuſcripts were deſtroyed without diſtinction. Volumes of divinity ſuffered for their rich bindings; thoſe of geometry and aſtronomy were ſuppoſed to contain nothing but necromancy; and thoſe of literature were condemned as uſeleſs. The princeſs Mary was not forgot in this vigorous attack on the remains of popery. She was required to change her religion, or at leaſt, in order for her conviction, to read the antient fathers. Alarmed at her danger, ſhe formed a plan for eſcaping to the court of Charles V. but her deſign was diſcovered and prevented. The emperor, however, made ſtrong repreſentations in her behalf: he even threatened to commence hoſtilities, if liberty of conſcience ſhould be refuſed her. His interpoſition had the deſired effect. It was not thought adviſeable to plunge the nation into a war on ſo ſlight an occaſion; and Edward, who had imbibed the utmoſt deteſtation for the idolatrous worſhip of the catholics, lamented with tears the obſtinacy of his ſiſter, and his own misfortune, in being obliged to tolerate her errors. This religious zeal of the council did not prevent their finding leiſure to attend both to the public intereſt, and their own temporal concerns. The trade of England had been chiefly carried on by the inhabitants of the Hanſe-towns or Eaſterlings, as they were called; and to encourage thoſe merchants to ſettle in England, Henry III. had granted them a patent, by which they were exempted from ſeveral heavy duties paid by other foreigners. This company, uſually called the merchants of the Steel-yard, had hitherto engroſſed the whole foreign trade of the kingdom; and as they employed the ſhipping of their own country, the navigation of England had continued rather in a languiſhing condition. The council annulled the privileges of this corporation; and though ſeveral remonſtrances were made by Lubeck, Hamburgh, and the other Hanſe towns, the council perſevered in their reſolution: and the good effects ſoon became viſible to the nation, by the Engliſh being allured to enter into commerce.

A. D. 1551. However the plans for promoting induſtry were in danger of proving abortive, from domeſtic troubles, and confuſions. The ſweating ſickneſs, which now raged in England, ſwept away great numbers of the inhabitants. Several of the nobility alſo felt the dreadful effects of this alarming contagion; among whom were the duke of Suffolk and his brother. By the death of theſe two noblemen, the title of duke of Suffolk became extinct in the family of Brandon, which was next in the ſucceſſion to the crown after the two daughters of Henry VIII. The earl of Warwick, who ſeems already to have formed the deſign of placing his own family on the throne, immediately procured Henry Grey, marquis of Dorſet, to be created duke of Suffolk. The laſt earl of Northumberland died without iſſue; and Sir Thomas Piercy, his brother, having been attainted, on account of the ſhare he had in the Yorkſhire inſurrection, during the late reign, the title was extinct, and the eſtate veſted in the crown. Warwick therefore procured for himſelf thoſe ample poſſeſſions which lay in the north, the moſt warlike part of the kingdom; and was dignified with the title of duke of Northumberland. Lord St. John, the treaſurer, was created marquis of Wincheſter, and Sir William Herbert, earl of Pembroke; William Cecil was knighted, and made ſecretary of ſtate, and Sir Robert Dudley, one of Northumberland's ſons, was ſworn one of the ſix ordinary gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber. Northumberland, however, regarding all increaſe of poſſeſſions and titles, for himſelf and his partizans, only as ſteps to farther acquiſitions; and perceiving the duke of Somerſet, though deprived of his dignity, ſtill preſerved a conſiderable degree of popularity, he reſolved to ruin a man, whom he conſidered as a chief obſtacle to his ambitious projects. The alliance lately concluded between their families had been productive of no cordial union. It only afforded Northumberland an opportunity of effecting with more eaſe and certainty the deſtruction of his rival. He began his infamous deſign, by ſecretly corrupting many of that unhappy nobleman's friends and ſervants: he ſometimes provoked him by ill uſage, and at others terrified him by the appearance of danger. He alienated the affections of the young king from his uncle, whom he repreſented as a very dangerous ſubject. He ſpread a report, that Somerſet had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king in ſeveral counties, and that he was preparing an armed force to make himſelf maſter of his majeſty's perſon. Thus provoked, the unguarded Somerſet broke out into menacing expreſſions againſt Northumberland: and at other times formed raſh projects, which he immediately abandoned; his treacherous confidants repeated every paſſionate word which eſcaped from his lips to his enemy, and revealed the ſchemes they themſelves had firſt projected. Northumberland thought that the proper ſeaſon for acting was come, and the duke of Somerſet, lord Grey, David and John Seymour, Neudigate and Hammond, two of the duke's ſervants, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir Ralph Vane, were arreſted and confined. The next day the ducheſs of Somerſet, with Crane and his wife, her favourites, Sir Michael Stanhope and others, were thrown into priſon. Sir Thomas Palmer, who had acted as a ſpy upon Somerſet, charged him with having formed a deſign to ſecure the Tower, raiſe a rebellion in London, and an inſurrection in the north; and maintained, that the duke once deſigned to murder Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, at a banquet. Palmer's teſtimony with regard to the laſt circumſtance, was confirmed by Crane and his wife; and it ſeems ſome raſh expreſſions of ſuch a nature had really been mentioned, though no regular conſpiracy had been formed, nor any meaſures taken for its execution. This unhappy nobleman was brought to his trial on the firſt of December, before the marquis of Wincheſter, who was created high ſteward. The jury was compoſed of twenty-ſeven peers, among whom were his principal enemies, Northumberland, Pembroke and Northampton. He was accuſed of high treaſon, for deſigning to raiſe inſurrections; and of felony, in intending the murder of privy counſellors. The witneſſes were examined by the privy council, but neither produced in court, nor confronted with the priſoner; and their depoſitions were given in to the jury. Somerſet's defence, with reſpect to the treaſonable part of the charge, was ſo ſatisfactory, that the peers gave a verdict in his favour. His intention of aſſaulting the privy counſellors, was indeed ſupported by ſomewhat like evidence, the duke himſelf confeſſing, that he had made uſe of words to that effect, though he had formed no reſolution; and the peers brought him in guilty of felony. On receiving his ſentence, he aſked pardon of thoſe peers for having liſtened to deſigns againſt them. Somerſet, being beloved by the people, they, on hearing of his having been acquitted of treaſon, expreſſed their joy by loud acclamations; but their ſatisfaction was ſoon damped, when informed, that he was condemned to ſuffer death for felony, purſuant to a ſtatute paſſed in the reign of Henry VIII. declaring it felony for any perſon to form a deſign of killing a privy counſellor. The behaviour of Somerſet, from the time he received ſentence, was calm, reſigned, and unaffected, he employed his time in reading, and compoſing exerciſes of devotion.

A. D. 1552. Northumberland's creatures had taken care to prepoſſeſs the young king againſt his uncle; and to prevent his relenting, kept him from reflection by a continued round of amuſements, and by preventing any of Somerſet's friends from having acceſs to him. On the twenty-ſecond of January this noble priſoner was conducted to the ſcaffold on Tower hill, where he was to ſuffer. He was attended on this melancholy occaſion by Dr. Cox; and, after ſome devotional exerciſes, he addreſſed himſelf in a ſpeech to the people, in which he declared his innocence with regard to the king, and his fidelity to his country: he ſubmitted to his ſentence becauſe awarded by the law; he profeſſed his zeal and affection for the proteſtant religion, and a ſincere ſatisfaction in what he had done to promote it. He expreſſed the higheſt regard for the perſon of the king: he exhorted the people to pay both him and the council the moſt implicit obedience: declared he died in peace with all mankind; aſked pardon of all whom he had offended; and requeſted the prayers of all preſent. When he declared, that he had always promoted the ſervice of the king, and the intereſt of true religion, the people atteſted the truth of this, by crying aloud, "It is moſt true;" and on his praying, that the king might enjoy health and proſperity, there was a general reſponſe of "Amen." The ſpectators appeared to be in great agitation, and on the brink of taking ſome violent meaſure. Some people who had been ordered to appear in arms at the execution, when they ſaw the duke upon the ſcaffold, mended their pace, crying aloud to each other, "Come away!" The precipitation added to this exclamation, which was echoed through the whole multitude, produced an univerſal tumult. This having ſubſided, Sir Antony Brown riding towards the ſcaffold, the people exclaimed, "A pardon! A pardon!" But the duke telling them they were miſtaken, intreated them to allow him to paſs his laſt moments in peace. Having concluded his ſpeech, he adjuſted himſelf with the utmoſt calmneſs for the block. When the fatal ſtroke was given by the executioner, a dreadful groan run through the whole croud of ſpectators; many of whom ruſhed in, and dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they preſerved as a precious relic; and ſoon after, when the ambitious Northumberland met with the ſame fate, they, upbraiding him with his cruelty to Somerſet, diſplayed before his eyes theſe ſymbols of his guilty cruelty. Though many actions in Somerſet's life were exceptionable, he certainly merited a better doom. He was a nobleman eminent for his piety; courteous, affable, ſincere, and candid in all his tranſactions; a patron of the poor, the fatherleſs, the friendleſs, and the oppreſſed: but his virtues were better calculated for a private than a public life; he was a much better general, than a counſellor; his want of penetration and firmneſs rendering him incapable of extricating himſelf from thoſe cabals and violent meaſures, to which that age was ſo much addicted; yet the faults he committed during his adminiſtration were owing to weakneſs, not to any bad intention. He was never accuſed of perſonal vices, of falſehood, of perverting juſtice, of cruelty, or of oppreſſion. Among the number of his friends, Sir Ralph Vane, a brave old ſoldier, and Sir Miles Partridge, were hanged. Sir Michael Stanhope, with Sir Thomas Arundel, were beheaded, as the duke's confederates; but ſtrenuouſly denied, in their laſt moments, the crime for which they ſuffered. Lord Paget, chancellor of the duchy of Somerſet, was tried in the ſtar-chamber, fined ſix thouſand pounds, and condemned to loſe his office. He was alſo degraded from the order of the garter as unworthy, on account of his mean birth, to ſhare that honour. Lord Rich was alſo deprived of the ſeals, for having ſent a letter to Somerſet, informing him of the deſigns of the council.

On the twenty-third of January the parliament met, and paſſed ſeveral bills, both of a civil and religious nature; but the moſt remarkable was that, reſpecting the crime of high treaſon; to which the commons annexed a clauſe of infinitely more conſequence than the bill itſelf. It was declared, "That none ſhould be attainted of high treaſon on this act, unleſs two witneſſes ſhould come, and to their face aver the fact for which they were to be tried, except ſuch as ſhould make a voluntary confeſſion; and that none ſhould be queſtioned for any thing ſaid or written againſt the king or government, but within three months after it was done." This equitable and conſtitutional clauſe was ſtrongly oppoſed by all of Northumberland's party, as it totally condemned their late proceedings in the caſe of the unfortunate duke of Somerſet; but notwithſtanding all their ſtate tricks it paſſed both houſes, and has ever ſince remained one of the chief bulwarks of Engliſh liberty.

Among the moſt eminent prelates of that age, was Tunſtal, biſhop of Durham, highly diſtinguiſhed by his abilities, learning, humanity, and integrity of life. He had oppoſed all innovations in religion; but they were no ſooner eſtabliſhed than he ſubmitted, and conformed himſelf to every ſyſtem of doctrine and diſcipline eſtabliſhed by authority; concluding, that all private ſentiments ought to be ſacrificed to the greater concern of public tranquillity. The general reſpect entertained for him in Somerſet's adminiſtration, ſecured him from any ſevere treatment: but neither his obedient conduct, nor the unimpeached rectitude of his morals, could protect him from the rapacious cravings of Northumberland, who had formed a deſign of appropriating to himſelf the ample revenues of the ſee of Durham, and of acquiring a principality in the northern counties. A bill of attainder was therefore brought into the houſe of peers againſt Tunſtal for miſpriſion of treaſon, and paſſed with the oppoſition only of Cranmer, who had always a cordial friendſhip for him, and of lord Stourton, a zealous catholic. But when the bill was ſent down to the commons, they demanded that witneſſes ſhould be examined; that the biſhop ſhould be confronted with his accuſers, and be permitted to ſpeak in his own defence; which demands being refuſed, the bill was rejected. Northumberland and his partizans aſcribed this equity, ſo unuſual in a parliament of that age, to the prevalence of Somerſet's party; and a bill for ratifying the attainder of Somerſet and his accomplices, being alſo rejected by the commons, after it had paſſed the upper houſe, confirmed them in this opinion. They therefore reſolved to diſſolve the parliament, which had ſat throughout this whole reign, and to ſummon a new one.

A. D. 1553.

Northumberland exerted himſelf with ſo much induſtry, and employed ſo many corrupt and unjuſtifiable methods in the election of members, that when the parliament met, he found the commons as obſequious to his will, and as ready to concur in all his meaſures, as he could poſſibly have wiſhed. Tunſtal had, during the receſs, been depoſed by lay-commiſſioners; the ſentence was confirmed by this tool of a parliament, who divided the ſee of Durham into two biſhoprics; but the dignity of an earl palatine was veſted in the king, who gave it to Northumberland. They alſo granted the king two ſubſidies, and two fifteenths. Having executed his deſigns with this ſervile parliament during the ſeſſion of a month, Northumberland cauſed it to be diſſolved, and applied himſelf to other meaſures for the gratification of his ambition: yet he found the emptineſs of the Exchequer an obſtruction to the execution of his projects; for though the king had received four hundred thouſand crowns from France, on delivering up Bologne; notwithſtanding the plunder of churches, colleges, and hoſpitals, with the fall of many manors that belonged to them; yet, from the rapacity of the courtiers, the crown owed about three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling: but as Edward, among other virtues, was inclined to frugality, he would, probably, had not his health declined very faſt, have retrieved theſe loſſes in a very ſhort time. The king, on his recovery from the ſmall-pox, had made a tour through ſeveral parts of the kingdom; and it was ſuppoſed, that in this progreſs he had inflamed his blood with too violent exerciſe; for he was ſeized with a cough, which proved obſtinate, and could neither be removed by regimen or medicines. This diſorder ſoon degenerated into a confirmed conſumption; and many people ſcrupled not to inſinuate, that Northumberland had tampered with his conſtitution. When the phyſicians deſpaired of the king's life, he was committed to the care of an old woman, who engaged in a ſhort time to reſtore him to his former health; but this promiſe ſhe performed with much the ſame fidelity, which is well known to belong to our modern quacks. His diſorder increaſed ſo faſt, that when the parliament met in the beginning of March, both houſes were obliged to attend him at Whitehall, to hear the reaſons of their being called together. This infirm ſtate of the young prince rendered him ſuſceptible of any impreſſion. Of this Northumberland took advantage, perceiving that now was the time for him to complete the deſign he had planned, of placing his own family on the throne of England. He therefore ſuffered none but his own creatures to approach the royal perſon; at the ſame time he affected the moſt anxious concern for the young monarch's health and recovery. By theſe hypocritical expreſſions of duty, he gained the firſt place in the affections and confidence of Edward. This point being gained, the next was to prevail upon the king to alter the ſucceſſion. With this view he repreſented to Edward, that his two ſiſters, Mary and Elizabeth, had been declared illegitimate by act of parliament; and though Henry, by his will, had reſtored them a place in the ſucceſſion, the nation would never ſubmit to ſee the throne of England filled by a baſtard; that they were only his half-ſiſters, and, if legitimate, had no right to the crown as his heirs and ſucceſſors; that his ſiſter Mary's ſucceſſion would be attended with the abolition of the proteſtant religion, and the eſtabliſhment of popery; that when thoſe princeſſes, together with the queen of Scots, were excluded, the ſucceſſion devolved on the marchioneſs of Dorſet, the eldeſt daughter of the French queen, and the duke of Suffolk; that the next heireſs of the marchioneſs was the lady Jane Gray, whom he knew to be ſtrongly attached to the reformed religion, of a moſt amiable character, a friend to virtue, and a lover of her country. Theſe reaſons made a ſtrong impreſſion on the young prince's mind; and more particularly his zeal for the proteſtant religion, made him apprehend the conſequences that might attend the throne's being filled by ſo bigotted a papiſt as his ſiſter Mary; and though he had a tender affection for Elizabeth, againſt whom there could be no ſuch objection, he was perſuaded to believe, that he could not exclude one ſiſter for illegitimacy, without excluding the other. Edward therefore determined to leave his crown to the accompliſhed lady Jane; eſpecially as her mother had been expreſsly mentioned in the will of Henry VIII. as heir to the throne after his own children. The two ſons of the duke of Suffolk having at this time died of the ſweating-ſickneſs, that title was extinct; and Northumberland perſuaded the king to beſtow it upon the marquiſs of Dorſet; after which he induced the new duke and ducheſs of Suffolk to give their conſent to the marriage of the lady Jane Gray with his fourth ſon, lord Guilford Dudley. In order to ſtrengthen himſelf by other alliances, he married his own daughter to the lord Haſtings, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Huntingdon; and alſo negociated a marriage between the lady Catharine Gray, and lord Herbert, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Pembroke. The ſolemnization of theſe marriages was attended with great pomp and feſtivity; and Northumberland being hated by the people, they could not refrain from expreſſing their indignation, at obſerving ſuch public demonſtrations of joy, while their beloved monarch was languiſhing on a bed of ſickneſs. Nothing now remained for Northumberland, but to finiſh his political fabric by a ſpeedy execution of the main part of his deſign. To this end, on the eleventh of June, Sir Edward Montague, chief-juſtice of the Common Pleas, Sir John Baker, and Sir Thomas Bromley, two of the judges, the attorney and ſolicitor-general, attended the council, in obedience to a ſummons they had received, when the king laid before them minutes of an intended deed for altering the ſucceſſion, with orders to draw them up in the form of a patent. They heſitated to obey, and deſired time to conſider of a ſubject ſo important in itſelf, and which would affect themſelves in particular; but the more they reflected, the greater danger they found in complying. Henry VIII. had made a ſettlement of the crown, in conſequence of an act of parliament; and by another act paſſed in this reign, it was declared treaſon to change the order of ſucceſſion. Theſe reaſons were pleaded before the council; and the judges alledged, that the only proper method for giving a ſanction to the new ſettlement, was to ſummon a parliament, and to obtain the conſent of that aſſembly. Northumberland was ſo incenſed at their conduct, that he behaved in the moſt indecent manner; and it was even feared, he would proceed to violence againſt their perſons. Edward obſerved, that he intended to call a parliament in order to have the ſettlement ratified; but in the mean time required them, on their allegiance, to draw the patent in the manner required; and the council told the judges, that their refuſal would ſubject them to the penalties of treaſon. After the arguments had been canvaſſed in ſeveral meetings, Montague propoſed an expedient, which ſatisfied both counſellors and judges. He deſired, that the king and council ſhould paſs a ſpecial commiſſion, requiring the judges to draw a patent for a new ſettlement of the crown; and that immediately after, a pardon ſhould be granted them for any offence they might have incurred by their compliance. On the patent's being drawn, and brought to the biſhop of Ely, the chancellor, for him to affix the great ſeal to it, that prelate requeſted, that all the judges might previouſly ſign it. Goſnald at firſt refuſed, and was with much difficulty prevailed on to comply; but the conſtancy of Sir James Hales, notwithſtanding his being a zealous proteſtant, remained unſhaken. He reſolutely refuſed to put his name to the inſtrument. The chancellor, for his greater ſecurity next required, that the hands of all the privy-counſellors ſhould be ſet to the patent. Cranmer alone, of all the officers of ſtate, oppoſed the ſcheme, and laboured aſſiduouſly to perſuade Edward not to alter the ſucceſſion. He affirmed that, without perjury, he could not ſubſcribe the deed, having already ſworn to the obſervation of Henry's will; but at laſt his reſolution was overcome by the earneſt intreaties of his ſovereign, and he ſigned the inſtrument. Thus, by the king's letters patent, Mary and Elizabeth were excluded, and the crown ſettled on the heireſſes of the ducheſs of Suffolk, ſhe herſelf conſenting to give place to her daughters. During theſe tranſactions, Edward had declined viſibly every day; and the awful moment now approached, in which this amiable young monarch was to be removed from this tranſitory ſtate of exiſtence. The moſt alarming ſymptoms now increaſed to a violent degree; he felt a difficulty of ſpeech and breathing; his pulſe became feeble, his legs ſwelled, and his colour changed livid; indications that ſhewed too plainly, that this virtuous prince could not be long an inhabitant of this world. But his pious diſpoſitions, and the benevolent turn of his mind never left him. He prayed with his lateſt breath for the happineſs of England, and expired at Greenwich on the ſixth of July, in the ſixteenth year of his age, and the ſeventh of his reign. He was buried under the fine altar at the head of Henry VIIth's mauſoleum, which was deſtroyed in the civil wars: but the nobleſt monument of his virtues are Chriſt's hoſpital, St. Thomas's in Southwark, St. Bartholomew's and St. Bride's hoſpitals for the education of youth, the cure of the diſeaſed, and the employment of idle perſons and vagrants: theſe foundations are immortal inſtances of his piety, benevolence, and charity.

Character of King Edward VI.

This young prince was endowed with every qualification that could recommend him to the affections of his ſubjects, and attract the admiration of mankind. His perſon was elegant; his diſpoſition affable and humane; and his mind cultivated by extenſive learning. His ſtrict attachment to equity and juſtice, filled his people, by whom his death was lamented as a public misfortune, with flattering hopes, that his reign would be rendered illuſtrious by his virtues; and had he been indulged with a longer life, there is all the reaſon in the world to ſuppoſe, he would have made his people happy by a wiſe and equitable adminiſtration. His capacity and application to ſtudy were ſo extraordinary, that about the time of his death he underſtood the Greek, Latin, Italian, French, and Spaniſh languages; was verſed in the ſciences of natural philoſophy, logic, and muſic; and was maſter of all the theological diſputes, with which the minds of men of that age were agitated. He kept a book, in which he wrote the characters of all the chief men of the nation; taking notice of the manner of life, and their religious principles. He underſtood fortification, and deſigned well: he was alſo well acquainted with the harbours and ports in his dominions, and with thoſe of Scotland and France, with the depth of water, and the way of entering them. He had ſtudied the buſineſs of the Mint, with the exchange and value of money; and had acquired ſuch knowledge in foreign affairs, that the ambaſſadors who were ſent into England, publiſhed very extraordinary things of him in all the courts of Europe. To aſſiſt his memory, he took notes of every thing he heard worth notice, which he wrote firſt in Greek characters, that they might be unintelligible to thoſe about him; and afterwards copied out fair in his journal. This journal, written with his own hand, is in the Britiſh Muſeum, and was tranſcribed by biſhop Burnet, who publiſhed it in his ſecond volume of his Hiſtory of the Reformation. Edward was almoſt idolized by his ſubjects; and his example fired the young nobility with that general emulation, which puſhed them into every glorious purſuit, and raiſed, ſoon after, their drooping country to glory and to empire. Why did ſo fair a ſun ſet, before it had reached its meridian glory? Well may we ſay with the poet,

The ways of heaven are dark and intricate;
Puzzled with mazes and perplex'd with errors;
The underſtanding traces them in vain,
Loſt and bewilder'd in a fruitleſs ſearch.

Memoirs of the life and character of John Wickliffe, D. D.

It is not more pleaſing than uſeful to trace the ſteps, by which divine Providence produced and perfected the Reformation. On this account, agreeable to our promiſe, we have determined to give our readers the life of our countryman Wickliffe, that they may ſee the ſpark which lighted Huſs, and Luther, and Cranmer, and others, till it ſhone forth into that bright and glorious day, which we of this happy nation now enjoy.

Every man, who knows any thing of human nature, is aſſured, that thoſe who attempt reformations of any kind, lie under great difficulties, and are ſubject to numberleſs miſrepreſentations. Reformers are men; and as ſuch, they have their faults: and it too frequently happens, that the zeal for truth (wherewith they are animated, and without which they would not be reformers) carries them too far, and cauſes them to overſhoot the mark which they ſtrain all their nerves to hit. Theſe faults are greedily laid hold of by their adverſaries, while every their minuteſt ſlip is aggravated into the moſt enormous ſtumble. So many too are irritated, nay, and intereſted to blacken them, that is no wonder their characters are loaded with a weight of infamy.

Much allowance ſhould be made to theſe and the like conſiderations, by the perſon who ſits down to read any account of the life of Wickliffe; who having been unboundedly free and unreſerved in cenſuring the manners of the Romiſh clergy and others of his time, it is not ſtrange that they have been as free with him; but it is very ſtrange, that proteſtant writers have ſuffered themſelves to be biaſſed by the prejudiced repreſentations of popiſh ones. Let us obſerve too, as another juſt apology for this truly great man, before we enter upon the detail of his life, that we cannot be ſurprized that he ſhould have embraced and defended many points of doctrine, which the more enlightened enquiries of following ages have found cauſe to explode. Rather let us admire that he ſaw ſo much, than that he ſaw not every thing, in ſuch an age of ignorance and ſuperſtition; and let us venerate the man, who had ſagacity and courage enough to oppoſe the groſs errors of his day; and to hold forth that inextinguiſhable ray of light, the ſacred ſcripture in our mother tongue, before which the midnight darkneſs of popery has been diſpelled, and to which the proteſtant faith owes its being and ſupport.

This "firſt diſcoverer and guide in our bleſſed reformation," as one calls him, was born in the year 1324, at a village called Spreſwell, in the pariſh of Wickliffe, near Richmond in Yorkſhire, a place of which there are no remains at preſent. Though there is no authentic account of his family, it appears to have been conſiderable. A learned education was given him, and in proper time he was admitted commoner of Queen's college in Oxford; but was ſoon removed to Merton, and made fellow. Merton was at that time diſtinguiſhed for perſons of learning and genius; ſeveral men of the firſt fame, and who afterwards enjoyed the firſt dignities, were cotemporaries with Wickliffe; who was ſoon diſtinguiſhed, among his illuſtrious cotemporaries, for the cloſeneſs of his application, and the vivacity of his genius. He became celebrated in philoſophy and divinity, being ſo remarkable for the elegancy of his wit, and his ſtrength in diſputation, that he was eſteemed more than human by the common ſort of divines. He adorned the learning of the ſchools, by acquiring a deep knowledge of the civil and canon law, as well as of the municipal laws of his own country. He not only ſtudied and commented upon the ſacred writings, but he afterwards tranſlated them into his native language (the firſt tranſlation ever made) and wrote homilies on ſeveral parts of them. He alſo read with accuracy the writings of St. Auſtin, St. Jerom, St. Andrew, and St. Gregory, the four fathers of the Latin church. And thus furniſhed, he was well adapted to the diſplay of his talents, which were called into exertion about the thirty-ſixth year of his age; when they attracted the notice, not only of the univerſity, but of the whole kingdom.

Enough has been ſaid, by almoſt every writer, of the miſerable ſtate of the church in this age; of the ſcandalous vices, and more ſcandalous ignorance of the eccleſiaſtics, who were in poſſeſſion of the principal power and wealth of the kingdom. But the mendicant friars were now become extremely troubleſome, as well to the univerſity, as to the kingdom in general: under a falſe ſhew of extraordinary ſanctity and poverty, they cloaked the moſt encroaching pride, and exorbitant covetouſneſs. By their means the number of ſtudents in the univerſity of Oxford had been reduced from thirty to ſix thouſand; parents were afraid to ſend their children thither, leſt the friars ſhould entice them into their convents.

Wickliffe nobly and boldly oppoſed theſe dangerous enemies to ſociety: other men of learning and worth joined with him to refute their prime doctrine, “ That the poverty of Chriſt and his apoſtles was a ſufficient foundation for their beging trade, and poſſeſſing all things in common.” Wickliffe wrote with great ſpirit againſt them ; and his language is extraordinary, conſidering the times. “ Freres,” ſays he, in one of his tracts, “ drawen children fro' Chriſt's religion into their private order by hypocriſie, leſings, and ſteling. For they tellen that their order is more holie than any other : that they ſhullen have higher degree in the bliſs of heaven, than other men, that been not therein : and ſeyn that men of their order ſhullen never come to hell, but ſhullen dome other men, with Chriſt, at domeſday.” And here, by the way, we cannot but obſerve, as a comment upon Wickliffe's words, that ſo great was the ignorance and ſuperſtition of mankind in theſe times, and ſo much had the begging friars inſinuated themſelves into the good opinion of people, that dying men, even the richeſt and greateſt, would, in their laſt hours, ſend to beg an old cloak or covering of one of theſe friars, that they might be buried in it; hoping that Chriſt would take them for friars at the general reſurrection, when appearing in theſe old cloaks, and ſo ſend them to heaven, where otherwiſe they had little hope of arriving.

The reputation which Wickliffe gained by oppoſing theſe mendicants, could only be equalled by the malice with which they purſued him. In conſequence of the former, he was advanced to be maſter of Baliol college in 1361; and four years after he was made warden of Canterbury hall, then founded by Simon de Iſlip, archbiſhop of Canterbury, but now ſwallowed up in Chriſt church. This worthy prelate ſeems to have been very deſirous to place men of diſtinguiſhed worth in his new ſeminary; and the letters of inſtitution, whereby he appointed Wickliffe to the wardenſhip, do equal honour to the patron and his warden. In theſe, he ſpeaks of him “ as a perſon in whoſe fidelity, circumſpection, and induſtry, his grace very much confided; and one on whom he had fixed his eyes for that place, on account of the honeſty of his life, his laudable converſation, and knowledge of letters.”

Wickliffe conducted himſelf in his headſhip with great approbation, till the death of archbiſhop Iſlip, when his ſucceſſor, archbiſhop Langham, turned him out, in favour of Henry de Wodehall, at the inſtigation of the monks of Canterbury, ſworn foes to Wickliffe. It was in vain that the univerſity interfered, or that an appeal was made to the pope. The pope confirmed the archbiſhop's choice: Wodehall and his monks kept poſſeſſion, and perpetual ſilence was impoſed upon Wickliffe and his aſſociates. It cannot be ſuppoſed, that ſo arbitrary and unfair a ſentence could diminiſh Wickliffe's juſt contempt of the monks and the pope.

An affair of a more public nature now made him more conſpicuous. Pope Urban threatened to cite king Edward to his court at Avignon, for omitting to pay the tribute of ſeven hundred marks, which the pope unjuſtly arrogated, in conſequence of king John's puſillanimity. Some of the monks ventured to defend this claim; and againſt them Wickliffe oppoſed himſelf. This rendered him odious to the pope, who could ill brook any oppoſition; but it gained him favour at court: he was made king's chaplain; and the duke of Lancaſter in particular took him into his patronage, and procured for him the living of Lutterworth in Leiceſterſhire, which he held to his death. Though he had from the beginning freely declared his ſentiments (as appears particularly from his tract “ Of the laſt age of the church,” publiſhed in 1356) reſpecting the monks, the corruptions and diſorders of the religious, the exactions, and uſurpations of the pope; yet now he began more freely to deliver his doctrines, which were judged novel, becauſe contrary to the received opinions of thoſe times.

In 1372 he took his degree as doctor in divinity, which he publicly profeſſed, and read lectures in it with great applauſe. In theſe he ſtrongly oppoſed the follies and ſuperſtitions of the friars: he charged them with holding fifty errors and hereſies; he ſhewed their corruptions, and detected their practice. This was ſtriking at the root of all the abuſes which had crept into the church, at a time when the greater and more neceſſary articles of faith, and all genuine and rational knowledge of religion, had generally given place to fabulous legends and romantic ſtories.

A ſhameful abuſe prevailed in our kingdom at this time. The pope diſpoſed of all eccleſiaſtical benefices and dignities, which he generally conferred upon foreigners; by which means, all the revenues of them went out of the land. In 1374, the king iſſued out a commiſſion for taking a ſurvey of all eccleſiaſtical benefices in the hands of aliens. The number and value of them aſtoniſhed him; and it was reſolved to ſend an embaſſy upon this ſubject to the pope. Dr. Wickliffe was the ſecond perſon mentioned in this commiſſion. Two years were employed in the treaty; when it was concluded, that the pope ſhould ceaſe from this practice. But treaties were vain; the parliament complained the very next year that the treaty was infringed, and a long bill was brought into parliament againſt the papal uſurpations; in which they remonſtrated, that the tax paid to the pope amounted to five times as much as that paid to the king; and that God had given his ſheep to the pope to be paſtured, not fleeced. Wickliffe, during this embaſſy, was made more ſenſible of the pride, avarice, ambition, and tyranny of the pope; whom therefore he boldly expoſed in his public lectures and private converſation. He as freely reproved the corruptions which prevailed amongſt the prelates and inferior clergy, obſerving, that “ the abomination of deſolation had its beginning from a perverſe clergy, as comfort roſe from a converted clergy!” Of the prelates, he ſays, “ O Lord, what token of meekneſs and forſaking of worldly riches is this! A prelate (as an abbot or prior that is dead to the world, the pride and vanity thereof) to ride with fourſcore horſes, with harneſs of ſilver and gold! and to ſpend with earls and barons, and their poor tenants, both thouſand marcs and pounds, to maintain a falſe plea of the world, and forbeare men of their right.”

The reader will not wonder, that this freedom expoſed him to the reſentment of thoſe whoſe vices he ſo ſeverely reprehended. The monks complained to the pope; the pope, already enraged at Wickliffe, heard them with ſufficient readineſs. Nineteen articles were drawn up againſt him, taken, as they pretended, from his lectures and ſermons; and the pope, Gregory the XIth, iſſued out ſeveral bulls againſt him, all dated May the 22d, 1377. The articles which they objected to, as held by him, were principally as follow: “ That the euchariſt, after the conſecration, was not the real body of Chriſt, but only an emblem or ſign of it: that the church of Rome was no more the head of the univerſal church, than any other church; and that St. Peter had no greater authority given him, than the reſt of the apoſtles: that the pope had no more juriſdiction, in the exerciſe of the keys, than any other prieſt: that if the church miſbehaved, it was not only lawful, but meritorious, to diſpoſſeſs her of her temporalities: that when a prince, or temporal lord, was convinced that the church made an ill uſe of her endowments, he was bound under pain of damnation, to take them away.—That the goſpel was ſufficient to direct a Chriſtian in the conduct of his life.—That neither the pope, nor any other prelate, ought to have priſons for the puniſhing offenders, againſt the diſcipline of the church; but that every perſon ought to be left at liberty in the conduct of his life."

Now, though perhaps, in our better days of liberty, we ſhall not be able to diſcern any thing very criminal and heretical, in the greater part of theſe opinions of Wickliffe; yet it is eaſy to ſee how offenſive they muſt have been to the pope and his clergy, as they ſtruck at the foundation of their uſurpations. Let it alſo be remembered, that theſe articles were drawn up by his enemies, and are preſented, all of them, without any of thoſe reſtrictions and qualifications, with which ſo wiſe and ſenſible a man muſt unqueſtionably have delivered them.

Upon the force of theſe bulls were ſent to the king, to the univerſity of Oxford, and to two biſhops, Simon Sudbury of Canterbury, and William Courtney of London, empowering them to examine into the matter of complaint, the univerſity delivering up Wickliffe, and the king aiding in the trial.—Before the bulls arrived, Edward III. died; and in the firſt parliament of Richard I. it was debated, "whether they might lawfully refuſe to ſend the treaſure out of the kingdom, after the pope required it, on pain of cenſures, &c."——The reſolution of this doubt was referred by the king and parliament to Wickliffe, (as high an honour as could be done him) and he not only declared it lawful to refuſe, but undertook to prove it ſo by the principles of the law of Chriſt.

Thus honoured and powerfully ſupported by the duke of Lancaſter, and the lord Henry Percy, earl Marſhall, who took him into their protection, Wickliffe had no great cauſe to fear the trial, to which he was ſummoned by the two prelates at St. Paul's. He came attended by the two nobles; and the concourſe of people was ſo great, that it was with ſome difficulty he and his two patrons got admittance into the church. A warm altercation enſued between the biſhop of London and the duke of Lancaſter, indecent and unſeemly on the duke's ſide eſpecially: a tumult came on, no buſineſs could be done; the court broke up, when the two noblemen carried off Wickliffe in triumph, and the mob, enraged at the duke of Lancaſter for inſulting their biſhop, plundered his palace in the Savoy.

Another bull from the pope, inſtigating the univerſity, and the biſhops to greater zeal againſt Wickliffe, occaſioned another ſummons for his appearance before the delegates at Lambeth. He appeared; when the Londoners, now on his ſide, forced themſelves into the chapel, to encourage the doctor.—Willing to give all proper ſatisfaction, he delivered in a paper, explaining the concluſions, wherewith he was charged: but that which procured him an exemption from any harſher ſentence, than that of an injunction of ſilence, (to which little regard was paid) was a meſſage from the king's mother, by Sir Lewis Clifford, to forbid them from proceeding to any definitive againſt Wickliffe. The delegates were confounded at this meſſage: and as their own hiſtorian Walſingham ſays, (who is not a little diſpleaſed with them for this timidity) "at the wind of a reed ſhaken, their ſpeech became as ſoft as oil, to the public loſs of their own dignity, and the damage of the whole church! They were ſtruck with ſuch a dread, that you would think them to be as a man that heareth not, and in whoſe mouth are no reproofs."

However, it ſeems, the fatigues which Wickliffe underwent, by attending the delegates, and in the courſe of this harraſſing affair, threw him into a dangerous fit of illneſs, on his return to Oxford. His old antagoniſts, the begging friars, ſent a ſolemn deputation to him, upon this occaſion, adviſing him to revoke the errors he had advanced and ſpread; thoſe eſpecially which tended to their prejudice: but he raiſing himſelf on his pillow, ſaid, with much vivacity,—"I ſhall not die but live, and declare the evil deeds of the friars." The deputies upon this retired in confuſion, and Wickliffe recovered to make good his promiſe.

The death of his great enemy, pope Gregory XI. in the year 1378, gave Wickliffe reſt from perſecution, and time to open the minds of men, by the diſſeminating his opinions. The ſchiſm too, which happened by the election of two popes, not only threw the church into confuſion, but afforded Wickliffe and his party a fair occaſion to ſpeak freely of the head of the church. He wrote accordingly a tract, entitled, "Of the ſchiſm of the Roman pontiffs;" and being very anxious for a publication of the ſacred ſcriptures, in the vulgar tongue, he now alſo printed his book of the truth of the ſcripture," in which he affirms, that the will of God is evidently revealed in the two Teſtaments, and contends earneſtly for a tranſlation of them. Accordingly his wiſhes were ſoon after accompliſhed: and he lived to ſee the "firſt tranſlation of the whole bible into the Engliſh language," publiſhed by himſelf, and his learned aſſociates; for which ſingle work, he deſerves ever to be held dear in the memory and eſtimation of every proteſtant.

Courtney, biſhop of London, who ſucceeded Simon Sudbury in the ſee of Canterbury, was always a great oppoſer of Wickliffe and his followers: and was preparing to proceed againſt them with all rigour. But as ſoon as the parliament met in the year 1382, Wickliffe preſented his appeal to the king and both houſes.— And it ſhould ſeem, as if he met with powerful ſupport and protection; for ſpite of all the enmity and virulence which were exerted againſt this heroic confeſſor, we do not find, that his enemies were able to prevail againſt him. Anne of Luxemburg, whom the king married in the year 1382, became a great patroneſs of him and his doctrines: ſome of which, though a court appointed by Courtney, condemned as heretical and erroneous,—and who can wonder at this?—yet they were never able to harm his perſon: power for the impriſonment and burning of heretics not yet being given to the church, independent of the crown.

It doth not appear that Wickliffe had any thoughts of ſeparating from the Romiſh church entirely; he appears only to have wiſhed for a reformation of many groſs and grievous abuſes then prevailing, and for a demolition of the abſolute and ſpiritual tyranny then exerciſed by the pope and his numerous adherents of monks, friars, &c. For we find, that after his retirement from his profeſſorſhip at Oxford, to his living at Lutterworth, he exerciſed the duties of his function in the regular way. He had a ſtroke of the palſy (a diſeaſe frequently occaſioned by great fatigues and anxiety of mind) in the year 1384, when the pope cited him to appear at Rome. He returned a letter of excuſe to his holineſs, and tells him in it, that "Chriſt taught him more obeiſhe (obedience) to God than man." His enemies were ſenſible that this diſtemper would ſoon put a period to his life, and therefore they permitted him to ſpend the remainder of his days in tranquillity, after he had been many years expoſed to continual danger. He was ſeized with another violent fit of the palſy on Innocents-day, in the year 1384, as he was hearing maſs in his church of Lutterworth, when he fell down, never recovered his ſpeech, and ſoon expired in the ſixtieth year of his age.

He wrote and left behind him many pieces; uncouth indeed to our ears, but elegant and well wrote for thoſe times, and far ſuperior to the cenſure which M. Voltaire ſuperficially throws upon them. Many of theſe are found in different libraries; and their utility is ſufficiently proved by the ſtrict injunction given by the prieſts, that no man ſhould read them—and by the excommunication, which the pope threatened, againſt thoſe who ſhould even keep any of them in their poſſeſſion. He is ſaid to have written two hundred volumes, beſides his tranſlation of the Bible, a fair copy of which is now in Queen's College library, Oxford, and two more in the univerſity library. "It was done no doubt in the moſt expreſſive language of thoſe days, though harſh to our ears: as for inſtance, the 'knave' of Jeſus Chriſt, for 'ſervant,' and Philip baptized the 'gelding,' for 'eunuch:' ſo much is our language now improved."

The letters teſtimonial given by the univerſity of Oxford, and ſealed with their common ſeal, do his character more honour, than all the invidious repreſentations of his many foes do him prejudice. In theſe it is ſaid, "that his converſation from his youth to his death, was ſo praiſe-worthy and honeſt in the univerſity, that he never gave any offence, or was aſperſed with any mark of infamy or ſiniſter ſuſpicion: but that in anſwering, reading, preaching, and determining, he behaved himſelf laudably, as a valiant champion of the truth, and catholically vanquiſhed by ſentiments of holy ſcripture, all ſuch as by their wilful beggary blaſphemed the religion of Chriſt. That this doctor was not convicted of heretical pravity, or by our prelates delivered to be burnt after his burial. For God forbid, that our prelates ſhould have condemned a man of ſo great probity for an heretic, who had not his equal in all the univerſity, in his writings of logic, philoſophy, divinity, morality, and the ſpeculative ſciences."

But though our prelates condemned him not, yet the council of Conſtance ſufficiently ſhewed what ſpirit they were of, and what they would have done, by ordering his bones to be taken up and burnt, ſo many years after, and his aſhes to be thrown into the river Swift. His followers indeed, ſometimes called Wickliffites, and more frequently Lollards, felt all the weight of the civil and eccleſiaſtical arm combined to deſtroy them. It has been commonly ſuppoſed, that this name, which undoubtedly is of German original, was derived from one Walter Lollard, a German reformer. Du Pin and others aſſert this: but a late hiſtorian of much ingenuity, Moſheim, (in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, p. 589, quarto) declares, that upon the ſtricteſt enquiry, he could not be ſatisfied of the truth of this; and gives it as his opinion, that as the religious people, who were called by the name of Lollards in reproach, were remarkable for all charitable offices, particularly attending the ſick, and taking care of their funerals, when, according to the German cuſtom, hymns and pſalms were always ſung; and as upon other occaſions, they delighted eſpecially in ſpiritual ſongs and hymns,—hence they were called by way of deriſion, Lollards, or pſalm-ſingers; for he tells us, that ſuch is the direct ſignification of the word, derived from the German, *lullen*, *lollen*, *laller*, with the uſual termination 'hard.' *Lollen* or *lullen* ſignifies to ſing with a low and ſweet voice, and hence ſays he in Engliſh, the phraſe 'to lull aſleep.' Archbiſhop Chichely, in the year 1416, ſet up a kind of inquiſition in every pariſh, to diſcover and puniſh the Wickliffites; but this prevented not the growth of theſe opinions, as the preſent ſtate of the church abundantly proves: nay even in thoſe days, Kneyghton, one of their own hiſtorians, tells us, "That the number of thoſe who believed in Wickliffe's doctrine, very much increaſed; and, like ſuckers growing out of the root of a tree, were multiplied, and every-where filled the compaſs of the kingdom; inſomuch that a man could not meet two people on the road, but one of them was a diſciple of Wickliffe's.

Thoſe who are deſirous to obtain a more ſatisfactory account of this great and good man, we refer to his life, written by the Rev. Mr. Lewis, who has ſpared no pains to vindicate his memory from the aſperſions of popiſh bigots: and who has laid before the public ſeveral authentic papers, which will afford every friend to the reformed churches much ſatisfaction: while we will conclude our brief account of him with the juſt eulogy, which the able and learned Mr. Wharton long ſince paſſed upon this diſtinguiſhed reformer. "He was a man, than whom the Chriſtian church in theſe laſt days, has not produced a greater: and who ſeems to have been placed as much above praiſe, as he is above envy."

CHAP. IV.

MARY I.

Steps which the duke of Northumberland took after the death of Edward—Endeavours in vain to get the princeſſes Mary and Elizabeth into his power—Publiſhes the late king's will, and cauſes the lady Jane Gray, to be proclaimed—Conduct of queen Mary at this critical conjuncture—She is acknowledged and proclaimed queen—Northumberland, his diſſimulation and meanneſs—Is brought to trial, condemned and executed—The catholic religion reſtored—The queen's marriage with Philip—Inſurrections—Lady Jane Gray, and her huſband, lord Dudley, executed—A violent perſecution of the proteſtants—The old ſanguinary laws againſt heretics revived—A great number of martyrs ſupport their puniſhment with invincible fortitude—The chief inſtruments of theſe cruel perſecutions—Mary's extortions—A war with France—The battle of St. Quintin, and the loſs of Calais—Diſcontents in England—Affairs in Scotland—Death and character of queen Mary.

A. D. 1553. MARY I. was conſidered by the people in general as the legal ſucceſſor of Edward. The proteſtants, indeed, dreaded the effects of her prejudices; but the univerſal hatred againſt the Dudleys, who it was foreſeen, would be the real ſovereigns, was more than ſufficient to counterbalance, even with that party, their regard to every other conſideration. Mary was known to be a bigotted catholic; but Henry VIII. having reſtored his daughters to the right of ſucceſſion, her title to the crown admitted of no diſpute. However, the ambition of Northumberland was not to be reſtrained. As he knew it would be impoſſible to execute Edward's will, without getting the princeſſes Mary and Elizabeth into his power, he ſent them orders in the king's name, whoſe death he had concealed for ſome days, to come to court, under pretence, that the king's ill ſtate of health made him deſire the conſolation of their company and advice. In conſequence of this invitation, the lady Mary had already reached Hoddeſdon, within half a day's journey to the capital, when ſhe received a private meſſage from the earl of Arundel, informing her of her brother's death, and Northumberland's deſigns; upon which ſhe inſtantly returned back, and, by quick journies,

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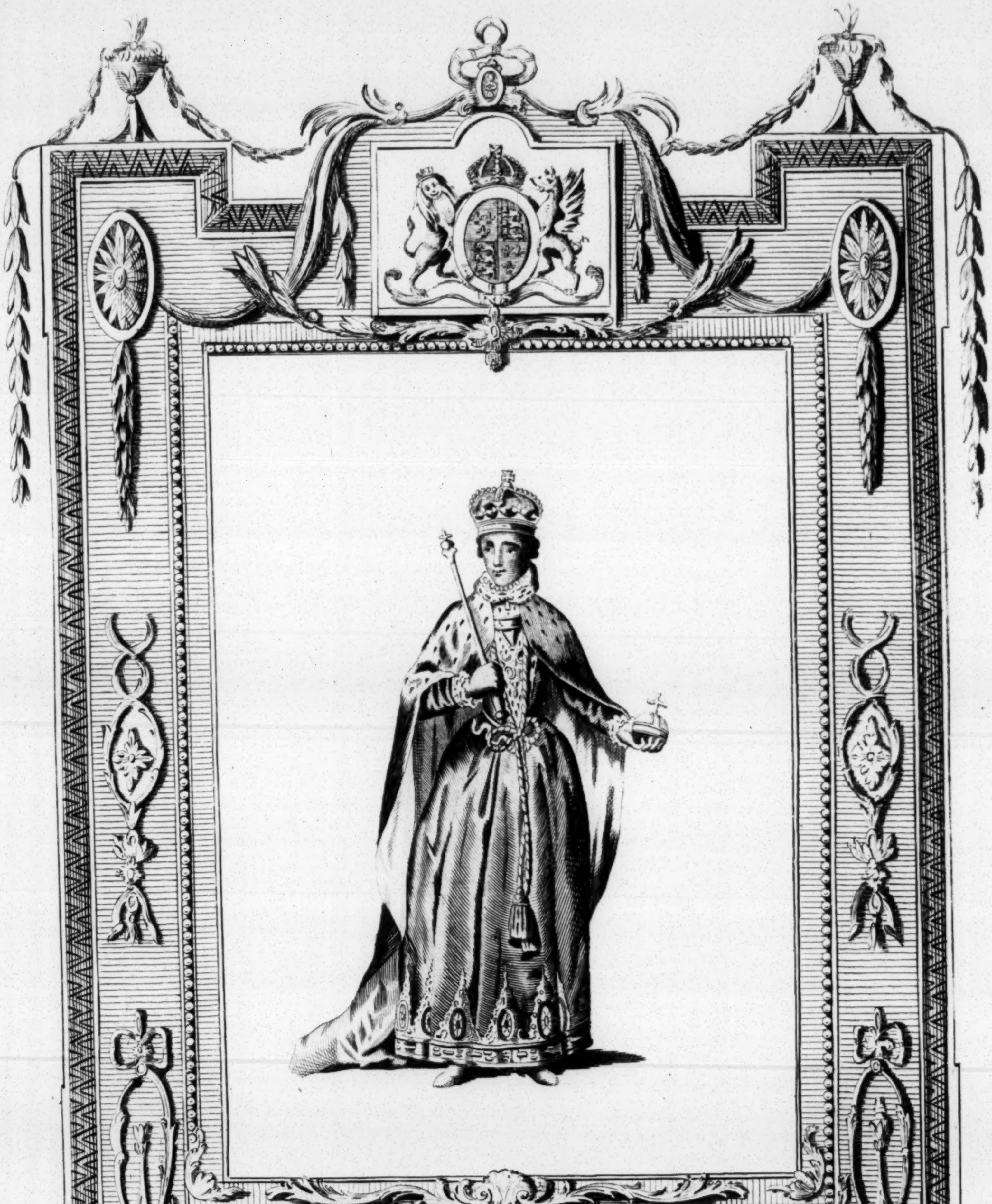

MARY I.

Wale delin. Goldar sculp.

In whose Reign *the* Protestants *were so* cruelly Burnt *and* Persecuted.

She was Proclaimed July 19. 1553 — & Died Novr. 17. 1558.

BRITISH 290062 MUSEUM

arrived firſt at Kenning-hall in Norfolk, then at Framlingham, in the county of Suffolk; whence ſhe wrote circular letters to the nobility and gentry, reminding them of her right, requiring them to aſſiſt her in defence of her perſon, and commanding them to proclaim her without delay. Northumberland finding it in vain to diſſemble any longer, repaired to Sion-houſe, attended by the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Pembroke, and others of the nobility, to intimate to lady Jane Gray her acceſſion to the throne, by virtue of an act of ſettlement. This lady was no ſooner made acquainted with the deſign of their viſit, than ſhe burſt into a flood of tears, and, overwhelmed with grief, appeared quite inconſolable. Inſenſible of the flattering allurements of ambition, ſhocked at the very idea of poſſeſſing a crown, ſhe refuſed to accept of it: expreſſing her dread of the conſequences attending ſo dangerous an enterprize; the preferable right of the two princeſſes; and begging to be permitted to remain in a private ſtation. At laſt, overcome by the perſuaſions of her father, and above all of her huſband, ſhe was prevailed on to relinquiſh her own judgment, and ſubmit to their will. The next day ſhe was conveyed to the Tower, according to a cuſtom which then prevailed, and had been long uſual for the Engliſh monarchs to paſs a few days after their acceſſion in that fortreſs. The council immediately gave orders to proclaim lady Jane throughout the kingdom; but theſe orders were obeyed only in London and its environs, on the tenth of July, and the people were ſo aſtoniſhed at the excluſion of Henry's two daughters, and ſo averſe to Northumberland, the deſtructive foe of their favourite Somerſet, that they expreſſed neither joy nor exultation at this event. This odium was increaſed by the behaviour of the duke, who ordered one Pot, a vintner's apprentice, who had uttered ſome ſarcaſtic expreſſions relative to the ſucceſſion, to be deprived of his ears, and expoſed on the pillory for his inſolence. The proteſtant divines, who were employed to convince the people of Jane's title, found their eloquence fruitleſs; and even Ridley, biſhop of London, who preached a ſermon on that ſubject, produced no effect on his audience. Meanwhile, Mary exerted herſelf with great activity, to oppoſe the deſigns of Northumberland. She was joined by numbers of the nobility and gentry, particularly, by the earls of Bath and Suſſex, Sir Thomas Mordaunt, Sir John Wharton, Sir William Drury, Sir Henry Bedingfield, and the lord Thomas Howard, ſon to the duke of Norfolk. Sir Edward Haſtings, brother to the earl of Huntingdon, having been ordered to levy troops for the ſervice of lady Jane, deſerted to Mary, at the head of four thouſand men. Even the fleet which had been ſent by Northumberland to cruiſe on the coaſt of Suffolk, in order to prevent either the eſcape of Mary, or the landing of foreign forces to her aſſiſtance, ſubmitted to that princeſs. Theſe friends being informed, that the duke of Northumberland was in full march againſt them, adviſed the princeſs to retire into another country. But this advice was needleſs; for the duke inſtead of marching againſt the enemy, loitered away ſeveral days in the neighbourhood of Cambridge, and wrote in the moſt preſſing terms to the council for a reinforcement. Accordingly they offered advantageous terms to every volunteer, who would enliſt in the ſervice; but as the duke was generally deteſted, very few would engage; while the people flocked to the banners of Mary, and maintained themſelves at their own expence; ſo that, in a ſhort time, her army amounted to forty thouſand men. The departure of the duke of Northumberland afforded the counſellors an opportunity of leaving the Tower, where they had been in ſome meaſure priſoners. They aſſembled at Baynard's caſtle, a houſe belonging to the earl of Pembroke, and invited thither all the noblemen whom they conceived to be well affected to Mary. A conſiderable number attended; and the conference was opened by the earl of Arundel, who inveighed againſt the cruelty and injuſtice of Northumberland, in the ſtrongeſt terms; and concluded with moving, that they ſhould return immediately to their duty and allegiance, by proclaiming Mary queen, as the only method they could now take to preſerve the tranquillity of the ſtate, and recover their honour.

This motion was ſeconded by the earl of Pembroke, who laying his hand on his ſword, ſwore he was ready to anſwer any man who ſhould oppoſe ſo ſalutary a meaſure. But the majority expreſſed their approbation of the propoſal. The lord mayor and aldermen were ordered to attend: then mounting their horſes, they rode to the croſs in Cheapſide, where, on the nineteenth of July, Mary was proclaimed queen of England. The ſame ceremony was performed in all the principal ſtreets of London: *Te Deum* was ſung in the cathedral of St. Paul's; and this unexpected event celebrated with great rejoicings by the populace. Even the duke of Suffolk, lady Jane's father, who commanded in the Tower, finding it would be in vain to reſiſt, ſurrendered that fortreſs; and lady Jane herſelf, after wearing the vain pageantry of a crown during ten days, returned to a private life, with much more ſatisfaction than ſhe felt when royalty was tendered to her. Northumberland, deſerted by his troops, and deſpairing of ſucceſs made a merit of neceſſity; and finding it impoſſible to eſcape out of the kingdom, he was the firſt, when queen Mary was proclaimed at Cambridge, to throw up his cap, as a token of his loyalty and ſubmiſſion. But this diſſimulation was of no ſervice to him. Mary knew the duke to be an inveterate enemy to her family, and that his expreſſions of loyalty were only the effects of fear. She therefore ſent the earl of Arundel to arreſt that ambitious nobleman. The haughty Northumberland now loſt both his hopes and his courage. Arundel had no ſooner informed him of the purport of his viſit, than he fell at his feet, and in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner, begged for his life. This abject behaviour, ſo peculiar to fallen inſolence, excited the contempt, rather than the pity of Arundel. He told the duke, the queen's orders muſt be obeyed, and Northumberland, together with two of his ſons, and his principal accomplices, were ſent to London, and committed to the Tower. The duke of Suffolk, lady Jane Gray, lord Guildford Dudley, the marquis of Northampton, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir John Gates, were alſo taken into cuſtody, and ſhared the ſame fate. But the queen being deſirous of acquiring popularity in the beginning of her reign, by an appearance of clemency, pardoned moſt of them, and even reſtored Suffolk to liberty. All oppoſition being thus deſtroyed, Mary, attended by vaſt numbers of people, and a long train of courtiers, ſet out from Framlingham for London, where ſhe was met by the princeſs Elizabeth, with a body of two thouſand men. The queen made a very pompous entry into London, and proceeding immediately to the Tower, where the duke of Norfolk, who had been detained priſoner ever ſince the death of her father; Courtney, ſon to the marquis of Exeter, who, without having been charged with any crime, had been ſubject to the ſame puniſhment, ever ſince his father's attainder; the three prelates, Gardiner, Tunſtal, and Bonner, who had been confined for their adherence to the catholic religion, appeared before her, and implored her protection. She embraced them all in the moſt affectionate manner, ſaying to the conſtable of the Tower, "theſe are my priſoners," and ordered them inſtantly to be ſet at liberty. The prelates were reſtored to their ſees; Courtney was created Earl of Devonſhire, and Gardiner made lord high chancellor of England.

The heinouſneſs of Northumberland's offence, in the queen's judgment, could not admit of any lenity. When brought to his trial in Weſtminſter-hall, he deſired permiſſion to aſk the peers two queſtions;—Whether a man could be guilty of treaſon for obeying orders of the council, under the great ſeal? And whether thoſe who were at leaſt equally guilty, could ſit as his judges?—The duke of Norfolk, who ſat as high ſteward, anſwered, that the great ſeal of an uſurper was no authority; and the perſons alluded to, not lying under any ſentence of attainder, were ſtill innocent in the eye of the law, and capable of ſitting on any trial. From this laſt anſwer, ſo contrary to common ſenſe, the duke foreſaw, that any objection he could make would be over-ruled: he therefore pleaded guilty to the indictment, and reſted upon her majeſty's mercy. At his execution, the duke confeſſed, that he had always been a Roman catholic in his heart, and expreſſed great compunction of mind for having plundered the effects of the church, eſpecially as he was rendered incapable of making reſtitution. Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir John Gates ſuffered with him; but the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Warwick, who were alſo condemned, obtained a reprieve, and were afterwards pardoned. But this ſhew of clemency in the queen, and her other popular acts, did not prevent the proteſtants from being agitated on account of the reformation, to which the bulk of the nation were inclined; for notwithſtanding her promiſe to continue the form of religion eſtabliſhed by Edward, they plainly perceived, ſhe intended its abolition. She granted indeed a kind of general amneſty, and remitted the ſubſidy voted to the late king: but theſe were fallacious appearances, ſoon followed by all the rigours of tyranny. After having ſecured the perſons of thoſe from whom ſhe expected the greateſt oppoſition, her next ſtep was to conſult with her friends the beſt method of extirpating the proteſtant religion; and ſuch was her haſty zeal to effect this, that had it not been for the counſels of Charles V. and biſhop Gardiner, ſhe had ſent for cardinal Pole, as legate, to reconcile England to the biſhop of Rome. But they both diſapproving a ſtep of ſuch dangerous tendency, the queen was, with great reluctance, prevailed upon to ſuſpend her reſolution for the preſent, and to content herſelf in publiſhing liberty of conſcience in affairs of religion. However, the proteſtants were alarmed; and their fears were ſoon confirmed by the confidence of the catholics, who made no ſcruple of inveighing, in the moſt bitter terms, againſt the profeſſors of the reformed religion. Bourne, one of the chaplains of biſhop Bonner, in a ſermon, preached before that prelate at St. Paul's, uſed the moſt indecent invectives againſt Edward's adminiſtration, particularly with regard to the reformation; by which a tumult was excited among the audience. Some reproached him in the harſheſt terms; others pelted him with ſtones; one threw a dagger, which narrowly miſſed him; and he would probably have been torn in pieces, had not Bradford and Rogers, two eminent proteſtant miniſters, interpoſed, and conveyed him, by a private door, out of the church. Such a glaring proof of the peoples diſlike to popery, inſtead of being a caution to adminiſtration, had a contrary effect, and induced them to have recourſe to violent meaſures.

This reign had not yet been ſtained with any ſanguinary act; but it was now thought neceſſary to open the ſluices of eccleſiaſtical ſeverity, which ſoon deluged the land with blood. Under pretence of diſcouraging diſputes, Mary began with ſilencing all preachers throughout England, except ſuch as had obtained a particular licence; and thoſe of the Romiſh religion only were favoured with this privilege. Bradford, one of the two proteſtant miniſters, who had reſcued Bourne in the late tumult, was committed to priſon, and his companion, Rogers, was confined to his own houſe. Judge Hales, who alone, of all his brethren, had refuſed to ſign the inſtrument which transferred the crown to lady Jane, was ſent to priſon, where he was treated with ſuch ſeverity that he was ſeized with a frenzy, and put an end to his own life. Sir Edward Montague, who was alſo a proteſtant, was deprived of his office, and fined a thouſand pounds, for having aſſiſted in drawing up the ſettlement of the crown in favour of lady Jane. Hooper, biſhop of Glouceſter, and Ferrar, biſhop of St. David's, were impriſoned, for preſuming to preach without a licence from Gardiner; Coverdale, biſhop of Exeter, was alſo confined to his own houſe, for the ſame crime. Peter Martyr, profeſſor of divinity at Oxford, ſuffered ſo many indignities and inſults, that he was obliged to leave his chair, and retire for protection to the archbiſhop's palace at Lambeth. Some zealous catholics moved, that he might be committed to priſon; but Gardiner effectually oppoſed their attempts, and generouſly ſupplied him with money for his journey.

Though Cranmer had employed with ſucceſs his good offices, in abating the prejudices which Henry VIII. had entertained againſt his daughter Mary, yet the activity with which he had ſupported her mother's divorce, and carried on the reformation, had rendered him the object of her hatred; and though Gardiner had been no leſs forward in promoting and defending the divorce, he had ſufficiently atoned for it, by his ſufferings in defence of the Romiſh religion. The primate had, therefore, little reaſon to expect favour during the preſent reign; and his honeſt zeal ſoon involved him in perſecution. A report prevailing, that Cranmer had promiſed to officiate in the Latin ſervice, in order to pay his court to the queen, he publiſhed a tract, with a deſign to wipe off this aſperſion; in which, among other things, he ſaid, That as the devil was a liar from the beginning, he had ſtirred up his ſervants to perſecute Chriſt and his true religion; and now endeavoured to reſtore the Latin ſatisfactory maſſes, a thing of his own invention, by falſely making uſe of Cranmer's name and authority; and that the maſs is neither founded on the ſcriptures, nor on the practice of the primitive church; but diſcovers a plain contradiction to antiquity and the inſpired writings, and is replete with many horrid blaſphemies. On the publication of this inflammatory paper, Cranmer was caſt into priſon; and being tried for concurring with lady Jane, and oppoſing the queen's acceſſion, was ſentenced to ſuffer death for high treaſon; but Providence had reſerved him for a more ſevere trial. Mary ſhould have remembered that Cranmer had done her many good offices with her father; it was owing to his interpoſition, that the ſevere prejudices that monarch had entertained againſt her were mitigated; but being the perſon who pronounced her mother's divorce, and the author of the eſtabliſhment of the reformation in England, he became the object of her inveterate hatred. The impriſonment of the primate was followed by that of biſhop Latimer; nor was there hardly a biſhop, or even a preacher, who had ſignalized himſelf in eſtabliſhing the tenets of the reformation, and did either recant, or fly beyond ſeas, that eſcaped either deprivation or impriſonment. John a Laſco, a Pruſſian nobleman and miniſter of the German proteſtant church in Auſtin Friars, with all other reformed preachers, who were foreigners, were baniſhed the kingdom. Many Engliſh proteſtants alſo followed them, and every thing bore a melancholy aſpect.

A parliament being ſummoned to meet on the fifth of October, the court gave ſuch candidates the preference, who were willing to favour their deſigns; and it ſoon appeared, that the majority of the commons were devoted to their ſervice; while the peers, being from intereſt or expectation attached to the court, little oppoſition was expected from them. On the firſt of October, Mary was crowned by the biſhop of Wincheſter; and at the ſame time publiſhed an amneſty, from the benefit of which, however, all thoſe who had been arreſted before the month of September, and many others, were nominally excluded. On the opening of the ſeſſion, the parliament ſhewed a contempt of the laws, by celebrating, in the Latin tongue, a maſs of the Holy Ghoſt, though it had been aboliſhed by act of parliament; when Taylor, biſhop of Lincoln, and Dr. Harley, biſhop of Hereford, refuſing to kneel, were thruſt by violence out of the houſe. The only ſtatutes enacted in this ſhort ſeſſion were, an act to limit all treaſons to the caſes ſpecified in a former act on the ſame ſubject in the reign of Edward III. and another to repeal the act of attainder paſſed againſt the marchioneſs of Exeter, whoſe ſon, the earl of Devonſhire, was now re-eſtabliſhed in all the honours of his family. In the enſuing ſeſſion an act paſſed for reverſing the ſentence of divorce between Henry VIII. and Catharine of Arragon, for repealing all the ſtatutes by which that ſentence had been confirmed. By this act the princeſs Elizabeth was again declared illegitimate; and Mary, having no further occaſion for her aſſiſtance, treated her with indignity and cruelty. An act alſo paſſed for aboliſhing all laws which Edward had made touching religion; and prohibiting all forms of worſhip, except thoſe uſed at the cloſe of Henry's reign. Another ſtatute annexed rigorous penalties to the abuſe of eccleſiaſtics, the prophanation of the euchariſt, and pulling down the crucifixes or images. The parliament then renewed an act of the late reign, making it felony for twelve perſons, or any greater number, to aſſemble with a view of changing the eſtabliſhed religion; and repealed the act of attainder againſt the duke of Norfolk.

Mary, after her acceſſion, is ſaid to have deliberated upon three marriages that were propoſed to her. Courtney, earl of Devonſhire, having an engaging perſon, accompanied with a pleaſing addreſs, gained the queen's affections, and hints were dropped of her not being averſe to him; but, neglecting theſe overtures, he attached himſelf to the lady Elizabeth, whoſe youth and agreeable converſation, he preferred to all her ſiſter's power and grandeur. This occaſioned a great coldneſs between Mary and Devonſhire, and made her break out into a declared animoſity againſt Elizabeth, that knew no bounds. Another party propoſed to the queen was cardinal Pole; for he had never taken prieſt's orders, and there appeared many reaſons to induce her to make choice of him: but the cardinal being in the decline of life, and accuſtomed to retirement, was repreſented as unqualified for the buſtle of a court, and the hurry of buſineſs. The queen then caſt her eye towards the emperor's family, from which her mother was deſcended. Charles V. had no ſooner heard of the death of Edward, than he reſolved to acquire the crown of England for his family. His ſon Philip was a widower, and eleven years younger than the queen; yet he imagined this objection would be overlooked, and there was no reaſon to deſpair of her having a numerous iſſue. Charles immediately ſent to inform Mary of his intentions. She being pleaſed with ſo powerful an alliance, and glad to unite herſelf more cloſely to her mother's family, to which ſhe was always ſtrongly attached, willingly embraced the propoſal. Norfolk, Arundel, and Paget adviſed her to conſent; and Gardiner, who was both prime-miniſter and chancellor, conſented to the propoſal. He at the ſame time repreſented both to her and the emperor, the neceſſity of putting a ſtop to the perſecution of the proteſtants, till the nuptials were compleated, which being once over, would give authority to the queen's meaſures, and afterwards enable her to proceed in the work; and obſerved, that it was neceſſary to reconcile the Engliſh to the marriage, by rendering the conditions ſuch as would ſeemingly enſure their independence, and the enjoyment of their antient privileges. But Mary's intention of eſpouſing Philip becoming generally known, the commons were alarmed at hearing that ſhe was reſolved to contract a foreign alliance, and therefore ſent a committee to remonſtrate againſt it in the ſtrongeſt terms. Upon which ſhe diſſolved the parliament. After the diſſolution of this body, and that of the convocation, the queen, puſhed forward by her zeal, forgot the moderate meaſures propoſed as the line of her conduct. She cauſed the new ſtatutes to be carried into execution with the utmoſt rigour. The maſs was univerſally reſtored. Celibacy was exacted of the prieſthood; and numbers of the clergy were deprived of their benefices, for having availed themſelves of the indulgencies of their late beloved monarch. A viſitation was appointed in order to reſtore more perfectly the antient rites; and the viſitors were enjoined to forbid the oath of ſupremacy from being taken by the clergy on their promotion to any benefice, notwithſtanding the laws of Henry VIII. were ſtill in force.

A. D. 1554.

Charles, in the beginning of this year, ſent over the count of Egmont, at the head of a ſplendid embaſſy, to adjuſt the marriage articles; and Gardiner was appointed to act in behalf of the queen. The treaty was at length concluded on the following terms: that though Philip ſhould enjoy the title of king, the adminiſtraaion ſhould be lodged in the hands of the queen; that no foreigner ſhould be capable of holding any dignified poſt in the kingdom; that no change ſhould be made in the Engliſh laws, cuſtoms, and privileges; that Philip ſhould not carry the queen abroad without her conſent; or any of her children, without the conſent of the nobility; that her jointure ſhould amount to ſixty thouſand pounds a year; that the male iſſue of this marriage ſhould enjoy England, together with Burgundy and the Low Countries; and that if Don Carlos, Philip's ſon by his former marriage, ſhould die, and his line become extinct, the queen's iſſue, whether male or female, ſhould ſucceed to Spain, Milan, Sicily, and all the other dominions of Philip. This marriage was univerſally diſliked by the Engliſh. They diſtruſted, with reaſon, the artful emperor, and ſtill more his ſon, who was equally inclined to ſuperſtition and bigotry. Complaints being diffuſed through the nation, the people ſeemed determined to maintain their independence, or periſh in the attempt. Sir Thomas Wyat, a gentleman conſiderable on account of his ample fortune, and more ſo by the opinion the people entertained of his virtues, engaged to arm the Kentiſh men; Sir Peter Carew undertook to aſſemble the inhabitants of Devonſhire; and they perſuaded the duke of Suffolk, by the hopes of reſtoring lady Jane to the throne, to attempt to raiſe the midland counties. Carew, prompted either by his impetuoſity or apprehenſions, roſe in arms before the time appointed; but his troops were ſoon diſperſed by the earl of Bedford, and he himſelf was forced to take refuge in France. Suffolk, informed of the fate of this confederate, and dreading an arreſt, quitted the town, attended by his brothers the lords Thomas and Leonard Gray, and attempted to raiſe the people in the counties

counties of Warwick and Leiceſter, where his chief intereſt lay; but he was ſo hotly purſued by the earl of Huntingdon at the head of three hundred horſe, that he was obliged to diſmiſs his followers; and being diſcovered in his retreat, was ſeized and conducted to London. Wyat was at firſt ſucceſsful, and ſeemed to threaten more fatal conſequences. Having publiſhed a declaration at Maidſtone in Kent, againſt the queen's unjuſt proceedings, and the danger of being enſlaved by a Spaniard, the people flocked to his ſtandard in great numbers. The duke of Norfolk, with Sir Henry Jernegan, were detached againſt them, at the head of the queen's guards, with five hundred of the city trained bands, commanded by one Bret; and they overtook the Rebels at Rocheſter, where they had fixed their head-quarters. Upon Norfolk's approach, Sir George Harper pretended to deſert from the inſurgents; but having previouſly ſecured the intereſt of Bret, theſe two perſons repreſented the deſigns of the court in ſuch odious colours, that the whole body of Londoners went over to the rebels, and Norfolk was obliged to make a precipitate retreat, leaving behind him his baggage, and eight pieces of braſs cannon. Wyat, encouraged by this reinforcement, and relying on the favour of the people, eſpecially of the Londoners, who were moſtly proteſtants, reſolved to proceed on his enterprize; and accordingly led his troops to Southwark, where he demanded of the queen that ſhe ſhould put him in poſſeſſion of the Tower, deliver four counſellors as hoſtages, and in order to inſure the liberty of the nation, immediately eſpouſe an Engliſhman. Finding that the bridge was barricadoed againſt him, and that the city was overawed by the regular troops, he marched up to Kingſton, where he croſſed the river with four thouſand men, hoping to animate his friends, who had promiſed to declare in his favour. But he had imprudently ſpent ſo much time in Southwark to no purpoſe, that his popularity began to wane; and though he entered Weſtminſter without oppoſition, his followers finding that no perſon of note eſpouſed his cauſe, gradually diſperſed, and Wyat was at length taken priſoner near Temple-bar by Sir Maurice Berkley. About ſeventy perſons ſuffered for this inſurrection; and four hundred falling on their knees, obtained pardon, and were diſmiſſed. Wyat was condemned and executed. As it had been reported, that at his trial he had impeached the lady Elizabeth, and the earl of Devonſhire, he ſolemnly declared to the ſpectators preſent at his execution, that they had no concern whatever in his rebellion. Mary, deſirous of effecting the ruin of her ſiſter, reſolved to embrace the opportunity of this inſurrection to accompliſh her wicked deſign; and hoping to find againſt that princeſs ſome appearance of guilt, ſhe ordered her to be conducted to London under a ſtrong guard, there to be impriſoned and ſtrictly examined by the council; but this ſcheme not anſwering according to her cruel intention, a marriage was projected between Elizabeth and the duke of Savoy; and when this propoſal was rejected by the princeſs, ſhe was again confined at Woodſtock. The earl of Devonſhire, equally innocent, was committed priſoner to Fotheringay caſtle.

Lady Jane Gray, and her huſband lord Guilford Dudley, had languiſhed in priſon ever ſince the queen's acceſſion; and it was now determined to finiſh the diſmal tragedy. A meſſage was ſent to the lady Jane, deſiring her to prepare for immediate death; which doom ſhe had long expected, and therefore heard it pronounced without much perturbation. The bigotted queen, under pretence of compaſſion for her ſoul, ſent her two divines, who harraſſed her with diſputations, inſtead of adminiſtering any real comfort: yet that amiable lady, even under theſe ſad and mournful circumſtances, had preſence of mind, not only to defend her religion, but alſo to write a letter to her ſiſter Catharine in the Greek language; in which, ſending her at the ſame time a copy of the New Teſtament in that tongue, ſhe exhorted her to maintain an unſhaken perſeverance in the profeſſion ſhe had avowed. It had been propoſed to execute lady Jane and lord Guilford together, on the ſame ſcaffold; but the council, to prevent any diſturbance that ſuch an affecting ſcene might be ſuppoſed to excite among the people, gave orders, that lord Guilford ſhould be beheaded within the verge of the Tower. She viewed her huſband as he went to execution, and even ſaw his headleſs trunk brought back in a cart, to be interred in the chapel. In about two hours after his death, ſhe herſelf ſuffered within the fortreſs. The lieutenant of the Tower requeſting ſhe would favour him with ſome memorial, ſhe gave him her table-book, wherein ſhe had written three ſhort ſentences in the Greek, Latin, and Engliſh languages, declaring her innocence. When brought to the ſcaffold, ſhe turned to the ſpectators, moſt of whom were diſſolved in tears, and obſerved, that innocence was no excuſe for facts or circumſtances that tended to the prejudice of the ſtate. Having ſpent ſome time in devotion, ſhe cauſed herſelf to be diſrobed by her women, and with the utmoſt tranquillity ſubmitted to the fatal ſtroke. Thus, by the ambition of her family, was this lovely flower cropt before its beauties were expanded in full luſtre; for at the time of her death ſhe had not attained the ſeventeenth year of her age. She was a lady of an elegant perſon, an engaging temper, and of a moſt accompliſhed mind. Being of the ſame age with the late king, ſhe had been educated with him, and was well acquainted with the Roman and Greek languages, beſides the modern tongues. She had ſpent moſt of her time in a ſtudious application to learning, ſhewing great indifference to the uſual amuſements of her ſex and ſtation. Roger Aſcham, lady Elizabeth's tutor, one day paying her a viſit, found her reading Plato, while the reſt of the family were engaged in a party hunting in the park; and on his expreſſing admiration at the ſingularity of her choice, ſhe obſerved, that Plato afforded her more real pleaſure, than others could reap from all their gaiety and ſports. While her mind was poſſeſſed of this fondneſs for literature, her heart was filled with tenderneſs for her huſband, who deſerved her affection. On the morning of her execution, he deſired permiſſion to ſee her, but ſhe refuſed her conſent: ſhe feared the tenderneſs of a parting interview would overcome the fortitude of both, and render them incapable of finiſhing the period of life with that conſtancy which was neceſſary in their melancholy circumſtances. "Our ſeparation, ſaid ſhe, will only be for a moment; we ſhall ſoon rejoin each other in the regions above, where our affections will be for ever united, and where the ſtorms of adverſity, and even death itſelf, can never afflict us more." Being informed that he met death with great compoſure, ſhe expreſſed an eagerneſs to follow him, and with her departed that beauty, ſpirit, ſenſe and virtue, with which ſhe honoured her country, and which can never be forgot by every faithful hiſtorian. Her fate drew a flood of tears from the eyes of all ſpectators, and even of thoſe who were moſt zealouſly attached to queen Mary. Soon after the death of this innocent victim, the duke of Suffolk was tried, condemned, and executed. He would have been more pitied had not his daughter's untimely fate been cauſed by his temerity. Lord Thomas Gray loſt his life for the ſame crime. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was tried in Guildhall; but no ſatisfactory evidence appearing againſt him, and he making an admirable defence, the jury gave a verdict in his favour. Mary was ſo enraged at this diſappointment, that ſhe cauſed him to be ſent back to the Tower, and for ſome time kept in cloſe confinement. The jury were alſo ſummoned before the council, who ſent them all to priſon, and afterwards fined them, ſome a thouſand pounds, and others two thouſand each. This illegal violence proved fatal to thoſe who were afterwards tried; among others, to Sir John Throgmorton, brother to Sir Nicholas, who was condemned on no better evidence than that which had been before rejected. Mary now filled the priſons with all thoſe, whom the favour of the people, rather than any appearance of guilt, made the objects of her ſuſpicion. She ordered the chancellor to purge the church of eccleſiaſtics; upon which, the archbiſhop of York, with the biſhops of St. David's, Cheſter, and Briſtol, were depoſed, becauſe they had not lived in celibacy; thoſe of Lincoln, Glouceſter and Hereford, met with the ſame fate, on pretence that they had inculcated erroneous doctrines. Two thirds of the inferior clergy were deprived of their benefices, on account of their being married; and the maſs was re-eſtabliſhed in all churches, together with the liturgy uſed in the latter part of Henry's reign.

The queen, conſumed by impatience, expected her intended conſort with a degree of anxiety that affected her health. At length, on the nineteenth of July, ſhe received the grateful news, that prince Philip was landed at Southampton. Mary met the prince at Wincheſter, where the nuptials were ſolemnized with great ſplendor, by biſhop Gardiner, and the queen with her new ſpouſe made a pompous entry into London. Philip was a prince of profound diſſimulation, and maintained a reſerve very diſguſting to the Engliſh; but he brought with him an immenſe ſum of money; and, in order to acquire popularity, interceded in behalf of the princeſs Elizabeth, whom Gardiner had devoted to deſtruction. By his mediation, that princeſs, the archbiſhop of York, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, were ſet at liberty. Philip well knew that if Elizabeth fell a ſacrifice to the malevolent diſpoſition of her ſiſter, Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, and wife to the dauphin of France, was the next in order of ſucceſſion, and conſequently, that England would be united to that crown; to prevent an incident of ſuch importance, Philip affected a generoſity little conſiſtent with his real character. The only way to Philip's heart was to gratify his ambition. Mary, however, loved him for thoſe qualities that acquired him the hatred of others.

About this time, cardinal Pole arrived in England, as the pope's legate, the parliament having repealed the act, by which that prelate had been condemned in the reign of Henry VIII. On his arrival in London, he was introduced to the king and queen; after which, he exhorted the parliament to reconcile themſelves and the kingdom to the holy ſee, from which they had been ſo long unhappily divided. The parliament approved the propoſal; of which the legate being informed, he went to the houſe of peers, and after having expatiated on the pope's tender affection to the people of England, preſcribed by way of penance, that they ſhould aboliſh all the laws enacted againſt the papal authority. He then, in the name of his holineſs, abſolved them from all the cenſures that had been paſſed againſt them, and admitted them into the boſom of the church. The parliament in conſequence of this indulgence, enacted a ſtatute re-eſtabliſhing the papal dignity and juriſdiction in England, but under this reſtriction, that all alienations of church lands ſhould be authorized; and that the poſſeſſors of them ſhould not be ſubject to any cenſure, or proſecution on that account. They alſo paſſed a law, importing, that whoſoever ſhould attack any poſſeſſor of church lands, on pretence of eccleſiaſtical right, ſhould be ſubject to the penalties in the ſtatute of premunire. The laws againſt heretics were now revived; but cardinal Pole, who was a man of moderation, adviſed in council, that perſecution ſhould be avoided, and the morals of the clergy reformed; nevertheleſs the queen adhered to Gardiner's opinion. She left to Pole the care of reforming the clergy, and committed the charge of extirpating hereſy by torture and fire to Gardiner. The parliament having confirmed to the nobility the poſſeſſion of their church lands, did not heſitate to come into all the meaſures of the court; they readily ſacrificed their liberty on the altar of ſuperſtitious bigotry; and once more lighted up the piles for conſuming all who thought different from the Roman church. Such, however, was their rooted averſion to Spain, that though the queen laboured with the utmoſt difficulty to procure her huſband to be declared preſumptive heir to the crown, and to be inveſted with the adminiſtration of public affairs, ſhe failed in both attempts: ſhe could not even prevail upon the parliament to agree to his coronation, nor obtain from the commons a ſubſidy for aſſiſting the emperor in his war againſt France.

A. D. 1555.

It was now determined to execute the laws againſt hereſy in their full force; and England was ſoon filled with ſcenes of horror, which has ever ſince rendered the catholic religion (if a mixture of judaiſm, paganiſm, and Chriſtianity may be ſo called) an object of general deteſtation. We could wiſh for the honour of popery and humanity, that the mantle of oblivion could be drawn over theſe deteſtable actions; but the pen of hiſtory muſt not diſſemble the exceſſes and dreadful conſequences of bigotted zeal. The horrid inhuman ſcenes, which muſt be diſplayed, are awful monitors to perſecuting bigots of every communion, and furniſh an important, though melancholy leſſon to all mankind. The firſt victim of falſe zeal was Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's, who was committed to the flames in Smithfield. He had deſired to ſee his wife before he died; but Gardiner, adding inſult to cruelty, told him, that he was a prieſt, and could not poſſibly have a wife. Hooper, biſhop of Glouceſter, was tried at the ſame time with Rogers, but was ſent to be executed at Glouceſter. Saunders was burned at Coventry. He rejected a pardon that was offered him, and embracing the ſtake, cried, "Welcome the croſs of Chriſt: welcome everlaſting life." Doctor Taylor, vicar of Hadley, ſuffered in the ſame place, ſurrounded by his friends and pariſhioners. Philpot ſealed the truth with his blood in Smithfield. Gardiner, who had expected that the reformers would be ſtruck with terror by a few examples, finding his miſtake, and that the work grew under his hands, devolved the laborious office on others, particularly on Bonner, a man of profligate manners, and of a brutal diſpoſition, who appeared to rejoice in the torments he inflicted on unhappy ſufferers. He ſometimes whipped the priſoners with his own hands till he was tired: he tore off the beard of a weaver, who refuſed to recant; and to give a ſpecimen of burning, held his hand in the flame of a candle, till the ſinews and veins ſhrunk and burſt. It would be to little purpoſe to enumerate all the horrid cruelties practiſed in England, during the three years that theſe perſecutions laſted. However, a few inſtances more may be worth recording, to warn zealous bigots of every denomination, to keep at the greateſt diſtance from ſuch odious and fruitleſs acts of inhumanity. Ridley, biſhop of London, and Latimer, who had been biſhop of Worceſter, were celebrated for their learning and piety. Theſe died together at Oxford, in the ſame flames, and ſupported each others conſtancy, by their mutual exhortations. Cranmer had been long confined in priſon, and was led from thence to the ſtake, amidſt the inſults of ignorant papiſts, and bore their ſcorn, as well as the torture of his puniſhment with ſingular fortitude. One Hunter, an apprentice of nineteen years of age, having been drawn by a prieſt into a diſpute, in which he unwarily denied the real preſence, was ſo ſenſible of his danger, that he immediately concealed himſelf; but Bonner ſeizing his father, threatened him with the greateſt ſeverities if he did not produce the young man, that he might be brought to his trial. Hunter, hearing of the troubles to which his father was expoſed, delivered himſelf up voluntarily to Bonner, and was condemned by that inhuman monſter to the flames. One Hawkes agreed with his friends, while he was conducted to the ſtake, that if he found the torture tolerable, he ſhould make them a ſignal from amidſt the flames. His zeal for the cauſe, and the raviſhing proſpect of his approaching happineſs ſo ſupported him, that he ſtretched out his arm, the ſignal agreed upon, and thus expired. Multitudes, encouraged by this example, and many others of like conſtancy, were ready to ſuffer, and even longed to obtain a martyr's crown. Even the tender ſex produced many examples of invincible courage, in maintaining the ſacred dictates of conſcience, amidſt all the fury of their perſecutors. In particular, one execution was attended with circumſtances, which even at that time excited aſtoniſhment. A woman in Guernſey being brought to the ſtake, near the time of her labour, was delivered when the faggots were lighted. One of the guards ſnatched the infant from the fire, and attempted to ſave it; but a magiſtrate ordered it to be thrown back, ſaying, he was reſolved, that nothing ſhould ſurvive which ſprang from ſo obſtinate and heretical a parent. Impolitic as theſe proceedings were in every view, repeated orders were ſent from the council to quicken the diligence of the magiſtrates in diſcovering heretics. Theſe acts of violence rendered the Spaniſh government ſtill more odious: which Philip perceiving, he endeavoured to remove the reproach from himſelf, by cauſing Alphonſo, his confeſſor, to preach a ſermon in favour of toleration, in the preſence of the court, in which he charged the biſhops with thoſe cruelties which had excited the indignation of the public; and challenged them to produce one paſſage in the ſcriptures, which authorized them to put people to death merely for matters of faith. The audience heard, with aſtoniſhment, a Spaniſh friar condemn perſecution; and the biſhops were ſo confounded, that they for ſome time ſuſpended their inhuman rage, though afterwards the flames broke out with redoubled fury. But the court finding that Bonner, however cruel and ſhameleſs, would not bear alone the whole infamy, threw off the maſk, and the queen's unrelenting temper appeared without controul. That we might not return to the ſavage cruelties of this bloody reign, we have placed in one view the principal tranſactions againſt the proteſtants, during the ſpace of three years. In which time it was computed, that two hundred and ſeventy-ſeven perſons were brought to the ſtake, beſides thoſe who were puniſhed by confiſcations, fines, and impriſonments. Among thoſe who were burned alive are included five biſhops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay gentlemen, eighty-four tradeſmen, one hundred huſbandmen, ſervants and labourers, fifty-five women, and four children. Aſtoniſhing as this cruelty appears, the number of proteſtant martyrs in other countries was much greater. Father Paul computes, that in the Netherlands alone, from the time when the edict of Charles V. was promulgated againſt the reformers, there had been fifty thouſand hanged, buried alive, or burned, on account of religion, and that the number in France was very conſiderable.

In the courſe of this year a ſplendid embaſſy was ſent to Rome, to inform his holineſs of all that had been tranſacted in the Engliſh parliament, and to make tender of ſubmiſſion to the holy ſee in the name of the king, queen, and three eſtates of England. But before their arrival, Julius III. was dead, and St. Peter's chair filled by Paul IV. a proud, haughty, inſolent eccleſiaſtic. He was ſo far from receiving the Engliſh ambaſſadors with that kindneſs they had reaſon to expect, that he refuſed to give them audience, becauſe Mary had ſtiled herſelf queen of Ireland, as well as of England; a title which neither herſelf, nor any of her predeceſſors, had received from the holy ſee. In conſequence of this, they were obliged to wait till a bull was expedited for inveſting Mary with that title, and then they were admitted to an audience. The pope appeared aſtoniſhed when the ambaſſadors expreſſed their hopes, that he would confirm to the laity the poſſeſſion of the church lands. He blamed Pole for exceeding his commiſſion; and wondered how any perſon could preſume to harbour a thought, that he would grant any confirmation to acts in themſelves iniquitous and facrilegious. He even iſſued a bull, denouncing the ſevereſt anathemas upon all who ſhould withhold from the church, or the religious orders, any part of their property. He alſo demanded Peter-pence, which had been ſo long aboliſhed. The nobility heard of theſe determinations of the pontiff without emotion: the thunder of the Vatican had loſt its force in England; a few only trembled at the threatenings of the holy father. Among theſe ignorant zealots was the queen, who, notwithſtanding the meaſures purſued at the commencement of her reign, thought herſelf obliged to give up ſuch church-lands as remained in her poſſeſſion, and to found new monaſteries till the treaſury was exhauſted. It was in vain that the council repreſented to her the intereſt of her crown; "I prefer (ſaid ſhe) the ſalvation of my ſoul to ten ſuch kingdoms as England." A kind of inquiſition was now eſtabliſhed, by appointing commiſſioners to take an exact account of all hereſies; to puniſh all neglects of the catholic worſhip in churches and chapels; to proceed againſt the clergy who did not preach the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, or uſe the holy water. The juſtices of the peace were ordered to appoint ſpies over the conduct of the people; to ſummon the accuſed, without diſcovering the accuſer, and to put to the torture ſuch obſtinate perſons who would not confeſs. Nor did the tyranny of the court terminate here; a proclamation was iſſued, commanding all who were poſſeſſed of heretical books to burn them without reading, or ſhewing them to others: and declaring that all who refuſed to pay an implicit obedience to theſe orders ſhould be deemed rebels, and executed immediately by martial law. But this iron hand of oppreſſive tyranny was diſplayed in vain: every martyrdom was more effectual than a thouſand ſermons againſt popery; and the aſhes of a ſufferer, like ſeed diſſeminated in a fertile ſoil, produced an hundred fold.

It was not long before Mary felt the effect of public hatred, excited by her malevolence and cruel diſpoſition. She had flattered herſelf with an imaginary pregnancy, and when ſhe found her miſtake, ſhe fell into a profound melancholy. The miniſtry became extremely unpopular; and Philip, diſguſted with a wife who was continually jealous, without being in any reſpect amiable, made preparations for returning to the continent. The choler which conſumed her, was diſcharged on the proteſtants, by daily enforcing the ſanguinary laws, and even by expreſſions of rage againſt all her ſubjects, by whom

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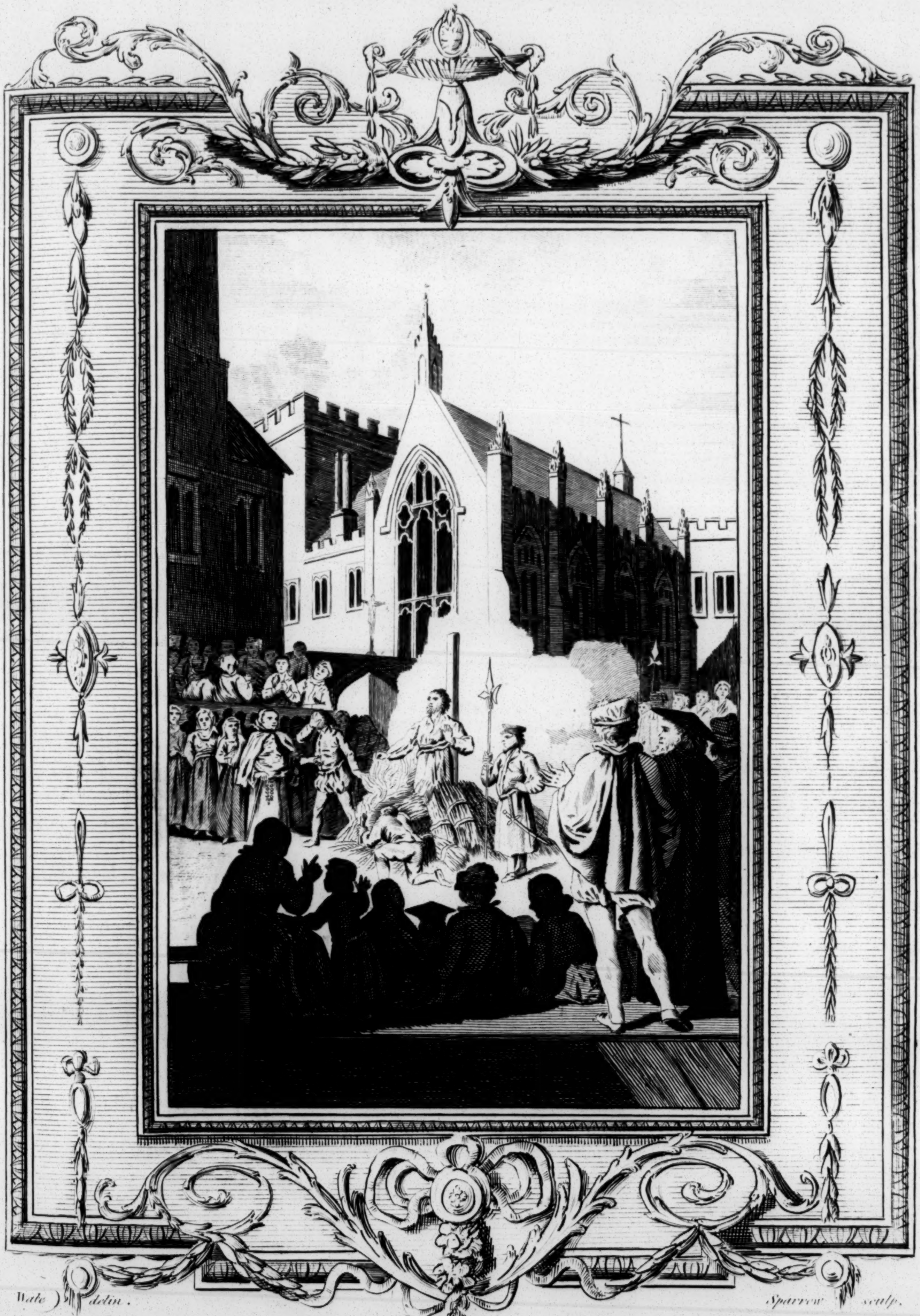

Wale delin. Sparrow sculp.

The Manner of **BURNING** Arch Bishop **CRANMER**, *at* Oxford, *in the Bloody Reign of* **QUEEN MARY**.

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ſhe knew herſelf to be hated. Philip had received an invitation from the emperor, together with a declaration of his intention of reſigning to him his dominions. He therefore took this opportunity of retiring to Flanders, and met his father at Bruſſels. The queen's love increaſed by his abſence, and ſhe ſpent the moſt of her time in ſolitude, where ſhe vented her paſſion in tears, and in writing fond epiſtles to her huſband, who ſeldom anſwered them; and when he did, would ſcarcely condeſcend to favour her with a ſingle expreſſion of love or gratitude.

On the twenty-firſt of October, the parliament met at Weſtminſter, but with viſible marks of diſcontent. A bill was paſſed for reſtoring to the church, the tenths, firſt fruits, and all the impropriations that remained in the hands of the crown; but though the queen herſelf was chiefly affected by this bill, it met with great oppoſition from the commons. An application being made to them for a ſubſidy during two years, and for two fifteenths, the latter was refuſed, many of the members objecting, that while the crown was ſtripped of its revenues, it was in vain to beſtow upon it riches. The parliament alſo rejected a bill for incapacitating ſuch as were remiſs in the proſecution of hereſy from being juſtices of the peace; and another, for obliging the exiles to return under certain penalties. Upon which the queen, vexed at their intractable humour, diſſolved the parliament. This ſudden change in the temper of the houſe of commons, is, perhaps, with juſtice, attributed to the death of Gardiner, who died on the twelfth of November. By the death of this prelate, the queen was deprived of her ableſt counſellor, and the only miniſter who had any great authority in the parliament. He was a perſon of a ſelfiſh character; a profound diſſembler; and of a proud, vindictive, and cruel diſpoſition. He underſtood the canon and civil law as well as moſt of his time; he wrote Latin with eaſe and purity, and few of his cotemporaries excelled him in the knowledge of the Greek language. He is ſaid to have felt ſome remorſe in his laſt moments for the cruel perſecutions he had carried on againſt the proteſtants, and to have exclaimed, "I have ſinned with Peter, but I have not wept with Peter."

A.D. 1556. Mary exaſperated at the ſpirit of oppoſition which prevailed throughout the nation, and being in an ill humour on account of her huſband's abſence, ſpent her time in extorting money from her people, in order to ſatisfy his demands. She levied a loan of ſixty thouſand pounds upon a thouſand perſons, of whoſe compliance ſhe was moſt aſſured; but that ſum being not ſufficient, ſhe exacted a general loan from all who poſſeſſed twenty pounds a year. This lying heavy on the gentry, many of them were obliged to diſmiſs their ſervants, to enable them to comply with her demands; and as theſe ſervants, having no means of ſubſiſtence, frequently turned thieves and robbers, the queen publiſhed a proclamation, to oblige their former maſters to take them again into their ſervice. She raiſed ſixty thouſand marks from ſeven thouſand yeomen, and thirty-ſix thouſand pounds from the merchants. Commerce was interrupted by her rapaciouſneſs. The Engliſh company, ſettled at Antwerp, refuſing to lend her forty thouſand pounds, ſhe diſſembled her reſentment, till they had bought and ſhipped great quantities of cloth for Antwerp-fair; and then laid an embargo on the ſhips, and obliged the merchants not only to lend her the forty thouſand pounds ſhe at firſt demanded, but to engage for the payment of twenty thouſand more, and to ſubmit to an arbitrary impoſition of twenty ſhillings on each piece. Being informed ſome time after, that the Italian merchants had ſhipped above forty thouſand pieces of cloth for the Levant, for which they were to pay the uſual impoſition of a crown a piece, ſhe entered into an agreement with the merchant adventurers of London, and prohibited the foreigners from making any exportation; for which ſhe received from the Engliſh merchants fifty thouſand pounds, and four crowns on each piece of cloth they exported. She in vain attempted to borrow great ſums abroad, but had ſo little credit, that though ſhe offered the city of Antwerp fourteen per cent. for thirty thouſand pounds, ſhe could not obtain this ſum, until ſhe obliged the city of London to be her ſecurity. Thus ſhe employed the baſeſt expedients to raiſe money, for which ſhe had no other viſible occaſion, but to ſupply the demands of Philip, who appeared entirely indifferent about any thing that related to her. He was become maſter of the wealth of America, and of the richeſt and moſt extenſive dominions in Europe, by the voluntary reſignation of his father, Charles V. who being diſguſted with the world, was reſolved to ſeek that tranquillity and happineſs in a private retreat, which he had ſought in vain, amidſt the tumults of war, and the reſtleſs projects of ambition. He ſummoned the ſtates of the Netherlands, and ſeating himſelf, for the laſt time, on the throne, informed his ſubjects of the reaſons of his reſignation; and after devolving his authority on Philip, told him, that his paternal tenderneſs made him weep, when he reflected on the burden he laid upon him, and that the great and only duty of a prince, was to ſtudy the happineſs of his people. A few months after Charles reſigned his other dominions to his ſon, and ſailed to Spain, retired into the monaſtery of St. Juſt, which being ſeated in a happy climate, amidſt numberleſs beauties of nature, he had choſen for his retreat. He was ſoon ſenſible of the ingratitude of Philip, his ſon, who was negligent in paying the ſmall penſion he had reſerved for himſelf. He employed his leiſure hours in examining the controverſies in divinity, which he had hitherto only conſidered in a political light; and in imitating the works of the moſt famous artiſts and mechanics; of which he had been an admirer and encourager. Having amuſed himſelf with the conſtruction of clocks and watches, he thence remarked the impracticability of what had ſo much engaged his attention during his reign; and how impoſſible it was, that he, who could never frame two machines that would go exactly alike, could ever be able to make all mankind agree in the ſame opinions. The emperor lived a recluſe in his retreat about two years.

A.D. 1537. Philip now preparing for a war with France, was deſirous of engaging England in the quarrel; and though the queen was extremely averſe to it, her fondneſs for him made her exert her utmoſt endeavours to engage the nation to enter into his views. This was, however, openly oppoſed by cardinal Pole, and many other counſellors, who inſiſted on the marriage articles, which expreſsly provided againſt it. Philip, in order to ſupport his partizans, returned to England on the twentieth of March; and the nation was ſoon after alarmed with an account, that a rebellion was broke out in the northern parts of the kingdom. One Thomas Stafford, and others, were detected in a deſign to ſurprize Scarborough, and a confeſſion being extorted from them, that Henry, the French monarch, had encouraged them in that attempt, it was reſolved to make this act of hoſtility, with others of a like doubtful nature, the ground of a quarrel, and war was declared againſt France, about the middle of June, with great ſolemnity. Having thus procured the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, Philip paſſed over to the Low Countries; while his general, the duke of Savoy, ſtrengthened with the junction of a body of Britiſh forces, entered Picardy and St. Quintin. As the place was but poorly fortified, and defended by a weak garriſon, he hoped in a few days to compel it to ſurrender: but the governor, admiral Coligni, thinking it his duty to ſave ſo important a fortreſs, threw himſelf into the town, and with a few battalions of French and Scots, and by his exhortations, encouraged the ſoldiers to make a vigorous defence. In the mean time he ſent an expreſs to his uncle Montmorency, the conſtable, requeſting a reinforcement. That general accordingly advanced towards St. Quintin, at the head of his whole army, in order to facilitate the attempt of throwing a body of forces into the town. The duke of Savoy, one of the greateſt generals of his age, informed of the conſtable's deſign, attacked the reinforcement with ſuch fury, that not more than five hundred men entered the place. Animated with this ſucceſs, he fell upon the conſtable, routed his whole army, and took him priſoner. Two thouſand five hundred of the enemy fell on the field of battle, among whom were ſeveral noblemen of the firſt diſtinction. This defeat filled France with conſternation: and the duke of Savoy, to improve the advantage he had gained, diſpatched the duke of Bedford, and the count of Egmont, at the head of four thouſand men, to make an inroad into France. The inhabitants of Paris were ſo terrified, that they began to fortify their city; and had the duke of Savoy marched directly to the capital, he had, in all probability, made himſelf maſter of the place; but he continued the ſiege of St. Quintin, which, by the bravery of the admiral, held out ſeventeen days, when it was taken by ſtorm, and that gallant officer, with his brother, and all who had ſurvived of the garriſon, were made priſoners. The noble conduct of the admiral, in defending the place, ſaved France; for the Spaniards loſt a favourable opportunity of puſhing their conqueſts, till the advanced ſeaſon obliged them to go into winter quarters.

A.D. 1558. The vigilant and active duke of Guiſe, who had been recalled with his army from Italy, now attempted, in the depth of winter, an enterprize, which France, in her greateſt proſperity, had always conſidered as impracticable. Not content with fortifying the frontiers of the kingdom, the duke reſolved to attempt the reduction of Calais. This place was defended by lord Wentworth, an experienced officer; but the garriſon conſiſted only of five hundred ſoldiers, and about two hundred townſmen. It was ſurrounded by moraſſes on the land ſide, and could only be approached by a dyke, at the head of which was a bridge, defended by a fort called Newenham, about a quarter of a mile from the town. Near this fort was another, called St. Agatha; and the entrance of the harbour was defended by a caſtle, called Ryſbank. Such was the ſituation of Calais when Guiſe ſat down before it; when it was not imagined the French could be able to undertake any enterprize of conſequence, ſo ſoon after the defeat they had ſuffered at St. Quintin. When the duke began his march to Calais, a French fleet was ſent into the channel, under pretence of cruiſing on the trading veſſels of the Engliſh, but in reality to aſſiſt the land forces in their operations. The firſt attempt of the French was againſt fort Agatha, which the Engliſh, after a gallant defence, were forced to abandon. The garriſon, however, threw themſelves into fort Newenham, which was immediately inveſted by the enemy. At the ſame time the French ſhips cannonaded Ryſbank, and both forts became untenable. Wentworth ſaw the neceſſity of abandoning theſe places, the greater part of his garriſon being employed in defending them: he therefore gave orders for their capitulating with the enemy, and joining him in Calais, which, without their aſſiſtance, he was in no condition to defend. The garriſon at Newenham followed his inſtructions, and were permitted to retire into the town: but thoſe in the Ryſbank were not ſo fortunate; the French officer refuſed to ſign any capitulation; and the garriſon were obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war. All acceſs to Calais was now totally cut off; and the duke of Guiſe formed, with prodigious labour, a road, conſtructed with pitched hurdles, through the moraſs, by the help of which a large detachment of his army lodged themſelves behind ſome heights, near the walls of the town. Here they erected a battery of fifteen pieces of large cannon againſt the caſtle, in which a practicable breach was ſoon made. D'Andelot, brother to Coligni, was now ordered to draw the water out of the ditch, and ſucceſsfully executed the taſk in one night. The next day the duke ordered a general aſſault, which was made with ſuch fury, that the breach was carried by ſtorm, and the French effected a lodgment in the caſtle. During the enſuing night, Wentworth endeavoured to recover that poſt, but having loſt two hundred men, and the French pouring ſuch numbers into the caſtle, he thought any farther reſiſtance would be madneſs, and accordingly capitulated on the following terms, the beſt he could obtain in his diſtreſſed ſituation: "That he himſelf ſhould remain a priſoner of war, with fifty of the chief officers of his garriſon: that the reſt ſhould be at liberty to retire, either to England or Flanders; and that the place, with all its proviſions, ammunition, cannon, and riches, ſhould be immediately delivered up." This capitulation was ſigned on the ſeventeenth of January. Ham and Guiſnes were taken by the twenty-ſecond, and in leſs than thirty days, the duke of Guiſe reduced what had coſt Edward III. a ſiege of eleven months, at the head of an army fluſhed with glory, acquired in the fields of Creſſy. Mary, even that unfeeling queen, was ſo ſenſibly affected with the loſs of Calais, that ſhe abandoned herſelf to grief, and repeatedly declared to thoſe about her, "That her end was approaching, and that ſhe ſhould never recover the effects of this misfortune." Murmurs and complaints now prevailed throughout the kingdom; the miniſtry could not attempt a vindication of their conduct; while the queen ſuffered all the pangs of the moſt mortifying diſappointment.

In the month of April, the dauphin of France eſpouſed Mary, queen of Scotland; and in June, Philip, king of Spain, obtained a complete victory over the French at Gravelines, where the general de Termes and his principal officers were taken priſoners. The Scots, prompted by French councils, beginning to move on the borders, the Engliſh were under a neceſſity of attending to their defence at home. Mary's repoſe and ſecurity ſeeming to be threatened by this cloſe alliance between France and Scotland, it was found neceſſary to call a parliament, to obtain ſupplies for her exhauſted treaſure; on which ſhe obtained a fifteenth, a ſubſidy of four ſhillings in the pound on land, and two ſhillings and eight pence on goods. The clergy likewiſe granted eight ſhillings in the pound, payable in equal proportions, within four years. The parliament alſo paſſed an act, confirming all the ſales and grants of the crown lands, already made by the queen, or that ſhould be made during the ſeven enſuing years. One Copley, a member, having expreſſed his apprehenſions, that the queen, under ſanction of this dangerous act, might alienate even the crown itſelf to the prejudice of the lawful heir, was, for his preſumption, with ſome others, committed to the Tower.

Throughout this whole inglorious reign, the Engliſh were under great apprehenſions with reſpect to the ſucceſſion, and the life of the lady Elizabeth. The queen's violent hatred of that princeſs, broke out on every occaſion; and it required all Philip's prudence and authority to prevent its producing the moſt fatal effects. Elizabeth retired into the country; and being ſenſible that ſhe was ſurrounded
with

with ſpies, ſpent her time in reading and ſtudy, without intermeddling in buſineſs, or ſeeing much company. While ſhe remained in this dull and inactive ſituation, the Swediſh ambaſſador made her propoſals of marriage in the name of his maſter. She firſt aſked, whether the propoſal had been made to the queen. The ambaſſador replied, that his maſter thought it his duty as a gentleman, to pay his addreſſes to herſelf; and if he was ſo happy as to obtain her conſent, he would next, as a king, apply to her ſiſter. The princeſs would, however, allow him to proceed no farther. The affair, notwithſtanding, coming to the queen's knowledge, ſhe thanked her for this inſtance of duty, and deſired to know how ſhe liked the propoſal of the Swediſh monarch. Though Elizabeth was expoſed to many mortifications and dangers, ſhe reſolved not to make uſe of the relief this match would have afforded her, and covered her refuſal with expreſſing a fond attachment to a ſingle life, which, ſhe ſaid, ſhe preferred to any other. She likewiſe ſhewed great prudence in concealing her religious ſentiments, and eluding all the queſtions that were put to her on that delicate ſubject. During theſe tranſactions, the perſecution again raged in England with infernal fury. Thirty-nine proteſtants ſuffered martyrdom in different parts of England.

The health of queen Mary had for ſome time been in a declining ſtate. On miſtaking her dropſy for a pregnancy, ſhe had uſed an improper regimen, which daily increaſed her diſorder. Every reflection was now a ſubject of torment, begun in this world, and ſtruck a dagger in her heart. The corroding worm that never dies began to gnaw its vital ſtrings. The conſciouſneſs of having incurred the hatred of her ſubjects; the idea of Elizabeth's ſucceeding to the crown; her fears, that the catholic religion would be expoſed to danger; her dejection for the loſs of Calais, with which ſhe was deeply affected; and above all, her grief for the abſence of her huſband, who, ſhe knew, intended ſoon to return to Spain, to ſettle during the remainder of his life: theſe melancholy reflections preying upon her mind with the greateſt violence, threw her into a complication of diſorders, attended with a lingering fever, of which ſhe died on the ſeventeenth of November, in the forty-third year of her age, after a ſhort, a cruel, and unhappy reign of five years, four months, and eleven days. She was interred at Weſtminſter, in the chapel of her grand-father Henry VII. Some writers have been of opinion, that this unworthy queen had a ſerious ſenſe of religion: but can we call that profeſſion, however diſtinguiſhed, by the ſacred peaceful name of religion, which prompts men to be guilty of ſavage cruelty, and is deſtitute of all the ſocial virtues? There are, we acknowledge, a few devout pieces extant, compoſed by Mary. Styrpe has preſerved three of her meditations and prayers; and at the deſire of Queen Catharine Parr, ſhe began to tranſlate Eraſmus's paraphraſe on St. John, but after ſhe had made a ſmall progreſs in it, ſhe left the reſt to Dr. Mallet her chaplain. Eraſmus ſays, that ſhe wrote very good Latin letters, but her French ones are poor performances. Styrpe has printed one from the Cotton library, in anſwer to a haughty mandate from her huſband, on his reſolving to marry the lady Elizabeth to the duke of Savoy, againſt the inclinations of the queen, and that princeſs: in which he bids the former examine her conſcience, whether her repugnance does not proceed from obſtinacy; and inſolently tells her, that if any parliament went contrary to his requeſt, he ſhould lay the blame on her. The mortified Mary, in a moſt abject manner, and the moſt wretched ſtile, ſubmitting entirely to his will, profeſſes to be moſt bounden to him, than any other wife to a huſband, notwithſtanding his ill uſage of her. Other of her letters are preſerved in Hayne's ſtate papers: we wiſh we could add alſo a few of her virtues: but we ſhall here drop the curtain, her true portrait having been faithfully delineated in the hiſtory of her reign. Cardinal Pole, who had long laboured under an intermitting fever, died the ſame day with the queen. He was a prelate remarkable for his candour and ſweetneſs of temper, and was eſteemed by all who knew the value of thoſe amiable qualities. In times, when ſuch cruel perſecutions were raiſed againſt the reformers, Pole experienced not the hatred of proteſtants.

In this reign a law was paſſed by which the number of horſes, arms, and furniture was fixed, with which each perſon, according to the largeneſs of his fortune, ſhould be provided for the defence of the kingdom. For inſtance, a man of a thouſand pounds a year was obliged to maintain at his own expence, ſix horſes for his demi-lances, three of which, at leaſt, were to be furniſhed with ſufficient harneſs, ſteel saddles, and proper weapons: he was obliged to have forty corſlets furniſhed; fifty almain revets, or inſtead of them, forty coats of plate, corſlets or brigandines furniſhed; forty pikes, thirty long bows, thirty ſheafs of arrows, thirty ſteel caps or ſkulls, twenty black bills or halberts, twenty haquebuts, and twenty morions, or ſallets. This method was, doubtleſs, ſubject to many inconveniencies; but the revenues of the crown, and the ſupplies of parliament, were ſo inconſiderable, that there was no other method of equipping the troops. The revenue of England, at that time, was very little more than three hundred thouſand pounds a year.

The Engliſh having diſcovered a paſſage to Archangel, during the reign of Edward VI. a beneficial trade had been eſtabliſhed with Muſcovy. Hence a ſolemn embaſſy was ſent by the Czar to queen Mary, which ſeems to have been the firſt that had been ſent by that empire to any European prince. The ambaſſadors were ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of Scotland; but being hoſpitably entertained in that kingdom, proceeded on their journey, and were received in London with great pomp and ſolemnity.

In this reign we find the firſt general law in relation to highways, which were appointed to be repaired by pariſh duties all over England: but the arts and ſciences had made a very ſmall progreſs, and neither commerce, nor the marine of England had yet obtained a reſpectable footing. Hollingſhed, who lived in the next reign, gives a rude account of the preceding generation; and Eraſmus imputes the frequent plagues in England to the ſlovenly habits of the people. The floors, ſays he, are commonly of clay ſtrewed with ruſhes, under which lies unmoleſted an antient collection of beer, greaſe, fragments, bones, excrements of dogs and cats, and every thing that is naſty. Indeed we may form an idea of the ſmall progreſs of the arts, with reſpect to refinement and elegance, about this time, from a perſon of no leſs rank than the comptroller of Edward VI. houſhold, paying only thirty ſhillings a year, of our preſent money, for his houſe in Channel Row, London. Labour and proviſions were only about a fourth of the preſent price.

Memoirs of the life of Dr. Thomas Cranmer, the firſt proteſtant archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Aſlacton, in the county of Nottingham, was the birth place of this eminent prelate: who was born July 2, 1489. His family was antient, and came in with William the Conqueror. He was early deprived of his father Thomas Cranmer, Eſq. and after no extraordinary education, was ſent, by his mother to Cambridge, at the age of fourteen, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times. He took the uſual degrees, and was choſen fellow of Jeſus college: and emerging from the ſubtle and uſeleſs ſtudies of thoſe days, ſoon became celebrated for his learning and abilities.—In the year 1525 he married: but his wife dying in child-bed, within the year, he was re-elected fellow of Jeſus: a favour ſo gratefully acknowledged by him, that he choſe to decline an offer of a much more valuable fellowſhip in cardinal Wolſey's new ſeminary, at Oxford, rather than relinquiſh friends who had ſhewn ſuch regard to him.

In the year 1523, he commenced doctor in divinity: and being in great eſteem for theological learning, he was choſen divinity-lecturer in his own college: and appointed, by the univerſity, one of the examiners in that ſcience. In which office he principally inculcated the doctrine of the holy ſcriptures, then greatly neglected, as being of indiſpenſible neceſſity for the profeſſors of that divine knowledge. The plague happening to break out at Cambridge, Cranmer, with ſome of his pupils, removed to Waltham-abbey: where falling into company with Gardiner and Fox, one the ſecretary, the other almoner of king Henry; that monarch's intended divorce of Catharine his queen, the common ſubject of diſcourſe in thoſe days, came upon the carpet: when Cranmer adviſing an application to our own and to the foreign univerſities for their opinion in the caſe, and giving theſe gentlemen much ſatisfaction, they introduced him to the king: who was as much pleaſed with him; committed him to the care of Sir Thomas Boleyn, ordered him to write his thoughts on the ſubject; made him his chaplain, and admitted him into that favour and eſteem, which he never afterwards forfeited.

In the year 1530, he was ſent by the king, with a ſolemn embaſſy, to diſpute on the ſubject of the divorce at Paris, Rome, and other foreign parts. At Rome he delivered his book which he had written in defence of the divorce to the pope, and offered to juſtify it in a public diſputation: but after various promiſes and appointments, none appeared to oppoſe him: while in private conferences he forced them to confeſs that the marriage was contrary to the law of God. The pope conſtituted him "Penitentiary General of England," and diſmiſſed him. In Germany he gave full ſatisfaction to many learned men, who were before of a contrary perſuaſion: and prevailed on the famous Oſiander to declare the king's marriage unlawful. Before he left Germany he married Oſiander's niece.

While he was abſent the great archbiſhop Warham died: Henry, convinced of Cranmer's merit, determined that he ſhould ſucceed him: and commanded him to return for that purpoſe. He ſuſpected the cauſe, and delayed: deſirous, by all means, to decline this high ſtation: for he had a true and primitive ſenſe of the office. But a ſpirit ſo different from the churchmen of his times ſtimulated the king's reſolution: and the more reluctance Cranmer ſhewed, the greater reſolution Henry exerted. He was conſecrated on March 30, 1533, to the office; and though he received the uſual bulls from the pope, he proteſted, at his conſecration, againſt the oath of allegiance, &c. to him. For he had converſed freely with the reformed in Germany, had read Luther's books, and was zealouſly attached to the glorious cauſe of reformation.

He was diſagreeably employed, as the firſt ſervice he did the king, in pronouncing the ſentence of his divorce from queen Catharine: and next in joining his hands with Anne Boleyn: the conſequence of which marriage was the birth of Elizabeth, to whom he ſtood godfather. And as the queen was greatly intereſted in the reformation, the friends to that good work began to conceive high hopes; and, indeed, it went on with deſirable ſucceſs. The pope's ſupremacy was univerſally exploded; monaſteries, &c. deſtroyed; and that valuable book of "The Erudition of a Chriſtian Man," was ſet forth by our great archbiſhop, with public authority: and the ſacred ſcriptures, at length, to the infinite joy of Cranmer, and the lord Cromwell, his conſtant friend and aſſociate, were not only tranſlated, but introduced into every pariſh. And "the tranſlation was received with inexpreſſible joy: every one, that was able, purchaſed it, and the poor flocked greedily to hear it read: ſome perſons, in years, learned to read on purpoſe, that they might peruſe it: and even little children crowded with eagerneſs to hear it." One cannot fail to reflect, on this occaſion, how much we are bound to prize this ſacred treaſure, which we enjoy ſo perfectly: and how much to contend againſt every attempt of thoſe enemies, and that church, which would deprive us of it, and again reduce us to legends and ſchoolmen, to ignorance and idolatry!

That he might proceed with true judgment, Cranmer made a collection of their opinions from the works of the antient fathers and later doctors; of which biſhop Burnet ſaw two volumes in folio; and it appears, by a letter of lord Burleigh's, that there were then ſix volumes of Cranmer's collections in his hands. A work of incredible labour, but vaſt utility! A ſhining proof was ſoon after given of his ſincere and diſintereſted conſtancy by his noble oppoſition to what are commonly called king Henry's ſix bloody articles. However he weathered the ſtorm; and publiſhed, with an incomparable preface by himſelf, the larger Bible; ſix of which, even Bonner, then newly conſecrated biſhop of London, cauſed to be fixed, for the peruſal of the people, in his cathedral of St. Paul's.

The enemies of the reformation, however, were reſtleſs: and Henry was no proteſtant in his heart. Cromwell fell a ſacrifice to them; and they aimed every poſſible ſhaft at Cranmer: Gardiner in particular was indefatigable: he cauſed him to be accuſed in parliament; and ſeveral lords of the privy council moved the king to commit the archbiſhop to the Tower. The king perceived their malice; and one evening, on pretence of diverting himſelf on the water, ordered his barge to be rowed to Lambeth ſide. The archbiſhop being informed of it, came down to pay his reſpects, and was ordered by the king, to come into the barge and ſit cloſe by him. Henry made him acquainted with the accuſations of hereſy, faction, &c. which were laid againſt him; and ſpoke of his oppoſition to the ſix articles: the archbiſhop modeſtly replied, that he could not but acknowledge himſelf to be of the ſame opinion, with reſpect to them; but was not conſcious of having offended againſt them. Then the king, putting on an air of pleaſantry, aſked him, If his bed-chamber could ſtand the teſt of theſe articles? The archbiſhop confeſſed, that he was married in Germany, before his promotion; but aſſured the king, that on paſſing that act, he had parted with his wife, and ſent her abroad to her friends. His majeſty was ſo charmed with his openneſs and integrity, that he diſcovered the whole plot that was laid againſt him: gave him a ring of great value to produce, upon a future emergency; and determined to counterwork Cranmer's enemies; who ſummoned him ſoon after to the council, ſuffered him to wait in the lobby amongſt the footmen; treated him on his admiſſion with haughty contempt; and would have ſent him to the Tower; but he produced the ring, and gained his enemies a ſevere reprimand from Henry, and himſelf the higheſt degree of ſecurity and favour.

Upon this occaſion he ſhewed that lenity and mildneſs which always diſtinguiſhed him; never perſecuted any of his enemies, nay freely forgave even the inveterate Gardiner, on his writing a ſupplicatory letter to him for that end. And now we are upon the ſubject of the archbiſhop's readineſs to forgive and forget injuries, we may relate a pleaſant inſtance of it, which happened ſome time before this. The archbiſhop's firſt wife, whom he married at Cambridge, was kinſwoman to the hoſteſs at the Dolphin Inn, and boarded there: and he often reſorting thither on that account, the popiſh party had raiſed a ſtory, that he was hoſtler to that Inn, and never had the benefit of a learned education. This idle ſtory a Yorkſhire prieſt had with great confidence aſſerted, in an alehouſe which he uſed to frequent; railing at the archbiſhop, and ſaying, that he had no more learning than a gooſe. Some of the pariſh informed lord Cromwell of this; and the prieſt was committed to the Fleet priſon. When he had been there nine or ten weeks, he ſent a relation of his to the archbiſhop, to beg his pardon and to ſue for his diſcharge. The archbiſhop inſtantly ſent for him, and, after a gentle reproof, aſked the prieſt whether he knew him? to which he anſwering, No; the archbiſhop expoſtulating with him, why he ſhould then make ſo free with his character? The prieſt excuſed himſelf by ſaying he was in drink: but this Cranmer told him was a double fault; and then let him know, that if he were inclined to try, what a ſcholar he was, he ſhould have liberty to oppoſe him in whatever ſcience he pleaſed. The prieſt humbly aſked his pardon, and confeſſed himſelf to be very ignorant, and to underſtand nothing but his mother tongue. No doubt, then, ſaid Cranmer, you are well verſed in the Engliſh Bible; and can anſwer any queſtions out of that; pray tell me, who was David's father? The prieſt ſtood ſtill a while to conſider; but at laſt told the archbiſhop he could not recollect his name. Tell me then, ſays Cranmer, who was Solomon's father? The poor prieſt replied, that he had no ſkill in genealogies, and could not tell. The archbiſhop then adviſing him to frequent alehouſes leſs, and his ſtudy more, and admoniſhing him not to accuſe others for want of learning, till he was maſter of ſome himſelf, diſcharged him out of cuſtody, and ſent him home to his cure. Theſe may ſerve as inſtances of his clement temper. The king, who was a good diſcerner of men, remarking the implacable hatred of his enemies towards him, changed his coat of arms from three cranes to three pelicans, feeding their young with their own blood: and told his grace, "that theſe birds ſhould ſignify to him, that he ought to be ready, like the pelican, to ſhed his blood for his young ones, brought up in the faith of Chriſt; for, ſaid the king, you are like to be tried, if you will ſtand to your tackling at length." The event proved the king to be no bad prophet.

In the year 1546, king Henry left his crown to his only ſon Edward, who was godſon to Cranmer, and had imbibed all the ſpirit of a reformer. This excellent young prince, influenced no leſs by his own inclinations than by the advice of Cranmer and the other friends of reformation, was diligent in every endeavour to promote it. Homilies were compoſed by the archbiſhop, and a catechiſm: Eraſmus's notes on the New Teſtament tranſlated, and fixed in churches; the ſacrament adminiſtered in both kinds; and the liturgy uſed in the vulgar tongue: Ridley, the archbiſhop's great friend, and one of the brighteſt lights of the Engliſh reformation, was equally zealous in the good cauſe: and with him the archbiſhop drew up the forty-two articles of religion, which were reviſed by other biſhops and divines; as through him he had perfectly conquered all his ſcruples reſpecting the doctrine of the corporeal preſence, and publiſhed a much eſteemed treatiſe, entitled, A Defence of the true and catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

But this happy ſcene of proſperity was not to continue: God was pleaſed to deprive the nation of king Edward, in the year 1553, deſigning in his wiſe providence, to perfect the new born church of his Son Jeſus Chriſt in England, by the blood of martyrs, as at the beginning he perfected the church in general. Anxious for the ſucceſs of the reformation, and wrought upon by the artifices of the duke of Northumberland, Edward had been perſuaded to exclude his ſiſters, and to bequeath the crown to that duke's amiable and every way deſerving daughter, the Lady Jane Gray. The archbiſhop did his utmoſt to oppoſe this alteration in the ſucceſſion; but the king was over-ruled; the will was made, and ſubſcribed by the council and the judges. The archbiſhop was ſent for laſt of all, and required to ſubſcribe; but he anſwered, that he could not do it without perjury; having ſworn to the entail of the crown on the two princeſſes Mary and Elizabeth. To this the king replied, That the judges, who being beſt ſkilled in the conſtitution, ought to be regarded in this point, had aſſured him, that notwithſtanding that entail, he might lawfully bequeath the crown to lady Jane. The archbiſhop deſired to diſcourſe with them himſelf about it; and they all agreeing, that he might lawfully ſubſcribe the king's will, he was at laſt prevailed with to reſign his own private ſcruples to their authority, and ſet his hand to it.

Having done this, he thought himſelf obliged in conſcience to join the lady Jane: but her ſhort-lived power ſoon expired; when Mary and perſecution mounted the throne, and Cranmer could expect nothing leſs than what enſued; attainder, impriſonment, deprivation and death.

The Tower was crowded with priſoners; inſomuch that Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer and Bradford, were all put into one chamber; which they were ſo far from thinking an inconvenience, that on the contrary, they bleſſed God for the opportunity of converſing together; reading and comparing the ſcriptures, confirming themſelves in the true faith, and mutually exhorting each other to conſtancy in profeſſing it, and patience in ſuffering for it!

In April, 1554, the archbiſhop, with biſhop Ridley and Latimer, was removed from the Tower to Windſor, and from thence to Oxford, to diſpute with ſome ſelect perſons of both univerſities! but alas! what farces are diſputations, where the fate of men is fixed, and every word is miſconſtrued! and ſuch was the caſe here: for on April the 20th, Cranmer was brought to St. Mary's, before the queen's commiſſioners, and refuſing to ſubſcribe the popiſh articles, he was pronounced an heretic, and ſentence of condemnation was paſſed upon him. Upon which he told them, that he appealed from their unjuſt ſentence, to that of the Almighty: and that he truſted to be received into his preſence in heaven, for maintaining the truth of whoſe ſpiritual preſence at the altar, he was there condemned. After this his ſervants were diſmiſſed from their attendance, and himſelf cloſely confined in Bocardo, the priſon of the city of Oxford. But this ſentence being void in law, as the pope's authority was wanting, a new commiſſion was ſent from Rome in the year 1555: and in St. Mary's church, at the high altar, the court ſat and tried the already condemned Cranmer. He was here will nigh too ſtrong for his judges; and if reaſon and truth could have prevailed, there would have been no doubt who ſhould have been acquitted and who condemned. The February following a new commiſſion was given to biſhop Bonner and biſhop Thirlby, for the degration of the archbiſhop. When he came down to Oxford he was brought before them: and after they had read their commiſſion from the pope (for not appearing before whom in perſon, as they had cited him, he was declared contumacious, though they themſelves had kept him a cloſe priſoner)—Bonner, in a ſcurrilous oration, inſulted over him in the moſt unchriſtian manner, for which he was often rebuked by biſhop Thirlby, who wept, and declared it the moſt ſorrowful ſcene in his whole life. In the commiſſion it was declared that the cauſe had been impartially heard at Rome: the witneſſes on both ſides examined, and the archbiſhop's counſel allowed to make the beſt defence for him they could: at the reading this, the archbiſhop could not help crying out, "Good God! what lies are theſe; that I, being continually in priſon, and not ſuffered to have counſel or advocate at home, ſhould produce witneſſes and appoint my counſel at Rome? God muſt needs puniſh this ſhameleſs and open lying!" When Bonner had finiſhed his invective, they proceeded to degrade him; and that they might make him as ridiculous as they could, the epiſcopal habit which they put on him, was made of canvas and old clouts: Bonner, mean time, by way of triumph and mockery, calling him Mr. Canterbury, and the like. He bore all with his wonted fortitude and patience; told them, "the degradation gave him no concern, for he had long deſpiſed thoſe ornaments:" but when they came to take away his croſier, he held it faſt, and delivered his appeal to Thirlby, ſaying, "I appeal to the next general council." When they had ſtripped him of all his habits, they put upon his jacket, a poor yeoman-beadle's gown, thread-bare and ill-ſhaped, and a townſman's cap; and ſo delivered him to the ſecular power, to be carried back to priſon, where he was kept entirely deſtitute of money, and totally ſecluded from his friends. Nay ſuch was the iniquity of the times, that a gentleman was taken into cuſtody by Bonner, and nearly eſcaped a trial, for giving the poor archbiſhop ſome money to buy him a dinner!

He had been impriſoned now almoſt three years; and death ſhould have immediately followed his ſentence and degradation; but his cruel enemies reſerved him for greater miſery and inſult. Every engine that could be thought of was employed to ſhake his conſtancy; but in vain: he held faſt the profeſſion of his faith without wavering. Nay, even when he ſaw the barbarous martyrdom of his dear companions Ridley and Latimer, he was ſo far from ſhrinking, that he not only prayed to God to ſtrengthen them; but alſo by their example, to animate him to a patient expectation and endurance of the ſame fiery trial.—

But at length, the papiſts determined to try what gentle treatment would effect: they removed him from priſon to the lodgings of the dean of Chriſt church, urged every perſuaſive and affecting motive: and too much melted his gentle nature by the falſe ſun-ſhine of pretended civility and reſpect. Yet this availed not, till they again changed their conduct, and, with ſeverity enough, confined him to a loathſome priſon. This was more than the infirmities of ſo old a man could ſupport: the frailty of human nature prevailed: he began to waver: he fell: fell, but to riſe with ſuperior luſtre; and was induced to ſign ſix different recantations, drawn from him by the malice of his enemies; who, notwithſtanding, determined not to ſpare his life: for nothing leſs than his death could ſatiate the gloomy queen; who ſaid, "that as he had been the great promoter of hereſy, which had corrupted the whole nation, the abjuration, which was ſufficient in other caſes, ſhould not ſerve his turn; for ſhe was reſolved he ſhould be burned."

The archbiſhop had no ſuſpicion of ſuch a fate, after what he had done: the papiſts deſigned that he ſhould ſoon read his recantation publicly at St. Mary's; upon which they propoſed to have triumphed in his death. Accordingly on the day appointed, Cole mounted the pulpit, and the archbiſhop was placed oppoſite to it on a low ſcaffold, a ſpectacle of contempt and ſcorn to the people! Cole magnified his converſion as the immediate work of God's inſpiration; exhorted him to bear up with reſolution againſt the terrors of death; and by the example of the thief on the croſs, encouraged him not to deſpair, ſince he was returned, though late, into the boſom of the church; and aſſured him, that dirges and maſſes ſhould be ſaid for his ſoul in all the churches of Oxford. As ſoon as the archbiſhop perceived from Cole's ſermon what was the bloody decree, ſtruck with horror at the baſe inhumanity of theſe proceedings, he gave by all his geſtures, a full proof of the deep anguiſh of his ſoul. And at length being called upon by Cole, to declare his faith and reconciliation with the catholic church; he roſe with all poſſible dignity—and while the audience was wrapped in the moſt profound expectation, he kneeled down and repeated the following prayer: "O Father of heaven! O Son of God! Redeemer of the world! O Holy Ghoſt! proceeding from them both: three perſons and one God, have mercy upon me, moſt wretched and miſerable ſinner! I who have offended both heaven and earth, and more grievouſly than any tongue can expreſs, whither then may I go, or where ſhall I fly for ſuccour?—To heaven I may be aſhamed to lift up mine eyes, and in earth I find no refuge: what ſhall I then do: ſhall I deſpair? God forbid! O good God, thou art merciful! and refuſeſt none who come to thee for ſuccour: to thee, therefore, do I run: to thee do I humble myſelf, ſaying, O Lord God, my ſins be great, but yet have mercy upon me, for thy great mercy! O God the Son, thou waſt not made man, this great myſtery was not wrought, for few or ſmall offences! nor thou didſt not give thy Son unto death, O God the Father! for our little and ſmall ſins only, but for all the greateſt ſins of the world: ſo that the ſinner return unto thee with a penitent heart, as I do here at this preſent; wherefore have mercy upon me, O Lord! whoſe property is always to have mercy: for although my ſins be great, yet thy mercy is greater! I crave nothing, O Lord! for my own merits, but for thy name's ſake, that it may be glorified thereby, and for thy dear Son, Jeſus Chriſt's ſake.—And now, therefore, Our Father," &c.

He then roſe up: exhorted the people to a contempt of this world; to obedience to their ſovereign, to mutual love and charity; he told them, that being now on the brink of eternity, he would declare unto them his faith without reſerve and diſſimulation. Then he repeated the apoſtle's creed, profeſſing his belief thereof, and of all things contained in the Old and New Teſtament. By ſpeaking thus in general terms, the attention of the audience was kept up; but amazement continued that attention when they heard him, inſtead of reading his recantation, declare his great and unfeigned repentance for having been induced to ſubſcribe the popiſh errors: he lamented with many tears his grievous fall, and declared that the hand which had ſo offended, ſhould be burned before the reſt of his body. He then renounced the pope in moſt expreſs terms, and profeſſed his belief concerning the euchariſt to be the ſame, with what he had aſſerted in his book againſt Gardiner.

This was a great diſappointment to the papiſts: they made great clamours, and charged him with hypocriſy and falſhood: to which he meekly replied, "That he was a plain man, and never had acted the hyprocrite, but when he was ſeduced by them to a recantation." He would have gone on further; but Cole cried, "Stop the heretic's mouth, and take him away." Upon which the monks and friars rudely pulled him from the ſcaffold, and hurried him away to the ſtake (where Ridley and Latimer had before been offered up) which was at the north ſide of the city, in the ditch oppoſite Baliol college. But if his enemies were diſappointed by his behaviour in the church, they were doubly ſo by that at the ſtake. He approached it with a chearful countenance; prayed and undreſſed himſelf; his ſhirt was made long down to his feet, which were bare, as was his head, where a hair could not be ſeen. His beard was ſo long and thick, that it covered his face with wonderful gravity; and his reverend countenance moved the hearts both of friends and enemies. The friars tormented him with their admonitions; while Cranmer gave his hand to ſeveral old men who ſtood by, bidding them farewel. When he was tied to the ſtake, and the fire kindled, he ſeemed ſuperior to all ſenſation, but of piety. He ſtretched out the offending hand to the flame, which was ſeen burning for ſome time before the fire came to any other part of his body; nor did he draw it back, but once to wipe his face, till it was intirely conſumed: ſaying often, "This unworthy hand, this hand hath offended;" and raiſing up his eyes to heaven, he expired, with the dying prayer of St. Stephen in his mouth, "Lord Jeſus receive my ſpirit!" He burned, to all appearance, without pain or motion, and ſeemed to repel the torture by mere ſtrength of mind; ſhewing a repentance and a fortitude which ought to cancel all reproach of timidity in his life.

Thus died archbiſhop Cranmer in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age, and the twenty-third of his primacy; leaving an only ſon of his own name behind him. He was a man naturally of a mild and gentle temper; not ſoon provoked, and yet ſo eaſy to forgive, that it became a kind of proverb concerning him, "Do my lord of Canterbury a ſhrewd turn, and he will be your friend as long as you live." His candour and ſincerity, meekneſs and humility, were admired by all who converſed with him: but the queen could not forgive his zeal for the reformation, nor his divorce of her mother, though he had been the inſtrument of ſaving her own life: and, therefore, ſhe brought him to the ſtake, which has juſtly numbered him amongſt the nobleſt martyrs of Jeſus Chriſt: thus crowning his character; for he may well be eſteemed the apoſtle of the reformed church of England, and as ſuch muſt ever be dear in the mention of every proteſtant. He may truly be ranked with the greateſt primitive biſhops, and the fathers of the very firſt claſs, who were men as well as himſelf: and therefore, if in a ſcrutiny of theirs or of his character, ſome infirmities and imperfections may appear, we may learn to make a wiſe and moral improvement by them. His learning was great, and his endeavour to encourage it greater.

Cranmer's labours were well ſeconded by Ridley, Latimer, and Hooper, who were his fellow martyrs in the cauſe of reformation: but the characters of this illuſtrious quadriumvirate differed one from the other. Cranmer was moſt reſpected, Latimer was moſt followed; Ridley beſt eſteemed, and Hooper moſt beloved. The art and addreſs of Cranmer proved a happy balance to the zeal of Latimer; while the relaxed notions of Hooper were tempered by the wiſdom and virtue of Ridley.

A narrative of the life of biſhop Latimer.

Hugh Latimer, biſhop of Worceſter, was born of mean parents at Thirkeſton, in Leiceſterſhire, about the year 1475, who gave him a good education, and ſent him to Cambridge, where he ſhewed himſelf a zealous papiſt, and inveighed much againſt the reformers, who began to make ſome figure in England. But converſing frequently with Thomas Bilney, the moſt conſiderable perſon at Cambridge of all thoſe who favoured the reformation, he ſaw the errors of popery, and became a zealous proteſtant.

Latimer, thus converted, laboured both publicly and privately to promote the reformed opinions, and preſſed the neceſſity of a holy life, in oppoſition to thoſe outward performances which were then thought the eſſentials of religion. This rendered him obnoxious at Cambridge, then the ſeat of ignorance, bigotry, and ſuperſtition. However, the unaffected piety of maſter Bilney, the chearfulneſs and natural eloquence of honeſt Latimer, wrought greatly upon the junior ſtudents, and increaſed the credit of the proteſtants ſo much, that the papiſt clergy were greatly alarmed, and, according to their uſual practice, called aloud for the ſecular arm.

Under this, Bilney ſuffered at Norwich. But his ſufferings, far from ſhocking the reformation at Cambridge, inſpired the leaders of it with new courage. Latimer began to exert himſelf more than he had yet done; and ſucceeded to that credit with his party, which Bilney had ſo long ſupported. Among other inſtances of his zeal and reſolution in this cauſe, he gave one which was very remarkable. He had the courage to write to the king [Henry the VIIIth] againſt a proclamation, then juſt publiſhed, forbidding the uſe of the Bible in Engliſh, and other books on religious ſubjects. He had preached before his majeſty once or twice at Windſor, and had been taken notice of by him in a more affable manner, than that monarch uſually indulged towards his ſubjects. But whatever hopes of preferment his ſovereign's favour might have raiſed in him, he choſe to put all to the hazard, rather than omit what he thought his duty. His letter is the picture of an honeſt and ſincere heart: he concludes in theſe terms, "Accept, gracious ſovereign, without diſpleaſure, what I have written; I thought it my duty to mention theſe things to your majeſty. No perſonal quarrel, as God ſhall judge me, have I with any man: I wanted only to induce your majeſty to conſider well, what kind of perſons you have about you, and the ends for which they counſel. Indeed, great prince, many of them, or they are much ſlandered, have very private ends. God grant your majeſty may ſee through all the deſigns of evil men, and be in all things equal to the high office with which you are intruſted. Wherefore, gracious king, remember yourſelf; have pity upon your own ſoul, and think, that the day is at hand when you ſhall give account of your office, and the blood which hath been ſhed by your ſword: in the which day that your grace may ſtand ſtedfaſtly, and not be aſhamed, but be clear and ready in your reckoning, and have your pardon ſealed with the blood of our Saviour Chriſt, which alone ſerveth at that day, is my daily prayer to him who ſuffered death for our ſins. The Spirit of God preſerve you."

Lord Cromwell was now grown up into power, and being a favourer of the reformation, he obtained a benefice in Wiltſhire for Latimer, who immediately went thither and reſided, diſcharging his duty in a very conſcientious manner, though perſecuted much at the ſame time by the Romiſh clergy, who at length carried their malice ſo far as to obtain an archiepiſcopal citation for his appearance in London. His friends would have had him fly; but their perſuaſions were in vain. He ſet out for London in the depth of winter, and under a ſevere fit of the ſtone and cholic; but he was moſt diſtreſſed at the thoughts of leaving his pariſh expoſed to the popiſh clergy. On his arrival at London, he found a court of biſhops and canoniſts ready to receive him; where, inſtead of being examined, as he expected, about his ſermons, a paper was put into his hands which he was ordered to ſubſcribe, declaring his belief in the efficacy of maſſes for the ſouls in purgatory, of prayers to the dead ſaints, of pilgrimages to their ſepulchres and reliques, the pope's power to forgive ſins, the doctrine of merit, the ſeven ſacraments, and the worſhip of images; which when he refuſed to ſign, the archbiſhop, with a frown, begged he would conſider what he did. "We intend not, ſaid he, Mr. Latimer, to be hard upon you; we diſmiſs you for the preſent; take a copy of the articles; examine them carefully; and God grant, that at our next meeting we may find each other in better temper." The next, and ſeveral ſucceeding meetings, the ſame ſcene was acted over again. He continued inflexible, and they continued to diſtreſs him. Three times every week they regularly ſent for him, with a view either to elicite ſomething from him by captious queſtions, or to teize him at length into compliance. Tired out with this uſage, after he was ſummoned, at laſt, inſtead of going, he ſent a letter to the archbiſhop, in which, with great freedom, he tells him, "That the treatment he had lately met with had fretted him into ſuch a diſorder, as rendered him unfit to attend that day; that in the mean time he could not help taking this opportunity to expoſtulate with his grace for detaining him ſo long from his duty; that it ſeemed to him moſt unaccountable, that they, who never preached themſelves, ſhould hinder others; that, as for their examination of him, he really could not imagine what they aimed at; they pretended one thing in the beginning, and another in the progreſs; that if his ſermons were what gave offence, which he perſuaded himſelf were neither contrary to the truth, nor to any canon of the church, he was ready to anſwer whatever might be thought exceptionable in them; that he wiſhed a little more regard might be had to the judgment of the people, and that a diſtinction might be made between the ordinances of God and man; that if ſome abuſes in religion did prevail, as was then commonly ſuppoſed, he thought preaching was the beſt means to diſcountenance them; that he wiſhed all paſtors might be obliged to perform their duty; but that, however, liberty might be given to thoſe who were willing; that as to the articles propoſed to him, he begged to be excuſed ſubſcribing them; while he lived, he never would abet ſuperſtition; and that, laſtly, he hoped the archbiſhop would excuſe what he had written; he knew his duty to his ſuperiors, and would practiſe it; but in that caſe, he thought a ſtronger obligation laid upon him."

The biſhops, however, continued their perſecutions; but their ſchemes were fruſtrated in an unexpected manner. Latimer being raiſed to the ſee of Worceſter in the year 1533, by the favour of Anne Boleyn, then the favourite wife of Henry, to whom, moſt probably, he was recommended by lord Cromwell. And now he had a more extenſive field to promote the principles of the reformation, in which he laboured with the utmoſt pains and aſſiduity. He was remarkably zealous in the diſcharge of his new office; and in overlooking the clergy of his dioceſe, he was uncommonly active, warm, and reſolute, and preſided in his eccleſiaſtical court with the ſame ſpirit. In viſiting, he was frequent and obſervant; in ordaining, ſtrict and wary; in preaching, indefatigable; and in reproving and exhorting, ſevere and perſuaſive.

In 1536 he received a ſummons to attend the parliament and convocation, which gave him a further opportunity of promoting the work of reformation, whereon his heart was ſo much ſet.

In the mean while the biſhop of Worceſter, highly ſatisfied with the proſpect of the times, repaired to his dioceſe, having made a longer ſtay in London than was abſolutely neceſſary. He had no talents, and he pretended to have none for ſtate affairs. His whole ambition was to diſcharge the paſtoral functions of a biſhop, neither aiming to diſplay the abilities of a ſtateſman, nor thoſe of a courtier. How very unqualified he was to ſupport the latter of theſe characters, the following ſtory will prove. It was the cuſtom in thoſe days for the biſhops to make preſents to the king on New-year's day; and many of them would preſent very liberally, proportioning their gifts to their expectancies. Among the reſt, the biſhop of Worceſter, being then in town, waited upon the king with his offering; but inſtead of a purſe of gold, which was the common oblation, he preſented a New Teſtament, with a leaf doubled down in a very conſpicuous manner, to this paſſage; "Whoremongers and adulterers God will judge."

In 1539 he was ſummoned again to attend the parliament. The biſhop of Wincheſter, Gardiner, was his great enemy; who, upon a particular occaſion, when the biſhops were with the king, kneeled down, and ſolemnly accuſed biſhop Latimer of a ſeditious ſermon preached at court. Being called upon by the king, with ſome ſternneſs, to vindicate himſelf, Latimer was ſo far from denying and palliating what he had ſaid, that he boldly juſtified it; and turning to the king, with that noble unconcern which a good conſcience inſpires, "I never thought myſelf worthy, ſaid he, nor did I ever ſue to be a preacher before your grace; but I was called to it, and would be willing, if you miſlike it, to give place to my betters: for I grant, there may be a great many more worthy the room than I am. And if it be your grace's pleaſure to allow them for preachers, I can be content to bear their books after them. But if your grace allow me for a preacher, I would deſire you to give me leave to diſcharge my conſcience, and to frame my doctrine according to my audience. I had been a very dolt indeed to have preached ſo at the borders of your realm, as I preach before your grace." The greatneſs of this anſwer baffled his accuſer's malice; the ſeverity of the king's countenance changed into a gracious ſmile; and the biſhop was diſmiſſed with that obliging freedom, which this monarch never uſed but to thoſe he eſteemed.

However, as the biſhop could not give his vote for the act of the ſix papiſtical articles, drawn up by the duke of Norfolk, he thought it wrong to hold any office in a church where ſuch terms of communion were required; and therefore he reſigned his biſhopric, and retired into the country, where he purpoſed to live a ſequeſtered life. But in the midſt of his ſecurity, an unhappy accident carried him again into the tempeſtuous weather which was abroad: he received a bruiſe by the fall of a tree, and the contuſion was ſo dangerous, that he was obliged to ſeek out for better aſſiſtance than could be afforded him by the unſkilful ſurgeons of thoſe parts. With this view he repaired to London, where he had the misfortune to ſee the fall of his patron the lord Cromwell; a loſs which he was ſoon made ſenſible of. For Gardiner's emiſſaries quickly found him out in his concealment; and ſomething, which ſomebody had ſomewhere heard him ſay againſt the ſix articles, being alledged againſt him, he was ſent to the Tower; where, without any judicial examination, he ſuffered, through one pretence or another, a cruel impriſonment for the remaining ſix years of king Henry's reign.

Upon the death of Henry, the proteſtant intereſt revived under his ſon Edward; and Latimer, immediately upon the change of the government, was ſet at liberty. An addreſs was made by the parliament to the protector, to reſtore him to his biſhopric: the protector was very willing to gratify the parliament, and propoſed the reſumption of his biſhopric to Mr. Latimer; who now thinking himſelf unequal to the weight of it refuſed to reſume it, chuſing rather to accept an invitation from his friend archbiſhop Cranmer, and to take up his reſidence with him at Lambeth, where his chief employment was to hear the complaints, and redreſs the grievances of the poor people; and his character, for ſervices of this kind, was ſo univerſally known, that ſtrangers from every part of England would reſort to him. In theſe employments he ſpent more than two years, during which time he aſſiſted the archbiſhop in compoſing the homilies, which were ſet forth by authority in the firſt year of king Edward. He was alſo appointed to preach the Lent ſermons before his majeſty, which office he alſo performed during the three firſt years of his reign.

Upon the revolution which happened at court after the death of the duke of Somerſet, he ſeems to have retired into the country, and to have made uſe of the king's licence as a general preacher in thoſe parts, where he thought his labours might be moſt ſerviceable. He was thus employed during the remainder of that reign, and continued in the ſame courſe for a ſhort time in the beginning of the next; but as ſoon as the re-introduction of popery was reſolved on, the firſt ſtep towards it was the prohibition of all preaching, and licenſing only ſuch as were known to be popiſhly inclined. The biſhop of Wincheſter, who was now prime-miniſter, having proſcribed Mr. Latimer from the firſt, ſent a meſſage to cite him before the council. He had notice of this deſign ſome hours before the meſſengers arrival, but he made no uſe of the intelligence. The meſſenger found him equipped for his journey; at which, expreſſing his ſurprize, Mr. Latimer told him, that he was as ready to attend him to London, thus called upon to anſwer for his faith, as he ever was to take any journey in his life; and that he doubted not but that God who had enabled him to ſtand before two princes, would enable him to ſtand before a third. The meſſenger then acquainting him that he had no orders to ſeize his perſon, delivered a letter, and departed. However, opening the letter, and finding it a citation from the council, he reſolved to obey it, and ſet out immediately. As he paſſed through Smithfield, he ſaid chearfully, "This place of burning hath long groaned for me." The next morning he waited upon the council, who having loaded him with many ſevere reproaches, ſent him to the Tower.

This was but a repetition of a former part of his life; only he now met with a harſher treatment, and had more frequent occaſion to exerciſe his reſignation, which virtue no man poſſeſſed in a larger meaſure; nay, even the uſual chearfulneſs of his diſpoſition did not forſake him, of which we have an inſtance ſtill remaining. A ſervant leaving his apartment, Latimer called after him, and bid him tell his maſter, that unleſs he took better care of him, he ſhould certainly eſcape. Upon this meſſage, the lieutenant, with ſome diſcompoſure, came and deſired an explanation. "Why you expect, I ſuppoſe, Sir, ſaid he, that I ſhould be burnt; but if you do not allow me a little fire this froſty weather, I can tell you, I ſhall firſt be ſtarved."

Cranmer and Ridley were alſo priſoners in the ſame cauſe with Latimer; and, when it was reſolved to have a public diſputation at Oxford between the moſt eminent of the popiſh and proteſtant divines, theſe three were appointed on the part of the proteſtants. Accordingly they were taken out of the Tower and ſent to Oxford; where they were cloſely confined in the common priſon, and might eaſily imagine how free the diſputation was likely to be, when they found themſelves denied the uſe even of books, pens, and ink.

He behaved with the nobleſt fortitude throughout the public diſpute; wherein, though much artifice was uſed for that purpoſe, he never would be drawn into any formal reaſoning with his adverſaries; full well aſſured that it would anſwer no end to be explicit. However, he anſwered their queſtions as far as civility required; and in thoſe anſwers it is obſervable, he managed the argument much better than either Cranmer or Ridley; who, when they were preſſed in defence of tranſubſtantiation, with ſome paſſages from the fathers, inſtead of diſavowing an inſufficient authority, weakly defended a good cauſe. Whereas, when the ſame proofs were multiplied upon Latimer, he told them plainly, "That ſuch proofs had no weight with him; that the fathers, no doubt, were often deceived, and and that he never depended upon them, but when they depended upon ſcripture." "Then you are not of St. Chryſoſtom's faith, replied his antagoniſt, nor of St. Auſtin's." "I have told you, replied Latimer, I am not, except when they bring ſcripture for what they ſay."

The diſpute being ended, ſentence was paſſed upon him in the beginning of October, and he and Ridley were martyred the ſixteenth. They were brought to the fire on the north ſide of Baliol college, where, after a ſermon, being told by an officer that they now might make ready for the ſtake, Latimer, having thrown off his priſon attire, appeared in a ſhrowd prepared for the purpoſe; and "whereas before, ſays Mr. Fox, he ſeemed a withered and crooked old man, he now ſtood bolt upright, as comely a father as one might lightly behold." Being thus ready, he recommended his ſoul to God, and delivered himſelf to the executioner, ſaying to Ridley, "We ſhall this day, my lord, light ſuch a candle in England, as ſhall never be extinguiſhed." He died in the eightieth year of his age, 1555.

Such was the life and death of Hugh Latimer, biſhop of Worceſter, one of the leaders of that glorious army of martyrs, who introduced the reformation into our land. He had a happy temper, formed on the principles of true Chriſtianity. Such was his chearfulneſs, that none of the accidents of life could diſcompoſe him; ſuch was his fortitude, that not even the ſevereſt trials could unman him. He had a collected ſpirit, and on no occaſion wanted a reſource. He could retire within himſelf, and hold the world at defiance.

And as danger could not daunt, ſo neither could ambition allure him. Though converſant in courts, and intimate with princes, he preſerved to the laſt (a rare inſtance of moderation!) his primæval plainneſs. In his profeſſion he was indefatigable; and that he might beſtow as much time as poſſible on the active part of it, he allowed himſelf only thoſe hours for his private ſtudies when the buſy world is at reſt, conſtantly riſing, at all ſeaſons of the year, by two in the morning. How conſcientious he was in the diſcharge of the public parts of his office, we have many examples. No man could perſuade more forcibly; no man could exert, on proper occaſions, a more commanding ſeverity. The wicked, in whatever ſtation, he rebuked with cenſorian dignity; and awed vice more than the penal laws.

He was not eſteemed a very learned man, for he cultivated only uſeful learning, and that he thought lay in a very narrow compaſs. He never engaged in worldly affairs, thinking that a clergyman ought to employ himſelf only in his profeſſion. Thus he lived rather a good, than what the world calls a great man. He had not thoſe commanding talents which give ſuperiority in buſineſs; but for purity and ſincerity of heart, for true ſimplicity of manners, for apoſtolic zeal in the cauſe of religion, and for every virtue, both of a public and private kind, which ſhould adorn the life of a Chriſtian, he was eminent beyond moſt men of his own, or of any other time.

The life of John Huſs, D. D. with ſome account of Jerom of Prague.

John Huſs, of the univerſity of Prague in Bohemia, the firſt martyr abroad for the reformation, is the illuſtrious foreigner whoſe life we here add, not becauſe of any ſingular events which it contains, for we know but few particulars reſpecting him, but to give our readers a view of the ſteps by which the reformation proceeded. Though the unjuſt perſecution by which this heroic martyr was condemned, and the fortitude wherewith he ſuffered, may ſuggeſt to the ſerious, leſſons of the utmoſt importance and utility.

John Huſs, whoſe name in the language of his country ſignifies Gooſe, was born at Huſſenitz, a village in Bohemia, eighteen miles from Prague, about the year 1380, as we conjecture. His parents, though mean, gave him the beſt education they were able; and when tranſplanted to the univerſity of Prague, he gave ſtrong proof of his mental powers, and was remarkable for his diligence and application. We are told, that he commenced bachelor of divinity in 1408, and was ſucceſſively choſen paſtor of the new built church of Bethlehem in Prague, dean and rector of the univerſity; in which ſtations he diſcharged his duty with great fidelity, and became at length ſo conſpicuous for his preaching, which was in conformity with the doctrines of Wickliffe, that he could not long eſcape the notice of the pope and his adherents, againſt whom he inveighed with no ſmall degree of aſperity.

Our countryman Wickliffe, whoſe life we have already given, had kindled the light of reformation, which began to illumine the darkeſt corners of popery and ignorance. His doctrines ſpread into Bohemia, and were well received, as by many others, ſo eſpecially by John Huſs, and his zealous friend and fellow-martyr Jerom of Prague.

Queen Anne, the wife of Richard II. of England, was daughter to the emperor Charles IV. and ſiſter to Winceſlaus, king of Bohemia. She was a princeſs of great piety and knowledge, and had ſtrongly patronized Wickliffe. Upon her death, in 1394, ſeveral of her attendants returning into Bohemia, carried with them many of Wickliffe's books, which were read with much avidity, and tended greatly to promote the cauſe of the reformation. To ſuppreſs them, the archbiſhop of Prague iſſued two orders, which had an effect quite contrary to what he expected; for it ſtimulated the friends of theſe doctrines to greater zeal, and almoſt the whole univerſity united in propagating them.

Huſs had conſiderable influence in the univerſity, not only on account of his learning, eloquence, and exemplary life, but alſo on account of ſome valuable privileges which he had obtained from the king in behalf of the Bohemians in that ſeminary, by which many Germans had been obliged to leave it, and retire to Leipſic; who afterwards became his ſteady enemies, and eſpecially at the council of Conſtance. And being ſtrenuouſly attached to the doctrines of Wickliffe, he ſtrongly oppoſed the decree of the archbiſhop, who however at length obtained a bull from the pope, giving him commiſſion to prevent the ſpreading of theſe errors in his province.

By virtue of this bull the archbiſhop definitively condemned the writings of Wickliffe; and proceeding againſt four doctors, Huſs, with ſome other members of the univerſity, proteſted againſt theſe proceedings. Upon which he was cited to appear perſonally at Rome, to anſwer the accuſations laid againſt him, of preaching both errors and hereſies. Huſs deſired to be excuſed a perſonal appearance; the king, the queen, the nobility and univerſity joined in requeſting the pope to diſpenſe with it. However, Cardinal Colonna declared him contumacious, and accordingly excommunicated him. And this excommunication was afterwards carried much farther, even to all his diſciples and friends. He was declared a promoter of hereſy, and an interdict was paſſed againſt him. From this unjuſt ſentence he appealed to a future council; and notwithſtanding ſo ſevere a decree, and an expulſion in conſequence from his church in Prague, he retired to Huſſenitz, where he continued to promulgate his new doctrine, both from the pulpit and with the pen.

The letters which he wrote at this time are very numerous; and he compiled a treatiſe, wherein he maintained, that the reading the books of heretics cannot be abſolutely forbidden. He wrote in defence of Wickliffe's book on the trinity; and undauntedly declared againſt the vices of the pope, the cardinals, and the clergy of thoſe corrupt times. He cauſed a writing to be fixed upon the church of Bethlehem, charging the clergy with theſe ſix errors: Firſt, Of believing that the prieſt, by ſaying maſs, became the creator of his Creator: Second, Of ſaying that he ought to believe in the virgin, in the pope and in ſaints: Third, That the prieſts can remit the pain and guilt of ſin: Fourthly, that every one muſt obey their ſuperiors, whether their commands be juſt or unjuſt: Fifth, That every excommunication, juſt or unjuſt, binds the excommunicate: The Sixth relates to ſimony. He wrote alſo many other books; and with what ſtrength of argument the amazing influence of his doctrines ſufficiently prove.

But though John Huſs and Jerom of Prague ſo far agreed with Wickliffe, that they oppoſed the tyranny and corruptions of the pope and his clergy, yet did they not advance, by any means, ſo far as our Engliſh reformer; they had not ſo clear light; they were not of the ſame opinion with regard to the euchariſt; for neither of them ever oppoſed the real preſence and tranſubſtantiation, as Wickliffe did.

Huſs correſponded with our noble and excellent countryman Sir John Oldcaſtle, lord Cobham. England was then filled with ſcenes of perſecution, which extended to Germany and Bohemia, where John Huſs and Jerom of Prague were marked out to ſhare the fate of Sir John Oldcaſtle. Upon the review of thoſe times can we fail to congratulate our felicity, and to bleſs God for the liberty, civil and religious, which our country enjoys in ſo diſtinguiſhed a manner!

In November, 1414, a general council was aſſembled at Conſtance in Germany, which was one of the greateſt that was ever held, as for other matters, ſo to determine the diſpute concerning the papacy, which was then aſſumed by three perſons, who all appeared under the character of popes! This council was one of the moſt important events of the fifteenth century, and the greateſt of all œcumenical ſynods that ever was held, conſidering the dignity and number of the princes, prelates, and doctors who aſſiſted at it, after the example of the emperor himſelf. According to the liſts made at the emperor's arrival, by his order, there were above one hundred thouſand foreigners then in and about this city. Not a kingdom, republic, ſtate, and ſcarce a city or community in Europe, but had its ambaſſadors or deputies at it. Ten popes, by turns, preſided in it, and the emperor was hardly ever abſent. Thirty-ſix thouſand beds were ſet up for new-comers, and at one time were no leſs than thirty thouſand horſe in the city. The pope had ſix hundred perſons in his retinue, and the emperor four thouſand. There were thirty cardinals, who, with four patriarchs, and two of the pope's legates, had full twelve hundred. Here were twenty-ſeven archbiſhops, two hundred and ſix biſhops, thirty-three titular biſhops, above one hundred and fifty other prelates, and two hundred and three abbots, who all together may be ſuppoſed to have four or five thouſand in their retinue; prelates, prieſts, and preſbyters, are reckoned in ſhort eighteen thouſand; and there were eighty thouſand laymen, all ſtrangers; fourteen auditors of the rota, twenty-ſeven prothonotaries, eighteen auditors of the ſacred palace, and as many ſecretaries of the pope's, who had two hundred under them; and there were computed two hundred and forty-two writers of apoſtolic bulls, forty-ſeven writers penitentiary, not reckoning one thouſand two hundred ſcribes or writers of other kingdoms, beſides their ſervants: the pope and cardinals had one hundred and twenty-three attorneys, and two hundred and ſeventy-three proctors, with each a man to wait on them; there were four hundred and forty-four doctors of divinity and law, beſides their ſervants, excluſive of ſixty-five heralds at arms, vergers of the conſiſtory, beadles, and other petty officers; with above one thouſand perſons in their retinue. The retinue of the laity was numerous in proportion: the emperor, the four electors preſent, with other ſovereign princes, dukes, marquiſes or margraves, and burgraves, one hundred and twenty-eight counts, ſix hundred barons, &c. who were all computed at no leſs than ten thouſand, had four or five thouſand men for their guard: there were alſo one hundred and ſix envoys or deputies, from ſeveral places, with about one thouſand ſix hundred in their retinue; above ſix hundred gentlemen, and twenty-three thouſand knights and military officers, with their ſervants; and the garriſon conſiſted of about two thouſand; there were eighty-ſix farriers, eighty-eight carpenters, and blackſmiths, ſixty-five apothecaries, one thouſand ſix hundred barbers, two hundred and forty-two bankers, forty-eight goldſmiths, one hundred and twenty-two ſhoe-makers, two hundred and twenty-eight taylors, all the foregoing maſters, with the journeymen of each; three hundred vintners and victuallers, with their drawers, &c. five hundred and five muſicians, ſeven hundred and eighteen common harlots, which another liſt taken from the Vienna manuſcript makes one thouſand five hundred, three hundred and forty-ſix jugglers and ſtage-players. This famous council, which laſted four years and forty-five ſeſſions, made that infamous canon, as Sleiden ſays, in his commentaries, That faith is not to be kept with heretics, nor with thoſe ſuſpected of hereſy; and it aſſerted the authority of a council to be above that of a pope. John Huſs was ſummoned to appear at this council; and to encourage him the emperor ſent him a ſafe conduct, giving him permiſſion freely to come to and return from the council. But it was honourably determined by theſe wiſe men, that "faith is not to be kept with heretics,—" and therefore Huſs was no ſooner arrived, than he was committed priſoner to a chamber in the palace.

He was well accompanied in his journey, and in all the cities through which he paſſed he made public declarations, that he was going to the council to vindicate his doctrines, and invited all his adverſaries to be preſent. Wherever he came great numbers reſorted to him, and ſhewed him ſuch marks of high reverence and eſtimation, that he uſed to ſay, "He no where found ſo bitter enemies againſt him, as among his own countrymen the Bohemians."

But he afterwards met with more bitter enemies in the council: who, reſolving to deſtroy him, drew up ſuch articles of accuſation as they thought proper, and knew he could not abjure; being at once his accuſers and judges, and acting, not by the laws of equity, but of cruelty and revenge.

The ſpirit with which the council of Conſtance acted againſt the popes: their declaring themſelves as a council, and all councils to be above popes; the rigour with which they executed their decrees, and the awful form of their proceedings, are commendable. But to what did it all tend? To no generous principle of love to God, or benevolence to man. It only tranſlated the ſeat of wicked power; the people were as much ſlaves to ignorance; they were as much tied down to ſuperſtition, and they had as little the exerciſe of any one rational ſentiment as ever. This council acted the part of inquiſitors. "They ordered the remains of Dr. Wickliffe to be dug up and burnt, with this charitable caution, if they might be diſcerned from the bodies of other faithful people." His aſhes were caſt into the river Swift, that river conveyed them into the Avon, Avon into the Severn, Severn into the narrow ſeas, they into the main ocean. Thus the aſhes of Wickliffe are the emblems of his doctrine, which is now diſperſed all over the world."

The nobility of Bohemia and Poland ſtrongly interceded for Huſs, and ſo far prevailed, that he ſhould not be condemned unheard, which the commiſſioners appointed to try him, had reſolved upon. When he appeared before them, and the articles of accuſation were read, he freely acknowledged them. But one circumſtance bore more hard upon him, than this acknowledgment, which was, a generous wiſh he vented, to be with the happy ſpirit of Wickliffe. Theſe haughty judges had no idea of a man's felicity whoſe aſhes they had condemned to be burnt! A great many falſe and frivolous objections were raiſed againſt him, which he refuted with a manly eloquence; and recommended himſelf and his cauſe to God; he was carried from the court, and a reſolution was ſoon after taken to burn him as an heretic, if he would not retract. He was then committed to a filthy priſon, where in the day time he was ſo laden with fetters on his legs, that he could ſcarce go, and every night he was faſtened by the hands to a rack againſt the wall; while petitions for his releaſe, upon bail, from his Bohemian friends, were unavailing.

Four biſhops, and two lords were ſent by the emperor to the priſon, to prevail on him to make a recantation. But he called God to witneſs, with tears in his eyes, that he was not conſcious of having preached or written, any thing againſt the truth of God, or the faith of his orthodox church. The deputies then repreſented the great wiſdom and authority of the council; "Let them, ſaid Huſs, ſend the meaneſt perſon of that council, who can convince me by arguments from the word of God, and I will ſubmit my judgment to him." This Chriſtian and pious anſwer had no effect, becauſe he would not take the authority and learning of the council upon truſt, without the leaſt ſhadow of an argument offered: and the deputies departed in high admiration of his obſtinacy.

On the ſeventh of July he was brought the laſt time before the council. He was required to abjure. He refuſed. The biſhop of Lodi preached a bloody perſecuting ſermon, concerning the deſtruction of heretics, the prologue to his fate; and accordingly his fate was determined, his vindication diſregarded, and judgment was pronounced. His books were condemned, and he was declared a maniſeſt heretic: convicted of having taught many hereſies and pernicious errors, of having deſpiſed the keys of the church and eccleſiaſtical cenſures;

of having ſeduced and given ſcandal to the faithful by his obſtinacy, and having raſhly appealed to the tribunal of Chriſt: the council therefore cenſured him for being obſtinate and incorrigible, and ordained, "That he ſhould be degraded from the prieſthood, his books publicly burnt, and himſelf delivered to the ſecular power."

He heard this ſentence without the leaſt emotion; he kneeled down with his eyes lifted towards heaven; and with all the ſpirit of primitive martyrdom, he ſaid; "May thy infinite mercy, O my God, pardon this injuſtice of my enemies. Thou knoweſt the injuſtice of my accuſations: how deformed with crimes I have been repreſented; how I have been oppreſſed with worthleſs witneſſes, and a falſe condemnation; yet, O my God, let that mercy of thine, which no tongue can expreſs, prevail with thee not to avenge my wrongs." Theſe excellent ſentences were eſteemed ſo many expreſſions of treaſon; and tended to inflame his adverſaries. Accordingly, the biſhops, appointed by the council, ſtript him of his prieſtly garments, degraded him, and put a mitre of paper on his head, on which devils were painted with this inſcription, "a ringleader of heretics." Our heroic martyr, received this mock-mitre with a gallant air of unconcern, which ſeemed to give him dignity, rather than diſgrace. A ſerenity, a joy, appeared in his looks, which indicated, that his ſoul had cut off many ſtages of tedious journey in her way to the realm of everlaſting peace.

The biſhops delivered Huſs to the emperor, who put him into the hands of the duke of Bavaria. His books were burnt at the gates of the church, and he was led to the ſuburbs to be burnt alive. When he came to the place of execution, he fell on his knees; ſung portions of pſalms, looked ſtedfaſtly towards heaven, and repeated theſe words: "Into thy hands, O Lord, do I commit my ſpirit; thou haſt redeemed me, O moſt good and faithful God!" When the chain was put about him at the ſtake, he ſaid, with a ſmiling countenance, "My Lord Jeſus Chriſt was bound with a harder chain than this for my ſake, and why ſhould I then be aſhamed of this old ruſty one?" When the faggots were piled up to his very neck, the duke of Bavaria was officious enough to deſire him to abjure. "No, ſaid Huſs, I never preached any doctrine of an evil tendency. And what I taught with my lips, I now ſeal with my blood."—He ſaid to the executioner, "You are going to burn a 'gooſe' now; but in a century you will have a 'ſwan,' whom you can neither roaſt nor boil." If he was prophetic, he muſt have meant Martin Luther, to whom his words were applied, and who had a ſwan for his arms. The flames were then applied to the faggots, when the martyr ſung a hymn with ſo loud and chearful a voice, that he was heard through all the cracklings of the combuſtibles, and the noiſe of the multitude. At laſt his voice was interrupted, and he was conſumed in a moſt miſerable manner. The duke of Bavaria ordered the executioner to throw all the martyrs cloaths into the flames; after which his aſhes were carefully gathered together, and caſt into the Rhine. He wrote many treatiſes, which were collected and publiſhed at Nuremburgh, in the year 1558.

Thus fell John Huſs, a martyr to the doctrines of the goſpel which Wickliffe had revived; and which ſtruck ſo eſſentially at the root of corrupt religion, and the ſecular intereſt of the clergy; that there is no wonder, he, as well as his friend Jerom of Prague, was perſecuted with the utmoſt ſeverity.

Jerom, who was remarkable for his extenſive learning and great eloquence, was treated in pretty nearly the ſame manner with John Huſs: a ſafe conduct was given him, and was alſo violated. He ſuffered extremely in an hard impriſonment: and underwent a trial as partial and unjuſt, as Huſs had undergone. He is ſaid by catholic writers to have recanted his opinions, and afterwards to have relented that recantation; but this ſeems to want evidence. When he deſired to plead his cauſe and exculpate himſelf, and this was refuſed him, he is ſaid to have exclaimed againſt the council in theſe words:—"What barbarity is this! For three hundred and forty days have I been through all the variety of priſons. There is not a miſery, there is not a want, which I have not experienced. To my enemies, you have allowed the fulleſt ſcope of accuſation; to me, you deny the leaſt opportunity of defence. Not an hour will you indulge me in preparing for my trial. You have ſwallowed the blackeſt calumnies againſt me. You have repreſented me as an heretic without knowing my doctrine; as an enemy to the faith before you knew what faith I profeſſed: as a perſecutor of prieſts, before you could have an opportunity of underſtanding my ſentiments on that head. You are a general council: in you center all that this world can communicate of gravity, wiſdom, ſanctity: but ſtill you are men, and men are ſeducible by appearances. The higher your character is for wiſdom, the greater ought your care to be, not to deviate into folly. The cauſe I now plead is not my own cauſe: it is the cauſe of men; it is the cauſe of Chriſtians: it is a cauſe, which is to affect the rights of poſterity, however the experiment is to be made in my perſon." This ſpeech had no effect: Jerom was obliged to hear his charge read, which was reduced under theſe heads, "That he was a derider of the papal dignity, an oppoſer of the pope, an enemy of the cardinals, a perſecutor of the prelates, and an hater of the Chriſtian religion." He anſwered this charge with an amazing force of elocution and ſtrength of argument: "Now, ſaid he, wretch that I am! whither ſhall I turn me! To my accuſers? My accuſers are deaf as adders. To you my judges? You are all prepoſſeſſed by the arts of my accuſers." A Roman catholic hiſtorian has ingenuity enough to declare, That Jerom in all he ſpoke, ſaid nothing unbecoming a great and wiſe man: and he candidly aſſerts, that if what Jerom ſaid was true, he was not only free from capital guilt, but from ſmalleſt blame. The trial of Jerom was brought on the third day after his accuſation, and witneſſes were examined in ſupport of the charge. The priſoner was prepared for his defence, which will appear almoſt incredible, when it is conſidered, that he had been three hundred and forty days ſhut up, in a dark offenſive dungeon, deprived of day-light, food, and ſleep. His ſpirit ſoared above theſe diſadvantages, under which a man leſs animated muſt have ſunk; nor was he more at a loſs for quotations from fathers and antient authors, than if he had been furniſhed with the fineſt library.

Many of the zealots and bigots of the aſſembly were againſt his being heard; as they knew what effect eloquence is uſed to have on the minds of the moſt prejudiced. However, it was carried by the majority, that he ſhould have liberty to proceed in his defence, which he began in ſuch an exalted ſtrain of moving elocution, that the heart of obdurate zeal was ſeen to melt, and the mind of ſuperſtition ſeemed to admit a ray of conviction. He made an admirable diſtinction between evidence as reſting on facts, and as ſupported by malice and calumny. He laid before the aſſembly the whole tenor of his life and conduct. He obſerved, that the greateſt and moſt holy men have been known to differ in points of ſpeculation, with a view to diſtinguiſh truth, not to keep it concealed. He then expreſſed a noble contempt of all his enemies, who would have induced him to retract the cauſe of virtue and truth. He next entered upon an high encomium

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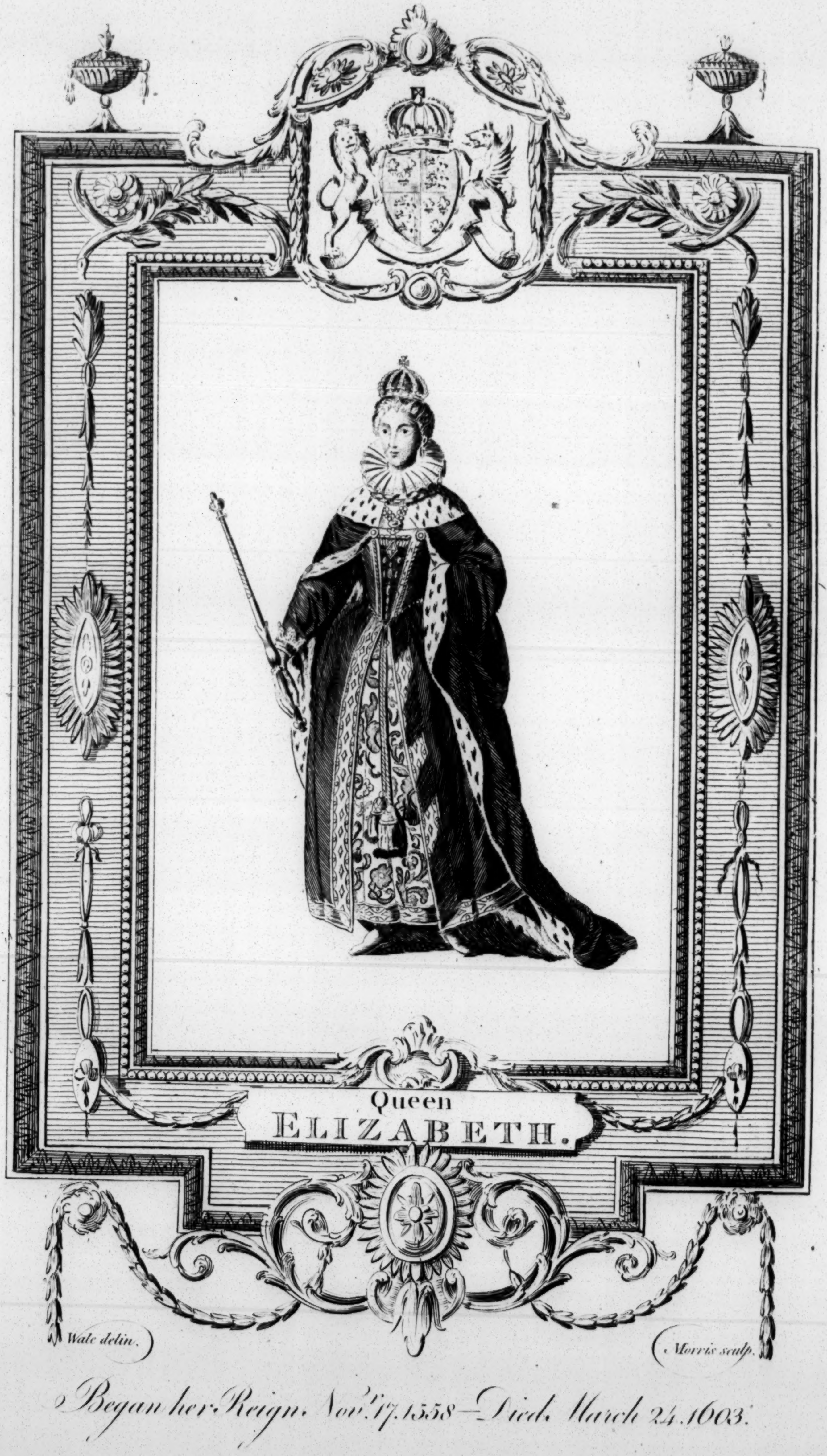


Queen
ELIZABETH.

Wale delin.

Morris sculp.

Began her Reign Novr. 17. 1558 — Died March 24. 1603.

of Huſs: and declared he was ready to follow him in the glorious tract of martyrdom. He then touched upon the moſt defenſible doctrines of Wickliffe; and concluded what he had to ſay on that head, with obſerving, that it was far from his intention to advance any thing againſt the ſtate of the church of God: that it was only againſt the abuſe of the clergy he complained: and that he could not help ſaying with his dying breath, it was certainly impious, that the patrimony of the church, which was originally intended for the purpoſe of charity and univerſal benevolence, ſhould be proſtituted to the luſt of the fleſh, and the pride of the eye, in whores, feaſts, foppiſh veſtments, and other reproaches to the name and profeſſion of Chriſtianity.

The priſoner received many interruptions, from the impertinence of ſome, and the inveteracy of others; but he anſwered with ſo much readineſs and vivacity of thought, that at laſt they were aſhamed, and he was permitted to finiſh his defence. His voice was ſweet, clear, and ſonorous: pliable to captivate every paſſion, and able to conciliate every affection. He was admired by his enemies, and compaſſionated by his friends: but he received the ſame ſentence which had been paſſed upon his martyred countryman; and Poggius ſays, the aſſembly condemned him with great reluctance.

The ſame author tells us, that Jerom had two days allowed for his recantation: and that the cardinal of Florence uſed all the arguments he could for that end, but they were ineffectual. The divine was reſolved to ſeal his doctrine with his blood: and he ſuffered death with all the magnanimity of Huſs. He embraced the ſtake, to which he was faſtened with peculiar malice by wet cords. When the executioner went behind him to ſet fire to the pile, "Come here, ſaid the martyr, and kindle it before my eyes: for if I dreaded ſuch a ſight, I ſhould never have come to this place which I had free opportunity to eſcape." The fire was kindled, and he then ſung a hymn, which was ſoon interrupted by the encircling flames.

Thus died thoſe two Bohemian martyrs: and their blood may truly be ſaid to have been the ſeed of the reformed church; which was ſo far from being cruſhed by malice and cruelty that it ſoon gathered ſtrength, and became ſuperior to all perſecution.

CHAP. V.

ELIZABETH.

Aſcends the throne when twenty-five years of age—Her popularity and prudent conduct with regard to religion—Her coronation—Peace with France—Mary arrives in Scotland—Declares in favour of the catholics; and offends her ſiſter Elizabeth—Progreſs of the reformation in Scotland—Mary marries the earl of Darnley—Her intimacy with Rizzio, who is aſſaſſinated—Darnley being murdered, the queen of Scots marries Bothwell—A confederacy formed againſt her—She is impriſoned, eſcapes and flies into England—The reception ſhe meets with in that kingdom—Inſurrections in the north—The earl of Murray aſſaſſinated—Parliamentary proceedings—The civil wars in France—Affairs of the Netherlands—Conſpiracy of the duke of Norfolk, who is tried and executed—Affairs of Scotland—Maſſacre of Paris—Civil Wars of the Netherlands—Tranſactions in Spain and Scotland—Plots and conſpiracies in England, and hoſtilities with Spain—Queen of Scots tried, condemned, and executed in Fotherinhay-caſtle—An attempt to invade England with the Spaniſh Armada—Iſſue of this great enterprize—Expedition againſt Portugal—Murder of the duke of Guiſe, and of Henry III.—A rebellion in Ireland raiſed by Hugh O'Neal, earl of Tyrone—Earl of Eſſex ſent thither, who is diſgraced on his return to England—Inſurrection, trial, and death of this nobleman—The affairs of France—Mountjoy's ſucceſs in Ireland—Spaniards and Iriſh defeated—Tyrone makes his ſubmiſſion—Death and character of queen Elizabeth.

A. D. 1558. ELIZABETH, daughter of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn, was twenty five years of age, when ſhe aſcended the throne, for which ſhe was preſerved by the particular interpoſition of divine Providence. Immediately on the death of Mary, the council notified this event to the houſe of lords, who acquainted the commons with the reſolution, to place her ſiſter Elizabeth on the throne. As this princeſs had diſcovered her moderation and prudence, during the reign of Mary, and as the dangers to which ſhe had been conſtantly expoſed, ſtrongly recommended her to the affections of the people, the joy they expreſſed on this occaſion ſeemed to prognoſticate the future happineſs of her reign. She was at Hatfield at the time of her ſiſter's death, from whence ſhe proceeded to London, through crowds of loyal ſubjects, who vied with each other in giving the ſtrongeſt teſtimonies of their affection. After having received the compliments of the nobility, ſhe diſpatched ambaſſadors to the different powers of Europe to notify her acceſſion. Among the reſt lord Cobham was ſent to Philip, to expreſs her gratitude to that prince, for the protection he had afforded her, and her inclination to enjoy the continuance of his friendſhip. The firſt act of her government was a proclamation, ſtrictly enjoining all her ſubjects to keep the peace, and forbear, upon any pretence whatever, to break, or alter, any order or uſage, at that time eſtabliſhed. With this admirable ſagacity ſhe always regulated her conduct, ſo that the reign of this queen, as it is one of the longeſt, is alſo one of the moſt glorious that is to be found in the Engliſh annals. Elizabeth ſeemed on her change of fortune, to forget the injuries ſhe had received from her enemies. She returned thanks to heaven for her deliverance as for a miracle; but ſhe wiſhed not to make her perſecutors feel the rod of retaliation. Even Sir Henry Bedingfield, who had been her keeper in priſon, and delighted in treating her with the utmoſt rigour, found her inſenſible to the deſire of revenge. This noble inſtance of a ſuperior underſtanding, and beneficent diſpoſition, charmed her enemies. Philip had no ſooner received the news of the queen's acceſſion, than he ſent orders to his ambaſſador at London, to make propoſals of marriage, offering to procure a diſpenſation from Rome. Elizabeth obſerved, that the nation had, during her ſiſter's reign, entertained an extreme averſion to the Spaniſh alliance, and that her own popularity principally aroſe from the proſpect of being freed by her means from the danger of foreign ſubjection. She knew that her marriage with Philip would be ſimilar to that of her father with Catherine of Arragon, and her concluding it would be declaring herſelf illegitimate. She therefore declined the offer, but in ſuch polite and evaſive terms, that the Spaniſh monarch could not juſtly take offence at her refuſal. Notwithſtanding Elizabeth had determined to reſtore the reformed religion in England, her ambaſſador at Rome received orders to notify her acceſſion to the ſovereign pontiff. But Paul IV. behaved with all the inſolence natural to his character. He declared, that England was a fief of the holy ſee, and that Elizabeth was guilty of great temerity in aſſuming, without his conſent, the title and authority of queen; that being illegitimate, ſhe could not inherit that kingdom; but being willing to treat her with paternal indulgence, if ſhe would renounce all pretenſions to the crown, and ſubmit entirely to his will, ſhe ſhould experience all the lenity that was conſiſtent with the dignity of the apoſtolic ſee. The queen, being informed of theſe particulars, obſerved, that the pope, in order to gain too much, was willing to loſe the whole. She therefore recalled her ambaſſador, and immediately purſued thoſe meaſures in favour of the reformed religion, which ſhe had ſecretly embraced. That ſhe might not too much alarm the papiſts, ſhe had retained eleven of her ſiſter's counſellors: but to balance their authority added eight more, whom ſhe knew were warmly inclined to the proteſtant communion; theſe were the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Bedford, Sir Ambroſe Cave, Sir Thomas Knolles, Sir Edward Rogers, Sir Thomas Parry, Sir Nicholas Bacon, whom ſhe created lord keeper, and Sir William Cecil, whom ſhe made ſecretary of ſtate. She alſo diſcharged from priſon, or recalled from exile, thoſe whoſe religion had been their only crime. At the ſame time a proclamation was publiſhed, forbidding all preaching without a ſpecial licence, that the pulpits might not be filled with the clamours of diſcord. The Lord's prayer, the creed, the litany, and the goſpels, were ordered to be read in Engliſh; and having directed, that all the churches ſhould conform to the practice of her own chapel, ſhe forbad the hoſt to be any more elevated in her preſence.

A.D. 1559. The biſhops now apprehending a total abolition of the Romiſh religion, refuſed to officiate at her coronation; but Oglethorpe, biſhop of Carliſle, was, with ſome difficulty, prevailed on to perform that ceremony. On the fourteenth of January, Elizabeth paſſed from the Tower through the ſtreets of London, in grand proceſſion, to Weſtminſter, amidſt the acclamations of a prodigious number of ſpectators aſſembled on that occaſion. The queen returned their applauſes with ſuch a modeſt affability, and winning behaviour, as charmed the hearts of all beholders. But no incident, on this occaſion, diſplayed in a ſtronger light the religious ſentiments of the citizens, or tended more to endear the new ſovereign to the people, than her accepting of an Engliſh Bible, richly gilt, which was delivered from a pageant in Cheapſide, by a child repreſenting truth, who addreſſed the queen in an oration. She received the book in a moſt gracious manner, kiſſed it, held it up, placed it on her boſom, and declared, that amidſt all the coſtly teſtimonies the city had that day given her of their affection, this preſent was by far the moſt precious and acceptable. Indeed, whenever this queen appeared in public, ſhe ſeemed to rejoice in the concourſe of her ſubjects; to enter into all their amuſements; and thus, without departing from her dignity, which ſhe well knew how to preſerve, ſhe acquired the affections of her people, and greater popularity than any of her predeceſſors.

On the twenty-fifth of January a parliament was ſummoned to aſſemble. Sir Nicholas Bacon opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he expatiated on the virtues of the new queen; and after recommending the religious ſtate of the nation to their conſideration, exhorted them to obſerve a due medium between the extremes of ſuperſtition and religion, as the moſt effectual means of uniting both Roman catholics and proteſtants in one mode of worſhip. He concluded with ſoliciting a ſupply in behalf of her majeſty, which the exigencies of the ſtate required. The commons, though they had been harraſſed by impoſitions in the late reign, chearfully granted the tonnage and poundage, together with a large ſubſidy on funds and moveables. A bill was paſſed for ſuppreſſing the monaſteries lately erected, and reſtoring the tenths and firſt fruits to the crown, which had been ſurrendered by Mary. They alſo enumerated a ſtatute, recognizing Elizabeth to be their lawful ſovereign, by virtue of an act paſſed in the thirty-ſixth year of her father's reign. Then both houſes turned their attention to affairs of religion, and paſſed the following bills: That the ſervice ſhould be performed in the vulgar tongue; that the ſupremacy of the church of England ſhould be veſted in the ſovereign; that all acts relative to religion, which had paſſed in the reign of Edward VI. ſhould be renewed, and confirmed; that the nomination to biſhoprics, ſhould be veſted in the queen, who might exerciſe her ſupremacy by any perſon ſhe ſhould appoint to that purpoſe; that all perſons in office, ſhould take the oath of ſupremacy: and that no perſon, under ſevere penalties, ſhould, by word or writing ſupport any foreign authority in this kingdom; that there ſhould be a uniformity of worſhip; and that on the vacancy of any biſhopric, the queen might reſume its temporal poſſeſſions. Elizabeth being thus veſted with the ſupremacy, erected a tribunal, called the High Commiſſion-court, veſted with the authority appointed by Henry VIII. But of nine thouſand four hundred eccleſiaſtics, who held benefices in England, thoſe who choſe rather to renounce their livings than the Romiſh religion, amounted to fourteen biſhops, twelve archdeacons, fifty canons, and about fourſcore of the inferior clergy. Bonner alone ſuffered under the hand of authority. He was committed to the Marſhalſea, and died in confinement. Some foreign princes interpoſed their good offices to procure the catholics a toleration in ſome particular places; but the queen would not comply with their requeſt, for the ſake of national peace. But in order to induce the catholics to conform to the eſtabliſhed religion, ſhe cauſed every thing to be ſtruck out of the new liturgy, that had any tendency to give them offence.

In the mean time a treaty was concluded with France on theſe conditions; that Henry ſhould retain Calais for eight years, with all other towns taken from the Engliſh; at the expiration of which, they ſhould be reſtored to the queen of England; that he ſhould give ample ſecurity for paying to Elizabeth or her ſucceſſors, the ſum of five hundred thouſand golden crowns, in default of reſtoring the places at the time appointed; that the French ſhould give hoſtages for the performance of this article; that neither Henry, the queen of Scotland, nor Elizabeth, ſhould attempt any thing againſt each other, directly or indirectly, to the prejudice of this treaty; and that they ſhould not encourage or protect the rebellious ſubjects of each other. A peace with Scotland followed as a neceſſary conſequence of that with France. But this peace was no ſooner concluded, than the dauphin and his conſort Mary, at the inſtigation of the pope, and the monarchs of France and Spain, who were incenſed at the acceſſion of a proteſtant princeſs, aſſumed the titles of king and queen of Scotland, England and Ireland; Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, the queen's ambaſſador at Paris, remonſtrated on this inſult offered to his miſtreſs, and receiving a very frivolous anſwer, repeated his complaints; but was told by the French miniſtry, that the queen of Scots was as much entitled to the arms of England, as Elizabeth was to the appellation of queen of France. Elizabeth from this time beheld Mary in the light of a formidable rival, and the king of Spain as her inveterate foe; and therefore determined to uſe every method to conciliate

ciliate the affections of her people, as the beſt preſervative againſt the united power of her enemies. Capable of diſcerning merit, ſhe appointed men of capacity to the important offices of ſtate; diſpenſed juſtice impartially: evinced a well judged œconomy; deported herſelf with complacency; and demonſtrated ſo ardent a regard for the welfare of her ſubjects, as produced the warmeſt returns of confidence and affection. At the ſame time ſhe took care to foment the religious diſſentions in Scotland, occaſioned by a ſtrong party embracing the reformation; inſomuch that conferences for a peace were opened at Edinburgh. But before this happened, Henry of France was accidentally ſlain in a tournament, and his ſon Francis aſcended the throne.

A. D. 1560.

The French monarch, Francis II. was an abſolute tool in the hands of the houſe of Guiſe, who prompted him to take every method to ſuppreſs the reformation in Scotland. But all his efforts were baffled by the ſuperior genius of Elizabeth, who reduced him to the neceſſity of concluding a treaty, by which it was ſtipulated, that the king of France and Scotland, ſhould thenceforth abſtain from bearing the arms of England: that Elizabeth ſhould be further ſatisfied, for the injury already done her in that particular; that commiſſioners ſhould be appointed to ſettle the point; and on failure of agreement, the matter ſhould be referred to the arbitration of Spain; and that the king and queen of France and Scotland, ſhould confirm the conceſſions that had been made by the French plenipotentiaries to the Scottiſh confederates. This treaty being concluded, an amneſty was publiſhed by the eſtates of Scotland, and ſeveral laws were enacted in favour of the reformation. Though Francis and Mary confirmed theſe laws, they peremptorily refuſed to ratify the treaty with Elizabeth, on pretence that ſhe had treated with their rebellious ſubjects; though their real deſign was to wreſt the crown from her, and place it on the head of their young niece. But their ſcheme proved a ſource of bitter calamities to that unfortunate princeſs, whoſe intereſt they meant to promote. Elizabeth now found ſhe had ſcarce an ally abroad on whom ſhe could depend. Montague, who had been ſent ambaſſador to Philip, met with a very cold reception. That prince bewailed the eſtabliſhment of the reformation in England, reſtored the collar of the order of the garter, and declined renewing an alliance with Elizabeth. The pope ſent a nuntio with inſtructions, and a brief to the queen, exhorting her to return within the pale of the church, promiſing her, that a general council ſhould be convoked with all convenient expedition; that he would annul the ſentence of divorce between Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn, confirm the Engliſh liturgy, and allow the people to communicate in both kinds at the ſacrament; all which temporiſing offers were rejected. At this time, the Calviniſts in France were perſecuted with the utmoſt ſeverity, until they formed a conſpiracy againſt the duke of Guiſe, and the cardinal of Lorraine, who were their inveterate enemies. The prince of Condè was ſuppoſed to favour them in private, and a ſcheme was formed for ſurprizing the duke and cardinal. This deſign being diſcovered, was conſtrued into a conſpiracy againſt the king, and twelve hundred perſons were executed, for having been privy to the plot. The ſtates of the kingdom being aſſembled at Orleans, the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condè, attended the meeting, though they knew they were ſuſpected, and hated by the princes of Lorraine. The firſt was ſo narrowly watched, that he could not eſcape; the other was impriſoned, and ſentenced to die, by the hands of the common executioner; but the death of Francis II. ſaved the noble priſoner from that ignominious fate. The queen mother was appointed regent during the minority of her ſon Charles IX. who ſucceeded his brother; the king of Navarre was conſtituted lieutenant general; the ſentence againſt Condè was reverſed; and the authority of the princes of Lorraine greatly diminiſhed.

A. D. 1561.

The fortune of Mary underwent a ſudden change by the death of the king, her huſband. Catharine of Medicis, mother of Charles IX. aſſumed the whole authority. Mary Stuart, who experienced from her only mortifications, found herſelf obliged to leave a country ſhe loved, and return to her unhappy kingdom, rent to pieces on account of religion. The ſtates of Scotland had ſent to invite her over; and ſhe applied to Elizabeth for liberty to paſs through England; but that queen let her know, that till ſhe had given her ſatisfaction, by ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh, ſhe ought to expect no favour from a perſon, whom ſhe had ſo much injured. This denial filled Mary with the higheſt reſentment; and ſending for the Engliſh ambaſſador, "What offence, ſaid ſhe, have I given your miſtreſs, that ſhe ſhould deny me ſo ſmall a favour? But, with God's aſſiſtance, I can return to my own country without her leave." Nor did ſhe delay her departure on account of Elizabeth having refuſed her a ſafe conduct. She repaired to Calais, attended by her uncles, and ſeveral French noblemen of the firſt rank, and embarked in the beginning of Auguſt. Mary ſeemed greatly affected on her leaving France. She kept her eyes fixed upon the coaſt till darkneſs intercepted it from her view. "Farewel France! ſhe cried, farewel, beloved country! I ſhall never ſee thee more." Elizabeth had fitted out a fleet of ſhips, under pretence of purſuing ſome pirates, but probably with a view of intercepting the queen of Scots in her paſſage: ſhe, however, paſſed the Engliſh fleet in a fog, and reached her native ſhore in ſafety. Mary was received by her people with every mark of affection; for no ſooner did the French gallies appear off Leith, than people of all ranks flocked thither, with eager impatience to behold and receive their young ſovereign, who was now nineteen years of age, diſtinguiſhed by her beauty, politeneſs, and elegance of manners. The firſt meaſures embraced by Mary, confirmed all the favourable prepoſſeſſions that people had entertained. She beſtowed her confidence entirely on the leaders of the reformed party, who had the greateſt influence, and were alone able to ſupport her government. James, her natural brother, whom ſhe made earl of Murray, had the chief authority. After him Lidington, ſecretary of ſtate, had a principal ſhare in her confidence; and, by their activity, they endeavoured to eſtabliſh order and peace in a country, divided by private feuds, and public factions. But one circumſtance deprived Mary of that favour, which might have been expected from her engaging deportment; ſhe was a papiſt; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty ſhe could obtain permiſſion to celebrate maſs in her own chapel. One ſingle maſs was thought, by the reforming miniſters, more dangerous to the kingdom, than an hundred thouſand armed men. Knox, a popular preacher, daily ſignalized himſelf by freſh inſtances of zeal againſt the catholics; he publicly called the queen Jezebel. All the endeavours of Mary to gain this clamorous preacher over to her intereſt were in vain: he was cited before the council, before whom he defended his principles without timidity, and was diſcharged without puniſhment. The bigotry of the miniſters and people were carried to the greateſt height. The uſual prayers in the churches were, "That God would turn the queen's heart, which was obſtinate againſt him and his truth; or were his holy will otherwiſe, that he would ſtrengthen the hearts and hands of the elect, ſtoutly to oppoſe the rage of all tyrants." The pulpits were filled with reproaches againſt the vices of the court; and the queen naturally regretted leaving a country where ſhe had, in early youth, received the firſt impreſſion of thoſe manners, which were now conſidered as ſinful abominations. Thus ſurrounded with dangers, Mary thought her only expedient for preſerving the tranquillity of her kingdom, was to maintain a good correſpondence with Elizabeth. In order to this ſhe diſpatched her ſecretary to London, to expreſs her deſire of maintaining a good correſpondence with her; and to requeſt, that this friendſhip might be cemented by Mary's being declared ſucceſſor to the crown of England. No requeſt could be more unreaſonable, or made at a more improper time. Elizabeth replied, that Mary had once diſcovered her intention not to wait for the ſucceſſion, but had openly aſſumed the title of queen of England, and pretended a ſuperior right to her throne: that though her ambaſſadors, and thoſe of her huſband, had ſigned a treaty, in which they renounced that claim, and promiſed ſatisfaction for ſo great an indignity, yet ſhe had rejected the moſt earneſt ſolicitations, and had even incurred ſome danger in croſſing the ſeas, rather than ratify that equitable treaty: that, for her part, whatever claims were advanced, ſhe was determined to live and die queen of England; and after her death, it was the buſineſs of others to examine who had the beſt pretenſions to ſucceed her, either by the laws or right of blood; and that ſhe would never conſent to ſtrengthen the intereſt or authority of any claimant, by fixing the ſucceſſion on a rival queen. Thus the treaty continued without being ratified: however, the queen of England agreed to maintain a correſpondence with Mary, and many letters paſſed between them, abounding with expreſſions of the moſt unreſerved friendſhip, while they deteſted each other with all the rage of jealouſy and diſdain.

Elizabeth, obſerving that Mary was ſufficiently depreſſed by her rebellious ſubjects, inſtead of adding at this time to the troubles of Scotland, wiſely employed herſelf in regulating the affairs of her own kingdom. Her firſt attempt was to put the Engliſh navy in a reſpectable condition: ſhe augmented the pay of her ſeamen; filled her magazines with arms; introduced the manufacture of gunpowder into England; ordered a great number of iron and braſs pieces of ordnance to be caſt; reinforced the garriſon of Berwick; introduced and encouraged improvements in agriculture, by permitting the exportation of corn; promoted the trade and navigation of England; regulated the national coin, which her predeceſſors had altered; and ordered her people to attend the exerciſe of arms at ſtated times. The glory that attended her wiſe meaſures, attracted the admiration of all Europe; nor were there wanting numbers, who made propoſals of marriage to a princeſs, who enjoyed ſuch ſingular felicity and renown. The archduke Charles, the emperor's ſecond ſon, with Caſimir, ſon of the elector Palatine, made their applications. Eric, king of Sweden, and Adolph, duke of Holſtein, alſo became her ſuitors. The earl of Arran, heir to the crown of Scotland, was recommended to her by the ſtates of that kingdom. Even ſome of her ſubjects entertained hopes of ſucceſs, though they did not openly declare their pretenſions. The earl of Arundel, though declining in years, flattered himſelf with this proſpect; as did alſo Sir William Pickering, who was much eſteemed for his perſonal merit. But lord Robert Dudley, a younger brother of the late duke of Northumberland, appeared the more likely to ſucceed, as by his addreſs and flattery he had, in a manner, become her favourite, and had great influence in her counſels; whence people long expected, that he would be preferred above all the princes who had addreſſed her. The queen gave theſe ſuitors ſuch a gentle refuſal as encouraged their purſuit; and thus allowed them to entertain hopes of ſucceeding in their pretenſions, in order to attach them to her intereſt: yet, though Elizabeth reſolved never to beſtow upon her people an heir to the crown, ſhe ſeems to have determined that none, who had any pretenſions to the ſucceſſion, ſhould ever have one. By her father's excluſion of the poſterity of Margaret, queen of Scotland, the right to the crown devolved to the houſe of Suffolk; and the lady Catharine Gray, younger ſiſter to the lady Jane, was now heireſs of that family. This lady was ſent to the Tower for marrying the earl of Hertford without her conſent, and died in confinement. But however ſevere this queen was with regard to thoſe who had any pretenſions to the crown, ſhe was always attentive to remove the oppreſſions of her ſubjects. She revoked all warrants granted to purveyors for victualling the fleet, which were generally executed in a very vexatious manner; and iſſued orders, that the people ſhould be paid in money for whatever proviſions they furniſhed. She reformed the impoſitions of the Exchequer; and took care that the penſions aſſigned to the popiſh clergy, on their reſigning their livings, ſhould be punctually paid. She alſo encreaſed the ſalary of the judges, and allowed them a proviſion for their reſpective circuits. At the ſame time ſhe took care that her œconomy ſhould go hand in hand with her liberality.

A. D. 1562.

The queen regent of France had formed a plan of adminiſtration, in which ſhe gave equal authority to the catholics and the proteſtants; and by dividing the power between the duke of Guiſe and the prince of Condè, endeavoured to render herſelf neceſſary to both; but ſhe found it impoſſible to preſerve a firm concord in ſo delicate a ſituation. An edict had been publiſhed, granting toleration to the proteſtants; but the intereſted views of the duke of Guiſe, under the pretence of religious zeal, produced a diſagreement; and the two parties, after the tranquillity of a moment, renewed their mutual inſults. Coligni and Andelot, aſſembling their friends, flew to arms: Guiſe and Montmorency, getting the king's perſon into their poſſeſſion, obliged the queen regent to embrace their party. Fourteen armies were raiſed, and in motion in different parts of France. Wherever the reformed prevailed, the images were broken, the altars pillaged, and the monaſteries deſtroyed; where ſucceſs attended the Romans, they burned the bibles, they obliged married perſons to perform the ceremony over again, and re-baptized their infants; both ſides employed themſelves in plunder, deſolation, and bloodſhed. Even the parliament of Paris put the ſword into the hands of the enraged multitude, and empowered the catholics to maſſacre thoſe who were called Hugonots. Philip, king of Spain, dreading leſt the doctrines of the reformed ſhould ſpread into the provinces of the Netherlands, had formed a ſecret alliance with the princes of Guiſe, for the ſuppreſſion of what was termed hereſy; and now ſent ſix thouſand men, with a ſupply of money, to reinforce the catholic party. The prince of Condè finding himſelf unable to oppoſe their united force, ſent to crave the aſſiſtance and protection of Elizabeth; and offered to put Havre-de-Grace into the hands of the Engliſh, on condition of three thouſand men being ſent for its garriſon, three thouſand more to defend Dieppe and Rouen, and his receiving a hundred thouſand crowns. Elizabeth agreed to the propoſal; and three thouſand Engliſh, under the command of Sir Edward Poinings, were ſent to take poſſeſſion of Havre. Soon after the earl of Warwick arrived with another body of three thouſand Engliſh, and took the command of that city. Andelot, aſſiſted by Elizabeth's negotiations, had raiſed a conſiderable body of German proteſtants, who marched towards Normandy, in order to act in conjunction with the Engliſh. Mean while the catholics, under the command of the conſtable and the duke of Guiſe, overtaking them at Dreux, a battle was fought with great obſtinacy on both ſides; and, what is very remarkable, Condè and Montmorency, the commanders of each army, were taken priſoners. Guiſe, however, appeared to have the victory: but the admiral, collecting the remains of his army, ſubdued ſome conſiderable places in Normandy; and Elizabeth, to enable him to ſupport his cauſe, ſent him a ſupply of a hundred thouſand crowns.

A. D. 1563. On the twelfth of January the queen ſummoned a parliament; when, a ſhort time before the meeting of that aſſembly, ſhe was ſeized with the ſmall-pox. Her life having been for ſome time deſpaired of, the people became ſenſible of their dangerous ſituation, in caſe of her deceaſe, from the uncertainty which attended the ſucceſſion to the crown. The commons therefore preſented an addreſs to her majeſty, requeſting, that ſhe would be graciouſly pleaſed either to marry, or to fix the ſucceſſion in ſuch an explicit manner, as might prevent the calamities which it was natural to fear would reſult from the conteſts of ſeveral claims to the throne. But Elizabeth ſtill found means to elude giving a clear anſwer to their applications; nor could ſhe be prevailed upon to appoint a ſucceſſor. The parliament, however, made no difficulty in granting the neceſſary ſupplies. They were very willing to ſupport the noble deſigns of the queen for the improvement of trade and manufactures, for the augmentation of her navy, for the ſuppreſſion of vice, and for the more effectually reſtraining the progreſs of popery. They granted two fifteenths, and two ſubſidies. In the mean time the duke of Guiſe laid ſiege to Orleans. A very conſiderable progreſs had been made in this undertaking, when the duke was aſſaſſinated by a young enthuſiaſt named Poltrot de Merc. The duke, on finding his end approaching, expreſſed the deepeſt remorſe for having involved his country in the horrors of a civil war; and conjured the queen regent to conclude a peace as ſoon as poſſible with the Hugonots. His advice was followed. Both parties being heartily tired of the war, ſoon agreed to articles of pacification. A toleration, under ſome reſtraints, was again granted to the proteſtants; a general amneſty was publiſhed; Condè was reinſtated in his offices and government; and money being advanced to pay the arrears of the German troops, they were ſent out of the kingdom. It had been ſtipulated between Elizabeth and Condè, that a peace ſhould be concluded by neither party without the other's conſent, but this was little regarded. The leaders of the French proteſtants only obtained a promiſe, that on her relinquiſhing Havre, her charges, and the money ſhe had advanced, ſhould be paid by the king of France, and that Calais ſhould be reſtored to her on the expiration of the ſtipulated term. Elizabeth diſdaining to accept of theſe conditions, and imagining Havre a much better pledge for obtaining her purpoſe, ſhe ſent orders to her general to defend the place againſt the united power of France. The earl of Warwick made a gallant defence, notwithſtanding the many difficulties he laboured under; but the plague breaking out among his troops, he was obliged to ſurrender the place. Nor did the misfortune terminate there; the garriſon brought home the peſtilence, which afterwards raged with uncommon violence; above twenty thouſand perſons died of it in London only. A peace was ſoon after concluded with France; two hundred thouſand crowns were paid to Elizabeth for the redemption of hoſtages; and the mutual pretenſions of both parties continued.

By the death of the duke of Guiſe, the influence of Mary was greatly leſſened in France, which made her uncle, cardinal of Lorrain, ready to eſpouſe her to any one who could ſtrengthen their intereſt, or give inquietude to the queen of England. Elizabeth was equally vigilant in preventing the execution of their ſchemes; and told the queen of Scots, that nothing could ſatisfy her but her eſpouſing ſome Engliſh nobleman; and even went ſo far as to propoſe her own favourite, the earl of Leiceſter, whom ſhe certainly never meant to part with; for when ſhe perceived that Mary was inclined to liſten to the propoſal, ſhe found means to elude the promiſe ſhe had made of declaring that princeſs her ſucceſſor. England now enjoyed a profound tranquillity. The queen being no longer engaged in foreign affairs, made a progreſs to the univerſity of Cambridge, where ſhe was received with great pomp and magnificence. Every thing was conducted with a ſplendour that did honour to that celebrated ſeat of learning; and ſhe declared her ſatisfaction in an elegant Latin oration, wherein ſhe aſſured the univerſity of her protection, and earneſt deſire of encouraging learning to the utmoſt of her power.

A. D. 1565. Two years having been conſumed in evaſions, artifices, and uncertainty, Mary fixed upon lord Darnley, ſon to the earl of Lenox, as the object of her choice. This young nobleman was her couſin-german by the lady Margaret Douglas, neice to Henry VIII. and daughter to the earl of Angus, by Margaret, queen of Scotland. He had been born and educated in England, where his father had conſtantly reſided, after being expelled his native country by the ſuperior intereſt of the Hamiltons. Darnley was alſo, by his father, deſcended from the ſame family with Mary herſelf; and would, by marrying her, preſerve the royal dignity in the houſe of Stuart. He was, after her, next heir to the crown of England; and thoſe who had affected to deny her title, on account of her being a foreigner, had endeavoured to maintain his claim, and to give it the preference; ſo that the queen of Scots propoſed to unite the rights of the two families by this marriage. But ſuſpecting that Elizabeth would counteract her deſign, ſhe recalled the earl of Lenox, that he might be put into poſſeſſion of his lands which had been confiſcated. The queen of England entered fully into her views, though ſhe ſeemed entirely ignorant of her purpoſe; nor was ſhe ſorry to find Mary had caſt her eyes on a young nobleman, whoſe father poſſeſſed a great eſtate in England; and therefore ſhe imagined would be ſo far ſubject to her pleaſure, that ſhe could prevent the marriage without interrupting the treaty. Underſtanding that the negotiation for Darnley's marriage was in great forwardneſs, ſhe permitted that nobleman, on his firſt application, to follow his father into Scotland; but no ſooner did ſhe hear that preparations were making for celebrating the nuptials, than ſhe exclaimed againſt the marriage; ſent Throgmorton to command Darnley, upon his allegiance, immediately to return to England; committed the counteſs of Lenox, and her ſecond ſon to the Tower; and though it was impoſſible for her to aſſign one plauſible pretence for her diſpleaſure, ſhe threatened, proteſted, and complained, as if ſhe had been injured in the niceſt point. The conduct of Elizabeth, though generally judicious, was always full of duplicity and deceit; but never did ſhe evince greater inſincerity, than in her tranſactions with the queen of Scotland. In theſe ſhe was influenced by ſo many narrow prejudices, that ſhe ever ſtudiouſly concealed her real motives.

This ſtate policy, or deep diſſimulation, is always ſhocking to a virtuous mind, though it often ſtands a leading maxim in the ſcience of government. However, notwithſtanding all the efforts and mean arts of Elizabeth, the marriage between the Scottiſh queen and Darnley was celebrated on the twenty-ninth of July. Mary, allured by the youth, beauty, and exterior accompliſhments of her huſband, at firſt overlooked the qualities of his mind, which were far from correſponding with the excellence of his external figure. Addicted to low pleaſures, he was incapable of the genuine ſentiments of love, and deſtitute of gratitude, from thinking that no favours could equal his merit. He was at the ſame time violent in his temper, yet variable in his enterprizes; credulous, and eaſily governed by flatterers. Mary, in the firſt effuſions of tenderneſs, took a pleaſure in exalting him: ſhe granted him the title of king; joined his name with her own in all public acts; but having leiſure to obſerve his weakneſs and libertine follies, ſhe withdrew from him by degrees her confidence, and treated him with neglect. The reſentment he ſhewed upon this occaſion, ſerved only to increaſe her diſguſt; and Darnley, enraged at imaginary ill treatment, reſolved to be revenged on every one whom he deemed the cauſe of this change in her deportment to him. This unworthy huſband not conſidering that he, a ſlave to vice, and wholly occupied by ſelf-love, was never ſincerely attached to the moſt amiable of women. There was at this time in court one David Rezzio, a Piedmonteſe muſician, who had obtained the queen's confidence and favour in a very high degree. Having a good ear, and a tolerable voice, the queen retained him in her ſervice to complete her band of muſic, which gave him frequent opportunities of inſinuating himſelf into her favour. Some time after, her ſecretary for French diſpatches having incurred her diſpleaſure, ſhe promoted Rezzio to that office, which placed him continually near her perſon. Darnley had the misfortune to fall under the management of this man. Rezzio's whole influence with the queen was employed in promoting his marriage. But, when her majeſty's affections were cooled, Rezzio refuſing to humour him any longer in his follies, he imputed the queen's coldneſs, not to his own behaviour, but to the favourite's inſinuations. Theſe ſuſpicions were confirmed by Mary's conduct. She treated this upſtart with the utmoſt familiarity: he was perpetually in her preſence; intermeddled in every buſineſs; and, together with a few favourites, was the companion of her private amuſements.

A. D. 1566. Darnley, inflamed with rage, formed a plan for his deſtruction, in which were engaged the earl of Morton, chancellor, with the lords Ruthven, Lindeſey, and Maitland. Theſe conſpirators, being well acquainted with the levity of their employer, engaged him to ſign a paper, in which he avowed the undertaking, and promiſed to protect them from all conſequences. The ninth of March was the day fixed for the execution of their ſanguinary purpoſe; and all neceſſary precautions were taken to render the deſign ſucceſsful. Mary, then in the ſixth month of her pregnancy, was ſupping in her bedchamber with her natural ſiſter the counteſs of Argyle, and David Rezzio, when the king entered the apartment by a private paſſage, and placed himſelf at the back of Mary's chair. Lord Ruthven, and the other conſpirators, all armed, ruſhed in after him. The queen, terrified at their appearance, demanded the reaſon of this rude intruſion. They anſwered, that not the leaſt violence was intended againſt her perſon; they meant only to bring that villain, pointing at Rezzio, to his deſerved puniſhment. Rezzio inſtantly run behind his miſtreſs, and clinging round her waiſt, implored her protection; while ſhe interpoſed in his behalf with cries, menaces, and entreaties. But regardleſs of her efforts to ſave him, the impatient aſſaſſins ruſhed upon their prey; and by overturning the table, encreaſed the confuſion and horror of this dreadful ſcene. He was now torn from the queen by violence, and dragged into the anti-chamber, where he was diſpatched by the conſpirators, who pierced his body with fifty-ſix wounds. Mary, after having paid a decent tribute of grief, dried up her tears, and employed her mind wholly on meditating a ſevere revenge. The king, with the conſpirators, kept poſſeſſion of the palace, and guarded the queen; when ſhe, obſerving his irreſolution, employed all her perſuaſions and careſſes to diſengage him from his new aſſociates; and at length prevailed on him to eſcape with her in the night to Dunbar, attended only by three perſons. Here many of her ſubjects offered her their ſervices; and having collected an army, which the conſpirators were unable to reſiſt, ſhe obliged them to fly into England, where they lived in great poverty and diſtreſs. However, upon applying to the earl of Bothwell, the queen's new favourite, he pacified her reſentment, and procured them liberty to return to Scotland. Mary now diſcovered the ſtrongeſt proofs of antipathy to her huſband. She encouraged her courtiers to neglect him; and was pleaſed with his mean equipage and few attendants, which drew on him the contempt even of the very populace. She prevailed on him to diſown all his connections with the aſſaſſins; to deny his having any concern in the murder; and even to publiſh a proclamation, containing ſo notorious a falſhood. On the nineteenth of June, Mary was delivered of a ſon, and Sir James Melvil was diſpatched to carry intelligence of this event to Elizabeth. On the evening of his arrival in London, the queen had given a ball to her court at Greenwich, diſplaying all the ſpirit ſhe uſually diſcovered on theſe occaſions: but no ſooner heard the news, than all her joy was damped; and ſinking into melancholy, reclined her head upon her arm, and complained to ſome of her attendants, that the queen of Scots was mother of a fair ſon, while ſhe herſelf was but a barren ſtock; yet, the next day, ſhe put on a chearful countenance, thanked Melvil for his haſte in bringing the agreeable intelligence, and expreſſed the moſt cordial friendſhip for Mary. The birth of a ſon contributed greatly to encourage the zeal of Mary's partizans in England; perſons of all parties began to be impatient for ſome ſettlement of the ſucceſſion. Warm debates were ſupported in both houſes on this occaſion. Some ſpirited ſpeeches were made; in one of which Paul Wentworth affirmed, that the queen was bound in duty not only to provide for the happineſs of her ſubjects, but to ſhew her regard to their future ſecurity, by fixing on a ſucceſſor. The queen, hearing of theſe debates, ſent for the ſpeaker, and having repeated ſome expreſs orders, to proceed no farther on that matter, commanded him to inform the houſe, that if any member remained unſatisfied, he might appear before the privy council, and there give his reaſons. The members ſeeming ſtill diſpoſed to proceed upon the queſtion, ſhe ſent to revoke her orders, and to allow the houſe liberty to debate. Pleaſed with this condeſcenſion, they voted her a ſupply of a ſubſidy and a fifteenth, without any conditions annexed, to be levied at three payments. It was believed, the commons intended, by this liberal ſupply, to engage the queen to yield to their requeſt, therefore on her refuſal, ſhe voluntarily omitted the third payment, obſerving, that money in the purſes of her ſubjects, was as good as in her own exchequer.

While Elizabeth was employed in promoting the happineſs of her people, the Netherlands were agitated with thoſe alarming convulſions, which at laſt gave liberty to a very conſiderable part of that country. Soon after Philip had quitted theſe provinces, in order to reſide in Spain, the diſcontents of the inhabitants arrived at ſuch a height, that it was impoſſible for affairs to continue long in their then ſituation. This univerſal diſſatisfaction flowed from ſeveral cauſes. The people were perſuaded that the king intended to aboliſh the ſmall remains of their privileges, and to erect on their ruins the throne of deſpotic power. The eſtabliſhment of biſhoprics alarmed many principal families, as the juriſdiction and revenues of the abbeys, in which they were nearly concerned, were greatly leſſened. The inquiſition which was going to be eſtabliſhed in theſe provinces, cauſed an univerſal alarm. The ſtates had been prohibited from aſſembling. The king diſcovered a determined reſolution of exterminating the reformed religion. Theſe meaſures, which ſet the provinces in a flame, were upon the point of being eſtabliſhed. They had for ſeveral years petitioned for permiſſion to aſſemble the ſtates, in order to avert the ſtorm which threatened the deſtruction of their country. Their requeſt was always rejected, and often with contumelious language. This ſtrange behaviour raiſed the reſentment of the people. The prince of Orange, with the counts of Egmont and Horn, withdrew from the council, and joined in a petition to the king. The cardinal de Glanville, who directed all the meaſures of government, had rendered himſelf ſo odious, that the moſt violent attempts were to be feared, if he filled any longer the ſeat of power. Philip, whoſe pride would not ſuffer him to recal the cardinal, adviſed him to withdraw. The cardinal obeyed, and the nobles reſumed their ſeats at the council board. This point obtained, they exerted themſelves to prevent the eſtabliſhment of the inquiſition, which they conſidered as the greateſt oppreſſion that could be laid upon any people. They formed aſſociations; and the proteſtants celebrated divine ſervice openly, notwithſtanding all the threats of government. From this moment Philip conſidered the people of the Low Countries as rebels, while they looked upon him as an unjuſt and arbitrary ſovereign. Such was the beginning of the troubles in the Netherlands, in which the Engliſh were afterwards very intimately engaged. About this period, Elizabeth viſited the univerſity of Oxford, where ſhe was magnificently entertained a whole week, during which ſhe aſſiſted at ſeveral academical exerciſes. She anſwered a Greek oration in the ſame language, and in a Latin ſpeech aſſured the univerſity of her favour and protection.

A. D. 1567. The earl of Bothwell, one of the moſt conſiderable noblemen in Scotland, though undiſtinguiſhed either by civil or military talents, had made a figure in the party which oppoſed the earl of Murray, and the rigid reformers. He was profligate in his manners, and his profuſe expences had involved his great fortune in ſuch debts, as ſeemed to leave him no reſource, but in the moſt deſperate enterprizes. Having lately obtained Mary's entire confidence, all her meaſures were directed by his advice, and reports were ſpread of more particular intimacies between them, which gained ground from the increaſe of her hatred to her huſband, who was treated with ſuch neglect, that he ſecretly provided a veſſel to tranſport him to the continent. The ſuſpicions againſt her were even carried ſo far, that when Darnley reduced to a ſtate of deſperation, left the court, and retired to Glaſgow, an extraordinary kind of illneſs, with which he was afflicted while there, was aſcribed to her having given him a doſe of poiſon. Whatever truth might be in this report, Mary ſeemed greatly alarmed. She repaired to Glaſgow, paid him a viſit, and not only treated him with the utmoſt tenderneſs, but brought him along with her, and by her conduct gave reaſon to believe, that ſhe intended to live with him on a more agreeable footing. Darnley, far from having any miſtruſt, had put himſelf into her hands, and attended her to Edinburgh. She lived in the palace of Holyrood-houſe; but it being in a low ſituation, and as the noiſe occaſioned by the concourſe of people, might diſturb him during his illneſs, theſe reaſons were aſſigned for fitting up an apartment for him in a ſolitary houſe, called the Kirkfield, at ſome diſtance. The queen converſed with him here in the moſt endearing manner, and ſome nights lay in a room below his; but on the ninth of February told him that ſhe ſhould paſs that night in the palace, on account of the marriage of one of her maids of honour. About two in the morning, the whole city was alarmed with a violent noiſe, and aſtoniſhment appeared in every countenance, when known, that it was occaſioned by the blowing up the houſe where the king reſided. Darnley's body was found at ſome diſtance in a neighbouring field, without any marks of fire, contuſion or violence. Not the leaſt doubt was made by any that the king had been murdered; and Bothwell was generally conſidered as the author of that atrocious crime. Voices were heard in the ſtreets of Edinburgh, during the ſtillneſs of the night, imputing to Mary and Bothwell the death of the king. The earl of Lenox, who lived in poverty and contempt, at a diſtance from the court, wrote to the queen, demanding juſtice for the murder of his ſon. The court, convinced that it was abſolutely neceſſary to make ſome enquiry, allowed fifteen days for the examination of this important affair; and cited Lenox to appear at court, and prove his charge againſt Bothwell. The earl beginning to entertain apprehenſions from the power and inſolence of his enemy, requeſted, that the day might be prorogued. Conjuring the queen, for the ſake of her own honour, to employ more leiſure and deliberation, in determining an affair of ſuch extreme moment. Not the leaſt regard was paid to his application; and though Cunningham, one of Lenox's retinue, appeared in court, and proteſted in his maſter's name, againſt the acquittal of the criminal, a verdict was given in his favour, as neither accuſer nor witneſs appeared. A parliament was held two days after this extraordinary trial, which ſtrongly confirmed the general opinion of Bothwell's guilt; yet he was the perſon appointed to carry the royal ſceptre on their firſt meeting. In this parliament a rigorous act was paſſed againſt thoſe who poſted up defamatory papers, but no notice was taken of the king's murder. Soon after, Mary having gone to Sterling, to pay a viſit to her ſon, Bothwell aſſembled eight hundred horſe, and way-laying her on her return, ſeized her perſon near Edinburgh, and carried her to Dunbar, with a deſign to force her to marry him. It was generally ſuſpected, that the whole tranſaction was managed in concert with the queen, for ſome of the nobility in order to diſcover the truth, having ſent her a private meſſage, aſſuring her, that if ſhe lay under any conſtraint, they would exert all their power for her relief, ſhe anſwered, that ſhe had indeed been carried to Dunbar by violence, but had been treated with ſo much kindneſs ſince her arrival, that ſhe willingly remained with Bothwell. The nobility were now fully convinced, that the whole had been previouſly planned between them, and gave themſelves no farther concern about her captivity. A few days after, Bothwell received a pardon for this violence, and for all other crimes; by which the murder of the king was indirectly forgiven. Notwithſtanding the reſolution of Mary to marry this reputed murderer, a difficulty lay in the way, by ſome thought inſurmountable; he had been married two years before to a woman of merit, ſiſter to the earl of Huntley, and it was neceſſary to ſet this marriage aſide. A ſuit was therefore commenced for a divorce in the ſpiritual court of the archbiſhop of St. Andrews, which was popiſh, governed by the canon law, and in the new conſiſtorial court, which was proteſtant, and regulated by the principles of the reformed divines. The firſt decided in his favour from reaſons of conſanguinity, alledged by Bothwell; the latter from reaſons of adultery alledged by his wife. The affair being carried on with the utmoſt precipitation, a ſentence of divorce was pronounced, in both courts, in four days. The banns were then ordered to be publiſhed in the church, between the queen and the duke of Orkney, the title Bothwell now bore; which Craig, a miniſter of Edinburgh refuſed. He even exhorted all who had acceſs to the queen, to adviſe her againſt ſo ſcandalous an alliance; but Mary perſiſting in her weak reſolution, the ceremony was performed by the biſhop of Orkney, on the fifteenth of May, three months and five days after the death of the king; but he was afterwards depoſed by the church for his ſcandalous compliance. Very few lords attended, though many of them had ſigned a petition for her marrying Bothwell; even the French ambaſſador could not be prevailed upon to countenance the marriage by his preſence. This event diſgraced Mary in the eyes of all Europe. Her ſubjects beheld her with horror. The ſuſpicions ſhe lay under with regard to her being an accomplice in the death of the king grew ſtronger. Her connection with the man whom the public voice had pointed out as the murderer: her great anxiety to have him acquitted; a marriage ſo contrary to all decency, negociated by means ſo odious; every thing ſeemed to confirm, that Mary the ſlave of her paſſion for Bothwell, was the partner of his crime. Even though this barbarous action ſhould not be imputed to her, it is impoſſible to clear her of the moſt ſhameful weakneſs. But ſuch is the frailty of human nature, that the beſt characters under certain fatal circumſtances, tranſgreſs at once the bounds of wiſdom and duty. The guilt of Bothwell was aggravated by his inſolence. He treated the queen herſelf with the greateſt barbarity; and endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of the young prince, who had been committed to the care of lord Erſkine, lately created earl of Mar; but he nobly refuſed to part with his charge. This attempt alarmed the whole nation. The principal nobility met at Stirling caſtle, and formed an aſſociation to protect the prince, and puniſh the king's murderers. Lord Hume appearing firſt in arms, at the head of eight hundred horſe, ſuddenly encompaſſed the qeeen of Scots and Bothwell, in Bothwick caſtle; but they found means to eſcape to Dunbar. Meanwhile the confederate lords aſſembled their troops at Edinburgh. Bothwell ſoon after took the field, and advanced againſt them. The two armies met at Carberry hill, about ſix miles from Edinburgh; but the queen was ſoon ſenſible ſhe had no reaſon to depend upon her troops, for they refuſed to ſpill their blood in her cauſe, and ſhe had no reſource but that of holding a conference with the confederates, into whoſe hands ſhe ſurrendered herſelf. They conducted her to Edinburgh, amidſt the inſults of the populace; who not only reproached her with her crimes, but which way ſoever ſhe turned, held before her eyes a banner, on which were painted the murder of her huſband, and the diſtreſs of James, her infant ſon; on which, being overwhelmed with her calamities, ſhe burſt into tears and lamentations. Bothwell, perceiving that the authority of the queen was no longer able to protect him, fled to Dunbar; where, fitting out a few ſmall ſhips, he ſailed for the Orkneys, ſubſiſting for ſome time by piracy. Being purſued thither, the veſſel in which he had embarked was taken, with ſeveral of his ſervants; who afterwards diſcovered all the circumſtances of the king's murder, and were puniſhed for that crime; while Bothwell having eſcaped in a boat, found means to get a paſſage to Denmark; where he was thrown into priſon, loſt his ſenſes, and about ten years after died miſerably, in extreme diſtreſs.

The unfortunate Mary was not permitted by the conſpirators to continue long at the palace: they ſent her under a ſtrong guard to Lochleven, belonging to William Douglas, uterine brother to the earl of Murray. This caſtle was ſituated on a ſmall iſland in the middle of a lake, and acceſſible only by a boat. Here the captive queen was treated with inexpreſſible cruelty, without a ſingle friend to comfort her. The ſufferings of this unhappy princeſs removed the fears and jealouſies of Elizabeth, and ſhe reſolved to employ all her authority to alleviate her misfortunes. She diſpatched Throgmorton to Scotland, with orders to enquire into the real ſituation of Mary, and to promiſe her all the aſſiſtance in her power. At the ſame time, he was commiſſioned to demand of the conſpirators the liberty of their ſovereign, and in caſe of refuſal, to threaten them with the reſentment of his miſtreſs. But the aſſociated lords apprehenſive of Elizabeth's political views, thought proper, after ſeveral delays, to refuſe the Engliſh ambaſſador all acceſs to Mary; and ſent her three inſtruments to ſign; by one ſhe was to reſign the crown in favour of her ſon, by another to appoint Murray regent, and by a third to give her ſanction to a council, appointed to adminiſter the government till Murray arrived from France. The queen ſeeing no proſpect of relief, after a plentiful effuſion of tears, ſigned the three inſtruments; and in conſequence of her forced reſignation, the young prince who was but thirteen months old, was proclaimed king, with the title of James VI. and on the twenty-ninth of July, he was crowned at Stirling, the earl of Morton taking, in his name the coronation oath, in which was a promiſe to extirpate hereſy, and ſome conceſſions in favour of the liberty of the people: but Throgmorton was ordered by Elizabeth not to aſſiſt at the coronation. Soon after was ſtruck a coin, on which this memorable ſaying of the emperor Trajan was engraven, *Pro me; ſi merear, in me;* "For me; If I deſerve it, againſt me." The earl Murray arriving from France, took poſſeſſion of his high office. In a viſit to the captive queen, he talked to her with great ſeverity on her paſt conduct. He then ſummoned a parliament, which, after voting that ſhe was an acomplice in her huſband's murder, ſentenced her to perpetual impriſonment; ratified her reſignation to the crown; acknowledged her ſon as king, and Murray as regent. Murray, being poſſeſſed of vigour and abilities, now exerted himſelf in reducing the kingdom. He bribed Sir James Balfour to ſurrender Edinburgh caſtle; and forced the garriſon of Dunbar to open its gates, and then demoliſhed its fortifications.

A.D. 1568.

While Bothwell was with Mary, few of the nobility were inclined to ſupport her authority. By his abſence, the ſentiments of many were changed; and ſeveral of the malcontents, obſerving that every thing was carried to extremity againſt the queen, became diſpoſed to embrace her cauſe. But all their endeavours would have been of little avail, had not her charms engaged George Douglas, brother to the laird of Lochlevin, to promiſe her his aſſiſtance. He having admiſſion into the houſe at all times, on the ſecond of May conveyed her into a ſmall boat, and rowed her aſhore. The news of her eſcape was ſoon known to her friends, who conveyed her to Hamilton, where ſhe was joined by a great number of the nobility. A bond of aſſociation was immediately ſigned for her defence, and Mary, in a few days, found herſelf at the head of ſix thouſand men. The regent haſtily aſſembled a body of forces, and though they were inferior in number, he took the field; and on the fifteenth of May a battle was fought at Langſide, near Glaſgow, in which the regent obtained a deciſive victory; and the queen's party was entirely diſperſed. This unfortunate princeſs fled with precipitation to the borders of England. Here ſhe reſolved to ſeek an aſylum; and, entering a fiſhing boat, landed the ſame day at Workington, in Cumberland, and was conducted to the caſtle of Carliſle, in a very honourable manner, by the deputy governor. From thence ſhe ſent a letter to Elizabeth, ſoliciting that aſſiſtance ſhe had promiſed againſt her rebellious ſubjects. Elizabeth was diſpoſed to comply with the requeſt of the Scottiſh queen: but Cecil cautioned her againſt ſuffering the feelings of humanity to prevail over the dictates of prudence. However, ſhe ſent orders to lady Scroop, the duke of Norfolk's ſiſter, who lived in the neighbourhood, to attend on that princeſs; and ſoon after ſent to her lord Scroop with Sir Francis Knolles. Though the queen of Scots had, by the influence of their repreſentations, ſubmitted her cauſe to the arbitration of Elizabeth, ſhe uſed every evaſion poſſible to avoid coming to this extremity; but on Elizabeth's alledging, that it was never meant that ſhe ſhould be cited to a trial on the accuſation of her rebellious ſubjects, but that they ſhould be ſummoned to appear, in order to juſtify their conduct, and being confident there would be no difficulty in refuting all the calumnies of her enemies, ſhe was determined to ſupport her cauſe, and procure her reaſonable terms of accommodation: upon theſe aſſurances, Mary agreed to vindicate herſelf by her own commiſſioners, before thoſe appointed by Elizabeth. The conferences were begun at York, and afterwards continued at Hampton-court; where the regent opened fully his charge againſt the queen of Scots; and after expreſſing reluctance to proceed in an affair of ſuch delicacy, accuſed her, in plain terms of having given her conſent and participation in the aſſaſſination of the king; and the earl of Lenox alſo appearing before the Engliſh commiſſioners, implored vengeance for his ſon's murder; and accuſed Mary, as being an accomplice with Bothwell, in that crime. But copies of this charge being given to Mary's commiſſioners, they abſolutely refuſed to return an anſwer; and grounded their ſilence on having orders from their miſtreſs, that if any thing was advanced that might affect her honour, they were not to make any defence, ſhe being a ſovereign princeſs, and not ſubject to any tribunal; they therefore repeated Mary's requeſt, that ſhe might be admitted to Elizabeth's preſence, to whom, and to whom alone, ſhe was determined to juſtify her innocence. The conſequence of Mary's commiſſioners refuſing to anſwer Murray's charge was the putting an end to the conference. But the Engliſh miniſters deſiring to have in their hands the proofs of her guilt, Murray was called before the Engliſh commiſſioners, and ſeverely reproved, in the queen's name, for the baſe imputation he had thrown upon his ſovereign; and told, that though he had forgot the duty of allegiance, the queen would never overlook what ſhe owed to her friend, her neighbour, and her kinſwoman; and deſired to know what the commiſſioners could ſay in their own juſtification. Murray, thus urged, produced the proofs of his charge againſt the queen of Scots; and, among the reſt, ſome of her love letters, and ſonnets to Bothwell, all written in her own hand, with other papers, which contained inconteſtible proofs of Mary's criminal correſpondence with Bothwell; of her conſent to the murder of her huſband; and of her concurrence in the pretended violence, offered by Bothwell, in carrying her off. The friends of this queen have laboured to prove, that theſe famous letters were forged, and many volumes have been written with that intention. The ſubject is too diffuſe, nor indeed is it neceſſary to diſcuſs the arguments that have been offered for and againſt the authenticity of theſe letters, as our labours are calculated for the inſtruction of our countrymen, by a faithful diſplay of intereſting facts, and not for the amuſement of little cavilling critics. Let it ſuffice therefore to ſay, that from a candid examination, we find the proofs brought, to prove them forgeries, are weak and inconcluſive. They are alſo the more exceptionable, as the queen, at a criſis ſo affecting to her honour, refuſed either to acknowledge or deny their authenticity. Every expedient was tried by Elizabeth to prevail upon Mary to continue the conferences; ſhe remained inflexible; and even accuſed Murray and the other commiſſioners of being the murderers of her huſband; but produced not a ſingle proof againſt them. Elizabeth now offered to bury whatever was paſt in oblivion, and negociate a reconciliation with her ſubjects, provided ſhe would renounce the throne, or aſſociate her ſon with her in the government, and ſuffer the direction of affairs to continue in the hands of Murray during the minority of the prince. But Mary rejected the propoſal with diſdain. "My laſt words, ſaid ſhe, ſhall be the words of the queen of Scotland." Murray having returned in ſafety to Scotland, Mary preſſed Elizabeth, either to enable her to regain poſſeſſion of her kingdom, or to ſuffer her to retire into France, where ſhe intended to ſeek other reſources. The queen evaded anſwering her requeſts, and that unhappy priſoner, whoſe wit and inſinuating graces, might have drew many hearts to her intereſt, was removed to Tutbury caſtle, and guarded with the greateſt vigilance.

A. D. 1569.

The duke of Norfolk was the only peer that enjoyed the higheſt title of nobility, and was the firſt ſubject in England. He was at this time a widower; and being of a ſuitable age, ſeveral of his friends, and particularly the earl of Murray, before his departure for Scotland, had propoſed his marrying the queen of Scots. The previouſly obtaining of Elizabeth's conſent was conſidered, both by Murray and Norfolk, as eſſentially neceſſary to the ſucceſs of this ſcheme. But the latter, knowing her former reluctance to all propoſals of marriage with Mary, dreaded leſt Elizabeth would never agree to it, and therefore attempted firſt to gain the approbation of the moſt conſiderable of the nobility. He was ſucceſsful with the earls of Northumberland, Weſtmoreland, Suſſex, and many others: even the earl of Leiceſter, notwithſtanding his being the favourite of Elizabeth, wrote a letter to Mary, ſigned by ſeveral other perſons of the firſt rank, recommending Norfolk to her for a huſband, on ſuch conditions as ſhould be for the advantage of both kingdoms. Mary returning a favourable anſwer, the kings of France and Spain were ſecretly conſulted, who expreſſed their approbation; and though it was all along ſuppoſed, that Elizabeth's conſent was to be obtained before this alliance ſhould be completed, it evidently appeared to be Norfolk's intention, by proceeding ſuch lengths without conſulting her, to render his party ſo ſtrong, as to put it out of her power to refuſe it. The vigilance both of the queen and of Cecil, rendered it impoſſible, that theſe proceedings ſhould eſcape their notice. Elizabeth dropped ſeveral intimations to the duke, which ſhewed that ſhe was acquainted with his deſigns, and frequently cautioned him to beware on what pillow he repoſed his head; but he wanted courage and prudence to inform her of his intentions. She afterwards ſent for Norfolk, upbraided him ſharply for preſuming to engage in a treaty without her conſent, and commanded him, upon his allegiance, to proceed no farther. The duke promiſed to obey her commands, but retired from court without taking leave, and repaired to his ſeat in Norfolk. Repenting of this ſtep, he ſet out on his return to court, when Fitz Garret, lieutenant of the band of penſioners, apprehended him at St. Albans, and conveyed him to Burnham, three miles from Windſor, and he was ſoon after committed to the Tower. Leſly, biſhop of Roſs, the queen of Scots' ambaſſador, was examined, and confronted with Norfolk before the council: the earl of Pembroke was confined in his own houſe, and Arundel, Lumley, and Throgmorton were taken into cuſtody. The queen of Scots was removed to Coventry, and all acceſs to her was for ſome time ſtrictly prohibited. A report prevailing that a rebellion was breaking out in the north, Elizabeth diſpatched orders to Northumberland and Weſtmorland, to appear at court, and anſwer for their conduct. They had however proceeded too far to truſt themſelves in her hands. They had communicated their deſign to Mary, and engaged the duke of Alva, governor of the Netherlands, to promiſe them not only a reinforcement of troops, but a ſupply of arms and ammunition. The inſurgents proceeded immediately to Durham, tore the Bible and Common Prayer Book in the public market place, erected a crucifix in the cathedral, and cauſed maſs to be ſaid in an aſſembly of above ſix thouſand perſons. They then made themſelves maſters of Bernard caſtle, and fortified Hartlepool. While part of their forces were employed in theſe operations, amounting to about fifteen thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, the reſt formed into ſmall detachments, over-ran all Yorkſhire; the royal army, commanded by the earl of Suſſex, being too weak to prevent their ravages. At length Suſſex attended by the earl of Rutland, the lords Hunſdon, Evers, and Willoughby of Parham, at the head of ſeven thouſand men, marched againſt the rebes, who diſperſed without ſtriking a blow; the common people retiring to their houſes, while their leaders fled into Scotland. Northumberland was ſeized by the regent, who committed him to the caſtle of Lochleven. The earl of Weſtmorland was more fortunate: he found means to paſs over into Flanders, where he lived on a ſmall penſion, ſettled on him by the king of Spain.

A. D. 1570. The queen was ſo well pleaſed with Norfolk's behaviour, that ſhe releaſed him from the Tower, and allowed him to live in his own houſe, under ſome appearance of confinement; only engaging him to promiſe, that he would not proceed any farther in his negociations with the queen of Scotland. This princeſs had now recovered, by means of her natural good ſenſe, from that infatuation into which ſhe appears to have been thrown while attached to Bothwell; behaving with ſuch modeſty and judgment, that ſhe charmed all who approached her. On the other hand, Elizabeth endeavoured to ſupport the meaſure ſhe had adopted; and to guard againſt the miſchiefs to which it was expoſed by every prudent expedient. She ſtill obſerved an ambiguous conduct between Mary and her enemies in Scotland; perpetually carried on a negociation, in relation to the terms of her being reſtored; made her conſtant profeſſions of friendſhip; and endeavoured by theſe artifices, both to prevent her taking only deſperate ſtep for her delivery, and to ſatisfy the French and Spaniſh ambaſſadors, who were continually renewing their ſolicitations. This deceit was received by the queen of Scots with equal diſſimulation; and profeſſions of confidence were returned by profeſſions no leſs inſincere: but Mary had always the unhappineſs to be inferior to her illuſtrious rival in diſcretion, as well as in power; and a different turn was given to their projects by the ſudden death of the regent, who, on the twenty-third of January, was aſſaſſinated by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton, to revenge a private injury. This event involved Scotland in its former anarchy. A body of Scots entered England, committing ravages which equalled in cruelty thoſe of the moſt barbarous times. This expedition ſeems to have been undertaken merely to provoke the Engliſh to avenge their affronts on the Scots in general; but they were miſtaken in their politics. Elizabeth was too cautious to be deceived by ſuch a ſcheme; ſhe declared, that ſhe did not think the party that ſupported the government concerned in the late inſult upon her ſubjects. She even offered her aſſiſtance to reſtore the government to its former vigour, and to redreſs the diſorders that had been committed by Mary's friends. She added, that ſhould her friendly offers be rejected, ſhe was ſufficiently prepared to do herſelf juſtice, and take a ſevere revenge on thoſe who had wantonly inſulted her crown and dignity. This declaration, which was delivered by Randolph, the Engliſh ambaſſador, to an aſſembly of the ſtates, diſconcerted all the meaſures of Mary's friends: they were not prepared with an anſwer, and obtained a farther time for that purpoſe. In this interval they aſſembling, made themſelves maſters of Edinburgh. Elizabeth, in order to check their progreſs, ſent an army under the command of the earl of Suſſex, who entering Scotland, ſeverely retaliated on the aggreſſors the miſeries they had inflicted on the Engliſh. He was ſoon after recalled, the queen of Scots promiſing, that, in return, no French forces ſhould be introduced into Scotland, and that her partizans ſhould deliver up the Engliſh rebels.

A. D. 1571. The jealouſy and vigilance of Elizabeth were now revived by the conduct of the catholic powers, who exerted themſelves to procure the enlargement of the queen of Scots. Pope Pius V. having attempted this in vain, had recourſe to the thunders of the Vatican. He iſſued againſt Elizabeth a bull of excommunication, in which he pretended to deprive her of all title to the crown, and to abſolve her ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance. This attack on the queen's authority was probably made in concert with Mary, in order to forward the northern rebellion. The bull was affixed to the gates of the biſhop of London's palace, by one Felton, who ſcorning either to fly or deny the fact, was ſeized, condemned and executed.

The tenets of the diſſenters, from the eſtabliſhed church, called Puritans, were now daily gaining ground, and called for the vigilance of Elizabeth, equally with the papiſt. They were declared enemies to epiſcopacy, and certain external rites of worſhip. The church of England, in their opinion, was infected with the wickedneſs of the Roman antichriſt. An image, the bending of the knee at the name of Jeſus, the ſign of the croſs in baptiſm, even a ſurplice, a ſquare cap, church muſic, and other indifferent matters, ſtruck them with horror. This love of religious liberty, blended with an obſtinate ſpirit of fanaticiſm, was the radical cauſe, from whence ſprung thoſe remarkable revolutions, which afterwards happened in the Engliſh government.

A new parliament, after an interval of five years, was aſſembled at Weſtminſter, on the ſecond of April; by which the following laws were enacted, It was declared treaſon to affirm, during the life of the queen, that ſhe was not the lawful ſovereign; that any other poſſeſſed a better title; that ſhe was an heretic, ſchiſmatic, or infidel; or that the laws cannot determine the ſucceſſion of the crown: whoever ſhould aſſert, in writing or printing, that any perſon, except the iſſue of her body, is, or ought to be, the queen's heir or ſucceſſor, was, for the firſt offence, to be impriſoned during a year; and for the ſecond, they were to incur the penalty of a premunire. In this ſeſſion a member named Strickland, propoſed a reformation of the liturgy, and particularly, an abolitition of the ſign of the croſs in baptiſm. The motion was ſupported, and ſeveral arguments were uſed, to ſhew the propriety of the parliament's interfering in religious matters. It was anſwered, that this was an infringement of the right of ſupremacy; that the queen alone, as head of the church, had power of regulating the ceremonies of worſhip, and that it was dangerous for the commons to meddle with an affair of that kind. But the puritans were not ſo eaſily intimidated from their purpoſe. "The ſalvation of the ſoul, they exclaimed, was in queſtion, a conſideration, to which all the kingdoms of the earth are nothing in compariſon." This ſally of zeal, though highly approved in the houſe, did not weaken the general reſpect for the prerogative. It was determined to petition the queen for leave to proceed farther on this ſubject. But Elizabeth was too much offended at the preſumption of Strickland, to paſs it over in ſilence. She ſent for him to the council, and commanded him not to appear any more in the houſe of commons. This peremptory order was too violent, even for the ſubmiſſive parliaments of that age to endure: it excited loud complaints in the houſe, and privileges before unclaimed were aſſerted to belong to the commons. It was juſtly obſerved, that Strickland was not a private man, but a repreſentative of his conſtituents; and that though the queen ought to ſupport her prerogative, it was limited by the laws; for as the ſovereign could not of himſelf make laws, ſo neither could he break them merely by his own authority. We ſhall ſee theſe noble ſeeds of liberty taking deeper root in ſucceeding reigns, and acquiring daily greater force. Elizabeth, finding her exertion of power was likely to excite commotions, ſaved her honour, by giving Strickland permiſſion to attend his duty in parliament.

We ſhall now take a view of ſome events, which had paſſed in France and the Netherlands, in order to ſhew the reaſons of Elizabeth's conduct with reſpect to thoſe countries. The league formed at Bayonne, in the year 1556, for exterminating the proteſtants, had reached the ears of Condè, Coligni, and other leaders of the reformed, who finding that the meaſures of the court agreed with their ſuſpicions, reſolved to prevent their enemies from executing their cruel purpoſe. They informed their partizans of the impending danger, and they, obeying the ſummons of their leaders, flew to arms. The king and queen mother were at Monceaux, when they found themſelves ſuddenly ſurrounded by proteſtant troops, which had ſecretly marched thither from all quarters, and they muſt have fallen into their hands, had not a body of Swiſs haſted to their relief, and conducted them to Paris. Afterwards a battle was fought on the plains of St. Dennis; where, though Montmorency, general of the catholics was ſlain, fighting bravely, the proteſtants were totally defeated. Condè, however, collecting his ſcattered forces, and obtaining a ſtrong reinforcement of German proteſtants, again appeared in the field; and inveſting Chartres, a place of conſiderable importance, obliged the court again to conſent to an accommodation. Every pacification being employed by the court as a ſnare to catch the reformed, a plan was artfully laid for ſeizing the prince and admiral, but he happily eſcaped to Rochelle, and ſummoning their party to their aſſiſtance, the civil war was renewed with greater fury than ever. The forces of the catholics, commanded by the young duke of Anjou, the king's brother, defeated the proteſtants, in the year 1569, at the battle of Jarnac, in which the prince of Condè was ſlain. Admiral Coligni, however, ſtill ſupported the cauſe; and having placed the prince of Navarre, who was then only ſixteen years old, and the young prince of Condè, at the head of the proteſtants, he animated that party with the deſire of rather bravely periſhing in the field, than by the hands of the executioner, and raiſed an army, which being joined by a body of Germans, obliged the duke of Anjou to retreat, and divide his forces. The admiral then inveſted Poictiers, when the duke of Guiſe, emulating the fame his father had acquired by the defence of Mentz, threw himſelf into the town, and inſpired ſuch courage into the garriſon, that the admiral was obliged to raiſe the ſiege. Elizabeth, who had ſteadily fixed her attention on theſe civil commotions in France, was far from being pleaſed with the honour acquired by Guiſe, and being ſolicitous about the fate of the proteſtants, lent ſome money to the queen of Navarre, employed her authority with the German princes, and permitted Henry Champernon, to raiſe, and carry into France, a hundred gentlemen volunteers, among whom was Sir Walter Raleigh, who then began to diſtinguiſh himſelf by his bravery. But Coligni, engaging in battle the duke of Anjou, at Moncontour, was wounded and defeated. The court of France now vainly imagined, that the power of the Hugonots was entirely deſtroyed, and therefore neglected making preparations againſt an enemy, that ſeemed incapable of being any longer dangerous. They were, however, greatly ſurprized to find, that Coligni appeared undiſmayed in another part of the kingdom, where he had aſſembled an army, and even threatened Paris. In the mean time, the treaſury could no longer furniſh ſums neceſſary for a new armament, and the king notwithſtanding his antipathy to the reformed, was, in the year 1570, obliged to conclude a treaty with them, and to allow them liberty of conſcience. As the admiral, the two young princes, and the other leaders of the reformed, ſeemed to diſtruſt the king's intentions, every artifice was uſed in order to remove their apprehenſions: the terms of the peace were religiouſly obſerved; offices, favours, and honours, were beſtowed upon the principal nobility of the reformed religion; and both the king and council frequently declared, that they were convinced of the impoſſibility of forcing men's conſciences, and that every one ſhould enjoy the free exerciſe of religion. Charles, the French king, among other ſtratagems, employed to lull the proteſtants into a fatal ſecurity, ſeemed to enter into a cloſe connection with Elizabeth; and the better to deceive her, offered her propoſals for marrying the duke of Anjou, a prince whoſe youth, beauty, and bravery might naturally be ſuppoſed to recommend him to her eſteem. On this offer the queen immediately founded the deſign of deceiving the court of France. Negociations were entered into with reſpect to the marriage; the terms of the contract were propoſed; difficulties ſtarted and removed; and the two courts, though equally inſincere, ſeemed daily to approach nearer to an agreement. The principal obſtacle appeared to be adjuſting the difference of religion; for though Elizabeth recommended toleration to Charles, ſhe was reſolved not to allow it in her own dominions, even to her huſband. The queen, beſides diſcouraging the partizans of Mary, by the appearance of an alliance between France and England, had other motives for her diſſimulation: her ſituation, with reſpect to Philip, king of Spain, required the utmoſt circumſpection; and the arbitrary proceedings of that prince in the Netherlands, made her deſirous of ſtrengthening herſelf by every political meaſure in her power.

But if France groaned under the laſhes of perſecution or ſuperſtitious tyranny, the Low Countries felt more ſeverely that dreadful ſcourge. Philip was determined to rule thoſe commercial provinces with the iron hand of deſpotic power; and he employed a man well qualified to execute his ſanguinary purpoſes. Ferdinand of Toledo, the man ſelected to accompliſh his tyrannical deſign, had been educated in a camp; and having obtained a conſummate knowledge of the military art, his habits led him to transfer into all governments the ſevere maxims of military diſcipline and martial law. About three years before, he had conducted into the Low Countries from Italy, a powerful body of veteran Spaniſh forces. The Flemings, who were no ſtrangers to his ferocious character, and the inveterate hatred he entertained againſt them, were ſtruck with conſternation. Nor were their terrors ill founded. The military executions of that mercileſs nobleman, will hand down his name with infamy to the lateſt poſterity. All the privileges of that people were aboliſhed by edict. The counts of Egmont and Horne, notwithſtanding all their paſt ſervices, were brought to the ſcaffold. Multitudes of all ranks were thrown into priſon, and thence delivered over to the executioner. He proceeded unoppoſed in his career of cruelty, and nothing was heard of but confiſcation, impriſonment, exile, tortures, and death. Numbers of the Flemings, driven to deſpair, took refuge in England, where they eſtabliſhed, under the queen's protection, thoſe uſeful manufactories for which they had been long famous. It was impoſſible for the deſpotiſm of Alva to be of long continuance, without exciting ſome popular commotion. Elizabeth declared, ſhe could not behold the deſtruction of an induſtrious body of people, without affording them aſſiſtance. She accordingly ſeized a large ſum of money, which ſome Genoeſe merchants were upon tranſmitting to Alva, for the payment of his forces. This induced him to have recourſe to the moſt oppreſſive meaſures, which ſtill farther incenſed the Flemings againſt their Spaniſh tyrants. Exaſperated in the higheſt degree, Alva laid a plan for raiſing diſturbances in England. He opened a ſecret correſpondence with the queen of Scots, by means of Rodolphi, a Florentine merchant, who had reſided many years in London, and managed all the intrigues between the catholics and the court of Rome. It was agreed, that a powerful army of Spaniſh troops ſhould be landed in England, and at the ſame time an inſurrection ſhould be excited in the heart of the kingdom. But Alva being perſuaded that the attempt could not poſſibly ſucceed, unleſs ſome Engliſh nobleman of authority could be found to head the inſurgents; and no perſon appeared ſo proper for this purpoſe as the duke of Norfolk. Mary, who now deſpaired of ever recovering her crown, or even her liberty, readily embraced the offer: while Norfolk, unable to recover the favour of Elizabeth, engaged in this new conſpiracy. The promiſe of marriage was renewed between them; yet ſtill he flattered himſelf there was nothing criminal in his conduct, as his ſole view was that of obtaining the queen's conſent to marry the captive princeſs. In conſequence of the duke's acquieſcence, three letters were wrote in his name by Rodolphi, one to Alva, another to the pope, and a third to the king of Spain; but Norfolk, though very deſirous of delivering Mary from confinement, refuſed to ſign them. He could only be prevailed upon to ſend Baker, one of his confidants, to the Spaniſh ambaſſador, to vouch for their being authentic. The ſcheme was embraced with great cordiality by Alva and the pope, and every thing ſeemed to wear a very promiſing appearance. The vigilance of Cecil, who had now the title of lord Burleigh, was not ſufficient to diſcover the abettors of this conſpiracy; but a ſubſequent tranſaction, diligently traced, led to the knowledge of every circumſtance. Mary wanted to ſend a ſum of money to lord Herries, for the uſe of her party in Scotland; on which Norfolk engaged to have it delivered to Banniſter, one of his ſervants in the north, who was to find ſome method of conveying it to lord Herries. This money he entruſted to a ſervant who was not in the ſecret, telling him, that the bag contained a ſum of money in ſilver, which he was to deliver with a letter to Banniſter: but the ſervant imagining, from the weight and ſize of the bag that it was full of gold, carried the letter to Burleigh, who immediately ordered Banniſter, Barker, and Hickford, the duke's ſecretary, to be arreſted and ſtrictly examined; and on their being put to the torture, they confeſſed the whole truth. Hickford, though he had been ordered to burn all the papers relating to the conſpiracy, having concealed them under the mats of the duke's chamber, and the tiles of his houſe, theſe were diſcovered, and produced full evidence againſt his maſter. Norfolk, who had not received the leaſt intimation of the diſcoveries made by his ſervants, was brought before the privy council; and, though perſuaded to atone for his guilt by an ingenuous confeſſion, he perſiſted in denying every thing laid to his charge.

A. D. 1572.

The queen declared, that if he would give her this proof of his ſincere repentance, ſhe would pardon all his former paſt offences; but he ſtill continuing obſtinate, ſhe committed him to the Tower, in order to take his trial. The biſhop of Roſs, who before this diſcovery had been committed to cuſtody, refuſed to anſwer interrogatories; but being informed of the confeſſion made by the duke of Norfolk's ſervants, he made a full diſcovery. Thus that nobleman's guilt was confirmed; and he being tried by a jury of twenty-five peers, was unanimouſly found guilty. The queen, however, heſitated, with reſpect to the execution of Norfolk. She twice ſigned a warrant for that purpoſe, and as often revoked it; and though her miniſters and counſellors urged her to uſe rigour, ſhe ſtill appeared undetermined. At length, after heſitating four months, a parliament was aſſembled. The commons addreſſing her in ſtrong terms for the execution of Norfolk, ſhe conſented, and he was beheaded on Tower-hill, where he ſuffered with great calmneſs, ſincerely regretted by the people, by whom he was much beloved. His anceſtors had long been conſidered as the leaders of the catholics; and this hereditary attachment, united with alliances of blood, had procured him the friendſhip of the moſt conſiderable men of that party; but as he had been educated among the reformers, and maintained that ſtrict regularity of life by which the proteſtants were at that time diſtinguiſhed, he thereby enjoyed the real felicity of being popular, even among the moſt oppoſite parties. The height of his proſperity alone was the cauſe of his misfortunes, and engaged him in connections and attempts, from which his virtue and prudence ought to have for ever kept him at a diſtance. Mary was either the occaſion or cauſe of all theſe diſturbances; but being a ſovereign princeſs, who might think herſelf entitled to make uſe of every expedient to recover her liberty, Elizabeth did not yet chuſe to proceed to extremities againſt her. She however ſent lord Delawar, Sir Thomas Bromley, Sir Ralph Sadler, and Dr. Wilſon, to expoſtulate with her, and to demand ſatisfaction for the various parts of her paſt conduct. Mary endeavoured to juſtify herſelf from thoſe charges that were alledged, either by denying the facts, or laying the blame on others: but Elizabeth was far from being ſatisfied with her apology; and the parliament was ſo exaſperated againſt her, that the commons petitioned for her being immediately tried and executed. Elizabeth put a ſtop to their proceedings in relation to the queen of Scots, yet ſhe was alarmed at her reſtleſs ſpirit, and cloſe connection with Spain; on which account ſhe thought it neceſſary to confine her more ſtrictly, and to change her conduct with reſpect to Scotland, which ſtill remained in a ſtate of confuſion. Kirkaldy of Grange, who commanded in the caſtle of Edinburgh, having declared for Mary, the lords of her party, encouraged by his countenance, made themſelves maſters of the capital, and carried on a vigorous war againſt the regent, who was obliged to retire to Stirling. The inſurgents followed, and made themſelves maſters of his perſon. Perceiving his friends were advancing with a conſiderable body of troops, they immediately put him to death. The earl of Mar was choſen regent in his room; but that nobleman found it impoſſible to govern ſo divided a country. At laſt, the courts of France and England ordered their miniſters to negociate a ceſſation of arms, which they effected. But this tranquillity was of no long duration; Mar ſoon after died of grief, and the earl of Morton was elected to the regency. This nobleman had always been directed in his meaſures by Elizabeth; and it was now determined to ſupport effectually her party, at the head of which he was placed. Sir Henry Killigrew was accordingly ſent ambaſſador into Scotland, where he found the partizans of Mary ſo diſcouraged by the diſcovery of Norfolk's conſpiracy, that they were glad to ſubmit to the royal authority, and accept an indemnity for all paſt offences. The garriſon of Edinburgh caſtle alone continued refractory. Elizabeth ordered Sir William Drury, governor of Berwick, to march to Edinburgh, and lay ſiege to the caſtle. The garriſon ſoon ſurrendered at diſcretion; and Kirkaldy being delivered into the hands of his countrymen, was tried, condemned, and executed. Scotland now ſubmitted to the regency; and for a long time gave no farther inquietude to the queen of England.

But France at this time became the theatre of cruelty hardly to be equalled. The queen of Navarre, and all the reformed, began to place an unreſerved confidence in the treacherous profeſſions of the French court. Elizabeth herſelf, notwithſtanding her great penetration, did not entertain the leaſt diſtruſt of Charles's ſincerity; eſpecially as Walſingham, her ambaſſador, ſent her the moſt ſatisfactory accounts, by every courier, of that perfidious king's honour and ſincerity. Charles, the more effectually to deceive the proteſtants, offered his ſiſter in marriage to Henry, prince of Navarre, and great preparations were made for celebrating the nuptials with uncommon ſplendor. Deluded by theſe vile arts, Coligni, with all the principal leaders of the Hugonots, flocked to Paris to aſſiſt at a ceremony, which, it was hoped, would finally put a period to thoſe civil wars that had ſo long waſted their country. The queen of Navarre died ſuddenly ſoon after her arrival, not without the moſt violent ſuſpicion of poiſon; and the admiral was dangerouſly wounded by a baſe aſſaſſin, as he was returning to his lodgings; yet Charles was ſtill able, by redoubling his diſſimulation, to retain the proteſtants in their fatal ſecurity. The eve of St. Bartholomew was appointed for putting in execution the infernal plan. The duke of Guiſe, chief projector, communicated the king's intention to the intendant of Paris, who ordered the captains of the different wards to arm the citizens privately, and when the ſignal was given, to place lights in their windows, then to break into the houſes of the Hugonots, and put them all to the ſword without deſtinction. The cruel orders were punctually obeyed. About midnight, when the whole city was wrapt in darkneſs, and the unſuſpecting victims folded in the arms of ſleep, the fatal alarm was given, and the catholics began the horrid butchery. The hatred they had long bore to the proteſtant heretics, ſteeled their breaſts againſt the feelings of humanity; ſo that all conditions, ages, and ſexes, ſuſpected of only propenſity to the reformed religion, were involved in one undiſtinguiſhed ruin. The ſtreets of Paris flowed with blood; and the catholics, after the deteſted carnage ceaſed, exerciſed on the dead bodies of the proteſtants all the rage of licentious brutality. They ſeemed to regret, that death, by putting an end to their work, left their thirſt for blood unſatiated. Above five hundred gentlemen of rank and fortune periſhed in this maſſacre; and near ten thouſand of inferior condition. Among the former were admiral Coligni, his ſon-in-law Teligni, Rochefoucaut, Sobize, Lavardin, Piles, and Pardillon, who, during the late wars, had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the moſt heroic actions. Orders were inſtantly diſpatched to all the peovinces for a like ſanguinary ſacrifice. The people in the country emulated the ſavage fury that had raged in the capital; and the proteſtants in Meaux, Orleans, Trope, Bourges, Angers, Tholouſe, Rouen, Lyons, and many other cities, were butchered in the ſame inhuman manner. Even the young king of Navarre, and his couſin the prince of Condè, were devoted to deſtruction by the duke of Guiſe; but Charles, pleaſed with the king of Navarre's amiable manners, and hoping that theſe young princes would be eaſily converted to the catholic faith, ſpared their lives, though he obliged them to purchaſe their ſafety by ſeeming to change their religion. To give a colour to this barbarous perfidy, Charles pretended, that a conſpiracy of the Hugonots againſt his perſon was ſuddenly diſcovered, which obliged him, in his own defence, to proceed to this extremity againſt them. Fenelon, the French ambaſſador at London, abhorred the treachery of his court, and did not heſitate to expreſs his grief. He bluſhed, he ſaid, to bear the name of a Frenchman. Being, however, ordered to juſtify the infamous conduct of his maſter, he demanded an audience of Elizabeth. The ſolemnity of his reception was moſt awful and affecting. The whole court appeared plunged in the abyſs of ſorrow. On every face ſat drooping melancholy. Indignation glowed in turn in every countenance, and declared, in the ſtrongeſt language, the ſentiments of the Engliſh nation. An awful ſilence reigned through all the chambers of the royal apartment. The nobility, clad in deep mourning, were ranged on each ſide, who allowed him to paſs, without giving him one ſalute or favourable look. When he came into the preſence, the queen heard his apology with great coolneſs, and calmly replied, that ſuppoſing there had been a conſpiracy, it would not remove the blame of the king's councellors, or juſtify the ſtrange irregularity of their proceedings; that the ſame force which, without reſiſtance, had maſſacreed ſo many defenceleſs men, might eaſily have ſecured their perſons, and have reſerved them for a trial, which would have diſtinguiſhed the innocent from the guilty; that it was more worthy of a ſovereign to reſerve the ſword of juſtice in his own hands, than commit it to bloody murderers, who being the declared and mortal enemies of the perſons accuſed, employed it without mercy, and without diſtinction; that for her part, ſhe ſhould judge of his intentions by his future conduct; and, in the mean time, ſhould act as the ambaſſador deſired, and rather pity than blame his maſter, for the cruel extremities to which he had been carried. Elizabeth was now fully ſenſible of her own dangerous ſituation. She ſaw, in the maſſacre of Paris, the reſult of that general conſpiracy formed for the deſtruction of the proteſtants; and knew that ſhe herſelf, as the head and protectreſs of their religion, was expoſed to the utmoſt reſentment and fury of the papiſts. The violence and cruelty of the Spaniards in the Netherlands, appeared to be another branch of the ſame conſpiracy; and as Charles and Philip, who were nearly allied in bigotry, perfidy, and barbarity, now laid aſide their pretended quarrels, profeſſing the moſt cordial friendſhip for each other, ſhe had reaſon to dread the effects of their united councils. She therefore prepared for the attack with which ſhe ſeemed to be threatened from the combination of her enemies. She fortified Portſmouth; fitted out her fleet; exerciſed her militia; ſtrove to increaſe her popularity with her ſubjects; and renewed her alliance with the German princes, who were equally alarmed at ſuch treacherous and bloody proceedings. By theſe prudent meaſures ſhe gained the love and eſteem of her ſubjects, who were willing to ſacrifice their lives and fortunes in her defence. But the great power of Philip rendered her exceeding cautious in all her actions. That monarch ſent an ambaſſador to London, with remonſtrances againſt the conduct of Elizabeth. He complained, that many of the Flemiſh exiles who infeſted the ſeas, and committed acts of piracy, were protected in England, contrary to the treaties ſubſiſting between the two courts. Unwilling to engage in an open rupture with Spain, Elizabeth publiſhed a proclamation, commanding all the Flemings, ſuſpected of rebellion, to depart the kingdom. But this was far from anſwering the views of the Spaniards. Driven to deſpair, thoſe wretched exiles undertook the moſt dangerous expeditions. William Vandermark, a perſon of diſtinction in the Netherlands, having collected a conſiderable number of his countrymen, left England in the begining of April, and made himſelf maſter of the Brill and Fluſhing. This ſucceſs raiſed the ſpirits of the Flemings; they flocked to his ſtandard; and before the end of the year, he was joined by the greater part of the provinces of Holland and Zealand. William of Naſſau, prince of Orange, put himſelf at the head of the confederates, who formed, in proceſs of time, the moſt powerful republic in Europe.

A. D. 1573. Though Elizabeth took care to preſerve peace with Charles, her greateſt ſecurity was founded on the reſiſtance of his proteſtant ſubjects. Thoſe who lived near the frontiers, on receiving the firſt news of the maſſacre of Paris, fled into England, Germany, and Swiſſerland; where, exciting the compaſſion of the proteſtants, they prepared to return into France with encreaſed forces and redoubled zeal, to revenge the treacherous ſlaughter of their brethren. Thoſe who reſided in the middle of the kingdom, fled to the neareſt garriſons in the poſſeſſion of proteſtants; and having found that no faith could be depended on in capitulations, reſolved to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity. Thus the people whom Charles expected to exterminate at one blow, had ſoon an army of eighteen thouſand men, and were in poſſeſſion of above a hundred places of ſtrength in different parts of the kingdom; when, at the ſame time, that prince was threatened with being invaded by all the other proteſtant powers in Europe. To ſuch a pitch of reſentment were the nobility and gentry of England raiſed, that they offered to levy an army of twenty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, to tranſport them into France, and to maintain them ſix months at their own expence; but Elizabeth, from political reaſons, refuſed her conſent. The German princes, however, forwarded the levies raiſed by the proteſtants; and the young prince of Condè eſcaping from court, and placing himſelf at the head of theſe troops, prepared to invade France. The catholics had for ſome time cloſely beſieged Rochelle; the Hugonots made a moſt deſperate reſiſtance; and the duke of Anjou, who commanded the catholic army, loſt twenty-four thouſand men, without having made any conſiderable progreſs in the ſiege. Anjou now perceived he had undertaken a taſk he was unable to perform; and advice arriving of his having been elected king of Poland, he readily concluded a treaty with the inhabitants of Rochelle, in which their allies of Niſmes and Montaubon were comprehended.

A. D. 1574. Charles, exaſperated at this miſcarriage, had formed a plan of new ſeverities; but before he could carry it into execution, he was ſummoned to give an account of his inhuman actions, and died on the thirtieth of May, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, after having rendered his name odious, and thrown an eternal infamy upon his country. He was ſucceeded in the throne by his brother Henry, duke of Anjou, who had lately been elected king of Poland.

At this period, the affairs of Ireland gave Elizabeth great uneaſineſs. She ſaw no end of ſupporting an army among a ferocious and bigotted people. The earl of Eſſex, an active young nobleman, offered a propoſal to the queen, for putting an end to the troubles in that iſland. Elizabeth accepted the offer; and it was agreed, that the earl ſhould tranſport to Ireland two hundred horſe, and four hundred foot, and maintain them there at his own expence; that theſe forces ſhould act againſt the rebels for two years, the queen furniſhing the ſame number during that period; and that the earl ſhould receive the commiſſion of captain-general for ſeven years. In conſideration of this ſervice, the queen agreed to inveſt him with half the lordſhips of Clandeboy, Ferney, and other lands of a great extent, which he agreed to people with as many ſoldiers as the queen ſhould think proper to maintain on the other half of theſe lordſhips. The expence of maintaining the fortifications was to be equally divided between the queen and the earl. Eſſex was ſo well pleaſed with this poſt of honour, which placed him on the footing of a prince, that he borrowed ten thouſand pounds of Elizabeth, upon a mortgage of his lands in Eſſex, and landed in Ireland about the latter end of Auguſt, accompanied by the lords Dacres and Rich, and many other perſons of diſtinction, who ſerved under him as volunteers. He met with every difficulty that could be expected from an enterprize of this kind; and the earl ſoon found, that the reduction of the rebels, while aſſiſted ſecretly by the Engliſh, was a taſk beyond his power. After having exerted his abilities in vain, he was obliged to return to England, and had ſpent the greater part of his fortune in this fruitleſs expedition.

A. D. 1575. When Elizabeth heard of the return of Henry III. from France, ſhe ſent an ambaſſador to compliment him on his acceſſion to the throne, and to create him a knight of the garter. The people ſtill continued divided into two religious parties; and as all faith had been violated, and every degree of moderation baniſhed, it ſeemed impoſſible to unite them. Henry had laid a ſcheme for reſtoring his own authority by acting as umpire between them, and reducing both to a dependance on himſelf. He poſſeſſed all the diſſimulation of his predeceſſor; but being deficient in underſtanding and vigour, inſtead of acquiring a ſuperiority over both parties, he loſt their confidence, and taught each of them to adhere ſtill more cloſely to their particular leaders. When he renewed hoſtilities againſt the Hugonots, he found them more formidable than ever; and was at length obliged to grant them a truce for ſix months, under the mediation of Elizabeth. This was the fifth pacification concluded with the reformed; yet it was no more ſincere on the part of the court, than any of the former; yet it diſguſted the catholics, particularly the duke of Guiſe, who from thence took occaſion to reduce his party into a more regular body, by laying the foundation of the famous League, which, without regard to the royal authority, was levelled at the entire ſuppreſſion of the proteſtants, or thoſe who were ſtigmatized with the name of Hugonots.

A.D. 1576. The confederacy of Holland and Zealand was ſtill ſupported by the prince of Orange, againſt all the attempts of Lewis Zuniga, who ſucceeded the duke of Alva in the government of the Netherlands. But finding it would be impoſſible to continue the oppoſition much longer without ſome foreign aſſiſtance, he ſent a deputation to Elizabeth imploring her protection, and offering to acknowledge her for their ſovereign, if ſhe would engage in their defence. Though many powerful reaſons might have induced Elizabeth to accept of this offer, yet foreſeeing that an open rupture with Spain would be the conſequence of her accepting the dominion of theſe provinces, and that after taking the Hollanders under her protection, ſhe could never, in honour, abandon them, poſitively refuſed the proffered ſovereignty; but told their ambaſſadors, that in return for the good-will ſhewn her by the prince of Orange and the States, ſhe would uſe all her influence with Philip in their favour. Accordingly, an ambaſſador was diſpatched to the court of Spain; but Philip found means to evade a categorical anſwer, and the war continued to rage with as much violence as ever. An accident, however, delivered the Hollanders, when driven to the brink of deſtruction. Zuniga dying ſuddenly, the Spaniſh troops became diſcontented for want of pay, and licentious for want of a proper commander, which occaſioned their breaking out into a moſt dreadful mutiny. They ſacked and plundered the city of Antwerp and Maeſtricht, and maſſacreed near ſeventeen thouſand perſons of all ages and ſexes; nor was there any poſſibility of preventing their dreadful outrages. They menaced all the cities of the Low Countries with the ſame fate. Alarmed at the deſtruction that awaited them, all the provinces, that of Luxembourgh excepted, engaged in an aſſociation for their mutual defence; and diſpatched a deputation to the prince of Orange, imploring his protection, and requeſting that he would put himſelf at their head. Conferences were immediately opened at Ghent; and an union was formed between the provinces, called the pacification of Ghent. By this treaty, which was ſigned on the eighth of November, the contracting parties declared, that they had entered into this union for the defence of the laws and liberties of their country, againſt the encroachments, oppreſſions and cruelties, long exerciſed on them by the Spaniards. At the ſame time, they declared their willingneſs to acknowledge the king of Spain's authority, provided he would govern them by their antient laws.

The rebellion in Ireland ſtill continuing, the earl of Eſſex was ſent back to that kingdom, with the title of earl-marſhal, in the room of Sir Nicholas Bagnal. But he ſoon perceived, that notwithſtanding his new dignity, he was little more than a private officer. He however exerted his authority to reduce that turbulent people to order, but without effect; and a few months after his arrival he died, not without ſuſpicion of having been poiſoned. This fell upon the earl of Leiceſter, who immediately divorced his own wife, and married the widow of the earl of Eſſex.

A.D. 1577. Don John of Auſtria, Philip's natural brother, was appointed governor of the Netherlands. Animated with the ſucceſs which had attended him in his youth, he had formed a plan for marrying the queen of Scots, and acquiring in her right, the dominion both of England and Scotland. Elizabeth, who knew his intentions, and had obſerved from the union of the provinces, that they would make a vigorous defence againſt Spain, had now no longer any ſcruple to engage in the protection of their liberties, which appeared to be cloſely connected with her own ſafety. After ſending them about twenty thouſand pounds to pay their troops, ſhe concluded a treaty with them, in which ſhe agreed to ſupply them with a thouſand horſe, and five thouſand foot, to be paid by the Flemings; and to lend them one hundred thouſand pounds upon the bonds of ſome of the moſt conſiderable towns of the Netherlands, to be repaid within the year. It was alſo ſtipulated, that the commander in chief of the Engliſh forces, ſhould be admitted into the council of the States; that they ſhould enter into no league without her conſent; that ſhe ſhould be arbitratrix in any difference that might ariſe among them; and that if any prince ſhould attempt hoſtilities againſt her, they ſhould ſend an army to her aid, equal to that ſhe employed in their defence. One of Elizabeth's inducements for entering into this treaty with the States, was to prevent their throwing themſelves into the arms of France; and her ambaſſador was ordered to repreſent this to the king of Spain as her ſole motive. Philip, however, ſtill continued to ſupply Don John with money and troops, who, notwithſtanding being once repulſed at Rimenant by the Engliſh, and oppoſed both by the army of the States, and by prince Caſimer, who had conducted to the Netherlands a large body of Germans, obtained a conſiderable advantage over the Flemings at Gemblours; but in the midſt of his proſperity, he was cut off by poiſon, adminiſtered to him ſecretly, as was ſuſpected, by orders from Philip, who dreaded the effects of his ambition. He was ſucceeded in command by the prince of Parma, diſtinguiſhed both by his valour and clemency, who now carried on the war againſt the Flemings.

England, while almoſt all the reſt of Europe was agitated with internal commotions, enjoyed a ſettled tranquillity; chiefly owing to the prudence and vigour of the queen's adminiſtration. Religion was the capital point upon which the political tranſactions of that age depended; and the queen's conduct in that particular had been hitherto much leſs ſevere than that of her predeceſſors. She appeared, indeed, very anxious to keep a ſtrict hand over the puritans; for when any of the eſtabliſhed clergy diſcovered a tendency to their principles, by omitting the habits or ceremonies appointed by law, ſhe ſhewed a determined reſolution to puniſh them by fines and deprivation; though her orders were frequently eluded by the protection they received from ſome of the moſt conſiderable of her miniſters. Yet ſhe rigidly maintained her title of governeſs of the church, and would never permit either the parliament or convocation to attempt, without her leave, the leaſt alteration in the eſtabliſhed religion.

A.D. 1579. This princeſs was remarkably diſtinguiſhed by her frugality, which greatly contributed to endear her to the nation. Indeed it was ſometimes carried to an extreme, yet it did not lead her to amaſs treaſures, but was only uſed to prevent her laying burdens on her people. Her ſtrict œconomy enabled her to pay all the debts ſhe found due from the crown, with their full intereſt. By this means ſhe eſtabliſhed her credit on ſuch a foundation, that no prince in Europe could ſo readily command any ſum, which the public exigences might require. Hence few materials are offered to hiſtory, during her peaceable and uniform government, except the ſmall part ſhe took in foreign tranſactions, and thoſe of Scotland. This kingdom had hitherto been retained in ſtrict alliance with Elizabeth, by the influence of Morton the regent, who had alſo reſtored its domeſtic tranquillity. But it could not be expected, among a people agitated with religious diſputes, that his authority would be long ſupported. Factions were formed among the nobility, who were diſguſted with Morton's avarice; while the clergy, whoſe narrow revenues were ſtill farther invaded, joined the diſcontented party, and increaſed the confuſion. Oppreſſed with the ponderous weight of government, the regent dropt ſome peeviſh expreſſions, implying a deſire of being relieved from the care of conducting the adminiſtration. This conceſſion, whether real or pretended, was readily laid hold of by the oppoſite party, and he was diſmiſſed from the regency.

A. D. 1580. Morton reſigned his authority into the hands of the young king, then only eleven years of age. The regent ſeemed at firſt determined never more to engage in the buſy ſcenes of active life, but ſeek in domeſtic concerns that peace which was not to be found amidſt the contentions of turbulent parties. But either his ambition would not ſuffer him to continue in the ſhades of obſcurity, or he could not find in retirement that tranquillity he expected, for he returned to court, acquired an aſcendancy in the council, and directed, as before, public affairs, but without reſuming the title of regent. The diſcontented faction ſaw their danger, and flew to arms, under pretence of reſcuing their prince from captivity. Elizabeth interpoſed by her ambaſſador, and produced a ſeeming reconciliation between the factions; but though Morton kept his ſtation at the helm of government, his vigilant enemies were numerous, and his ſituation daily more precarious. Meanwhile the count D'Aubigney, of the houſe of Lenox, who had been born and educated in France, appearing to the duke of Guiſe as a proper perſon for detaching James from the Engliſh intereſt, and connecting him with his mother, ſent him to Stirling, the reſidence of young James, and he ſoon ingratiated himſelf into the young monarch's affections. Elizabeth, being much alarmed, ſent her ambaſſador to accuſe D'Aubigney, who was now created earl of Lenox, of being attached to the French, and to warn James againſt entertaining ſuch dangerous connections. Lenox, now finding that the queen had openly declared againſt him, reſolved to ruin Morton, who was at the head of the Engliſh intereſt. That nobleman was therefore arreſted in council, accuſed of being an accomplice in the murder of the late king, and being brought to his trial, was condemned for treaſon. The queen ſent Sir Thomas Randolph to intercede in Morton's behalf; and by his perſuaſions, the earls of Montroſe, Argyle, Glencarne, Mar, and Angus, were engaged to enter into a confederacy for preſerving the life of the priſoner by force of arms. At the ſame time an Engliſh army moved towards the frontiers of Scotland. The French party ſaw the danger of delaying the execution of the ſentence, and Morton was beheaded at Edinburgh; who died with that conſtancy and reſolution, by which he had been diſtinguiſhed throughout his whole life. This revolution in Scotland, rendered Elizabeth extremely uneaſy. She knew that her inveterate enemy, the duke of Guiſe, would take every opportunity of ſupporting the prevailing party; and that the popiſh faction in England would readily join in an attempt to diſturb the government. She was alſo fearful leſt Philip, who ſeemed deſirous of ſupporting the cauſe of Mary, might embrace the opportunity of aſſiſting the king's party in Scotland, in revenge for the reinforcements ſhe had ſent into the Low Countries.

During theſe tranſactions, Sir Francis Drake returned from his voyage round the world. This intrepid ſeaman was a native of Devonſhire; and introduced to court by the vice-chamberlain Hatton. Drake having propoſed to paſs into the South Seas through the Streights of Magellan, a voyage till that time unattempted by the Engliſh; his fleet conſiſted only of the five following ſhips, if they may be ſo called: the Pelican, of an hundred tons, commanded by himſelf; the Elizabeth, of eighty tons, under captain John Winter; the Marygold, a bark of thirty tons, under the command of captain John Thomas; the Swan, a fly-boat of thirty tons, under captain John Cheſter; and the Chriſtopher, a pinnace of fifteen tons, under the command of captain Thomas Moon. On board this ſmall fleet were embarked one hundred and ſixty-four men, and the gallant admiral ſailed on an expedition, which with ſuch ſmall ſhips, would, even in our times, be conſidered as a very raſh undertaking. He entered the Pacific Ocean with only his own ſhip, and took a prodigious booty from the Spaniards, who expected no enemy in that diſtant part of the world. He alſo ſacked and plundered the town of Arica, and in one ſhip took four hundred pounds weight of Baldivian gold. But having learned that the viceroy of Peru had fitted out two large ſhips, in order to intercept him in his return, he determined, being not in a condition to fight them, to attempt a new paſſage. He firſt endeavoured to find one by the north of California; but failing in that enterprize, he ſailed for the Eaſt Indies, and returned ſafely by the cape of Good Hope. The council, apprehending that Drake's enterprize would occaſion a rupture with Spain, moved, that the queen ſhould puniſh him, and reſtore the treaſure. But Elizabeth rejected the propoſal; and in order to teſtify her approbation, ſhe accepted a banquet from Drake, on board his ſhip, and conferred on that brave commander the honour of knighthood. The Spaniſh ambaſſador failed not to make complaints againſt, what he termed, the piracies of Drake; but he was told by Elizabeth, that no treaty with his catholic majeſty excluded her ſubjects from trading to the South Seas; and that the inſignificant ceremony practiced by the Spaniards in taking poſſeſſion of ſuch immenſe tracts of land in America, ſhould never preclude her from ſending colonies thither, nor would ſhe ever ſubmit to ſuffer the ocean to be claimed as the property of any perſon, or even prince whatever. The queen, however, ordered part of the treaſure to be reſtored to Pedro Sebrura, a Spaniard, who pretended to be an agent from the merchants whoſe effects Drake had ſeized; but underſtanding afterwards that Philip had ſequeſtered the money, ſhe refuſed to make any farther reſtitution.

A. D. 1581. A parliament being aſſembled, they granted a ſupply of one ſubſidy and two fifteenths, and enacted ſeveral laws for the ſecurity of the government, levelled chiefly againſt the catholics, who had occaſioned many diſturbances. Whoever reconciled any one to the church of Rome, was declared guilty of treaſon: ſaying maſs ſubjected the prieſt to a year's impriſonment, and a fine of one hundred marks: every one who continued, during a month, abſent from the church, was to pay a fine of twenty pounds: the uttering of ſlanderous or ſeditious words, was, for the firſt offence, puniſhed with the pillory and loſs of ears: the ſecond offence was declared felony: the writing or printing ſuch words was made felony, even on the firſt offence. Theſe ſevere laws were owing to ſeminaries founded at Douay, Rheims and Rome, under the direction of the jeſuits; to which places the catholics ſent their children to be educated, where they were taught an extreme hatred to the queen; and propoſed to effect their purpoſes againſt her by ſedition, rebellion, and ſometimes aſſaſſination.

A treaty of marriage between Alençon, duke of Anjou, and Elizabeth, had been for ſome time negociating, and the queen, though he was near twenty years younger than herſelf, became pleaſed with the proofs of love and tenderneſs, evident in his addreſſes. In order to forward his ſuit, the duke ſent over Simier, an artful man, of an agreeable diſpoſition and converſation, who, inſtead of entering into ſerious political reaſonings, amuſed her with ſubjects of gallantry, and the tender attachment of his maſter. Elizabeth liſtened to his diſcourſe, and Simier ſoon inſinuated himſelf ſo firmly into the queen's favour, that he obtained a more ready acceſs to her perſon, than even the moſt favoured miniſters of ſtate. The earl of Leiceſter, who had laughed at every preceding treaty of marriage, now feared, that the queen was at laſt caught in her own ſnare, and that the artful encouragement ſhe had given to her young ſuitor, had, unawares, engaged her affections. He therefore took advantage of the credulity of the times; and to render Simier odious, ſpread a report, that he had gained an aſcendant over the queen by incantations and love potions. In revenge, Simier ſtrove to diſcredit Leiceſter, by revealing to the queen a ſecret, which none of her courtiers dared to diſcover; that he had ſecretly, without her conſent, married the widow of the earl of Eſſex. The queen imagining that this muſt proceed from want of reſpect to her, threatened to ſend Leiceſter to the Tower, and to prevent the effects of his reſentment, took the Frenchman under her protection. Encouraged by the accounts he received from his agent, the duke of Anjou determined to ſolicit his ſuit in perſon. He accordingly landed at Dover, and ſecretly viſited the queen at Greenwich. The duke had no reaſon to be diſpleaſed with his viſit; for ſoon after his departure, ſhe commanded Burleigh, lord treaſurer, Suſſex, Leiceſter, Bedford, Lincoln, Hatton, and Walſingham, her ſecretary, to concert with the French ambaſſadors the terms of the intended contract of marriage. On this occaſion, Henry had ſent over a ſplendid embaſſy; and as the queen had the power of preſcribing what terms ſhe pleaſed, the articles were ſoon ſettled. It was agreed, that the marriage ſhould be celebrated within ſix weeks after the ratification of the articles; that the duke and his retinue ſhould enjoy the free exerciſe of their religion; that after the marriage was ſolemnized, the duke of Anjou ſhould have the title of king, but that the management of national affairs ſhould continue ſolely with Elizabeth; that their children, male or female, ſhould ſucceed to the crown of England; that if there ſhould be two males, the eldeſt, in caſe of Henry's death, ſhould be king of France, and the younger of England; that if there ſhould be one male only, who might ſucceed to the crowns of England and France, he ſhould be obliged to reſide eight months every two years in the former kingdom; that the laws and cuſtoms of England ſhould be obſerved inviolate; and that no foreigner ſhould be promoted by the duke to any offices of ſtate. Theſe articles would have opened a gloomy proſpect to the Engliſh, had not the age of the queen, who was now in her forty-ninth year, contributed to allay their apprehenſions. She had proceeded farther in this affair than ſhe at firſt intended, and was not yet determined to bring matters to a final concluſion. She now ſent Walſingham as ambaſſador to France, with orders to negociate, on the conditions of a mutual alliance between England and France. He purſued his inſtructions with the utmoſt aſſiduity; but had the mortification to perceive that the reſolutions of the queen were fluctuating and unſettled. Sometimes he received orders to purſue the negociation, for completing the marriage preferable to that of the league; and at others ſhe declared for the league in preference to the marriage. The miniſter was aſtoniſhed at this inconſiſtent conduct of the queen, and the whole privy council were doubtful what would be the reſult of this conteſt between inclination and reaſon, love and ambition. The French king had allowed the duke of Anjou to embrace the protection of the States of the Netherlands; and had ſecretly ſupplied him with men and money for that purpoſe: the duke alſo expected ſome money from Elizabeth, to enable him to open the campaign in Flanders. The queen, though her frugality made her long reluctant, after much heſitation, ſent him a preſent of a hundred thouſand crowns, which enabled him to take the field againſt the prince of Parma, and to raiſe the ſiege of Cambray: after which, the States chuſing him governor of the Netherlands, he put his army into winter quarters, and came to England, in order to proſecute his ſuit to the queen. His reception gave him hopes, that ſhe had now ſurmounted all her ſcruples, and was at laſt determined to make choice of him for her huſband. During the pomp attending the anniverſary of her coronation, ſhe had a long and intimate diſcourſe with him, and was afterwards ſeen to take a ring from her finger and put it upon his. All the ſpectators immediately concluded, that ſhe had given him a promiſe of marriage, and was willing to make it public. The ambaſſador from the States inſtantly diſpatched a letter to them, to let them know this great event; and the inhabitants of Antwerp, who, with the other Flemings, conſidered the queen as a tutelar deity, expreſſed their satisfaction by public rejoicings. About this time, Stubbs, a gentleman of Lincoln's Inn, publiſhed a book, which he entitled, "The Gulph wherein England will be ſwallowed by the French Marriage;" for which, being apprehended and proſecuted by the queen's order, he was ſentenced, for his libel, to loſe his right hand. This cruel ſentence was executed on a ſcaffold at Weſtminſter; when ſuch was his conſtancy and loyalty, that he had no ſooner been deprived of one hand, than he took his hat off with the other, and, waving it over his head, cried, God ſave the queen.

A.D. 1582.

Notwithſtanding Elizabeth thus openly diſcovered her attachment to the duke of Anjou, her ambition and prudence filled her mind with anxious doubts. Moſt of her courtiers diſcovered an extreme averſion to the marriage; and the ladies of her bed chamber did not ſcruple to oppoſe her inclination with warm remonſtrances. Amongſt others againſt the match was Sir Philip Sidney, one of the moſt accompliſhed young gentlemen of the age, who wrote her a letter, in which he diſſuaded her from her preſent purpoſe, with great force of reaſoning. He obſerved, that the ſecurity of her government entirely depended on the affections of her proteſtant ſubjects, whom ſhe could not more effectually diſguſt, than by marrying a prince who was brother to the cruel and perfidious Charles; that her mortal enemies, the catholics, believing that ſhe had uſurped the crown, and was legally depoſed by the pope's bull of excommunication, wanted only a head to conduct their enterprizes; and ſhe herſelf was raſhly ſupplying them with one, by giving to a prince, who, by his education, was zealouſly attached to that communion, an intereſt in the kingdom: that France would ſupply him with partizans, dangerous to a people long unaccuſtomed to war: that as the duke was of a reſtleſs turbulent ſpirit, and had often violated his loyalty to his elder brother, the French king, there could be no room to hope, that he would paſſively ſubmit to a woman, whom he might, in quality of a huſband, think he had a right to command: that the plain and honourable path of cultivating the affections of her people, had, hitherto, rendered her reign ſecure and happy; and that her own prudence, without any foreign aid, would enable her to baffle all the efforts of her moſt malignant enemies. Theſe, and other reflections, equally concluſive, filled the queen with great uneaſineſs, and ſhe paſſed ſeveral nights without ſleep. At length her prudence and ambition prevailing over her temporary inclination, ſhe ſent for the duke of Anjou, and had a long conference with him in private. On leaving her, he expreſſed the moſt violent diſguſt, threw away the ring ſhe had given him, and curſed the mutability of women. He ſoon after went over to his government in the Netherlands; when loſing the confidence of the States, by attacking their liberties, he was expelled that country; and retiring into France, there died.

The diſtracted ſtate of the French monarchy prevented the queen from feeling the effects of that reſentment ſhe had reaſon to dread; and her attention was now directed to the troubles of Scotland, which ſtill raged with irreſiſtible fury. The death of Morton, the influence of the earl of Lenox, and that of James Stuart, now earl of Arran, alarmed the reforming preachers. A faſt was appointed to be held all over the kingdom, when the pulpits reſounded with declamations againſt the king's counſellors and favourites. A conſpiracy was formed for ſeizing the perſon of James, who was then at Ruthven, a ſeat belonging to the earl of Gowry. The utmoſt ſecrecy was obſerved; and the council not having the leaſt intimation of their deſigns, the attempt ſucceeded without any oppoſition. The earls of Gowry and Mar, the lords Lindeſey and Boyd, the maſters Glamis and Oliphant, the abbots of Dumbfermline, Plaiſey and Cambuſhenneth, were the principal leaders in this enterprize. James wept when he found himſelf deprived of his liberty. "No matter for his tears, (ſaid one of the conſpirators) better that boys ſhould weep than bearded men;" an expreſſion which James never forgave. He was, however, obliged to ſubmit, and acquieſcing in his preſent fate, not only acknowledged, that the aſſociators had done him an acceptable ſervice, but agreed to ſummons a convention of the ſtates, to ratify their proceedings. Though the eccleſiaſtical ſtate had no right to meddle with civil matters, yet on this occaſion they declared, that the late event was agreeable to all who feared God, and deſired to preſerve the proſperity of the realm. They even threatened thoſe who ſhould dare to oppoſe the authority of the confederated lords with the moſt ſevere church cenſures. The earl of Lenox, unwilling to excite a civil war, retired into France, where he ſoon after died. The earl of Arran was confined a priſoner to his own houſe; and Elizabeth ſent ambaſſadors to compliment the captive king upon his delivery from his late pernicious counſellors.

A. D. 1583. Ambaſſadors alſo arrived from France, to enquire into the king's ſituation, to make profeſſions of their maſter's friendſhip, and to procure an accommodation between James and his mother. This laſt propoſal gave great offence to the clergy, who inveighed againſt the ambaſſadors in their pulpits, and exerted their intereſt to render the deſign abortive. They were ſo violent in their declamations, that the ambaſſadors were publicly affronted in the ſtreets. James had no power to repreſs this inſolent behaviour; and the ambaſſadors finding it impoſſible to carry on any negociation, quitted the kingdom.

The queen of Scots hearing of her ſon's detention, wrote a letter to Elizabeth, in a more pathetic ſtrain than uſual, in which ſhe aſked only the bleſſing of liberty, for which ſhe offered to ſacrifice her crown, and every other right ſhe poſſeſſed. Elizabeth was affected with Mary's ſituation, but from political motives, reſolved to deny her requeſt; though the unhappy priſoner was even diſpoſed to live in England, in a private ſtation, with ſome little degree of reſtraint. In the mean time, James made his eſcape from his keepers, and flying to St. Andrews, ſummoned his friends and partizans to attend him. The confederated lords, perceiving that all oppoſition would be in vain, made no attempts to recover their authority: ſome of them accepted a pardon; and the reſt took ſhelter in Ireland and England. The earl Arran was now recalled to court, whoſe profligate manners, and violent conduct, ſoon rendered him extremely unpopular. Though the earl of Gowry had been pardoned for his late attempt on the king, he was thrown into priſon, tried on ſome new accuſations, condemned and executed. Many innocent perſons ſuffered from the tyranny of this favourite.

A.D. 1584. At length the baniſhed noblemen, who were aſſiſted by Elizabeth, found the time favourable for the recovery of their eſtates and authority. They made the attempt and were ſucceſsful. Arran was degraded from his authority, deprived of the eſtate and title he had uſurped, and the whole kingdom ſeemed to have obtained that tranquillity which had been ſo long ſought for in vain. Theſe revolutions would have been of little conſequence to Elizabeth, had her own ſubjects been perfectly united: but the zeal of the catholics daily threatened her with dangerous inſurrections. The vigilance of her miniſters, particularly of Burleigh and Walſingham, was raiſed in proportion to the activity of the mal-contents; and many arts were employed in detecting conſpiracies. Henry Piercy, earl of Northumberland, brother to the earl who had been beheaded ſome years before, and Philip Howard, earl of Arundel, the ſon of the unfortunate duke of Norfolk, fell under their ſuſpicion; and the council ordered the latter to be confined to his own houſe: lord Paget, and Charles Arundel, who had been engaged in treaſonable deſigns with Francis Throgmorton, withdrew beyond ſea. Throgmorton, being taken into cuſtody, confeſſed, that a plan had been laid for an invaſion and inſurrection; for which he was found guilty and executed; and this conſpiracy having been promoted by Mendoza, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, he was ordered to depart the kingdom. As many of theſe conſpiracies were imputed to Mary's intrigues, and as her name was employed in all of them, the council concluded, they could not uſe too many precautions againſt the reſtleſs activity of her temper. She was therefore removed from the earl of Shrewſbury's care; for though that nobleman was faithful and vigilant, he had ſhewn great indulgence to her, particularly with reſpect to air and exerciſe; and ſhe was committed to the cuſtody of Sir Drue Drury, and Sir Amias Paulet. The earl of Leiceſter, and other noblemen, now ſet on foot an aſſociation; and the queen being beloved by the whole nation, except the moſt bigotted catholics, people of all ranks flocked to ſign it. This aſſociation was to defend the queen, to revenge her death, or any injury committed againſt her perſon; and to exclude from the throne all claimants, in whoſe behalf any violence ſhould be offered to her majeſty. Mary was ſenſible theſe tranſactions were levelled againſt her, and, to remove all ſuſpicion from herſelf, deſired leave to add her name to the ſubſcription.

In order to diſcourage the mal-contents, Elizabeth ſummoned a new parliament on the twenty-third of November, in which the aſſociation was confirmed, and a clauſe added, empowering the queen to name commiſſioners for the trial of any pretender to the crown, who ſhould attempt or imagine againſt her any invaſion, inſurrection, or aſſaſſination;

nation; and the perſon found guilty was not only excluded from all claim to the ſucceſſion, but was liable to be puniſhed as her majeſty ſhould direct: and for the greater ſecurity, in caſe of the queen's violent death, a council of regency was appointed to govern the kingdom, and to revenge her murder. A ſevere law was alſo enacted againſt jeſuits and popiſh prieſts, ordering them to depart the kingdom within forty days under the penalty of treaſon; and to harbour or relieve them was made felony. This parliament alſo preſented a petition to the houſe of lords for a reformation of religion; in which they deſired, that no biſhop might exerciſe the office of ordination, without the concurrence of ſix preſbyters; that no clergyman might be inducted into any benefice, without notice being previouſly given to the pariſh, that they might examine whether any objection lay to his life or doctrine: but the moſt material article touched upon in this petition, was the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, and the oath exacted by that court, called *ex officio*, which being a ſubject of great importance, as it ſhews the power of the churchmen, and their arbitrary proceedings againſt the diſſenters of that time, deſerves a particular explanation. Parker, the firſt primate after Elizabeth's acceſſion, rigorouſly exacted a conformity to the eſtabliſhed worſhip, by puniſhing all puritanical clergymen, who attempted any innovation in the habits, liturgy, or ceremonies of the church, by fines or deprivation. He dying in 1575, was ſucceeded by Grindall, who being a man of great moderation, could not be brought to execute the laws againſt nonconforming clergymen; and for this offence, the queen, by an order of the ſtar-chamber, ſequeſtered him from his archiepiſcopal function, and confined him to his own houſe. He dying in 1583, the queen choſe Whitgift, a zealous churchman, who having in vain attempted to convince the puritans by arguments, was reſolved to enlighten their underſtandings, an abſolute impoſſibility, by the force of perſecution. He therefore informed the queen, that the ſpiritual authority lodged with the prelates was inſignificant, without the ſanction of the crown; and there being no eccleſiaſtical commiſſions in force, he prevailed upon her to iſſue one more arbitrary than any of the former. Influenced by his pernicious advice, ſhe appointed forty commiſſioners, twelve of whom were eccleſiaſtics, and three commiſſioners made a quorum. Theſe commiſſioners were empowered to viſit and reform all errors, hereſies, and ſchiſms; and to puniſh all breaches of uniformity in the exerciſe of public worſhip. Their proceedings were contrary to all principles of law and equity, being directed to make enquiries, not only by the legal methods of witneſſes and juries, but by every other means they could deviſe; that is, by torture, by inquiſition, or impriſonment. Where they found reaſon of ſuſpicion, they might adminiſter an oath called *ex officio*, by which the perſon was bound to anſwer all queſtions, and might be obliged to accuſe himſelf, or his moſt intimate friend. The fines they levied were merely diſcretionary, and frequently occaſioned the entire ruin of the ſuppoſed offender. The impriſonment to which they ſentenced any one, was limited by no other rule but their own pleaſure. They aſſumed a power of impoſing on the clergy what new articles of ſubſcription they thought proper. Though every other ſpiritual court had, ſince the reformation, been ſubject to inhibitions from the ſupreme courts of law, theſe eccleſiaſtical inquiſitors were freed from that reſtraint, and liable to no controul. The more to enlarge their authority, they were empowered to puniſh all inceſts, adulteries, diſorders in marriage, fornication, and immorality, according to their wiſdom, conſcience, and diſcretion. In ſhort, this court was a real inquiſition, attended with all the ſeverities of that arbitrary tribunal; and being deſtructive of all laws, its erection was, by many, eſteemed a mere uſurpation of the queen, that had no other foundation than a clauſe of a ſtatute which reſtored the ſupremacy to the crown, and authoriſed the ſovereign to appoint commiſſioners for exerciſing that prorogative. The commons, in an humble petition to the upper houſe, had mentioned theſe grievances in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms. The queen, in a ſpeech from the throne, took notice of their preſumption, and obſerved, that ſhe would no longer endure this licence, but would guide her people by God's rule, in the juſt mean between the corruptions of Rome, and the errors of modern ſectaries; and that as the Romaniſts were the inveterate enemies of her perſon, ſo the other innovating enthuſiaſts were dangerous to all monarchical government; who, under colour of preaching the word of God, preſumed to exerciſe a right of private judgment in canvaſſing the ſcriptures, and cenſuring the actions of their ſovereign. But, notwithſtanding exertions of royal prerogative, and the deference paid to Elizabeth by lords and commons, the puritans were not to be intimidated. Perſuaded that their tenets were undeniably founded on ſcripture, and jealous of the liberty of conſcience in matters of faith, above five hundred eccleſiaſtics of that perſuaſion ſubſcribed a book of diſcipline conformable to their principles; and the force of laws was unable to prevent Preſbyterianiſm from taking root in the boſom of the church of England. During this ſeſſion of parliament, a horrid conſpiracy againſt the life of Elizabeth was brought to light. William Parry, a bigotted catholic, after having received the queen's pardon for a capital offence, retired into Italy, where he openly profeſſed his religion, which he concealed during his abode in England. Having contracted an intimacy with Palmio, a jeſuit, he too readily liſtened to the deteſtable doctrine of that order, and was perſuaded that he could not perform a more meritorious action, than that of taking away the life of his ſovereign and benefactreſs. Campeggio, the pope's nuncio, whom Parry conſulted, removed all his doubts, and approved of his pious undertaking. Parry retired to Paris, whence he propoſed to paſs over into England, in order to execute his bloody deſign. Remorſe, however, ſtaggered his reſolution; it is not ſome times even in the power of fanaticiſm to ſilence the remonſtrances of conſcience. His ſoul ſhuddered at the complicated horror of the action he was going to commit. This bigot now reſolved to try, before he proceeded to extremities, whether he could not alleviate the perſecution of the catholics. Having found means of being introduced to the queen, he told her, that many conſpiracies were formed againſt her, and endeavoured to perſuade her, if ſhe had any regard for her life, to give greater indulgence to the Romans in the exerciſe of their religion. He even procured a ſeat in parliament; but having made a warm ſpeech againſt the rigorous laws enacted in the laſt ſeſſion, was taken into cuſtody, and expelled the houſe. Failing in theſe attempts, his reſolution was confirmed, which he imparted to Nevil, next heir to the Weſtmoreland family, who inſtantly highly approved of the atrocious crime. It was reſolved to ſhoot the queen when ſhe took the air on horſeback: but while they waited for a favourable opportunity, the earl of Weſtmoreland died in exile; and Nevil, hoping to recover the honours and eſtates of that noble family, revealed the whole conſpiracy to the queen's miniſters. Upon which, Parry being caſt into priſon, made a confeſſion of his guilt; and having received ſentence of death, ſuffered the puniſhment appointed by the law for treaſonable practices. About the ſame time Balthazar Gerard, a Burgundian, undertook and executed the aſſaſſination of the prince of Orange at Delf, as that prince roſe from table, in the preſence of his wife and ſiſter, by ſhooting him with a piſtol. This vile aſſaſſin, ſatisfied with reſpect to the rectitude of his motives, which led him thus to deſtroy the leader of thoſe he deemed heretics, ſhewed not the leaſt remorſe for his infernal crime; and on his fleſh being torn off with burning pincers, uttered not the leaſt cry or groan.

A.D. 1585. This melancholy end of the protector of religious liberty, ſpread a general conſternation through the Netherlands, where the people regarded the prince of Orange as their father, and where the prince of Parma had made an alarming progreſs in re-eſtabliſhing the authority of Philip. Being thus reduced to extremity, the States offered the ſovereignty of their country to Henry III. king of France. But the deplorable condition of that monarchy obliged the king to reject ſo advantageous an offer. Elizabeth perceived the neceſſity of aſſiſting them effectually. She, therefore, engaged by a treaty to ſuccour them with five thouſand infantry, and one thouſand cavalry, under the command of a general whom ſhe ſhould appoint; and to pay theſe troops during the war, on condition of being reimburſed upon a re-eſtabliſhment of peace. It was alſo ſtipulated, that the queen ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of Fluſſingen, Rammikens, and the Brille, as ſecurity; that the Engliſh governors ſhould have no juriſdiction over the inhabitants of thoſe places; that the towns ſhould be reſtored on the payment of all expences; that the Engliſh general, and two other perſons nominated by the queen, ſhould have places in the aſſemblies of the States; and that neither a peace nor truce ſhould be made without the mutual conſent of Elizabeth and the confederates; that in caſe of the Engliſh fleet being ſent to ſea, it ſhould be joined with an equal number of ſhips, to be commanded by the Engliſh admiral; and laſtly, that the harbours of both countries ſhould be open to the ſubjects of each nation. The earl of Leiceſter, who was appointed to command the Engliſh forces, embarked on the twenty-third of October, attended by a ſplendid retinue, compoſed of the young earl of Eſſex his ſon-in-law, the lords Audley and North, Sir William Ruſſel, Sir Thomas Shirley, Sir Arthur Baſſet, Sir Walter Waller, Sir Gervaſe Clifton, and a ſelect company of five hundred gentlemen. He was met, on his arrival at Fluſhing, by his nephew, Sir Philip Sidney, governor of that place; and every town through which he paſſed diſcovered every demonſtration of joy, conſidering him as their guardian angel, their deliverer from impending ruin. Elizabeth, on finding that an open breach with the Spaniards was unavoidable, reſolved to attack their ſettlements in America; and therefore equipping a fleet of twenty ſail, ſhe ſent it to the Weſt Indies, under the command of Sir Francis Drake. He firſt took St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verde iſlands. Then ſailing weſtward, he reduced Carthagena and St. Domingo. In his return through the Gulph of Florida, he burned St. Auguſtine, and St. Helena; then touching at Virginia, he took on board the ſmall remains of a colony which had been planted there by Sir Walter Raleigh, and at their requeſt brought them to England. To theſe people we are indebted for the knowledge of tobacco, a plant hitherto unknown in England. Drake returned with ſuch riches, as inflamed the ſpirits of the Engliſh to engage in future enterprizes, and their ardour was increaſed by accounts of the weakneſs of the Spaniards in thoſe diſtant countries. Leiceſter, whoſe merit was not equal to the favour he enjoyed from the queen, had leſs ſucceſs in the Low Countries. At firſt, he gained ſome advantages over the Spaniards; and throwing ſuccours into Grave, enabled that town to make a vigorous defence; but Van Hermert had the cowardice to capitulate, after a very feeble reſiſtance, for which he ſuffered death by the ſentence of a court-martial. Venlo was beſieged and taken by the prince of Parma. He afterwards inveſted Rhimberg, garriſoned with twelve hundred Engliſh, when Leiceſter endeavoured to draw off the prince from that place by forming other enterprizes. He laid ſiege with this view to Zutphen, which the Spaniſh general thought ſo important a fortreſs, that he haſted to its relief, and made the marquis of Guaſto advance with a convoy, which he was to throw into the place. They were favoured by a fog; but accidentally meeting with a body of Engliſh cavalry, a furious action enſued, in which the Spainards were defeated, and the marquis of Gonzaga, an Italian nobleman of great reputation, was ſlain. The purſuit was ſtopped by the prince of Parma's advancing with the main body of the Spaniſh army; but the Engliſh, after having exerted all their valour, were obliged to retreat, with the loſs of Sir Philip Sidney, who having been mortally wounded in the action, was carried off by the ſoldiers, and ſoon after died. He is deſcribed by writers of that age, as a moſt perfect model of an accompliſhed gentleman. Sir Philip's virtuous conduct, heroic valour, elegant erudition, and polite converſation, had rendered him the ornament and delight of the Engliſh court; and as his credit with the queen and the earl of Leiceſter, was ſolely employed in the encouragement of genius and literature, his praiſes have been tranſmitted to poſterity. While he was lying in the field, mangled with the wounds he had received, and almoſt ſuffocated with thirſt, a bottle of water was offered him; but obſerving a ſoldier by his ſide in the ſame ſituation, he reſigned to him the valuable acquiſition, with this generous obſervation, "That man's neceſſities are ſtill greater than mine." The memory of Sidney's virtues were celebrated in a copy of Latin verſes, wrote by the king of Scots. The States were highly diſpleaſed with Leiceſter's management of the war, nor leſs with his arbitrary and imperious conduct; and at the end of the campaign, ſolicited him to redreſs their grievances; yet he ſoon after returned to England, without giving them the leaſt ſatisfaction.

A.D. 1586. Philip's deſigns againſt the perſon and government of Elizabeth becoming more apparent, it was of the laſt importance for her to ſecure the friendſhip of the king of Scotland. To this end, ſhe diſpatched Wotton as her ambaſſador to that kingdom; but notwithſtanding her having given him private inſtructions, with reſpect to her affairs, ſhe informed the king, that when ſhe had any political buſineſs to tranſact with him, ſhe would employ another miniſter; her chief intention in ſending him being to entertain James with his wit, and that he might partake with him in his pleaſures. Wotton was maſter of profound diſſimulation, and knew how to cover the deepeſt deſigns under the appearance of careleſs gaiety. James admitted him into all his amuſements, on which the ambaſſador ſoon made himſelf maſter of his ſecrets; and had the more authority over him in ſtate tranſactions, as he did not ſeem to pay the leaſt attention or regard to ſuch things; while the Scotch miniſters, who obſerved his growing intereſt, endeavoured to acquire his friendſhip, by informing him of every thing they knew of their maſter. But Wotton employed his intrigues to more dangerous purpoſes: he formed a conſpiracy for ſeizing the perſon of James, and delivering him into the hands of the Engliſh queen. This treachery was diſcovered, and Wotton fled into England. Though James was highly exaſperated, he thought it prudent to diſſemble; and ſoon after a treaty of alliance was concluded between him and Elizabeth, for the mutual defence of their dominions and religion, againſt the open combination of all the catholic powers in Europe. By this treaty it was ſtipulated that if Elizabeth was invaded, James ſhould furniſh her with a body of about two thouſand horſe, and five thouſand foot; that Elizabeth in a ſimilar caſe, ſhould ſend him three thouſand horſe, and ſix thouſand foot; that the charge of theſe armies ſhould be defrayed by the power who demanded aſſiſtance; that if the invaſion ſhould be made in England, within ſixty miles of the frontiers of Scotland, James ſhould march his whole force to the aid of Elizabeth; and that the preſent league ſhould ſuperſede all former alliances of either ſtate with any foreign prince, ſo far as religion was concerned.

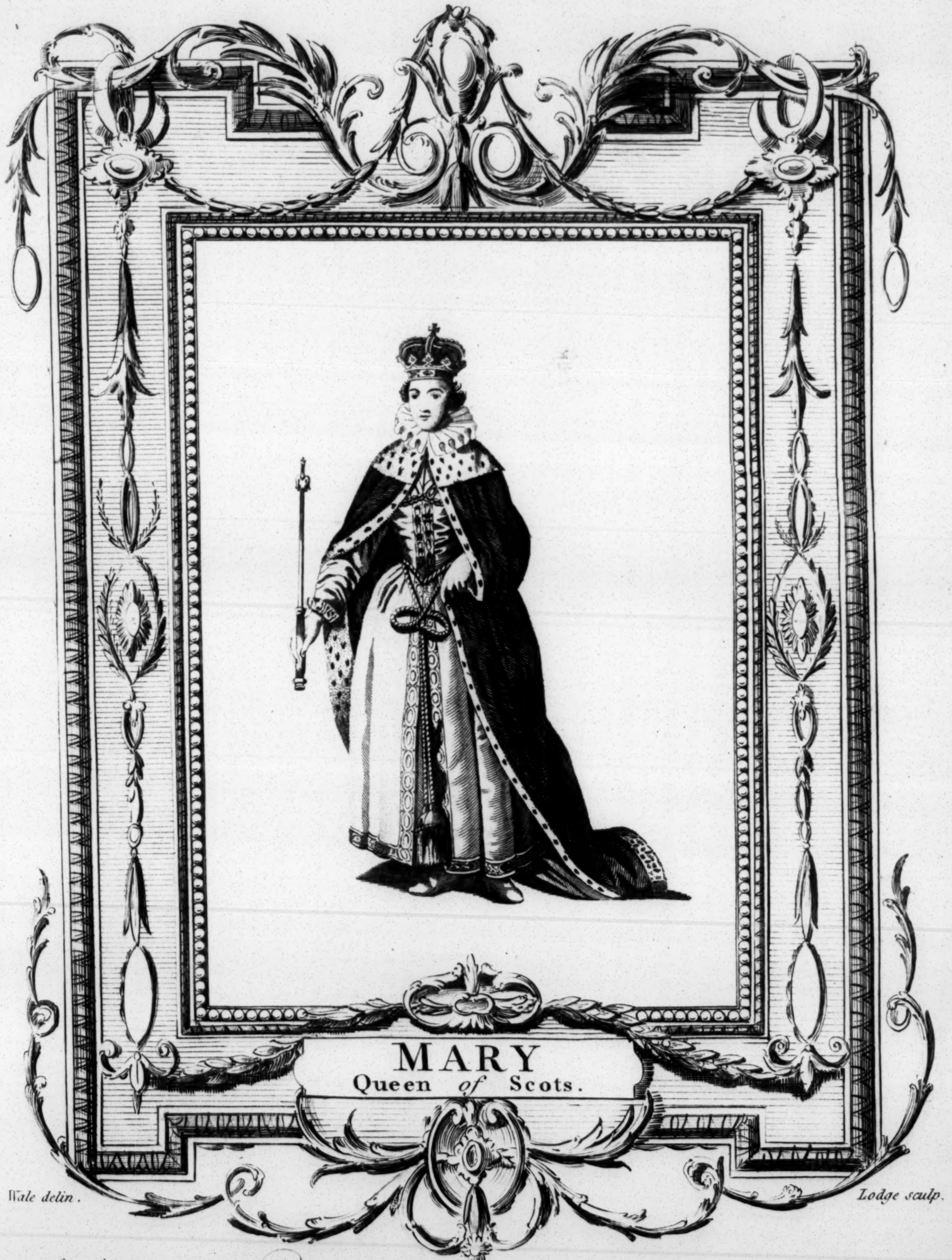
The character, principles, and pretenſions of Mary, had early engaged Elizabeth, in her treatment of that unfortunate princeſs, to conſult the dictates of policy and jealouſy, rather than of friendſhip or generoſity; and her reſtraint, reſentment, and high ſpirit, concurring with the ſuggeſtions of the moſt cruel bigots, at laſt engaged Mary in deſigns which terminated in her ruin. The Engliſh, in the ſeminary at Rheims, were filled with the greateſt animoſity againſt Elizabeth, and revered the bull by which the pope had excommunicated and depoſed the queen; ſome of them aſſerting that it had been immediately dictated by the Holy Ghoſt, and that whoever loſt their lives in attempting to murder her, would undoubtedly enjoy an unfading crown of martyrdom. By theſe doctrines, John Savage, who had ſerved ſome years in the Netherlands under the prince of Parma, was inſtigated to attempt the life of Elizabeth; and having made a vow to perſevere in his deſign, was ſent to England, and recommended to the confidence of the moſt zealous papiſts. About the ſame time John Ballard, a prieſt, returned to Paris from his miſſion in England and Scotland; and having obſerved that a ſpirit of mutiny and rebellion prevailed among the devotees of thoſe countries, formed the deſign of dethroning Elizabeth, and reſtoring the exerciſe of their religion by force of arms. This enterprize ſeemed to be favoured by the ſituation of affairs abroad; for the pope, the Spaniards, and the duke of Guiſe, had formed the reſolution of making ſome attempt againſt the queen; and Ballard was warmly encouraged by Mendoza, the Spaniſh ambaſſador at Paris, to hope for ſuccour from thoſe princes. But Charles Paget, a devoted partizan of the queen of Scots, being convinced of Elizabeth's prudence and popularity, ſteadily maintained, that it was in vain to expect any ſucceſs from the invaſion of England while that princeſs was alive; and Ballard hence concluded the neceſſity of executing the deſign formed at Rheims: he therefore came to England in the diſguiſe of a ſoldier, aſſuming the name of captain Forteſcue, and endeavoured to execute at once the projects of an aſſaſſination, an inſurrection, and an invaſion. He firſt applied to Anthony Babington, a young gentleman of fortune and polite education, who was ſuſceptible of that falſe zeal, which impels thoſe who are under its influence, to believe every thing juſtifiable in defence of the catholic religion. Babington engaged in the conſpiracy ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, who agreed, that a ſelect number ſhould join Savage in the execution of his vow. In the mean time the papiſts, in order to carry on the plot without ſuſpicion, publiſhed ſeveral hypocritical writings, in which they profeſſed the higheſt regard for the perſon and government of Elizabeth; admoniſhed the people of their perſuaſion not to engage in any practices againſt the ſtate, but to confine themſelves to ſuch weapons as are alone lawful for Chriſtians to uſe, ſuch as tears, prayers, and faſting. But the watchful eye of Walſingham was not to be deceived; he ſoon obtained hints of the conſpirators deſigns; and by the aſſiſtance of one Maud, a man of impenetrable diſſimulation, who found means to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of Ballard, the miniſter was regularly informed of all their ſchemes. The plan being completely ſettled, Babington wrote to Mary, informing her of all that had paſſed between him and Ballard; that he had undertook, with the aſſiſtance of one hundred gentlemen, to deliver her from her confinement; but at the ſame time inſiſted, that thoſe who were concerned in ſo dangerous an attempt for her ſervice, ſhould be aſſured of a reward ſuitable to their merit. This letter was wrote in the uſual cypher which had paſſed between him and Mary; and was ſo pleaſing to her, that ſhe failed not to anſwer it in the ſame cypher, deſiring the conſpirators to be extremely cautious, aſſuring them ſhe highly approved of the deſign, and that the gentlemen might expect all the rewards it might ever be in her power to grant. Babington had employed one Gifford to communicate his deſigns to Mary, who immediately applied to Walſingham, that by his intereſt he might ſecretly carry on a correſpondence with the queen of Scots. Walſingham propoſed the affair to Paulet, who had then the charge of Mary, and deſired him to connive at Gifford's corrupting one of his ſervants; but Paulet deſiring that ſome other expedient might be deviſed, Gifford bribed a brewer, who ſupplied the family with ale, to convey letters to the captive queen. By Paulet's contrivance, the letters were thruſt through a chink in the wall, and anſwers returned by the ſame conveyance. Babington and Ballard being at firſt afraid of Gifford's fidelity, gave him only blank papers folded in the form of letters; but finding by the anſwers that theſe had been faithfully delivered, they laid aſide their ſcruples, and Babington informed Mary of the propoſed foreign invaſion; the plan of an inſurrection at home; that of her delivery; and one for aſſaſſinating the uſurper, by ſix noble gentlemen, as he called them. All the letters, containing theſe and other particulars, were carried to Walſingham, who was ſtill deſirous of having farther information. With this intent, he added to one of Mary's letters delivered to him by Maud, his truſty agent, a poſtſcript, in the ſame cypher, requeſting Babington to ſend her the names of the principal conſpirators. The ſtratagem ſucceeded; and the able miniſter diſcovered, that Savage, already mentioned; Charles Tilney, a man of family, and one of Elizabeth's penſioners; John Charnock, a gentleman of Lancaſhire; Edward Abingdon, whoſe father had been cofferer to Elizabeth; Chidcock Tichbourn, a gentleman of Southampton; and one Barnwell, a perſon of quality in Ireland; were the ſix engaged by oath to aſſaſſinate the queen. The vanity of Babington furniſhed Walſingham with another means of detection. He had cauſed a picture to be drawn, in which he himſelf was repreſented ſtanding amidſt the ſix aſſaſſins, with a motto, importing, that they were all embarked in the ſame dangerous enterprize. A copy of this was delivered to the queen, that, upon ſeeing them, ſhe might be upon her guard, Babington now reſolved to ſend Ballard into France, to haſten the foreign ſuccours; and to procure a licence, applied to Walſingham, pretending great zeal for the queen's ſervice, and his reſolution to make uſe of the confidence he had gained among the catholics, in detecting their conſpiracies. But Ballard being ſeized by a warrant from the ſecretary of ſtate's office, all the conſpirators were terrified, and ſome adviſed their immediately making their eſcape; while others propoſed the inſtant aſſaſſination of Elizabeth. However, the next day their fears ſubſided; for Babington having renewed his correſpondence with Walſingham, that ſubtle ſtateſman perſuaded him, that the apprehending of Ballard proceeded only from the uſual diligence of informers. Babington was even prevailed upon to lodge in Walſingham's houſe, that they might frequently converſe together; but obſerving that he was watched with the moſt careful aſſiduity by one Scudamore, he began to be alarmed for his ſafety. Soon after, as they were ſitting at ſupper, Scudamore received a note from Walſingham, ordering him to watch Babington more narrowly than ever; and Babington, by Scudamore's inadvertency, reading the note over his ſhoulder, was ſufficiently convinced of his danger. He roſe haſtily from the table, went out of the room, as if on ſome ſudden occaſion, made the beſt of his way to Weſtminſter, and having acquainted Charnock, and ſome others with what he had diſcovered, they withdrew immediately into the woods, where they concealed themſelves for ten days; but were at laſt taken near Harrow on the Hill, dreſſed like countrymen, and brought priſoners to London. On the thirteenth of September, Babington and Ballard, with five of their accomplices, were arraigned, and pleaded guilty; and the next day ſeven more of the conſpirators were convicted on evidence. The firſt ſeven ſuffered the ſentence pronounced againſt traitors in its utmoſt rigour, but the others were ſuffered to hang till they were dead. They all behaved with great decency, and confeſſed their ſorrow for that part of the conſpiracy relative to the murder of Elizabeth.

This horrid plot having, by the vigilance of adminiſtration, being fully detected and rendered abortive, meaſures were taken for the trial and conviction of the queen of Scots. But great difficulties occurred with regard to the manner of proceeding. Scarce a precedent in the hiſtory of mankind could be found of a meaſure of this ſort; not one in the annals of England. Walſingham, with the majority of the council, inſiſted upon a fair, open, candid trial of the indiſcreet captive. Mary had been guarded ſo ſtrictly, that ſhe remained entirely ignorant of what had happened to her prejudice, till Sir Thomas Gorges accoſted her by Elizabeth's orders, when ſhe was mounted on horſeback to go a hunting, and informed her, that all her accomplices were diſcovered and ſeized. Mary was not permitted to return to her former place of reſidence, but was conducted from one gentleman's houſe to another, till ſhe was placed in Fotheringay caſtle, in Northamptonſhire. Her two ſecretaries, Nau and Curle, were apprehended; all her papers were ſeized, and tranſmitted to the council; alſo many letters from perſons abroad, and ſome from Engliſh noblemen, expreſſing their firm attachment to her perſon and title. The queen took no notice of this laſt diſcovery; but the perſons themſelves, finding their correſpondence detected, endeavoured to atone for their imprudence, by declaring themſelves from thenceforward moſt inveterate enemies to the queen of Scots.

It was now determined by the council to try Mary, not by the common laws relative to treaſon, but by an act of parliament that had been paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion againſt that crime. Accordingly the queen appointed a commiſſion, conſiſting of forty noblemen, privy counſellors, and judges, who were empowered to examine and paſs ſentence on the devoted queen of Scots, whom they ſtiled daughter and heir to James V. late king of Scotland. On the eleventh of October, the commiſſioners repaired to Fotheringay caſtle. Sir Walter Mildmay, and Sir Edward Baker, delivered to the queen of Scots a letter from Elizabeth, informing her of the commiſſion, and her approaching trial. Mary read the letter with a countenance more becoming her dignity than her ſituation; and told them, without the leaſt emotion, that it was very ſurpriſing the queen ſhould command her as a ſubject to ſubmit to a trial and examination before perſons of a rank far inferior to herſelf; that ſhe would ſubmit to no trial that had a tendency to leſſen her royal majeſty, or the dignity of her ſon; that however her ſpirits might be broken by misfortunes, ſhe was not yet reduced to the abject ſtate her enemies deſired, nor would ſhe ever be prevailed upon to conſent to her own degradation and diſhonour; that though ſhe had long lived in England, ſhe had lived in captivity; was ignorant of the laws and ſtatutes of the kingdom, deſtitute of council, and could not conceive who could be her peers, or ſit in judgment on a ſovereign princeſs; that ſhe had never enjoyed the protection of the laws of England, and therefore could not be ſuppoſed to have ſubjected herſelf to their juriſdiction; that if in her own perſon every rule of juſtice ſhould be violated, ſhe ſhould find her revenge in the judgment of the whole world, where her innocence would triumph on a theatre infinitely larger than that of a ſingle kingdom. This ſpirited anſwer to Elizabeth's letter, greatly embarraſſed the commiſſioners, who deputed lord Burleigh, the treaſurer Bromley, the chancellor, and Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, vice-chamberlain, to prevail upon her to relinquiſh her plea with regard to her royal dignity, and to ſubmit chearfully to a trial, which was now abſolutely not to be avoided, even though ſhe might refuſe to appear before the commiſſioners, or to plead. Various arguments were urged on this occaſion; but thoſe advanced in the following ſpeech, delivered by vice-chamberlain Hatton, made the ſtrongeſt impreſſion on the queen of Scots. "You are, madam, ſaid he, accuſed, but not condemned, of having conſpired the deſtruction of our lady and queen anointed. You ſay, you are a queen; but in a crime of this nature, and ſuch a ſituation as your's, the royal dignity itſelf is not ſufficient, by either the civil or canon law, or the law of nature and nations, to exempt you from judgment. If you are innocent, you injure your reputation by avoiding a trial. We have heard your proteſtations of innocence; but queen Elizabeth thinks otherwiſe, and is heartily ſorry for the appearances that lie againſt you. She has therefore appointed commiſſioners, honourable perſons, prudent and upright men, to examine the merits of your cauſe. They are ready to hear you with equity, and even with indulgence, and will rejoice if you can clear yourſelf of the imputations which have been thrown upon you. Believe me, madam, the queen herſelf will rejoice; for ſhe affirmed to me, at my departure, that no misfortune had ever given her ſo much uneaſineſs, as that you ſhould be ſuſpected of a concurrence in theſe criminal tranſactions. Laying aſide, therefore, the fruitleſs claim of your privilege, which can now avail you nothing, truſt to the better defence of your innocence; make that appear in open trial, and leave not upon your memory a ſtain of infamy, which muſt attend your obſtinate ſilence on this occaſion." Theſe arguments produced the deſired effect: Mary gave up her plea of royalty, and agreed to appear before the high court of commiſſioners. The trial had the appearance of great ſolemnity. At the upper end of the room was placed a chair of ſtate for the queen of England, under a royal canopy; over againſt it ſtood another for the queen of Scots; by the walls, on both ſides, benches were placed for the commiſſioners. As ſoon as the court was opened, the chancellor, turning to Mary, told her, "That ſhe was accuſed of conſpiring the deſtruction of the queen, the realm of England, and the proteſtant religion; and that they were commiſſioned to examine into the truth of the accuſation, and to hear her anſwer." Mary replied, "That ſhe came into England to crave the aſſiſtance which had been promiſed her; that ſhe was a queen, and not a ſubject to Elizabeth; and that, if ſhe appeared before them, it was only to ſecure her honour and reputation." The chancellor denied that any aſſiſtance had been promiſed her; and declared, that her proteſtation was in vain; for ſince the law, upon which the accuſation was founded, allowed of no diſtinction in the perſon of the tranſgreſſor, it could not be admitted. The commiſſioners, however, accommodated matters, by ordering both her proteſtation and his anſwer to be recorded. They then touched upon other facts; but as they no way affected Mary's life, ſhe took no pains to confute their aſſertions. The grand buſineſs was to prove the main charge of the impeachment, That Mary had concurred in the deſign of aſſaſſinating Elizabeth. To prove this accuſation, copies of the intercepted letters between her and Babington, in which were expreſſed, in the cleareſt terms, her approbation of the murder, were produced; the evidence of Nau and Curle, her two ſecretaries, who without being put to the torture readily ſwore, that ſhe received theſe letters from Babington, and that by her orders they had written the anſwers. The confeſſion of Babington correſponded with the depoſitions of her ſecretaries. Mary was incapable of making a ſatisfactory defence before the commiſſioners; her reply conſiſting chiefly in her own denial. She aſſerted, that as Nau and Curle had taken an oath of ſecrecy and fidelity to her, their evidence ought not to be credited; and that if her ſervants had received any letters, or wrote any anſwers, the imputation could not affect her. She added, that it was eaſy to forge the hand-writing and cypher of another. But if we conſider the enterprizing character of Mary, the odious treatment ſhe had received, her hatred to Elizabeth on that account, and the then prevailing eſtabliſhed opinion among catholics, that it was lawful to make uſe of any violence againſt a prince excommunicated by the pope, we may believe, without difficulty, that Mary might be an accomplice in a conſpiracy, in the ſucceſs of which her own intereſt was principally concerned. To ſay, that her two ſecretaries held a correſpondence with Babington, wherein ſhe was not concerned; or that they ſhould betray their miſtreſs, without ſo much as having been ſuſpected themſelves; or that Walſingham, a miniſter of ſtrict integrity, if ever there was one, had forged the letters, would be to ſtart the moſt indefenſible improbabilities. In truth, the only circumſtance in Mary's defence, which to us appears worthy of notice, was her requiring that Nau and Curle ſhould be confronted with her, affirming, that they would not, to her face, perſiſt in their aſſertions. However agreeable this demand was to natural juſtice, it was obſerved to her, that in caſes of high treaſon, the laws and cuſtoms of England did not admit of confronting evidences with the priſoner, and that the judges had it not in their power to grant ſuch an indulgence. The commiſſioners having finiſhed the trial, they on the twenty-fifth of October, adjourned from Fotheringay caſtle to the ſtar-chamber at London; where, having taken the oaths of Mary's two ſecretaries, who voluntarily, without hope of reward, ſwore to the authenticity of the letters before produced, they pronounced ſentence of death upon the queen of Scots, and this ſentence they confirmed under their hands and ſeals. The ſame day they publiſhed a declaration, that this ſentence did not derogate from the title and honours of James, king of Scotland, but that he was in the ſame place, degree, and right, as if this ſentence had never been pronounced. Elizabeth had now ſufficiently humbled her hated rival; but ſhe was too politic to expreſs her joy on this ſolemn occaſion, knowing that her conduct, in this inſtance, would be repreſented in the moſt invidious colours by Mary's numerous partizans; that ſhe ſhould be reproached by foreign princes, and perhaps by poſterity, as having violated the rights of hoſpitality, of kindred, and of royal majeſty. She therefore affected to be deeply intereſted in the fate of her unfortunate relation; declaring, that however injurious her deſigns might be to herſelf, ſhe was willing to bury them for ever in the gulph of oblivion; and that the ſafety of her people alone, which was nearly intereſted in the fate of the queen of Scotland, induced her to with-hold a pardon. She now ſummoned a parliament; that while ſhe indulged the moſt implacable hatred, ſhe might appear to be guided by the voices of her ſubjects; well knowing, that ſhe ſhould not want the moſt earneſt ſolicitations from that aſſembly, to conſent to a meaſure ſo agreeable to her ſecret inclinations. Both houſes unanimouſly ratified the ſentence againſt Mary, and voted an addreſs to Elizabeth, to obtain her conſent to its publication and execution. In her anſwer, ſhe mentioned the danger to which her life was continually expoſed, and her willingneſs to die, did ſhe not foreſee the calamities her death would produce; ſhe mentioned the clemency of her temper, and her violent reluctance to proceed to extremities againſt her unhappy kinſwoman: ſhe maintained that the late law by which Mary was tried, was ſolely intended to give her warning, not to engage in attempts, that might expoſe her to the penalties of her preſent ſituation; and begged them to think again, whether it was poſſible to find any expedient for ſecuring the public tranquillity, beſides the death of the queen of Scots. In obedience to her command, the parliament again took the affair under conſideration; but finding no other expedient, they repeated their ſolicitations and intreaties; and even remonſtrated, that mercy to the queen of Scots was cruelty to them; and affirmed, it would be injuſtice to deny the execution of the law to any individual, much more to the whole body of the people, now unanimouſly ſuing for the pledge of her parental care and tenderneſs. In anſwer to this ſecond addreſs, the queen complained of her unfortunate ſituation; expreſſed the uneaſineſs their importunity gave her; renewed her profeſſions of affection to her people, and diſmiſſed the committee of parliament in great uncertainty with reſpect to her final reſolution. She however complied with their requeſt, in publiſhing the ſentence againſt Mary by proclamation; and this appeared to be attended with the hearty rejoicings of the people. Lords Buckhurſt and Beale were ſent to inform Mary of the ratification of her ſentence by the parliament, and that aſſembly's earneſt applications for its execution, from their apprehenſions, that their religion could never, while ſhe was alive, be firmly ſettled and ſecured. Mary laying hold of this laſt circumſtance, inſiſted, that as her death was demanded by the proteſtants, for the eſtabliſhment of their faith, ſhe was a martyr to her religion, and entitled to all the merits attending that glorious character. "I can hardly believe (ſaid ſhe, ſmiling) that the queen, my ſiſter, has conſented to my death: but if her will be ſuch, that death, which will put an end to my ſufferings, cannot be unwelcome to me: and I think that ſoul unworthy of celeſtial happineſs, that ſhould ſhrink in paſſing through the gloomy valley of the ſhadow of death." Paulet, her keeper, who had received orders to take down her canopy, and no longer to ſerve her with the reſpect due to ſovereign princes, told her, that ſhe was now to be conſidered as a dead perſon, and unworthy of any dignity. To this ſhe replied, that ſhe had received her royal character from the hands of the Almighty, and could not be deprived of it by any earthly power; but this plea of divine right did not exempt her from very ſevere treatment. Great efforts were made by foreign powers, to prevent the execution of the ſentence pronounced againſt Mary. The ambaſſadors of France and Scotland were vehement in their remonſtrances, which had no weight with Elizabeth, who ſtill perſiſted in her former reſolution. Her miniſters ſtrenuouſly oppoſed every argument that had a tendency to make her heſitate. We need not be ſurprized at this if we conſider the ſituation of England at that critical juncture. No ſucceſſor to the crown was declared; the heir by blood, to whom the people were moſt likely to adhere, was, by education, an enemy to the national religion; and, from multiplied injuries, an implacable enemy to the miniſters and principal nobility. Hence their perſonal ſafety, as well as the ſecurity of the government, ſeemed to depend ſolely on the queen's life, who was now ſomewhat advanced in years, and perpetually expoſed to the danger of aſſaſſination. No wonder then, that Elizabeth's wiſe counſellors, who knew themſelves obnoxious to the queen of Scots, endeavoured to puſh every meaſure to extremity, in order to prevent her ever mounting the throne of England. The captive princeſs ſupported herſelf with ſuch placid dignity as does honour to her memory. She wrote a very pathetic letter to Elizabeth, requeſting, that after the fatal ſentence ſhould be executed, her body might be ſent to France, there to be interred near the ſacred relics of her mother, and accompanied to the grave with thoſe rites and ceremonies which her religion required: that the execution of her ſentence might be in public, in the ſight of all the world: and that her ſervants, after they had done her the laſt offices, and been witneſſes of her perſeverance in the faith, and of her ſubmiſſion to the will of heaven, might be ſuffered to depart without moleſtation, and enjoy the legacies bequeathed them by their dying miſtreſs. Elizabeth foreſaw the inconveniencies that would ariſe from granting ſome of theſe requeſts, and being unwilling to give Mary, in her preſent ſituation, a refuſal, ſent no anſwer to this letter.

A. D. 1587. Rumours were now ſpread of invaſions, inſurrections, and conſpiracies. The people were terrified, and the death of Mary was conſidered as neceſſary to reſtore the tranquillity of the nation. Elizabeth was obſerved frequently to ſit alone, penſive and ſilent; and ſometimes to utter half ſentences, importing the difficulty and diſtreſs to which ſhe was reduced. But having taken her final reſolution, ſhe ſent for ſecretary Daviſon, and ordered him privately to draw up a warrant for the execution of the queen of Scots; which, ſhe afterwards ſaid, ſhe intended to keep by her, and put in force, in caſe any attempt ſhould be made for the delivery of that princeſs. This warrant ſhe ſigned, and then ordered Daviſon to carry it to the chancellor, that he might affix the great ſeal to it. The next day ſhe ſent Killigrew to Daviſon, with orders to forbear executing her former commands. Daviſon came immediately to court, and informed the queen, that the warrant had already paſſed the ſeals. She ſeemed offended, and blamed him for his precipitation. Daviſon, upon this, was greatly perplexed, and informed the council of what had paſſed. They perſuaded him to ſend away the warrant, and promiſed, if the queen ſhould be diſpleaſed, to juſtify his conduct, and take the whole blame on themſelves. From ſome letters publiſhed by Strype, it appears, that Elizabeth had not expreſly informed any of her miniſters, not even Burleigh himſelf, that ſhe intended to have the warrant ſent at this time for Mary's execution. The ſecretary, however, complied with their advice, and Beale was diſpatched with the warrant, addreſſed to the earls of Shrewſbury, Kent, Derby, and Cumberland, and commanded them to ſee it executed.

On the ſeventh of February, the earls of Shrewſbury and Kent reached Fotheringay caſtle, and being introduced to Mary, informed her of their commiſſion; adding, that ſhe muſt prepare for death by the next morning at eight o'clock. She received the ſummons with great calmneſs. She ſeemed ſurprized that ſhe was to die ſo ſoon, but not terrified, and her looks, words, and geſtures were full of chearful reſignation. She deſired to have a conference with her almoner, confeſſor, and Andrew Melvil, the maſter of her houſhold; but ſhe was told they could not comply with that part of her requeſt which had reſpect to her confeſſor. They, however, recommended to her Dr. Fletcher, dean of Peterborough, who would very readily aſſiſt her in making preparations for eternity. She replied, his aſſiſtance was not neceſſary; and as they had thought proper to deny a requeſt for which the dictates of humanity ſo ſtrongly pleaded, ſhe would endeavour to ſupply the defect by her own prayers. The earls had no ſooner left her, than ſhe ordered that ſupper might ſoon be ready, that after it, ſhe might have the more leiſure to finiſh the few affairs ſhe had to do in this world, and to prepare for her paſſage to the next. She ſupped ſparingly, as was uſual with her, and with her wonted chearfulneſs. Her domeſtics being overwhelmed with affliction, ſhe ſtrove to comfort them; and turning to Burgoin her phyſician, aſked him, if he did not obſerve the invincible force of truth? adding, "they pretend that I muſt die, becauſe I conſpired againſt the life of their queen; but the earl of Kent owned, that the only cauſe of my death, is the apprehenſions my life gives them for their religion. My conſtancy in the faith is my real crime; the reſt is only a colour, invented by intereſted and deſigning men." When ſupper was ended, ſhe ordered her ſervants into her preſence; and drinking to them, they all, in order, pledged her on their knees, begging pardon for every paſt neglect of duty. She in return, aſked their pardon for her offences towards them; and this exchange of mutual forgiveneſs was attended with a plentiful flood of tears. Mary now peruſed her will, in which ſhe had given them legacies; and calling for the inventory of her goods, clothes, and jewels, wrote down the names of thoſe to whom ſhe bequeathed each article, and to ſome ſhe diſtributed money with her own hands. She alſo wrote letters of recommendation for her ſervants to the French king, and to her couſin the duke of Guiſe, whom ſhe made her chief executor. She went to bed at her uſual time; where having ſlept ſome hours, ſhe aroſe, and ſpent the remainder of the night in prayer. As ſhe had foreſeen the difficulty of exerciſing the rites of her religion, ſhe had obtained a conſecrated wafer from pope Pius, and had reſerved it for this laſt period of her life. When it began to grow light, ſhe dreſſed herſelf in the only rich habit ſhe had reſerved for herſelf, which was of ſilk and velvet, telling her maids, that ſhe would willingly have left them this dreſs, rather than the plain one ſhe wore the day before, but it was neceſſary for her to appear in a decent habit at the enſuing ſolemnity. Soon after, the ſheriff of the county, entering her room, told her, that the hour was come for his attending her to the



MARY
Queen *of* Scots.

Wale delin. *Lodge sculp.*

She fled into England *May 16. 1568_ was impriſoned in* Tutbury Caſtle *Jan. 11. 1569.*
& was Beheaded *by order of* **QUEEN ELIZABETH**, *at* Fotheringhay Caſtle *in*
Northamptonſhire, *Feb.y 8. 1587, Aged 44.*

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the place of execution; to which ſummons, with a compoſed countenance, ſhe anſwered, ſhe was ready. Her head was covered with a vail, extending to the ground, her beads hung at her girdle, and ſhe held a crucifix in her hand. Having an infirmity in her limbs, ſhe leaned on two of Sir Amias Paulet's guards, and followed the ſheriff with a compoſed countenance. When paſſing through a hall adjoining to her chamber, ſhe was met by the earls of Kent and Shrewſbury, Sir Amias Paulet, Sir Drue Drury, and many other gentlemen of diſtinction, among whom was Sir Andrew Melvil, her ſteward, who threw himſelf on his knees, and, wringing his hands, uttered the moſt bitter lamentations. She endeavoured to comfort him; and reclining herſelf, with her cheeks bedewed with tears, kiſſed him, ſaying, "Good Melwil, farewel; once again farewel, good Melvil; give the aſſiſtance of your prayers; you will ſoon behold the ſorrows of your queen and miſtreſs at an end." Then turning to the noblemen, ſhe deſired that her ſervants might be permitted to attend their miſtreſs in her laſt moments. This was oppoſed by the earl of Kent, who told her, that they would be apt, by their cries and lamentations, to diſturb both herſelf and the ſpectators. Touched with his cruelty, ſhe very earneſtly renewed her application, ſaying, "I am couſin to your queen: I am deſcended from the blood-royal of Henry VII. I have been queen of France by marriage: I am an anointed queen of Scotland: can you, will you deny me this ſmall indulgence?" The commiſſioners, concluding a perſiſting in a denial would appear invidious, after a little conſultation, agreed that ſhe might take a few of her ſervants with her; and ſhe made choice of four men, and two maid ſervants. Mary, this devoted victim of ſtate policy, now entered the hall, where ſtood a ſcaffold covered with black, two executioners, and all the apparatus of death, which ſhe beheld with unſhaken fortitude. The hall was crowded with ſpectators, who gazed on this ſhadow of royal dignity with a ſolemn, ſilent aſtoniſhment; and ſeemed greatly moved with the recollection of the ſurpriſing train of her misfortunes, her inflexible conſtancy, her amiable accompliſhments, and the gleaming remains of beauty, faded by years, and furrowed with affliction. Here the warrant of her execution was read, which ſhe heard with ſilent unconcern. The dean of Peterborough then ſtepped forward; and, though ſhe frequently told him that he had no need to concern himſelf about her; that ſhe was ſettled in the belief of the Romiſh faith; and that ſhe meant to lay down her life in its defence; yet ſtill he perſiſted in his exhortations; and, under the vail of pious inſtructions, uttered the moſt cruel expreſſions. During his diſcourſe, the queen could not forbear betraying her impatience, by interrupting him. The dean bid her change her religion; repent of her former wickedneſs; and ſettle her faith upon this ground, that in Chriſt Jeſus alone ſhe could hope to be ſaved. She anſwered, with great earneſtneſs, again and again, "Do not trouble yourſelf any more about the matter; I was born in this religion; I have lived in this religion; and in this religion I am reſolved to die." Shrewſbury and Kent, perceiving that it was to no purpoſe to trouble her any farther with religious diſputes, ordered the dean to deſiſt from his unſeaſonable exhortations, and to pray for her converſion. While the dean was engaged in prayer, ſhe employed herſelf in her private devotions from the office of the Virgin; and when he had finiſhed, uttered aloud ſome petitions in Engliſh for the afflicted church, for herſelf, her ſon, and for queen Elizabeth. The earl of Kent, obſerving that during her devotions ſhe made frequent uſe of the crucifix, reproved her for her attachment to that popiſh trumpery, as he termed it; and exhorted her to have Chriſt in her heart, and not in her hand; to which ſhe mildly replied, that it was difficult to hold ſuch an object in her hand, without feeling her heart touched with ſome compunction. Her private devotions finiſhed, ſhe began, with the aſſiſtance of her women, to diſrobe herſelf; and the executioner alſo lending a hand, ſhe ſmiled, and ſaid, ſhe was not accuſtomed to undreſs herſelf before ſo large a company, nor to be ſerved by ſuch valets; on which her ſervants burſt into tears and lamentations. She laid her finger upon her lips, reminding them of her having engaged for their diſcreet behaviour; gave them her bleſſing; and requeſted their prayers. When prepared for the block, one of her maids, according to the directions ſhe had received, covered her eyes with a handkerchief. This done, Mary laid herſelf down, without the leaſt ſign of fear or trepidation, and the executioner ſevered her head from her body at two ſtrokes. When he held it up to the ſpectators, the dean of Peterborough alone exclaimed, "So periſh all queen Elizabeth's enemies; and the earl of Kent was the only perſon who replied, "Amen." Thus died Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, on the eighth of February, in the forty-fifth year of her age, and the nineteenth of her captivity in England. She was a princeſs of moſt attracting beauty and addreſs, uncommon underſtanding, and diſtinguiſhed by ſuch qualities, both natural and acquired, as rendered her the moſt lovely of women. But her connections with the profligate Bothwell, joined to the effects of paſſion and blind bigotry, betrayed her into actions which humanity herſelf may alleviate, but cannot excuſe; and afford us a ſtriking inſtance of the frailty, weakneſs, inconſtancy, and depravity of human nature; and from this exemplary puniſhment, which, ſooner or later, will be the inevitable conſequence of criminal indulgences, whatever ſources they may ſpring from, let him who ſtandeth firm on the conceit of his own virtue, who can thank God that he is not as others, "take heed leſt he falleth." The body was embalmed, encloſed in a leaden coffin, and interred in the cathedral of Peterborough, from whence her ſon James afterwards removed it to the chapel of Henry VII.

Elizabeth no ſooner heard of Mary's execution, than ſhe appeared to be ſtruck with the utmoſt ſurprize, indignation, and extravagant ſorrow; her countenance changed; her ſpeech failing her, ſhe ſtood like a ſtatue, for a long time, in ſilent aſtoniſhment. None of her miniſters or counſellors dared to approach her; or if any were ſo raſh, ſhe chaſed them from her with the moſt violent expreſſions of rage and reſentment, ſaying, that they all of them had been guilty of an unpardonable crime, in putting to death her dear ſiſter and kinſwoman, contrary to her fixed purpoſe and intention, of which they were ſufficiently apprized. She openly declared, that the execution had been done without her knowledge. She wrote a very pathetic letter to the king of Scotland, calling heaven and earth to witneſs, that her intention was to have ſpared the blood of Mary. She committed Daviſon to priſon, and ordered him to be tried in the ſtar-chamber for his offence, where he expreſſed his repentance, and throwing himſelf upon the queen's mercy, was ſentenced to pay a fine of ten thouſand pounds, and to remain in priſon during the queen's pleaſure. The fine, though it reduced him to beggary, was rigorouſly levied, and he remained a long time in cuſtody. All the favour the queen would grant him, was ſending him, from time to time, ſmall ſupplies to keep him from periſhing. Yet notwithſtanding this ſeverity, and the apparent reluctance Elizabeth ſhewed againſt conſenting to the execution of Mary, and the grief ſhe expreſſed afterwards, if any credit is to be given to the apology which Daviſon is ſaid to have ſent to ſecretary Walſingham, and two letters inſerted by Mackenzie in his life of queen Mary, Elizabeth may be charged with great diſſimulation: for though the warrant for the queen of Scots execution was ſent away without the queen's knowledge, it appears by theſe letters, that ſhe would have been glad, if Mary had died by any other means. But, if the grief of Elizabeth was counterfeited, that of the king of Scotland was real. He gave way to the moſt violent complaints, and abandoned himſelf to the wildeſt reſolutions. He refuſed to admit Cary, who brought the letter of Elizabeth, into his preſence. He recalled his ambaſſador from the Engliſh court; war and vengeance ſeemed to have taken poſſeſſion of his ſoul. When the court went into mourning, lord Sinclair appeared in a ſuit of armour, and ſaid, his dreſs only was proper mourning for the queen of Scotland. Elizabeth was alarmed at theſe warlike appearances and as ſoon as the firſt heat of paſſion was abated; ſhe had recourſe to conciliating meaſures. Walſingham wrote a long letter to James, in which he intimated the danger Scotland would be expoſed to in a war with England: but James was diſſuaded from commencing hoſtilities, chiefly by lord Hunſdon, the Engliſh ambaſſador, a nobleman whom he particularly eſteemed, and by whom a good correſpondence with the queen was gradually reſtored.

Thus Elizabeth, with her uſual policy, having diſſipated the northern ſtorm that threatened to diſcharge its fury on England, ſhe was more at leiſure to watch the motions of the Spaniſh monarch, who had for ſome time been very intent on making warlike preparations. A prodigious number of ſhips were equipping in his ports; and though he had yet not declared war, the queen was not deceived in his intentions. But the navy of England was able to diſpute the prize of victory with Philip, ſovereign of the new world. Drake was ſent with a ſtrong fleet to inſult the coaſts of Spain, intercept the ſupplies of naval and military ſtores continually ſending to Cadiz, and to deſtroy the ſhipping of the enemy in their harbours. Drake executed his commiſſion with great courage and ſucceſs, burning and deſtroying above one hundred ſail of ſhips, moſt of them laden with proviſions and military ſtores. Then taking the town of St. Vincent, and bombarding Liſbon, he proceeded to the weſtern iſlands, in order to intercept a rich carrack or galleon, and was ſo ſucceſsful as to make her his prize. She was called the St. Philip, and contained an immenſe booty. But the moſt valuable acquiſition was a pacquet of papers found on board, by which the Engliſh learned the nature of the Oriental commerce, which gave the firſt hint of eſtabliſhing an Eaſt India company. Soon after this expedition, Thomas Cavendiſh, a gentleman who had ſpent a conſiderable eſtate by living at court, returned from his voyage round the world. With a view of retrieving his fortune by an attempt againſt the Spaniſh ſettlements in the new world, he fitted out three ſhips at Plymouth, one of an hundred and twenty tons, another of ſixty, and a third of forty. With theſe ſmall veſſels he ventured into the South Seas, and committed great depredations on the Spaniards. He took nineteen veſſels richly laden, and returned to England in triumph by the Cape of Good Hope. His ſailors and ſoldiers were dreſſed in ſilk; the ſails of his ſhips were of damaſk; his top-ſails cloth of gold; and his booty proportional to this magnificence. His prizes were eſteemed the richeſt ever brought to England.

But the enterprizes of the Engliſh againſt Spain in the Netherlands, were far from being equally ſucceſsful. Stanley and York, whom Leiceſter had appointed governors of Deventer and Zutphen, betrayed their truſt, and ſurrendered theſe towns to the prince of Parma. Alarmed at theſe practices, the States ſent an embaſſy to the Engliſh court, requeſting that the government might be taken from the earl of Leiceſter, and given to ſome more able and prudent general. Elizabeth, notwithſtanding her partiality for her favourite, recalled Leiceſter; and Maurice, the young prince of Orange, being appointed governor of the United Provinces, ſoon ſhewed himſelf worthy of his father.

A. D. 1588.

Though Philip had not yet declared war againſt Elizabeth, who had every where committed hoſtilities againſt him, he had long harboured a ſecret and violent reſolution to be revenged on her. His ambition and his hopes were prompted by his preſent proſperity; and if he could ſubdue Elizabeth by an invaſion of England, he hoped to acquire the eternal renown of reuniting the whole Chriſtian world in the catholic communion. Pope Sextus V. not leſs ambitious than Philip, excited him to this enterprize; he again excommunicated the queen, and publiſhed a cruſade againſt her, with the uſual indulgences. Philip had ſpent three years in making ſecret preparations; and no ſooner was his reſolution fully taken, than every part of his vaſt empire reſounded with the noiſe of his armaments, and all his generals, miniſters, and admirals, were employed in promoting the deſign. His fleet, on account of its prodigious ſtrength, and the elevated hopes of the Spaniards, was called the Invincible Armada. A conſecrated banner was procured from the pope, and the gold of Peru was laviſhed on this occaſion. This tremendous armament conſiſted of the following particulars: nineteen thouſand two hundred and ninety ſoldiers; eight thouſand two hundred and fifty ſeamen; two thouſand and eighty galley ſlaves; and two thouſand ſix hundred and thirty pieces of ordnance. The marquis of Santa Croce, an officer of great reputation, was appointed to command the Armada, and by his directions all the naval preparations were conducted. There was hardly a noble family in Spain, but ſent either a ſon, a brother, or a nephew, on board this fleet, in order to acquire riches and eſtates in England, which was conſidered as an eaſy conqueſt. The duke of Parma, in order to inſure ſucceſs, was ordered to provide tranſports, ſufficient to embark an army of twenty-five thouſand men, and land them in England as ſoon as the Spaniſh fleet appeared off the coaſt of Flanders. Ships were accordingly provided, and the duke quartered his troops in the neighbourhood of Gravelines, Dunkirk, and Newport. All the carpenters that could be procured, were employed to build a great number of boats and flat-bottomed veſſels, for tranſporting his cavalry and infantry. The greateſt princes and nobility in Spain and Italy, were filled with the ambition of ſharing in the honour of this great enterprize; and about two thouſand volunteers, many of whom were men of rank, enliſted in the ſervice; nor was the leaſt doubt entertained but theſe vaſt preparations, conducted by officers of the moſt conſummate ſkill, would be ſucceſsful. Notwithſtanding the pretence of the Spaniards, that this force was to be employed in the Indies, it was concluded by the court of London, to be intended againſt England. The invaſion had been

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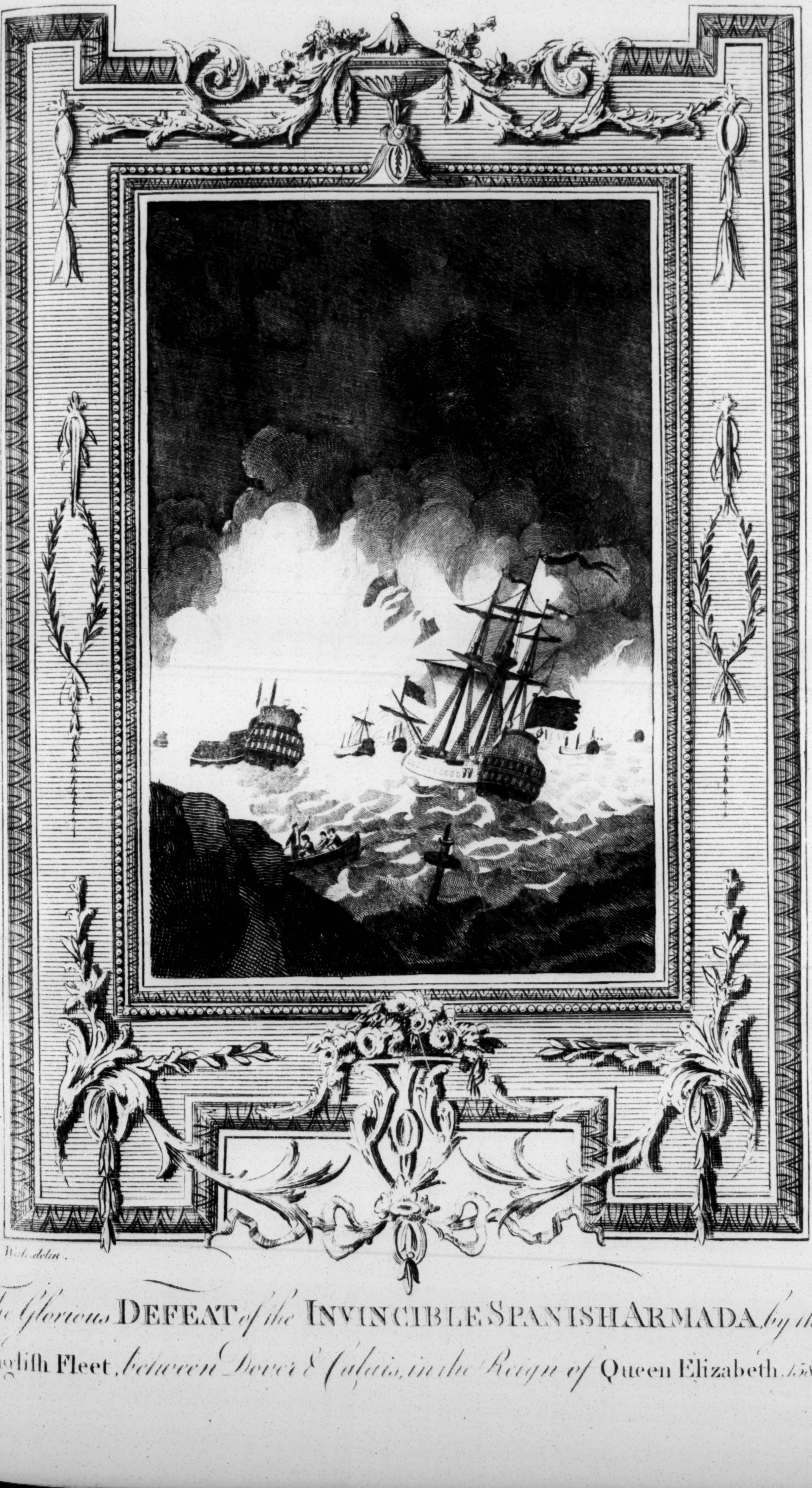

Wale delin.

The Glorious DEFEAT of the INVINCIBLE SPANISH ARMADA, by the
Engliſh Fleet, between Dover & Calais, in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, 1588

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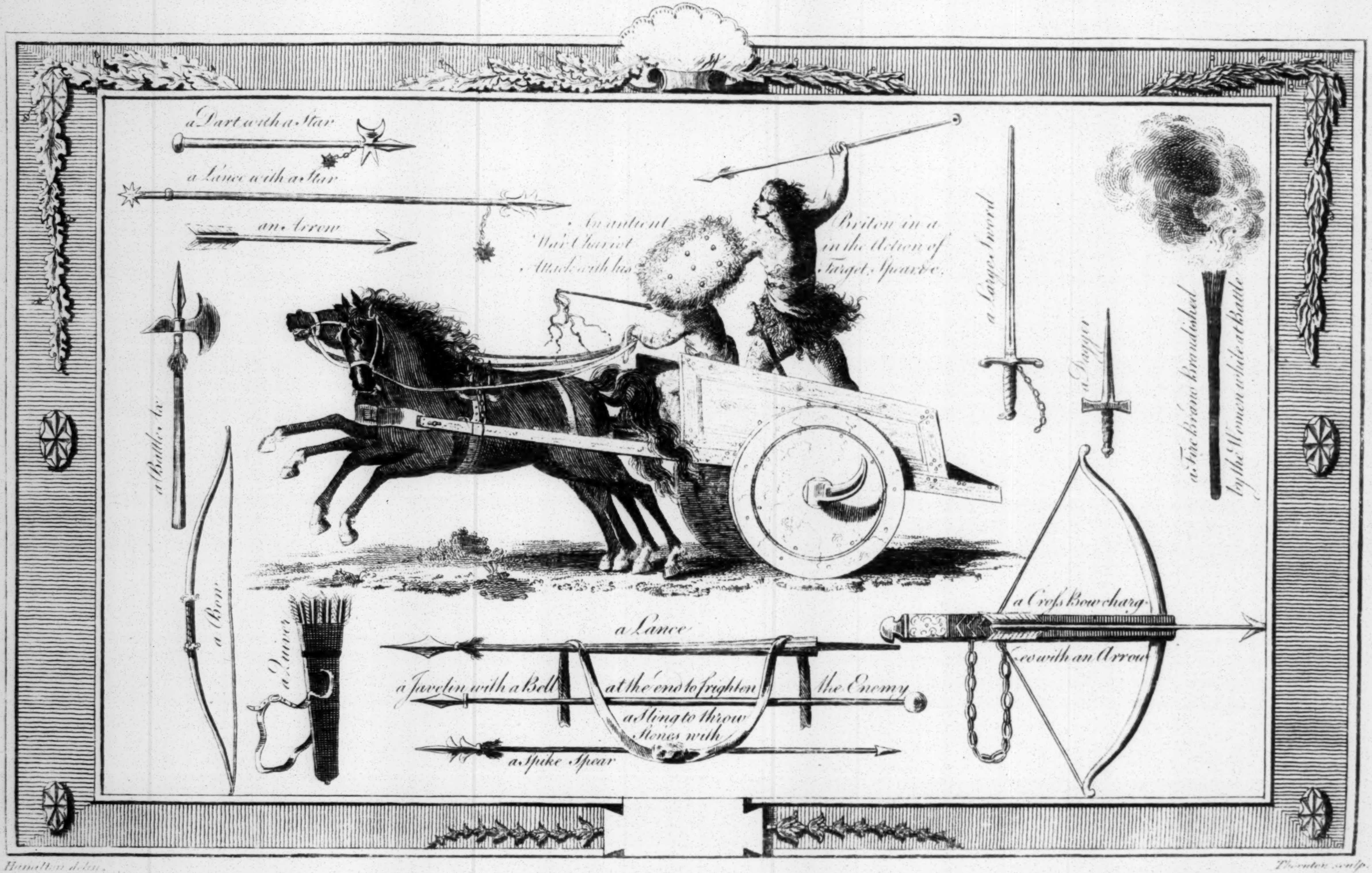
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ed with an Arrow

Hamilton delin. Thornton sculp.

An Exact Representation of a curious Collection of REMARKABLE WEAPONS & IMPLEMENTS of WAR, used by the first Inhabitants of ENGLAND foreſeen by the queen; who, finding that ſhe muſt now contend for her crown with the whole force of Spain, prepared for reſiſtance with a mind unterrified at that power, by which all Europe apprehended ſhe would be eaſily overwhelmed. Her magnanimity, on this occaſion, was indeed truly great; but her force was extremely inferior to that of her potent enemy. All the ſailors in the kingdom at that time amounted only to about fourteen thouſand men; and the Engliſh ſhips were in general ſo ſmall, that except a few of the queen's line of battle ſhips, there were not four veſſels belonging to the merchants that exceeded four hundred tons. The royal navy conſiſted only of twenty-eight ſail, many of them of a ſmall ſize, and none of them exceeding in bulk our largeſt frigates; and moſt of the reſt rather deſerved the name of pinnaces than of ſhips. The Engliſh fleet had no other advantage, than that which aroſe from the courage and dexterity of the mariners, who being accuſtomed to ſail in tempeſtuous ſeas, and to expoſe themſelves to all dangers, as much exceeded the Spaniſh ſailors, as their veſſels were inferior in ſize and force to theirs. All the ſea-port towns in England were ordered to furniſh ſhips for reinforcing this ſmall navy, and now diſcovered great alacrity in defending their liberty and religion, againſt the imminent dangers with which they were threatened. Inſtead of fifteen veſſels, which the citizens of London were ordered to equip, they ſhewed their zeal in the common cauſe (a zeal which would equally redound to their honour, if exerted in the preſent alarming ſtate of public affairs) by fitting out double the number. The nobility and gentry hired, armed, and manned, forty-three ſhips at their own expence. We ſhall be happy, in due ſeaſon, to enrol in this liſt of true patriots, the name of that generous public ſpirited nobleman, whoſe time is now employed in the highly commendable purpoſe of building and fitting out a ſecond rate ſhip of war, to ſtrengthen his majeſty's navy, in order to humble the arrogant proud boaſtings of the combined power of France, Spain, and thoſe ingrates (in this reign the *poor*) *now* the high and mighty lords of the United States. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of capacity and courage, was made admiral; and under him Drake, Hawkins, and Forbiſher, the moſt renowned ſeamen in Europe. The grand fleet was ſtationed at Plymouth; and a ſmall ſquadron, conſiſting of forty Engliſh and Flemiſh veſſels, commanded by lord Seymour, lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the duke of Parma's fleet that was to convoy the land forces. Twenty thouſand men were ſtationed, in different bodies, along the ſouthern coaſt, and were ordered, if they could not prevent the landing of the Spaniards, to retreat, waſte the country as they retired, and wait till they ſhould be reinforced from the neighbouring counties, before they came to a battle with the enemy. In order to defend the capital, twenty thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, were ſtationed at Tilbury, under the command of the earl of Leiceſter. The main army was compoſed of two thouſand horſe, and thirty-four thouſand foot, commanded by lord Hunſdon, and were appointed to march whitherſoever the enemy appeared.

The fate of England now ſeemed to depend on a ſingle battle; and people of reflection were filled with the moſt dreadful apprehenſions, when they compared the force of fifty thouſand veteran Spaniards, commanded by experienced officers, under the duke of Parma, the greateſt general of the age, with the military power which England, long diſuſed to war, could muſter againſt them. But Elizabeth, undiſmayed by ſurrounding dangers, iſſued her orders with tranquillity, and employed every reſource, which either her domeſtic ſituation, or her foreign alliances, could afford her. She ſent Sir Robert Sidney into Scotland, who prevailed on James to agree to march to her aſſiſtance with all his forces. She engaged the king of Denmark to ſeize a ſquadron of ſhips, which Philip had bought or hired in the Daniſh harbours; and the Hanſe-towns were alſo induced, by the common tie of religion, to delay ſo long the equipment of ſome veſſels in their ports, that they became of no uſe in the intended invaſion. All the proteſtants in Europe conſidered this enterprize as an event on which the fate of their religion depended; and though unable, by their diſtance, to join their forces with thoſe of Elizabeth, beheld with admiration and anxiety, the intrepidity with which ſhe endeavoured to encounter the dreadful tempeſt, which was every moment approaching. The queen was ſenſible, that next to her popularity, the firmeſt ſupport of her throne conſiſted in her peoples zeal for the proteſtant religion, and the ſtrength of their prejudices againſt popery; ſhe therefore took care to have them reminded of their former danger, from the tyranny of Spain: the inhuman perſecutions which Mary exerciſed againſt the proteſtants, were aſcribed to the councils of that bigotted and imperious nation: the horrid cruelties of the inquiſition, the bloody maſſacres in the Indies, and the ſevere executions in the Netherlands, were ſet before the eyes of the people: a liſt and deſcription was publiſhed, and pictures diſperſed, of the inſtruments of torture, with which it was reported the Spaniſh Armada was loaded; (of which we have given an exact engraving) and every artifice was employed, to animate her ſubjects vigorouſly to defend their religion, their liberties and their laws. While Elizabeth thus excited the reſentment of the nation againſt popery, ſhe wiſely treated the papiſts themſelves with moderation; and though Sextus V. the preſent pope, had fulminated a new bull of excommunication againſt her, depoſed her therein from the throne, abſolved her ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance, publiſhed a cruſade againſt England, and granted plenary indulgences to all engaged in the Spaniſh invaſion, ſhe rejected all violent councils; and the catholics, ſenſible of this favour, expreſſed, in general, great zeal for the public ſervice. Some gentleman of that perſuaſion, ſenſible that they could not reaſonably expect to obtain any truſt or authority, entered as volunteers in the fleet and army: ſome fitted out ſhips at their own expence, and, with a generous diſintereſtedneſs, gave the command of them to proteſtants: while others behaved with activity in animating their tenants, vaſſals, and neighbours, to defend their country; and all ranks of men, laying aſide party diſtinctions ſeemed to prepare with one heart to reſiſt their invaders. Still more to excite the martial ſpirit of the nation, Elizabeth appeared on horſeback in the camp at Tilbury, harangued her army, and expreſſed an entire confidence in their loyalty and courage. She aſſured her troops, that the weakneſs of her ſex ſhould not prevent her marching at their head; that ſhe would behold and reward their bravery herſelf; and that ſhe would ſooner periſh on the field of battle, than live to ſee the ſlavery of her beloved people. "My arm," ſaid this heroic queen, "is the arm of a woman; but I have the heart of a king, and what is more, of a king of England." The whole army catched the martial ardour of their ſovereign: they were impatient to meet the enemy; and with an admiration mixed with tenderneſs they aſked each other, if it were poſſible for Engliſhmen to abandon this glorious cauſe, or, by any dangers, to relinquiſh the defence of their intrepid queen? The pride of haughty Spain was now in the zenith of its glory, and ready to enter upon its grand expedition; but when the

Armada was preparing to ſail, the marquis of Santa Croce was ſtopped in his career by death. The duke of Paliano, vice-admiral, died alſo at the very ſame time, and Philip appointed the duke of Medina Sidonia, admiral, a nobleman of great family, but wholly unacquainted with maritime affairs. This interval was employed by the Engliſh in making new preparations againſt the impending ſtorm. At length, on the twenty-ninth of May, this formidable Armada ſailed from Liſbon; but being overtaken with a dreadful tempeſt, the fleet was obliged to take ſhelter in the Groyne, having received conſiderable damage. The news of this event having been brought to England, the queen concluded, that the Spaniards were diſappointed for this ſummer; and being always ready to ſave expences, ordered Walſingham to write to the admiral, to lay up ſome of the largeſt ſhips, and to diſcharge the ſeamen; but lord Effingham being leſs ſanguine in his hopes, ventured to diſobey theſe orders, and begged leave to retain all the ſhips in the ſervice, though at his own expence: then taking advantage of a north wind, he ſailed towards the coaſt of Spain, with a view to attack the enemy in their harbours; but the wind changing to the oppoſite quarter, he was filled with apprehenſions, leſt they ſhould paſs by him at ſea, and therefore returning to Plymouth, he lay at anchor in that harbour. In the mean time, all the damage of the Spaniſh Armada being repaired, it ſet ſail again, after a delay of two months, to proſecute the intended enterprize. This invincible fleet, thought ſo by the vaunting Spaniards, now conſiſted of one hundred and thirty veſſels, near a hundred of which were galleons, and of a larger ſize than any that had ever before been uſed in Europe. It was attended by twenty leſſer ſhips, called caravals and ten ſalves, with ſix oars each, and was victualled for ſix months. The Spaniſh admiral was ordered to ſail as near the coaſt of France as poſſible, in order to join the duke of Parma, and avoid meeting the Engliſh fleet, which might occaſion ſome delay in the enterprize; for it was never imagined, that they would dare to attempt an oppoſition. The interpoſition of providence in the preſervation of ſtates and kingdoms never more evidently appeared than on this occaſion. After the Spaniards were under ſail, they took a fiſherman, from whom they learned, that the Engliſh admiral had been lately out at ſea, but it being reported to him, that the Spaniſh fleet was, by the late ſtorm, prevented from proſecuting the intended invaſion, he had returned to Plymouth, laid up his ſhips, and diſcharged moſt of the ſailors. From this falſe intelligence the duke of Medina, ſuppoſing that it would be eaſy to deſtroy the Engliſh ſhips, was tempted to break his orders, and to ſail directly for Plymouth; thus a reſolution, founded on the miſtake of a fiſherman, proved the ſafety of England. On the nineteenth of July, about ſun-ſet, the Armada made the Lizard, which the Spaniards happily miſtaking for the Ram-head, bore out to ſea, with a deſign to return and effect their purpoſe, the next day. They were ſeen by a Scottiſh pirate. He immediately informed the Engliſh admiral of their approach, who had but juſt got out of port, when he ſaw the Spaniſh Armada approaching in full ſail, diſpoſed in form of a creſcent, and ſtretching to the diſtance of ſeven miles, from the extremity of one diviſion to that of the other. Lord Effingham gave orders to cannonade the Spaniards at a diſtance, and to wait the opportunity which various accidents might afford, of intercepting ſome of the enemy's ſcattered veſſels. This anſwered expectation. A large ſhip of Biſcay, which had a conſiderable part of the Spaniſh money on board, took fire; at the ſame time the great galleon of Andaluzia ſprung a maſt; both which veſſels were taken by Sir Francis Drake. While the enemy advanced ſlowly up the channel, the Engliſh followed their rear, and harraſſed them with perpetual ſkirmiſhes. The Spaniards now began to abate in their confidence of ſucceſs; and they directed their courſe towards Calais, in order to join the duke of Parma. The alarm had no ſooner reached England, than the nobility and gentry ſailed with their veſſels from every harbour, and reinforced the admiral. The earls of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Oxford, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Thomas Cecil, Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Charles Blount, Sir Thomas Gerrard, and Sir Thomas Vavaſor, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their zeal in the ſervice of their country; and the Engliſh fleet, after being joined by their ſhips, amounted to one hundred and forty ſail. The Armada, having reached Calais, caſt anchor, in expectation that the duke of Parma would put to ſea and join his forces. But the duke's veſſels were made for tranſporting ſoldiers, not for fighting; when therefore that general was perſuaded to leave the harbour, he abſolutely refuſed to expoſe his troops to ſuch evident hazards, eſpecially while the Engliſh not only kept at ſea, but ſeemed to triumph over the late ſuppoſed Invincible Armada. While the Spaniards were in this confuſed ſtate of irreſolution, the vigilant Howard, took eight of his ſmaller ſhips, and having filled them with combuſtibles, ſent them one after another in the midſt of the enemy's fleet. Terrified at this unuſual appearance of fire ſhips, the Spaniards cut their cables, and diſperſed with the utmoſt diſorder and precipitation. In the midſt of this confuſion, the Engliſh fell upon them, and took twelve of their large ſhips, beſides damaging many more. The Spaniards would now willingly have returned immediately into their own ports; for their admiral found, that though he had loſt a conſiderable part of his own navy, he had deſtroyed only one ſmall Engliſh veſſel; but the wind not permitting his paſſage back through the channel, he reſolved to proceed northward, and to return home by ſailing round the iſland. For ſome time the Engliſh fleet followed him, and had not their ammunition fallen ſhort, they would have obliged the whole Armada to ſurrender at diſcretion. This reſolution the duke of Medina had once taken, but the perſuaſions of his confeſſor diverted him from it. The event however proved equally fatal to the Spaniards; for a violent ſtorm overtook, and completed the deſtruction of the Invincible Armada. The ſhips which had already loſt their anchors, were obliged to keep the ſea: the mariners, who were unaccuſtomed to ſuch hardſhips, and unable to govern their unwieldy veſſels, were forced to yield to the raging fury of the tempeſt, and their ſhips being driven, ſome on the weſtern iſlands of Scotland, and others on the coaſt of Ireland, where they were wrecked, not half of the fleet returned to Spain, and thoſe veſſels that did eſcape from their furious purſuers were in a moſt ſhattered condition. It is ſaid, Philip, though a ſlave to ambition, had ſuch command over himſelf, that being informed of theſe diſaſters, he fell on his knees, and thanked God, that the calamity was no greater. On the other hand, the whole kingdom of England was one continued ſcene of joy. A public thankſgiving was ordered by Elizabeth, and ſhe herſelf repaired, in ſolemn proceſſion to St. Paul's, to perform that ſacred duty. Eleven ſtandards, taken from the enemy, were hung up in the church, and the queen cauſed two medals to be ſtruck, in commemoration of this glorious and deciſive victory over the Spaniards. She alſo beſtowed rewards on many of her officers, who had ſo nobly exerted themſelves in defence of their country. About this time died Robert Dudley, earl of Leiceſter, the queen's great but unworthy favourite; but the queen's affection ſeemed to terminate with his death; for ſhe cauſed his goods to be expoſed to ſale, in order to reimburſe herſelf for the money ſhe had lent him.

A. D. 1589. The victory obtained over the Spaniſh Armada, encouraged the Engliſh to engage in any enterprizes againſt Spain, that required their aſſiſtance. Don Antonio, a natural ſon of the royal family of Portugal, laying claim to the crown, the people of England reſolved to endeavour to conquer it for him. Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John Norris, were leaders in this romantic expedition. They hired ſhips, and provided arms at their own expence; near twenty thouſand volunteers reſorted to their banners; but the queen contributed only ſix ſhips, and ſixty thouſand pounds. The fleet ſailed from Plymouth on the fifth of April, and arriving ſafely at the Groyne, entered the harbour, burned ſome ſhips of war, and defeated an army of four or five thouſand men aſſembled to oppoſe them. They now ſailed for Portugal, and in their paſſage were met by the young earl of Eſſex, who, inflamed with a thirſt for military glory, had, unknown to the queen, equipped a few ſhips at his own expence, and ſecretly left England. As the Spaniards had prepared againſt this invaſion, the Engliſh had the misfortune to find their attack on Liſbon unſucceſsful. On their arrival, they became maſters of the weſtern ſuburb of Liſbon without oppoſition; but the next day a large body of Spaniards ſallied from the citadel, and cut off ſeveral of the Engliſh, with ſome of their beſt officers. The earl of Eſſex behaved with the moſt ſurprizing courage on this occaſion; yet it was determined not to make any farther attempt upon the capital; upon which, after blowing up the caſtle of Caſcaris, and burning Vigo, they returned to England, having loſt a great number of men by ſickneſs and fatigue. In the mean time James, king of Scotland, having renewed his ſuit to the princeſs of Denmark, and ſtill finding obſtacles from the intrigues of Elizabeth, he broke through all her policy; and having cauſed his marriage to be celebrated by proxy, the princeſs embarked for Scotland, but was driven by a ſtorm into a port of Norway; on which James went to Norway, carried his queen thence to Copenhagen, where he paſſed the winter, and the next ſpring conducted her ſafe to Scotland.

In France, the Hugonots were ſtill perſecuted by the League. Unforeſeen events, however, changed the face of things. The inhabitants of Paris, intoxicated with the admiration of Guiſe, and ſtrongly prejudiced againſt the king, took up arms againſt him, and Henry was obliged to fly from his capital for ſafety. Diſſembling his reſentment, he loaded Guiſe and his partizans with favours. Deceived by theſe appearances of friendſhip, Guiſe, and his brother the cardinal of Lorraine, came to court, and were both aſſaſſinated by the king's orders. This perfidious conduct rendered the League more formidable than ever. The citizens of Paris renounced their allegiance, and were followed by thoſe of many conſiderable places in the kingdom. Henry finding it impoſſible to reſiſt the ſtorm that was gathering around him, was obliged to have recourſe to the Hugonots for aſſiſtance; and being ſupported by his chief nobility, he aſſembled an army of near forty thouſand men, and advanced to the gates of Paris. But the city was ſaved by the bloody ſpirit of bigotry which inflamed Jaques Clement, a Dominican monk. This zealot took the reſolution of ſacrificing his own life to ſave the church. He found means to be admitted into the king's preſence, and plunged a dagger into the breaſt of his ſovereign, who expired on the firſt of Auguſt. The king of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. aſcended the throne; but found, by the rebellion of his ſubjects, he had a kingdom to ſubdue.

Near the concluſion of this year, died that conſummate ſtateſman and wiſe counſellor, Sir Francis Walſingham, ſecretary of ſtate, one of the moſt accompliſhed miniſters that ever appeared in this or any other country, not more diſtinguiſhed by his ſplendid abilities, than his unſullied virtues. He was chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter, and knight of the garter. The nation ſuſtained an irreparable loſs by the death of this great politician. Though he had paſſed through many high employments in the ſtate, and had been very frugal in his expences, he died ſo poor, that his family was obliged to give him a private burial. He left only one daughter, married firſt to Sir Philip Sidney, and afterwards to the earl of Eſſex, the queen's favourite. He was ſurvived but a few months by Ambroſe Dudley, earl of Warwick; Sir Thomas Randolph, chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir James Crofts, comptroller of the houſhold; George Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury; and Thomas lord Wentworth, formerly governor of Calais. Theſe were all faithful ſervants to the crown; though not one of them was more regretted than Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, Chancellor of England, and of the univerſity of Oxford; a man of unſhaken probity, firmly attached to the intereſt of his country, and a generous patron of learning.

A. D. 1590. The prejudices entertained againſt Henry IV. on account of his religion, made a great part of his nobility deſert him; yet he gained a complete victory over his enemies, which enabled him to blockade Paris; when the duke of Parma, having received orders to march to its relief, he obliged Henry to raiſe the blockade. Henry afterwards obtained freſh ſupplies from Elizabeth, which enabled him to carry on the war with ſucceſs; but finding inſurmountable obſtacles to his aſcending the throne, from the bigotry of the zealous partizans of the League, he at leaſt renounced the proteſtant religion, and was received into the boſom of the Romiſh church. During theſe tranſactions in France, ſeveral naval operations were carried on in the Weſt Indies, by different ſquadrons, with various ſucceſs. The lord Thomas Howard was diſpatched, early in the ſpring, to the Azores, with a ſquadron of ſeven ſhips, to intercept the galleons in their return to Europe. The Spaniſh monarch, apprized of this deſign, fitted out fifty-five ſail of ſhips. Howard, who knew nothing of this ſtrong fleet, eſcaped with difficulty. The revenge was not ſo fortunate. Sir Richard Grenville, after an engagement of fifteen hours with the whole force of the enemy, was obliged to ſurrender, yet not before he was mortally wounded. The reſt of the ſquadron returned to England, diſappointed indeed in their expectations of acquiring riches from the new world, but not in eſſentially diſtreſſing the enemy; for the plate fleet had been ſo long detained at the Havannah, through fear of the Engliſh, that they were obliged to put to ſea at an improper ſeaſon; in conſequence of which the greater part were loſt before they reached the ports of Spain.

A. D. 1592. All the vaſt deſigns of Philip were at this period rendered abortive by the death of the prince of Parma, who died in the forty-fifth year of his age. Even Elizabeth is ſaid to have dropped ſome generous expreſſions to the memory of that brave general; and, perhaps, few princes ever excelled him in virtue, in civil, and military accompliſhments. His merits were ſoon conſpicuous after his death. No other general had authority ſufficient to maintain a proper diſcipline among the Spaniſh troops; the ſoldiers mutinied, and a great number of them deſerted.

Elizabeth continued to practice her favourite plan of humbling the pride of Philip, by cutting the ſinews of his ſtrength in the Weſt Indies. Fifteen ſhips were ſent to annoy the Spaniards, under the command of Sir Walter Raleigh; but his fleet being diſperſed in a ſtorm, the expedition failed in its grand aim. However, a ſmall ſquadron was diſpatched to cruiſe off the Azores, and Sir Martin Forbiſher to the coaſt of Spain, in order to wait for the carracks from the Eaſt Indies. Burroughs, who commanded the firſt of theſe ſquadrons, burned one galleon, and took another very richly laden. The money of this capture publickly known, amounted to one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, and the embezzlements were thought to be at leaſt equal in value.

A. D. 1593. The parliament meeting in February, took into conſideration a book written by Parſons the jeſuit, attempting to prove, that the right of ſucceſſion was veſted in the Infanta of Spain. The book was condemned, and all perſons deemed guilty of high treaſon, who ſhould keep it in their houſes. Peter Wentworth preſented a petition to the upper houſe, requeſting, that they would join with the commons in a ſupplication to her majeſty, that ſhe would be pleaſed to entail the ſucceſſion of the crown. Elizabeth was offended at this attempt; Wentworth was ſent to the Tower; and Sir William Bromley, who ſeconded the motion, to the Fleet priſon. But even this arbitrary proceeding could not repreſs their farther attempts for freedom. Morrice, attorney of the court-wards, expoſed, in their proper colours, the enormous abuſes of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, and made a motion for redreſſing thoſe grievances. Exaſperated at the temerity of Morrice, the queen ſent for the ſpeaker, and told him, that ſhe had aſſembled the parliament for two purpoſes only; to maintain the uniformity of the national religion, and to provide for the defence of the kingdom againſt the enormous power of Spain; that their deliberations muſt turn entirely on theſe points; that ſhe had already enjoined them not to meddle, either with the affairs of the ſtate or religion; and wondered how any perſon could be ſo preſuming, as to attempt a ſubject ſo expreſsly contrary to her prohibition. Morrice felt the weight of the queen's reſentment: he was ſeized in the houſe by the ſerjeant at arms, diſcharged from his office, diſabled from acting in his profeſſion, and confined ſome years in Tilbury caſtle. Soon after this, a ſevere bill was paſſed againſt nonconformiſts of all perſuaſions. It was enacted, that any perſon above ſixteen years of age, who obſtinately refuſed, during the ſpace of a month, to attend the public ſervice of the church of England, ſhould be committed to priſon; that if, after having been condemned for this offence, he perſiſted three months in his refuſal, he muſt depart the realm; and that if he either refuſed this condition, or returned from his baniſhment, he was to ſuffer capitally as a felon, without benefit of clergy. Both catholics and puritans had reaſon to complain of this law: but the commons were entirely paſſive; they even granted the queen extraordinary ſupplies, to reimburſe the great expence which had attended the defence of England againſt the Spaniſh invaſion.

The diſaffected party ſtill continued to plot againſt Elizabeth and her government. One Heſket exhorted Ferdinand, earl of Derby, to aſſume the title of king, as grandſon of Mary, daughter to Henry VII. aſſuring him he would be ſupported in his claim by Philip; and threatened him at the ſame time with death, on his noncompliance with, or revelation of the ſcheme. The earl, however, diſcovered it; the traitor was brought to condign puniſhment; and he himſelf died a few months after. At the ſame time a plot was concerted againſt the queen by the count de Fuentes, and Don Diego d'Ibarra, who directed the Spaniſh affairs in the Netherlands. Theſe bribed Roderic Lopez, a Portugueſe Jew, and one of her majeſty's phyſicians, to take her off by poiſon. But the deſign being diſcovered, he, with two of his accomplices were apprehended, and confeſſing their correſpondence with Fuentes and Ibarra, were executed as traitors.

A. D. 1595. At the ſame time the queen was making preparations for carrying the war into the territories of Spain, ſeveral atchievements were performed at ſea by the Engliſh; but the moſt remarkable was an expedition of Sir Walter Raleigh to Guiana, a large tract of land in South America, rather poſſeſſed, than inhabited by the Spaniards. At his own expence, he had ſent one Whiddon to view the coaſt, and make all the obſervations in his power. From his report, Raleigh reſolved to wreſt that extenſive country out of the hands of the Spaniards. His undertaking was ſo well approved, that both the treaſurer and admiral of England contributed to the expences of fitting out a fleet for carrying the deſign into execution; and on the ſixth of February, Sir Walter ſailed from Plymouth. On the twenty-ſecond of March, he took the city of St. Joſeph, in the iſland of Trinidada, and made Boreo, the Spaniſh governor, priſoner. Having procured all the information poſſible with regard to the ſtrength and riches of Guiana, Raleigh manned his long-boats with about one hundred men, and proceeded above four hundred miles up the river Oroonoko; but met with ſo many difficulties from the navigation, and the heat of the climate, that he did not reap all the advantages ſo brave and dangerous an undertaking deſerved. It is certain, that he made great diſcoveries; and though we have no authentic account of the riches he acquired in this undertaking, there is ſufficient reaſon to believe they were very conſiderable. He was received with the higheſt applauſe on his return, and a very pompous account of his voyage was publiſhed.

A. D. 1596. The queen, diſguſted on ſome account with the ſtates of the Netherlands, demanded a reimburſement of all the money ſhe had expended in their defence. The ſtates, beſides alledging the conditions of a former treaty, by which they were not bound to repay her till a peace was concluded, pleaded their poverty and diſtreſs, *then* ſtiling themſelves the *poor* United States; the ſuperiority of the Spaniards; and the difficulty of ſupporting the war. After much negotiation, a new treaty was formed, by which they agreed to free the queen immediately from the expence of the Engliſh auxiliaries, computed at forty thouſand pounds a year; to pay her annually twenty thouſand pounds for ſome years; to aſſiſt her with a certain number of ſhips; and to conclude no treaty or peace without her conſent. They alſo bound themſelves, after a peace ſhould be concluded with Spain, to pay her annually a hundred thouſand pounds, during four years, in lieu of all demands.

Elizabeth had now completed her preparations for attacking Philip's dominions in Europe, by way of retaliation for his intended invaſion of England. For this purpoſe a formidable fleet was equipped at Plymouth, conſiſting of a hundred and ſeventy ſhips, ſeventeen of which were men of war, and the reſt ſmall veſſels and tenders. To theſe the Dutch added twenty ſhips. They had on board ſix thouſand three hundred and ſixty ſoldiers, a thouſand volunteers, together with ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-two ſeamen. This fleet was commanded by lord Effingham, high admiral, and the land forces by the earl of Eſſex; both which commanders, agreeable to the public ſpirit of that age, expended great ſums of their own in this armament. Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Coniers Clifford, Sir George Carew, and Sir Francis Vere, had commands in this expedition, and were appointed a council to the admiral and general. On the firſt of June they ſet ſail for Cadiz, ſending before them ſome armed tenders, which intercepted every ſhip that could carry intelligence to the enemy. Near Cadiz they took an Iriſh veſſel, whereby they received intelligence, that the port was full of merchant ſhips of great value; and that the Spaniards, having no apprehenſions of an enemy, lived in perfect ſecurity. It was propoſed by Sir Walter Raleigh, in a council of war, to attack the ſhips and gallies in the harbour, which reſolution was ſtrongly ſeconded by the young earl of Eſſex, who burnt with an eager deſire of ſignalizing his courage on this occaſion. He appeared, however, greatly mortified, on being informed by Effingham, that the queen, dreading the effects of his youthful ardour, had given ſecret orders, that he ſhould not be permitted to command the van in the attack. This poſt of honour was allotted to Sir Walter Raleigh, in the Warſpite, and lord Thomas Howard, in the Nonpareil, who were ſeconded by Sir George Carew in the Mary Roſe, Sir Robert Southwel, in the Lion, Sir Francis Vere, in the Rainbow, vice-admiral Croſs, in the Swiftſure, and Sir Coniers Clifford in the Dreadnought. The Spaniards, in order more effectually to oppoſe their enemy, ranged their gallies under the walls of the city, ſo as to flank the Engliſh ſhips as they paſſed: culverins were planted to ſecure the channel of the harbour; and the artillery both of Fort St. Philip, and the curtain of the fortification, were brought to bear on the Engliſh fleet. Beſides theſe, the Spaniards had put guns on board all their large galleons, which were covered by Fort Puntal, ſituated in the middle of the harbour. At break of day the Engliſh van advanced to the attack, when Eſſex, forgetting the promiſe he had made to the admiral, to ſtay in the centre of the fleet, preſſed forward to the hotteſt poſt of danger and glory. Inſpired with emulation, the Engliſh received with undaunted bravery the fire from Fort St. Philip, the curtain, and ſeventeen gallies; but Raleigh anſwered only by a flouriſh of his trumpets, purſuing his courſe, in order to encourage the ſhips that followed him, and to reſerve his fire for the body of the enemy. After a long and moſt deſperate engagement, Sir Walter prepared to board the Spaniſh admiral, a ſhip of fifteen hundred tons; but the Spaniards, perceiving his intention, ran her on ſhore, and ſet her on fire. Three other galleons followed the example of their admiral, but two of them were ſaved by the Engliſh boats. Eſſex then landed at the Puntals, and inſtantly marched to the attack of Cadiz. Five hundred Spaniards advanced to meet him, but being ſtruck with a panic, they retired into the city with the utmoſt precipitation, and were cloſely followed by the Engliſh. Cadiz was now in the utmoſt conſternation; and before any meaſures could be taken for making a proper defence, the Engliſh had forced the gate, and were ſoon in poſſeſſion of the market-place. The garriſon and inhabitants fled to the caſtle and town-houſe, but ſoon offered to capitulate; and it was agreed their lives ſhould be ſpared, on the payment of ſeventy thouſand ducats. A prodigious quantity of ſilver was found in the place, and ſent immediately on board the Engliſh fleet. While Eſſex was thus employed in the reduction of Cadiz, Sir Walter Raleigh was ſent to burn the merchant ſhips at Port Real. The Spaniards offered for their ranſom two millions of ducats, but Raleigh rejected the offer, ſaying, he came to deſtroy, not to ranſom. The Spaniards, however, found means to unload ſome of their ſhips, and ſet fire to others. Beſides the merchant ſhips, two galleons, thirteen men of war, eleven ſhips freighted for the Indies, and thirteen others were captured. A prodigious quantity of military ſtores, prepared for an expedition againſt England, were likewiſe deſtroyed. No Engliſhmen of note, except Sir John Wingfield, periſhed in this memorable conqueſt, and about two hundred men. The whole loſs of the Spaniards was eſtimated at twenty millions of ducats. Eſſex regarded this glorious victory only as a ſtep to farther conqueſts. He inſiſted on keeping poſſeſſion of Cadiz; and propoſed to intercept the carracks at the Azores, to aſſault the Groyne, to take St. Sebaſtian and St Andero; but all the other ſeamen and ſoldiers were impatient to return home, in order to ſecure their plunder. Eſſex complained to the queen of their want of ſpirit; and ſhe herſelf was not pleaſed with their returning, without endeavouring to intercept the India fleet, loaded with treaſure; bot though ſhe admired the enterprizing genius of Eſſex, ſhe could not help teſtifying her approbation and eſteem for the gallant behaviour of the other officers. She created the admiral earl of Nottingham, at which Eſſex was highly offended; and it being ſaid in the preamble to the patent, that this honour was conferred on him for his good ſervices in taking Cadiz, and deſtroying the Spaniſh ſhips, this merit Eſſex aſcribed ſolely to himſelf; he even offered to maintain his claim, by ſingle combat, againſt the earl of Nottingham, his ſon, or any of his relations.

A. D. 1597. Information having been received, that the Spaniards, notwithſtanding the damage their fleet had ſuffered at Cadiz, were preparing a ſquadron at Ferrol, and the Groyne, and were marching troops thither, in order to make a deſcent upon Ireland, Elizabeth reſolved to deſtroy the ſhips in thoſe harbours. For this purpoſe ſhe prepared a large fleet of one hundred and twenty ſail, ſeventeen of which were her own ſhips, forty-three were ſmaller veſſels, and the reſt tenders and victuallers. On board of this fleet were embarked five thouſand new raiſed ſoldiers, and a thouſand veteran troops, brought by Sir Thomas Vere from the Netherlands. The earl of Eſſex, who was commander in chief, both of the ſea and land forces, was at the head of one ſquadron; Sir Walter Raleigh was appointed vice-admiral of another; lord Thomas Howard of a third; and lord Mountjoy was commander of the land forces under Eſſex. On the ninth of July they ſet ſail from Plymouth; but were no ſooner out of harbour, than they were diſperſed and ſhattered by a violent ſtorm: and before they could be refitted, their proviſions were ſo far ſpent, that it would have been unſafe to have taken ſo numerous an army along with them. Eſſex therefore diſmiſſed all the ſoldiers, except a thouſand veterans under Vere; and abandoning all thoughts of attacking Ferrol or the Groyne, confined the object of his expedition to intercepting the fleet from Spaniſh America, which was about this time expected to ſtop at the Azores. Thither Eſſex bent his courſe, after having informed Raleigh, that he intended to attack Fayal, one of the Azore iſlands. The ſquadrons being by ſome accident ſeparated, Raleigh arrived firſt before that iſland; and having waited ſome time for the general, thought it moſt prudent to begin the attack alone, leſt a further delay ſhould give the inhabitants time to prepare for their defence. He ſucceeded in the attempt; but Eſſex thinking, that Raleigh had deprived him of the glory of the action, was ſo highly offended, that he caſhiered ſeveral of the captains who had exerted themſelves, with their uſual bravery, to take the place; and would raſhly have inflicted the ſame puniſhment on Raleigh himſelf, had not lord Thomas Howard interpoſed with his good offices, and perſuaded that gallant officer to make his ſubmiſſion to the general. Eſſex, being appeaſed, received Raleigh into favour, and reſtored the other officers to their commands. This miſunderſtanding, however, laid the firſt foundation of that violent animoſity which afterwards ſubſiſted between theſe two gallant commanders. Eſſex now diſpoſed his fleet in a manner proper for intercepting the galleons; and Sir William Monſon, falling in with them, made the ſignal which had been agreed upon: but the Spaniſh fleet, no ſooner ſaw the enemy, than they made all the ſail poſſible to Tercera, one of the largeſt of the Azore iſlands, before the Engliſh fleet could overtake them; Eſſex, however, took three ſhips, which were ſo rich, as to pay all the expences of the expedition; the reſt that eſcaped ſheltered themſelves in the well-fortified, and ſafe harbour of Angara. Upon the return of the fleet, the cauſes of the miſcarriage of this enterprize were much canvaſſed in England. The courtiers ſided with Eſſex or Raleigh, according to the reſpect they bore to each; but the people, in general, who were pleaſed with the ſpirit and generoſity of the former, were inclined to juſtify his conduct: the queen, who loved the one, and eſteemed the other, maintained a kind of neutrality between both parties.

A. D. 1598. Henry IV. king of France, having received overtures for a peace with Philip, Elizabeth diſpatched Sir Robert Carew to France, in order, if poſſible, to break off the treaty; but all her attempts were in vain, as Henry was determined to give peace to his kingdom, now reduced to the moſt deplorable condition. The negotiations were carried on at Vervins; and on the twelfth of June, the peace was ratified by Henry; who was put in poſſeſſion of all the places that had been taken by Philip during the courſe of the civil wars. Thus he procured leiſure to attend to the domeſtic ſettlement of the diſtracted ſtate; and, by the wiſdom of his government, he, in a ſhort time, raiſed France from the miſery in which that kingdom was involved, to a more flouriſhing condition than it had ever before enjoyed. Elizabeth was ſenſible it was in her power to make peace with Spain on equitable terms; yet, though at firſt averſe to war, ſhe ſeemed now to have attained ſuch an aſcendancy over the enemy, that ſhe was unwilling to put a ſtop to her proſperous fortune. Her paſt victories had entirely ſecured her from any dangerous invaſion. She conſidered, that the weak condition of Philip in the Indies, and the annual return of his treaſures from thence, afforded her a proſpect of the moſt laſting advantages: that Philip, after his peace with France, ſhould ſhe conſent to an accommodation, would be able to turn his whole force againſt the revolted provinces of the Netherlands, which, though they had greatly increaſed their power by commerce and good government, would, nevertheleſs, without her aſſiſtance, be unable to maintain a war againſt ſo powerful a prince; and that it would be unſafe and diſhonourable to abandon their cauſe, till they were placed in a ſtate of greater ſecurity. The earl of Eſſex encouraged her in theſe ſentiments. Lord Burleigh, on the contrary, was deſirous of a peace; and the rivalſhip of theſe two noblemen, made each of them inſiſt the more ſtrenuouſly on his own counſel; but the arguments of Eſſex, whoſe perſon was agreable to the queen, prevailed: the favourite ſeemed daily to gain an aſcendancy over the miniſter; and had he been poſſeſſed of a ſelf-command equal to his ſhining qualities, he might have ſo ſtrongly rivetted himſelf into the queen's affections, that none of his enemies could have hurt him; but his high ſpirit could ill ſubmit to the implicit obedience, which Elizabeth, ever jealous of her prerogative, had been accuſtomed to receive from her ſubjects. That nobleman was no leſs diſtinguiſhed by his underſtanding, than by his birth and figure. He was brave, generous, ſincere; a firm friend; active, and paſſionately fond of glory; but carried away by his paſſions, and incapable of yielding to the rein of prudence. Theſe paſſions at laſt proved his deſtruction.

On the fourth of Auguſt died, in an advanced age, lord Burleigh, equally lamented by the queen and the people. A zealous and faithful counſellor. This truly great man had long and earneſtly requeſted his miſtreſs, to grant him ſome moments of eaſe between buſineſs and the grave; but he aſked in vain. He continued immerſed in all the fatigues of office, till death gave him that repoſe that was denied him by Elizabeth. Lord Burleigh was now on the verge of eighty, and though many miniſters had lived with leſs envy, none ever died with greater reputation. He was chiefly diſtinguiſhed for ſolidity of underſtanding, probity of manners, and indefatigable application to the duties of his ſtation. He was the only one in this reign, who left a conſiderable fortune to his poſterity; a fortune not acquired by rapine or plunder, but gained by the regular profits of his office, and preſerved by his frugality. This great ſtateſman wrote *La Complainte de l'Ame Pechereſſe*, in French verſe, now extant in the king's library; the Execution of Juſtice in England; Meditations on the State of England; lord Burleigh's precepts, &c. In a ſhort time after expired at Madrid, Philip II. king of Spain, the principal enemy of Elizabeth, in the ſeventy third year of his age, and the forty-third of his reign. This prince had transferred to his daughter, who was married to the arch-duke Albert, the poſſeſſion of the Netherlands; but as it was thought he would have no iſſue, and as the reverſion was reſerved to the crown of Spain, the States ſtill obſtinately perſiſted in their reſiſtance to the Spaniſh arms.

Nothing but the imprudence of Eſſex could now have ſhaken his credit with the queen; but his lofty ſpirit could ill brook controul, even from his miſtreſs. Diſputing with her, one day, on the choice of a governor for Ireland, he was ſo heated, and carried matters ſo high, as imprudently to turn his back on her, with an air of contempt. At this provocation, her anger, naturally violent, was raiſed to ſuch a pitch, that ſhe inſtantly gave him a box on the ear, adding her uſual paſſionate expreſſion, which ſhe thought ſuited his impertinence: when inſtead of recollecting himſelf, and making the ſubmiſſions her ſex required, he clapt his hand upon his ſword, and ſwore, in his turn, that he would not have taken ſo groſs an affront even from Henry, her father. The admiral and vice-chamberlain interpoſed between the ſovereign and the ſubject, and prevented any farther conſequences at that time. The chancellor, Egerton, who had a regard for Eſſex, exhorted him to repair his indiſcretion, by making proper acknowledgments; but he was ſo deeply ſtung with the diſhonour, that he not only wrote him a ſpirited letter, full of reſentment againſt the queen, which breathed all the violence of his haughty ſoul, but even ſhewed the letter to his friends, who imprudently diſperſed copies of it: yet notwithſtanding this additional provocation, the queen's love for him prevailed, and Eſſex became the only confident of Elizabeth, and ſole director of the affairs of the kingdom.

The troubles which ſtill ſubſiſted in Ireland opened a new ſcene for his ambition, and he raſhly engaged in an undertaking which terminated in crimes and misfortunes. Hugh O'Neale, whom the queen had created earl of Tyrone, and whoſe treachery was equal to his ferocious valour, renewed at this time his rebellious practices. He had already aſſumed the character of the deliverer of his country, and the patron of Iriſh liberty; and having received aſſiſtance from the king of Spain, gained advantages conſiderable enough to make the court of London very uneaſy. It was therefore determined to proſecute the war with vigour, and ſubdue the rebels by extraordinary efforts. For this purpoſe the queen had caſt her eye on Charles Blount, lord Mountjoy; but the earl of Eſſex, ambitious of glory, repreſented the neceſſity of appointing ſome perſon more experienced in war, and of higher quality. Being underſtood to mean himſelf, his deſire was granted, and Elizabeth honoured him with the title of lord deputy of Ireland, granting him more extenſive authority than had ever been conferred on any governor before; being furniſhed with a commiſſion, whereby he was empowered either to continue or finiſh the war: to pardon the earl of Tyrone, and other rebels; an authority never granted to any of his predeceſſors. Had Eſſex liſtened to the advice of his enemies, he could not have engaged in a more fatal undertaking: but the young earl was incapable of caution: he imagined that every difficulty would give way before him; that his preſence, at the head of a numerous army, would awe the rebels into peace, and that he ſhould return crowned with laurel. The queen's preparations were equal to the tenderneſs ſhe cheriſhed for her favourite. To enſure ſucceſs, ſhe gave him an army of twenty thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, which, it was ſuppoſed, would be ſufficient to overwhelm the rebels in one campaign. Nor did the earl of Nottingham, Sir Robert Cecil, lord Cobham, and Sir Walter Raleigh, the enemies of Eſſex, throw any obſtacles in the way of theſe preparations; for they imagined, the higher the expectations of the queen were raiſed, it would be the more difficult for him to ſatisfy her.

A. D. 1599. About the middle of March, Eſſex ſet out for his government, attended with the acclamations of the populace, and accompanied by a numerous train of nobility and gentry, who from affection to his perſon, attached themſelves to his fortunes. After his arrival in Ireland, he appointed his intimate friend the earl of Southampton, general of the horſe, though that nobleman had incurred the queen's diſpleaſure, and though ſhe herſelf had expreſly enjoined Eſſex not to give him any command; and even repeated orders were hardly ſufficient to induce him to revoke the commiſſion. The reſt of his conduct was conformable to this beginning. Inſtead of leading his powerful army into Ulſter againſt Tyrone, he ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded by the Iriſh council to march into Munſter, ſituated at the other extremity of the kingdom. He indeed reduced the rebels to ſubmiſſion, but he loſt a conſiderable part of his army in the attempt; and had no ſooner left the country, than they again revolted. By this time the ſeaſon was conſiderably advanced, his army ſickly, and greatly reduced in their numbers, ſo that he was obliged to requeſt a reinforcement of two thouſand men, in order to enable him to march againſt the chief of the rebels. The troops were immediately ſent, and Eſſex advanced into Ulſter. Tyrone, though with an army greatly ſuperior in numbers to that of the Engliſh, wiſely avoided a deciſive action, and propoſed a conference with Eſſex, in order, as he pretended, to put a ſtop to the flames of civil diſcord, which had ſo long waſted Ireland. The offer was accepted, and the two generals met without any of their attendants. Tyrone behaved, during the conference, with the greateſt ſubmiſſion, and a ceſſation of arms was concluded till the firſt of May. This unexpected iſſue of the moſt expenſive enterprize that Elizabeth had ever undertaken, exaſperated her againſt Eſſex: and her chagrin was heightened by his writing many letters to the council, filled with peeviſh expreſſions, and lamenting, that the calumnies of his enemies ſhould be believed againſt him. She informed him of her diſſatisfaction; and commanded him to continue in Ireland, till he received her orders to the contrary. The haughty favourite was now ſufficiently alarmed. Dreading, that if he continued any longer at any diſtance from the court, he ſhould loſe all his influence with the queen, while his enemies enjoyed the malignant ſatisfaction of triumphing in his fall, he determined to diſobey the orders of his miſtreſs. He accordingly left Ireland, and arrived at London before any one was apprized of his intentions. He immediately repaired to court, and though covered with dirt and ſweat, he ran up ſtairs to the preſence-chamber, then to the privy-chamber, nor did he ſtop till he was in the bed-chamber of the queen, who was juſt riſen, and was ſitting with her hair about her face. Whether Elizabeth's tenderneſs awakened at the ſight of her favourite, or whether ſurprize prevented her from attending to punctilios, ſhe gave him a very kind and flattering reception; and on his departure he was heard to thank God, that though he had met with many troubles and ſtorms abroad, he had found at home a placid and ſweet calm. But this promiſing interval was deceitful. Elizabeth's favourable diſpoſition was entirely owing to the ſurprize at the ſudden and unexpected appearance of her favourite; but ſhe had no ſooner time for recollection, than all his faults recurred to her. When Eſſex, therefore, waited on her in the afternoon, he found her behaviour much altered: ſhe ordered him to be twice examined by the council; to be committed to the cuſtody of the lord-keeper, Egerton, and to be excluded from all company, even from that of his counteſs. Eſſex expreſſed great humiliation and ſorrow; but his vexation, and the triumph obtained by his enemies, preyed ſo deeply on his ſpirits, that he fell into a diſorder, which ſeemed to endanger his life. The queen, who had always declared, that her ſeverity was intended to correct, and not to ruin him, no ſooner heard of his condition, than ſhe was alarmed at his danger, and ordered eight phyſicians to conſult upon his caſe. Being informed, that there was reaſon to fear he would not recover, ſhe ſent one of her phyſicians to deliver a meſſage, that if ſhe thought ſuch a ſtep conſiſtent with her honour, ſhe would herſelf pay him a viſit. Thoſe who ſtood by, carefully obſerving her countenance, remarked, that in pronouncing theſe words, her eyes ſwam in tears. The enemies of Eſſex were greatly alarmed at theſe ſymptons of the queen's returning affection, particularly Sir Walter Raleigh, who was ſo affected by it, that he, in his turn, was ſeized with ſickneſs; and the queen, who had a reſpect for him, ſent him alſo a favourable meſſage, in which ſhe expreſſed her wiſhes for his recovery. Elizabeth's medicine was ſucceſsful with both theſe aſpiring rivals; and Eſſex being allowed to enjoy the company of his counteſs, and to entertain more agreeable hopes with reſpect to himſelf, ſoon became out of danger. The queen was then perſuaded to believe, that he had counterfeited his illneſs, in order to excite compaſſion; and this induced her to relapſe into her former rigour. He ſent her a rich preſent, with a letter, on new year's day, as was then uſual among the courtiers: ſhe read the letter, but rejected the preſent. However, ſhe ſoon after allowed him to retire to his own houſe; and though he ſtill remained in cuſtody, and was allowed no company but his counteſs, he ſent her a letter of thanks for this indulgence. The counteſs of Eſſex, who was the daughter of Sir Francis Walſingham, had, as well as her huſband, a refined taſte in literature, and the chief conſolation of Eſſex, during this period of anxiety and ſuſpence, conſiſted in her company, and his reading, with her, thoſe inſtructive and entertaining authors, which he had never entirely neglected during his greateſt proſperity.

A. D. 1600. The departure of Eſſex from Ireland revived the hopes of Tyrone. The Engliſh army, now without a leader, was not ſufficient to ſtop his progreſs: he reduced the whole province of Ulſter to obedience; and being encouraged by a bull ſent from pope Clement VII. granting him and his adherents the ſame indulgences as thoſe who fought for the recovery of the Holy Land, he flattered himſelf with being ſoon maſter of the whole kingdom. He was alſo promiſed a ſupply of men and money from Spain; and having received a conſecrated plume from the pope, he called himſelf the champion of the catholic religion. Alarmed at theſe circumſtances, the queen ſent lord Mountjoy into Ireland. The whole iſland, on his arrival, was in a very deſperate ſituation; but being a man of capacity and vigour, he was not diſcouraged. He advanced immediately into Ulſter againſt Tyrone, and ſoon penetrated into the heart of that county, the principal ſeat of the rebels. He drove them from the open fields, and obliged them to take refuge in their bogs and foreſts. Sir George Carew had equal advantages in Munſter, and the queen's authority was once more eſtabliſhed in Ireland. The ſucceſs of Mountjoy rendered the ſucceſs of Eſſex leſs excuſable at court, but his popularity increaſed with his misfortunes. The miniſtry was accuſed of malice, and the queen herſelf of injuſtice. Alarmed at the prejudices of the people, Elizabeth determined to inveſtigate fully the military conduct of Eſſex in his late Iriſh expedition. The queen had often expreſſed her intention of juſtifying her own conduct to the public, by having him tried in the Star-chamber: but her tenderneſs at laſt prevailed over her ſeverity; and ſhe was contented to have him only examined by the privy-council. Coke, the attorney general opened the cauſe againſt him, with all that cruelty and inſolence, which that great lawyer uſually exerciſed againſt the unfortunate; and Francis, the ſon of Sir Nicholas Bacon, cloſed the charge, with diſplaying the undutiful expreſſions in ſome of the earl's letters. When Eſſex came to plead in his own defence, he, with great ſubmiſſion and humility, renounced all pretences to an apology, and declared his reſolution, on this or any other occaſion, never to have any conteſt with his ſovereign, and this ſubmiſſion was uttered with ſuch eloquence, and in ſo pathetic a manner, that it drew tears from many of the audience. All the privy-council did him juſtice with regard to the loyalty of his intentions; even Cecil, whom he believed his capital enemy, treated him with regard and humanity. Hence he was only ſentenced to be deprived of the offices he poſſeſſed, and to be confined in his own houſe, till her majeſty ſhould be pleaſed to releaſe him. Francis Bacon, who was afterwards ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed by his high offices, and his profound ſkill in the ſciences, was nearly allied to the Cecil family, but met with ſo little protection from his powerful relations, that though he was bred to the law, he had yet obtained no preferment. But Eſſex, who diſcovered his great abilities, had engaged in an intimate friendſhip with him, and had zealouſly endeavoured, though without ſucceſs, to procure for him the office of queen's ſolicitor; and to comfort him under his diſappointment, had made him a preſent in land, to the value of eighteen hundred pounds. The public, therefore, were highly offended at Bacon's appearing before the council, againſt his generous benefactor, though he was commanded to do it by the queen: but ſhe was ſo pleaſed with his behaviour on this occaſion, that ſhe directed him to draw up an account of that day's proceedings, in order to ſatisfy the nation, with reſpect to the juſtice and lenity of her conduct. Bacon, in executing her commands, repreſented the whole in the moſt favourable terms for Eſſex: deſcribing particularly, in a pleaſing manner, the dutiful ſubmiſſion with which he avoided making a particular defence of his conduct. On his reading the paper to the queen, ſhe ſmiled at that part, ſaying, ſhe ſaw that old love could not eaſily be forgotten; to which Bacon replied, he hoped ſhe meant that of herſelf. Every one now expected, that Eſſex would be reſtored to his former credit, and in this hope they were confirmed, on finding, that though he was ſtill forbid to appear at court, he was continued in his office of maſter of the horſe. The queen gave orders that his ſentence ſhould not be recorded, and reſtored him to his full liberty; but at the ſame time adviſed him to be cautious of giving farther offence, and ordered him not to appear at court.

Eſſex immediately prepared for his departure into the country; but before he ſet out, he wrote a letter to the queen, in which he told her, that he kiſſed her majeſty's hands, and the rod with which ſhe had corrected him: but that he never could recover his uſual chearfulneſs till ſhe deigned to admit him to that preſence which had ever been the chief ſource of his happineſs and enjoyment; and that, in the mean time, he would retire into a country ſolitude, and labour aſſiduouſly to atone for his former offences. Pleaſed with theſe ſentiments, the queen replied, that ſhe wiſhed his actions might be conformable to his expreſſions; but as he had ſo long abuſed her patience, ſhe would take ſome time to try his ſincerity. She added, "That if the furnace of affliction produced ſuch good effects, ſhe ſhould ever after have the better opinion of her chemiſtry."

A. D. 1601. Elizabeth reflected not, that this haughty ſpirit, when driven to extremities, was capable of trampling under foot every ſpecies of duty, as well as the laws of his country. By puſhing her precautions too far, ſhe inflamed his reſentment. He loſt all hopes of her favour, forgot her former kindneſſes, and flew to revenge. He imprudently followed the intereſted counſels of ſome needy friends who lived upon his bounty, and determined to have recourſe to violent meaſures. To increaſe the number of his partizans, he paid his court to the catholics, and ſecretly ſolicited the king of Scotland's aſſiſtance. He acquainted him, "That whatſoever appearances the Engliſh court affected, a reſolution was formed to place the Infanta of Spain on the throne of England; that to facilitate this deſign, all places of power, all poſts of importance, were in the hands of thoſe who were ſworn enemies to the Stuart family; the lord high-admiral had the command of the navy and army; Buckhurſt was at the head of the treaſury; Cobham was warden of the cinque-ports; Cecil, lord-lieutenant of the north; Raleigh, governor of the iſlands of Guernſey and Jerſey; and Carew, preſident of Munſter; places very favourable for landing the Infanta." He added, "The queen's underſtanding was ſo greatly impaired, that ſhe was incapable of acting for herſelf, and was entirely guided by her miniſters; that it was therefore abſolutely neceſſary for him to act openly againſt this conſpiracy, by ſending ambaſſadors immediately to the Engliſh court, to demand a public declaration of his title to the ſucceſſion, and the removal of his enemies, all creatures and penſioners of Spain, from the court and council." But this headſtrong nobleman depended chiefly for ſupport on the puritans, whoſe manners he now entirely adopted. The moſt celebrated preachers of that ſect reſorted to his houſe, which became a kind of pulpit, where the fervours of fanaticiſm conſtantly diſcharged themſelves. The genius of the age was ſo entirely devoted to theſe rhapſodies, that the language of the reformation had more attractions for the people than pleaſure itſelf: nothing more effectually ingratiated an ambitious leader with the public than theſe religious entertainments. The ambitious Eſſex ſpared not the queen in his diſcourſes; he repreſented her as an old woman, whoſe temper was as crooked as her perſon. Elizabeth was informed of theſe liberties, which highly incenſed her againſt him. He could not have attacked her in a more tender part. Elizabeth was always fond of flattery, and loved to be complimented on her beauty; nor could either her own good ſenſe, or old age itſelf, cure her of this prepoſterous infirmity. Eſſex had now formed a ſelect council of mal-contents, conſiſting of the earl of Southampton, Sir Charles Danvers, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir Chriſtopher Blount, Sir John Davis, and John Littleton, of Frankel. The reſt of his friends, according to a liſt he produced at Drury houſe, the uſual place of their meeting, conſiſted of one hundred and twenty of the firſt noblemen and gentlemen in the kingdom. Here all their plans were laid, and all their reſolutions formed. Among other criminal projects debated in this aſſembly, was that of the moſt proper method of taking up arms; and it was at laſt agreed, that the firſt attack ſhould be made upon the palace; that Sir Chriſtopher Blount, at the head of a choice detachment, ſhould take poſſeſſion of the gates; that Davis ſhould ſeize the hall; Danvers the guard and preſence chamber; and that Eſſex, attended by a ſelect number of his partizans, ſhould ruſh in from the Mews, oblige the queen to remove his enemies, aſſemble a parliament, and ſettle a new plan of government. The queen was informed of all theſe reſolutions, and took the neceſſary precautions to render them abortive. Eſſex never doubted but the citizens of London, by whom he was greatly beloved, would take up arms at the firſt ſignal. He was, however, miſtaken. The court had taken meaſures to prevent it; and when he appeared in the city, accompanied with about two hundred men, he found that his ſeditious exhortations had no effect. They gazed at him as he paſſed along the ſtreets, but none took up arms in his defence. Diſappointed of aſſiſtance, he returned to his own houſe, which was ſoon ſurrounded by a detachment of the guards, commanded by the admiral. He at firſt determined to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity, and periſh like a ſoldier with the ſword in his hand, rather than by the axe of a baſe executioner. But he ſoon after abandoned this reſolution; and, notwithſtanding all his bravery, ſubmitted at diſcretion. Elizabeth, who had behaved on this occaſion with the greateſt tranquillity and preſence of mind, ſoon gave orders for trying the moſt conſiderable of the priſoners. The earls of Eſſex and Southampton were arraigned on the nineteenth of February. The trial was ſoon finiſhed; the crime was notorious. Far from making any defence, Eſſex gave himſelf up entirely to the ſentiments of religion, which he had before politically affected, and not only acknowledged himſelf guilty, but alſo impeached his friends; a circumſtance, which at other times, he would have conſidered as the moſt infamous baſeneſs. The celebrated Sir Francis Bacon, is reproached with having pleaded on the trial againſt Eſſex, his friend and benefactor, without being obliged to it by any office. Blemiſhes appear in the characters of the greateſt men; Bacon was at this time ambitious of making his fortune. It now reſted with Elizabeth to pardon or execute her favourite nobleman, and ſhe long balanced between juſtice and clemency. She felt all the force of an ill-diſtinguiſhed paſſion; and if the earl had ſolicited her pardon, love would certainly have granted it. She conſidered this obſtinacy as the conſequence of contempt, and ſigned the warrant for his execution. He ſuffered in the court-yard of the Tower, purſuant to his own requeſt, on the twenty-fifth of February. His behaviour in his laſt moments were conformable to his condition, penitent and reſigned. He reflected not on his enemies, but prayed for the life of the queen, and the proſperity of his country. Thus ended his career of glory, by the hand of the executioner, Robert Devereux, earl of Eſſex, in the thirty-fifth year of his age. He was deſcended from a royal lineage on the female ſide, and endowed with extraordinary talents and heroic qualities. He was generous, liberal, and humane; a patron of learning, in which he himſelf held a conſiderable rank, a warm friend, and an open enemy. His foibles were vanity, ambition, and an impetuoſity of temper which he could not reſtrain. He ruined himſelf for want of knowing how to enjoy good fortune with moderation. The people, by whom he was much beloved, were irritated by his death; and the queen, who was accuſed of cruelty, no longer heard the uſual acclamations when ſhe appeared in public.

The king of France, deſirous of forming a cloſe connection wirh Elizabeth, in order to eſtabliſh a plan for effecting a perpetual balance of power in Europe, made a journey to Calais; and Elizabeth, in hopes of having a perſonal interview with a prince ſhe ſo highly eſteemed, repaired to Dover. Some conſiderations, however, prevented their meeting; but the queen, expreſſing a deſire of conferring on ſome buſineſs of importance with a miniſter in whom an entire confidence might be placed, Henry ſent over Roſny, afterwards duke of Sully. What appears very extraordinary is, that both theſe princes, without communicating their ſentiments to each other, had conceived the ſame deſign of humbling the houſe of Auſtria, and eſtabliſhing a juſt equilibrium between the powers of Europe. It principally conſiſted in uniting the ſeventeen provinces of the Low Countries, into one republic. But the wounds which France had received during the civil wars were not yet healed; the attention of Henry was ſtill neceſſary to recover the languiſhing ſtate of his country. The execution of this deſign therefore was put off, and never after reſumed.

The death of Philip II. king of Spain, did not put a period to the deſigns of the Spaniards for diſturbing the peace of Elizabeth. The ſame councils ſtill continued, and the ſame meaſures were to be purſued. The preparations for an expedition againſt Ireland had been for ſome time finiſhed, but ſuſpended on account of the troubles that broke out in Spain. Theſe having now ſubſided, Don John d'Aquila was ſent at the head of a body of troops into that kingdom, and made religion a pretence for the enterprizes of ambition and rebellion. He aſſumed the title of "General of the Holy War, for the preſervation of the faith in Ireland." Care had been taken to authorize theſe meaſures by bulls from Rome; and d'Aquila endeavoured to perſuade the people, that a queen, deprived of her authority by the pope, had no longer any right to the crown; that her ſubjects, abſolved from their oaths of allegiance by the holy father, ought to take up arms againſt her, and drive her from a throne of which ſhe ought to be conſidered as an uſurper. He added that the ſole intention of his coming was to aſſiſt them in that religious undertaking, and to deliver them from the dominion of the devil. Mountjoy ſaw the gathering ſtorm, and exerted all his abilities to break its force. The Iriſh ſhewed every where ſigns of a general inſurrection, and the utmoſt vigour was neceſſary to prevent it. He immediately laid ſiege to Kinſale, which the Spaniards had taken after their landing; but he had hardly began his operations, before he received intelligence that another body of two thouſand Spaniards, under the command of Alphonſo Ocampo were landed, and had taken poſſeſſion of Baltimore and Berehaven. He found himſelf therefore obliged to detach Sir George Carew, to oppoſe the progreſs of the enemy. Tyrone immediately advanced to the relief of Kinſale; bnt Mountjoy having received information of his deſign, advanced to meet him at the head of part of his army, totally defeated the rebels, and took ſeveral of them priſoners. Tyrone himſelf eſcaped into Ulſter, but was utterly incapable of giving the Engliſh any farther diſturbance. The Spaniſh general now perceived that all reſiſtance would be in vain, and immediately offered to ſurrender all the places held by the Spaniards in Ireland, and evacuate the kingdom. The conditions were accepted, and the Spaniards embarked for their own country. This defeat ſtruck the rebels with terror. They ſaw the foreign forces on whom they ſo greatly depended, incapable of giving them any ſupport, and deſpaired of being able to make head againſt the Engliſh. This war in Ireland was very burdenſome to the queen, and ſhe was obliged to call a parliament in order to obtain ſupplies. No oppoſition was made to the requeſt of her majeſty; but the commons revived the great queſtion with regard to monopolies, ſo deſtructive to trade, and burdenſome to the people. The ſmall revenues of the crown being inſufficient for the queen to confer favours or rewards on thoſe that had ſerved her faithfully, ſhe ſupplied the defect by laviſhing excluſive privileges; and thoſe who were provided ſold them to others. In conſequence of theſe monopolies, almoſt every kind of merchandize was advanced at the pleaſure of individuals; and that liberty, which conſtitutes the very ſoul of commerce, was no longer known. The effects were viſible by a continual decline of trade; and the nation felt all the vexatious effects of avarice, ſupported by the royal authority. Nor was the abuſe confined to the greater objects of commerce, it extended even to the common neceſſaries of life; ſalt, oil, vinegar, paper, cloths, iron, lead, ſkins, bottles, bruſhes, and many other articles. When this aſtoniſhing liſt was read in the houſe of commons, one of the members aſked, with great vivacity, "Is not bread among the number?" And obſerving that the houſe ſeemed aſtoniſhed at the queſtion, "Yes, bread! added he; if things continue on the ſame footing, we ſhall ſee that monopolized before the next parliament." But it appeared uſeleſs to complain, as abſolute authority was then conſidered as the baſis of the Engliſh government. The courtiers, accordingly, ſupported that tenet with all their eloquence. Bacon aſſerted, that the royal prerogative ought neither to be conteſted, nor examined; that it gave the ſovereign the power of extending what was reſtrained by the laws, and of reſtraining what the laws had made free and open. Another obſerved, that it would be a frivolous attempt to bind up the queen's hands by act of parliament; becauſe ſhe was poſſeſſed of an unlimited diſpenſing power, and conſequently could extricate herſelf whenever ſhe pleaſed; and even if the ſtatute ſhould contain a clauſe excluſive of that power, ſhe could equally diſpenſe with that clauſe, and conſequently with the ſtatute itſelf. One of the members went ſo far as to declare, that the Deity had given to princes the power that belonged to himſelf; and attempted to prove his aſſertion from a paſſage in the Pſalms, "I have ſaid that ye are gods." But notwithſtanding theſe ſtrange poſitions of the courtiers, many of the members ſtrongly oppoſed this alarming abuſe; and the laſt parliament having preſented a petition to the throne without effect, they propoſed to paſs a bill againſt all monopolies whatever. The queen perceived this reſolution, and wiſely avoided the blow. She was unwilling to refuſe the royal aſſent to a bill, that, however it might leſſen the prerogative of the crown, could not fail of being very advantageous to her people. She therefore ſent for the ſpeaker, and ordered him to acquaint the houſe, that ſhe would immediately ſuppreſs all ſuch excluſive grants as were moſt burdenſome to her ſubjects. Affected with the goodneſs and condeſcenſion of the queen, the joy of the commons was exceſſive. They had always been uſed to the tone of abſolute authority and haughty refuſal, and could hardly contain themſelves within the bounds of decency, at finding the royal prerogative at laſt give way to the intereſt of the nation. One of the members obſerved, that this meſſage from the queen was a kind of goſpel of gladtidings, and ought to be written in indelible characters on the tablets of the heart. They voted, that the ſpeaker, at the head of eighty members, ſhould return her majeſty their humble thanks for this inſtance of parental regard. The ſpeech delivered by the ſpeaker on this occaſion, was more proper to be addreſſed to the Supreme Being, than an earthly monarch. So fulſome was the language of flattery! Nor did they wait till ſhe had ſatisfied them with regard to the particular monopolies ſhe meant to aboliſh; they immediately voted her four times the uſual ſupply. An inſtance then without example. But they well knew the imperious diſpoſition of the queen, and that by giving even the moſt diſtant hint of their being diſſatisfied with her promiſe, would have forced her into a denial of their requeſts. Thus Elizabeth, by prudently receding in time from what was then conſidered as the right of the crown, maintained her dignity, and preſerved the affections of her people. Her ſucceſſors imitated not her example in this particular: they wanted her addreſs as well as her power, to triumph over the principles of liberty.

A. D. 1602.

Exaſperated at the Spaniards for having involved her in ſo many difficulties by fomenting the rebellion, and aſſiſting the inſurgents in Ireland, ſhe reſolved to find them ſufficient employment at home. She accordingly ordered a ſquadron of nine ſhips to be fitted out, under the command of Sir Richard Leveſon and Sir Richard Monſon, with orders to ſail on an expedition to the coaſt of Spain. This fleet left England early in the ſpring, and ſoon after part of the ſquadron fell in with the galleons loaded with treaſure; but were not ſtrong enough to attack them with any proſpect of ſucceſs. The other diviſion alſo met with a fleet of very rich ſhips, and was, for the ſame reaſon, obliged to let them purſue their courſe unmoleſted. Theſe diſappointments induced the two admirals to join the little ſquadrons, and purſue the deſign of the expedition in company. For ſome time they met with no ſhips of the enemy, and it was determined, in order to prevent the expedition from becoming entirely fruitleſs, to attack the harbour of Coimbra in Portugal, where they were informed a rich carrack had taken ſhelter. The harbour was defended by a caſtle mounted with heavy pieces of cannon; eleven gallies were moored near the entrance, and the militia of the country, amounting to near twenty thouſand men, appeared on the ſhore. But all theſe indications of a powerful oppoſition was not ſufficient to intimidate the Engliſh. They broke into the harbour, diſmounted the guns of the caſtle, ſunk, burnt, and put to flight the gallies, and made themſelves maſters of the carrack. With this prize they returned to England, where her loading was valued at near a million of ducats; a very ſenſible loſs to the Spaniards, and a ſtill more conſiderable ſupply to Elizabeth.

The catholic religion was not tolerated in England, yet great numbers of people ſtill profeſſed the tenets of Rome; the kingdom was full of prieſts of that perſuaſion; and a very rancorous quarrel now broke out between the Jeſuits and the ſecular clergy, on the following occaſion: one Blackwell, a perſon entirely devoted to the intereſt of the jeſuits, had been placed over theſe ſeculars, as their ſuperior. Not content with exerciſing the common juriſdiction, he oppreſſed them in the moſt cruel manner; and when they appealed to the pope for redreſs, the ſuperior repreſented them as ſchiſmatics and heretics. The moſt bitter invectives were publiſhed by both parties, and the whole body of the catholic clergy ſeemed to be engaged in this furious conteſt. Whether the whole affair was ſerious, or a ſcheme to lull the government into a fatal ſecurity, while the Spaniards ſtruck ſome deciſive blow, is now impoſſible to be known; but it is certain that the biſhop of London, from political motives, fomented this diviſion, which at laſt roſe to ſuch a height, that the council of ſtate thought proper to interpoſe their authority; and perceiving that their diſputes were incompatible with the peace of the nation, commanded them all to depart the kingdom immediately.

Lord Mountjoy improved ſo well his late victory in Ireland, that Tyrone and his friends were ſoon reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs; and many of them, after concealing themſelves in woods and moraſſes, where they lived rather like beaſts than men, thought proper to abandon their retreats, and ſubmit to the mercy of the Engliſh government. They were received with kindneſs, and the terms impoſed upon them were ſo mild and generous, that Tyrone himſelf, ſeeing all hopes either of ſucceeding, or eſcaping to the continent, were vaniſhed, applied, in the moſt abject manner, both to the queen herſelf, and the governor, for pardon. The queen was long reſolved not to ſhew the leaſt favour to that ferocious and perfidious rebel, but being continually importuned by her council, who repreſented the prodigious expence ſhe had been at, in maintaining an army in Ireland to purſue the rebels, and that by ſhewing clemency to the great leader in every inſurrection, ſhe would infallibly reſtore tranquillity to that diſtreſſed kingdom, and introduce a proper legiſlation among the people; ſhe was at laſt prevailed upon to recede from her reſolution. She ſigned his pardon, and ſent it to Mountjoy; ſacrificing her reſentment to the peace of her ſubjects, who had ſo long felt all the dreadful effects of civil diſcord.

A. D. 1603. Had that furious leader perceived even the ſmalleſt proſpect of ſupporting himſelf againſt the Engliſh, there is not the leaſt doubt but he would have rejected the conditions with diſdain; but he was deprived of every reſource, and enjoyed only the wretched alternative of accepting the queen's pardon on her own terms, or periſh with hunger. He choſe the former, and on the thirteenth of March, repaired to Mellefont, where he preſented himſelf upon his knees before the lord-deputy, and in that ſubmiſſive poſture received his pardon. O'Rourk, another active chief in the late inſurrections, ſurrendered about a month after Tyrone; and thus that dreadful rebellion, which had raged in Ireland with the utmoſt violence during eight years, and had coſt the queen near four hundred thouſand pounds annually, was entirely ſuppreſſed; the whole kingdom was reduced to a ſtate of ſubjection, and taſted the pleaſures attendant on tranquillity. But Elizabeth was not long capable of enjoying the ſatisfaction of ſeeing this conſiderable part of her dominions in a ſtate of peace. She had, for ſome time, fallen into a ſtate of melancholy; was obſerved to be continually in tears, and to labour under ſome extraordinary affliction. She had always been particularly careful of her health, but now obſtinately refuſed all the remedies preſcribed by her phyſicians. Her council uſed every method in their power to prevail upon her to recede from this fatal reſolution, but in vain. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, and ſecretary Cecil, begged her, on their knees, to take what was neceſſary for her ſuſtenance and relief; but ſhe refuſed their requeſt, and, in an angry tone of voice, deſired they would leave off their importunities, and ſuffer her to die in quiet. Various are the opinions which have been formed with regard to the cauſe of this profound melancholy: ſome aſcribed it to her repentance for having granted a pardon to Tyrone; others to the chagrin of ſeeing her courtiers turn their eyes upon the king of Scotland as the preſumptive heir to the Engliſh crown, and their ſhewing diſpoſitions to neglect her, at a time when ſhe laboured under the debilities of age and infirmities; while others attributed it to her paſſion for Eſſex, which a very remarkable incident had lately revived. After his return from his expedition to Cadiz, ſhe made him a preſent of a ring, which ſhe deſired him to keep as the pledge of her affection; at the ſame time aſſuring him, that whatever diſgrace might attend him, or whatever prejudices ſhe might entertain againſt his conduct, yet, on ſight of that precious pledge, ſhe would recollect her former tenderneſs, be ready to give him a favourable hearing, and to liſten candidly to his apology. Eſſex, notwithſtanding all his misfortunes, preſerved this pledge of her majeſty's affection; and, when under ſentence of death, reſolved to try the experiment. He accordingly prayed the counteſs of Nottingham to carry the ring to Elizabeth; but the earl, her huſband, the capital enemy of Eſſex, would not ſuffer her to execute the commiſſion. The queen waited for this ring with the moſt paſſionate anxiety, and conſtrued her not receiving it as a mark of contempt. Exaſperated at what ſhe conſidered as the higheſt affront, ſhe ſigned the warrant for his execution. Some time after, the counteſs being ſeized with a violent illneſs, was ſtung with the deepeſt remorſe for her conduct; and having obtained a viſit from the queen, ſhe revealed the fatal ſecret. Aſtoniſhed at this alarming confeſſion, Elizabeth burſt into the moſt violent paſſion of grief and rage. She ſtruck the dying counteſs in her bed, telling her, "That God might pardon her, but ſhe never could." This remarkable fact has been rejected by many hiſtorians as romantic; but from the proofs collected by Dr. Birch, in his memoirs of this princeſs, the truth of it ſeems to be ſufficiently eſtabliſhed. From that moment ſhe gave herſelf up to a deep incurable melancholy, which preyed on her ſpirits. Rejecting all conſolation and ſuſtenance, ſhe threw herſelf upon the floor, where ſhe remained ſullen and immoveable, feeding only on her ſufferings, and declaring, that life was an intolerable burden. She uttered but few words, and theſe were all expreſſive of inward grief, the cauſe whereof ſhe did not chuſe to reveal; giving vent to her deſpondency only by ſighs and groans, which were unable to aſſuage her ſorrow. Ten days and nights ſhe lay upon the carpet, leaning on cuſhions brought her by her maids; and her phyſicians, by all their arguments, could not perſuade her to allow herſelf to be put to bed, or to take any of the remedies they preſcribed. At length, the diſtreſs of her mind preying on her body, her end viſibly approached; when the council aſſembling, ſent the chancellor, admiral, and ſecretary to know her pleaſure, with reſpect to her ſucceſſor. With a faint voice ſhe anſwered, that as ſhe had held the regal ſcepter, ſhe deſired a royal ſucceſſor. Cecil entreating her to explain herſelf more particularly, ſhe added, that ſhe would have a king to ſucceed her; and who ſhould that be, but her neareſt kinſman the king of Scotland? the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was preſent, then adviſed her, to fix her thoughts upon God; ſhe replied, that ſhe did ſo, and that her thoughts had not in the leaſt wandered from him. Soon after, her voice and ſenſes failed; ſhe fell into a lethargic ſlumber, which laſted ſome hours, and then gently expired, without ſtruggle or convulſion, on the twenty-fourth of March, in the ſeventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth of her reign. She had given orders, that her corpſe ſhould not be touched or ſeen by any one but her own women, which were complied with. It was conveyed from Richmond, where ſhe died, to Whitehall; and was interred with great magnificence in Henry the Seventh's chapel at Weſtminſter.

Before the reign of Elizabeth, the ſtate of the Engliſh manufactures were very low; foreign wares of almoſt all kinds were preferred; and the kings of England had recourſe ſometimes to borrowing money of the city of Antwerp; when, beſides paying ten or twelve per cent. intereſt, they were obliged to make the city of London join in the ſecurity; but that great and enterprizing merchant, Sir Thomas Greſham, engaged the company of merchant-adventurers to grant Elizabeth a conſiderable loan; and ſhe paying regularly the money, her credit, by degrees, became ſo eſtabliſhed in the city, that ſhe ſhook off this dependance on foreigners. Sir Thomas alſo built, at his own expence, the magnificent fabric of the Exchange. The queen, highly pleaſed with his public ſpirit, viſited the ſtructure, and gave it the name it now bears of the Royal Exchange. In 1567 there were four thouſand eight hundred and fifty-one foreigners in London, of whom three thouſand eight hundred and thirty-eight were Flemings, and only fifty-eight Scots. Afterwards the perſecutions in France and the Low Countries drove a great number of foreigners into England, by whom the manufactures and commerce were greatly improved.

The nobility in this reign acquired, by degrees, a taſte for elegance and ſplendor. Many ſumptuous edifices were built, to the great ornament of the kingdom, and to the promotion of arts and induſtry. Burleigh, though he was thought frugal, and without a paternal eſtate, had a hundred ſervants in his family. He had a ſtanding table for gentlemen, and two other tables for perſons of inferior rank. About his perſon, he had people of great diſtinction; and no leſs than twenty gentlemen, each of whom was worth a thouſand pounds a year. He ſeveral times entertained the queen at his country-houſe, where ſhe ſtaid three, four, or five weeks at a time. The quantity of plate poſſeſſed by this nobleman was amazing; it amounted to fourteen or fifteen thouſand pounds weight; and land being then uſually ſold at ten years purchaſe, and he poſſeſſing only four thouſand pounds a year in land, and eleven thouſand pounds in money, the value of his ſilver plate was nearly equal to all the reſt of his fortune. But the queen, by proclamation, obliged her nobility to retrench in ſome articles of luxury, particularly that of ſervants, and from that moment their influence declined. They had fewer retainers, and conſequently were leſs able to form plots and conſpiracies. A taſte for luxury prevailed among them, by which their fortunes were ſoon impaired: while the merchant and mechanic were enriched by their expence and prodigality. In conſequence of this, the towns became more populous: and the country people, by means of agriculture, acquired an independency, which reſcued them from the yoke of the nobility.

In 1569, Elizabeth obtained from the Czar, John Baſilides, an excluſive patent to the Engliſh for the whole trade of Muſcovy; on which the Engliſh ventured farther into that extenſive country, than any Europeans had done before them. They tranſported their goods along the Dwina, in canoes made of the trunk of a tree, which they rowed up the ſtream as far as Walogda; from whence they carried their commodities ſeven days journey by land to Yeraſlau, and then down the Volga to Aſtracan, where they built ſhips, croſſed the Caſpian ſea, and diſtributed their manufactures into Perſia; but were prevented from continuing this bold attempt, from the diſcouragements they met with. After the death of John Baſilides, this patent was revoked by his ſon Theodore; and when the queen remonſtrated againſt it, he told her miniſters, that princes ought to carry an indifferent hand, both between their ſubjects and between foreigners; and not to convert trade, which ought to be common to all, into a monopoly for the private gain of a few. He however continued ſome privileges to the Engliſh, on account of their being the firſt who formed a communication between Europe and Muſcovy.

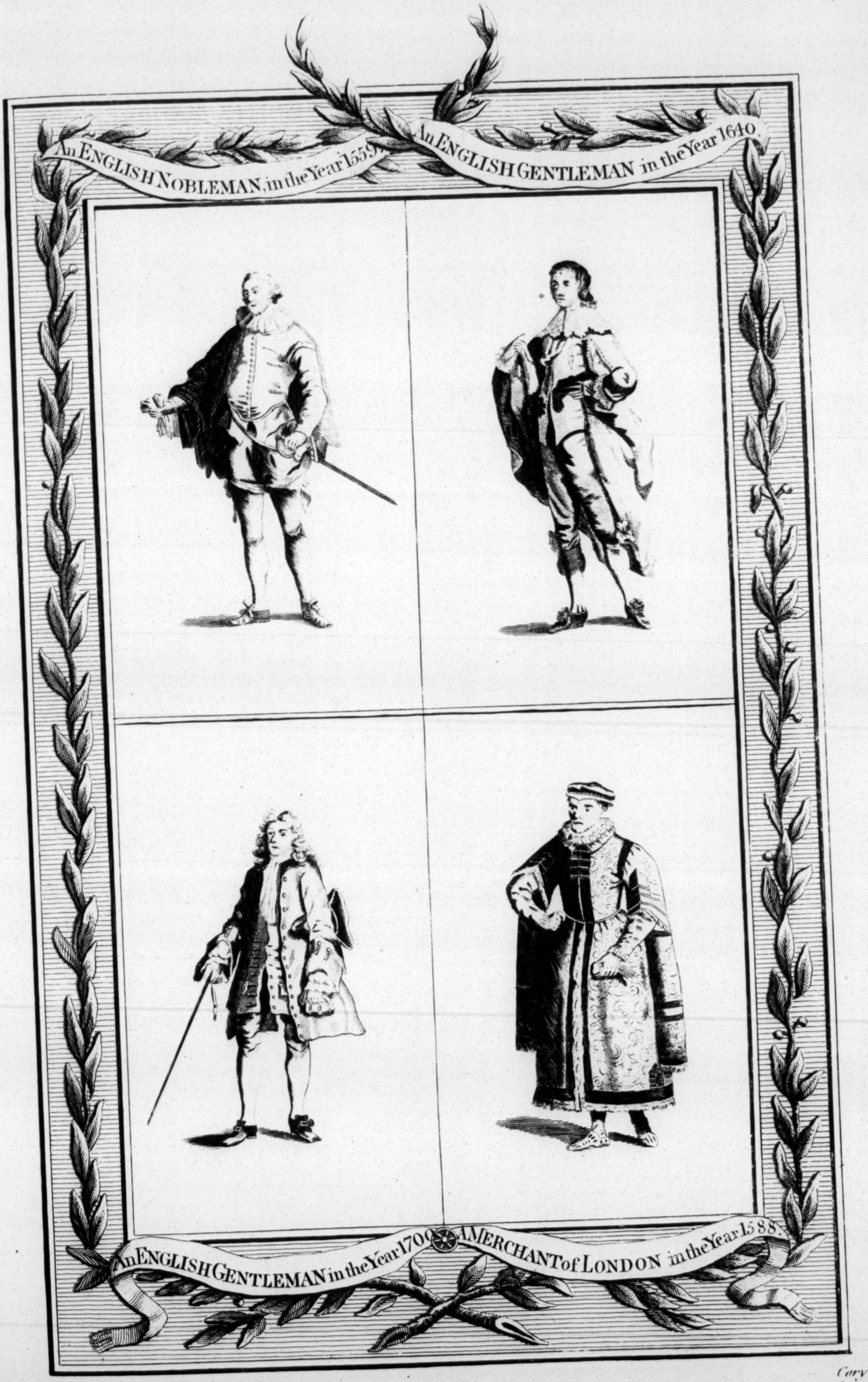
The ſpirit of this age was ſtrongly bent on naval enterprizes; and beſides the military expeditions againſt the Spaniards, the Engliſh made many attempts for new diſcoveries, and opened many new branches of foreign commerce. Sir Martin Forbiſher undertook three fruitleſs voyages to diſcover a north-weſt paſſage to the Eaſt Indies. Davis, not diſcouraged by this ill ſucceſs, made a new attempt, in which he diſcovered the Streights, now called by his name. In the year ſixteen hundred, Elizabeth granted the Eaſt India Company their firſt patent, when their ſtock amounted to ſeventy-two thouſand pounds. They fitted out for this new branch of trade, four ſhips, commanded by James Lancaſter, which returning with a rich cargo, encouraged the Company to proceed. In this reign, two attempts were made to ſettle colonies in America; one by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in Newfoundland, and another by Sir Walter Raleigh in Virginia; but theſe did not, at firſt, prove ſucceſsful. In 1583 the Turkey Company was eſtabliſhed; for before that time the Grand Seignior had always conceived England to be a province ſubject to France; but having heard of the queen's power and reputation, he gave a favourable reception to the Engliſh, and granted them larger privileges than he had given to the French.

In 1562, the firſt attempt of the Engliſh for eſtabliſhing a trade to the coaſt of Guiney, was made by Mr. John Hawkins. He purchaſed a conſiderable number of negroes in Guiney, and carried them to Hiſpaniola, where he diſpoſed of his ſlaves and merchandize, and loaded his veſſels with hides, ſugar, and ginger, commodities that found a quick ſale in England, and rendered the voyage very lucrative to the merchants.

In the third year of Elizabeth's reign, ſhe was preſented with a pair of black ſilk knit ſtockings; with which, doctor Howell ſays, ſhe was ſo pleaſed, that ſhe never wore cloth hoſe any more.

About the year 1580, the uſe of coaches was introduced into England by the earl of Arundel. Before that time, the queen, on public occaſions, rode on horſeback, generally behind her chamberlain.

Several diſcoveries, very uſeful to this kingdom, were


An ENGLISH NOBLEMAN, in the Year 1559.
An ENGLISH GENTLEMAN in the Year 1640.
An ENGLISH GENTLEMAN in the Year 1700.
A MERCHANT of LONDON in the Year 1588.

Sir G. Kneller, Weigel, & Rutz pinx.ᵗ

Cary sculp.ᵗ

Various Habits and Characters at Different Periods of the
HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BRITISH MUSEUM

were made during this period of hiſtory. One Owen is noted, as being the firſt who caſt braſs cannon in England, ſome ſpecimens of which are ſtill in the Tower of London. They were caſt about the year 1536. Muſquets, or hand guns were introduced in the year 1521. Theſe ſuperſeded the practice of bows and arrows, which were ſoon after laid aſide. About the year 1535, glaſſes were firſt manufactured in England; the finer ſort was made in Crutched-Friars, London; and the flint glaſs, little inferior to that of Venice, at the Savoy-houſe in the Strand. The firſt manufacture of knives in England was begun in 1563, by Thomas Matthews, on Fleet-Bridge, London; the art was ſoon improved, and large quantities were exported to different parts of the world. In 1589, William Lee, M. A. of St. John's college, Cambridge, invented an engine, or ſteel-loom, called a ſtocking frame; and in 1599, was a preamble in an act, for manufacturing ſail cloth in England; before that period it was imported from France and Germany. About the ſame time, that uſeful inſtrument, the teleſcope, was diſcovered by one Janſſen, a ſpectacle maker at Middleburgh in Zealand. He knew not, however, the theory on which the inſtrument depended, and therefore never made them longer than eighteen inches. Galileo, aſtronomer to the grand duke of Tuſcany, was the artiſt who perfected the diſcovery, and rendered it of the greateſt ſervice in aſtronomical obſervations, and hence the teleſcope acquired the name of Galileo's tube. The progreſs made in the mathematical arts was chiefly confined to the ſtudies of Dee, and one or two more, who were patronized by Burleigh.

During this fertile period ſprung up many eminent characters, diſtinguiſhed by their great abilities and attainments in literature. Henry VIII. Queen Catharine Parr, Edward VI. Lady Jane Grey, Cardinal Wolſey, Leo X. Elizabeth, and other great perſonages, whom we have particularly noticed in the courſe of this hiſtory, were reputed learned perſons in their times. Henry Howard, earl of Surry was one of the greateſt ornaments in the court of Henry VIII. He was famous for the tenderneſs and elegance of his poetry, in which he excelled all his cotemporaries. Archbiſhop Wareham ſhone as a divine, a lawyer, and a ſtateſman. Eraſmus makes honourable mention of this prelate, whom he eſteemed a perfect model of the epiſcopal character. He died on the twenty-third of Auguſt 1532. Archbiſhop Cranmer, and Cuthbert Tonſtal, biſhop of Durham, are juſtly eſteemed chief ornaments of our church and nation. John Collet, dean of St. Paul's, was one of thoſe great men that aſſiſted in the revival of learning in England. No higher teſtimony need be given of the dean's merit, than his great intimacy with Eraſmus. There was a remarkable ſimilitude of manners, ſentiments, and ſtudies between theſe illuſtrious men, who ventured to withdraw the vail of ſuperſtition; and to prepare the minds of men for that reſtoration of learning and reformation in religion, which ſoon after followed. He founded St. Paul's ſchool, and died in the year 1519 Collet, Lynacre, Lilly, Grocyn and Latimer, were the firſt who revived the literature of the antients in England. William Tindale, canon of Chriſt church, Oxford, deſervedly ſtiled the Engliſh apoſtle, was the firſt who tranſlated the New Teſtament into Engliſh from the Greek. This work appeared in 1526; and three or four years after, he publiſhed an Engliſh tranſlation of the Pentateuch from the original Hebrew, and intended to have gone through with the whole: but his good deſign provoked the catholic clergy, and he was burnt for hereſy at Wilford, near Bruſſels, in 1536. Sir Thomas More was a great maſter of the elegant learning of the antients. His Utopia, a kind of political romance, which gained him the higheſt reputation as an author, is an idea of a perfect republic, in an iſland, ſuppoſed newly diſcovered in America. He was beheaded for denying the king's ſupremacy, on the ſixth of July, 1535. Sir Thomas Smith, Sir John Cheke, and Roger Aſcham, tutor to queen Elizabeth, were the politeſt ſcholars of their time in the univerſity of Cambridge. Among uſeful improvements in learning, they introduced the true pronunciation of the Greek tongue in that ſeat of the muſes. Richard Hooker, ſome time maſter of the Temple, and afterwards rector of Biſhop's Bourne in Kent, was one of the moſt celebrated writers of the age in which he lived. His "Eccleſiaſtical Polity," which is a defence of the government of the Engliſh church, againſt the cavils of diſſenters, is written with a claſſic ſimplicity, and eſteemed one of the completeſt works, both for ſtile and argument, in the Engliſh language. Queen Elizabeth uſed to call him, "The judicious Hooker," an epithet by which he is ſtill diſtinguiſhed. He died on the ſecond of November, 1600. Sir Philip Sidney was the delight and admiration of the Engliſh court. He was the ornament of the univerſity, and appeared with equal advantage in a field of battle, at a tournament, in a private converſation among his friends, or in a public character as an ambaſſador. His talents were equally adapted to proſe or verſe, to original compoſition, or tranſlation. His Arcadia was not only admired for its novelty, but continued to be read longer than ſuch compoſitions generally are, and has paſſed through fourteen editions. He died the ſixteenth of October, 1586. John Stowe was one of the moſt induſtrious antiquaries this kingdom has produced. He was bred a taylor, but quitted his employment to purſue his beloved ſtudy of the hiſtory and antiquities of England. His principal works are, A Survey of London; Additions to Hollingſhed's Chronicle; his Annals; the folio volume, commonly called, Stowe's Chronicle, was compiled from his papers after his deceaſe. He died the fifth of April, 1605. Sir Thomas Bodley muſt not be omitted in this liſt of men of letters, when we conſider the ample proviſion he has made for literature, by the library he founded at Oxford, and in which he ſtands unrivalled. In 1599 he opened his library, a mauſoleum which will perpetuate his memory as long as books themſelves endure. He died the twenty-eighth of January, 1612. John Gerrarde, a ſurgeon of London, was the greateſt Engliſh botaniſt of that age. He publiſhed his Herbal in 1597, which has ever ſince its firſt appearance, been conſidered as a very uſeful work. John Rogers, a clergyman of Lancaſhire, tranſlated the Bible into Engliſh with notes. Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins tranſlated the pſalms into metre. John Leland, the famous antiquarian, lived in this period. Fairfax tranſlated Taſſo with eaſe and elegance; and Harrington, Arioſto, with tolerable accuracy.

In this reign of Elizabeth flouriſhed thoſe celebrated poets, Spencer, Shakeſpear, and Ben Johnſon.

Spencer was born in London; and after his ſtudying in Cambridge, took up his reſidence with ſome friends in the north, where he fell in love with his Roſalind, whom he ſo finely celebrates in his paſtorals, and of whoſe cruelty he has written ſuch pathetic complaints. He was patronized by Sir Philip Sidney, who was charmed with reading part of his poem, called the Fairy Queen. He was afterwards created poet lauret to queen Elizabeth. He at length became ſecretary to lord Gray of Wilton, on that nobleman's being appointed lord deputy of Ireland; after which he was rewarded by a grant from queen Elizabeth of three thouſand acres of land, in the county of Cork. In this retirement he finiſhed his Fairy Queen, and became a more ſucceſsful lover; for the collection of his ſonnets are a kind of hiſtory of the progreſs of a new amour, which ended in marriage. He was here viſited by Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1589, who brought him with him to England, and introduced him to the queen; but in the Iriſh rebellion he was plundered, and deprived of his poſſeſſions. He died in 1598, and was interred in Weſtminſter abbey, where his obſequies were attended by the poets of that time. The Fairy Queen, the moſt celebrated of Spencer's works, contains great beauties, a ſweet and harmonious verſification, and a fine flow of imagination; yet the peruſal of it becomes tedious, and it requires ſome reſolution to carry us on to the end of that long performance.

William Shakeſpeare was the ſon of John Shakeſpeare, a conſiderable dealer in Wool; and was born at Stratford upon Avon, in April, 1564. He was educated at a free grammar ſchool; after which he aſſiſted his father in buſineſs, till falling into bad company, he was ſeveral times engaged in the then common practice of ſtealing deer; for which, being proſecuted, he fled to London, where, being without money or friends, he ſupported himſelf by taking care of the horſes of the gentlemen who came to the play; for coaches not being then in uſe, gentlemen rode to the play-houſe on horſeback. Being there diſtinguiſhed by his diligence; he was taken notice of by the players, who, being pleaſed with his converſation, admitted him, in a low ſtation, into the houſe; when his admirable wit ſoon raiſed him, and he became an actor, a manager, and an excellent writer for the ſtage. He was highly eſteemed by queen Elizabeth, who had ſeveral of his plays acted before her; and was ſo pleaſed with the admirable character of Falſtaff, in the two parts of Henry IV. that ſhe ordered him to continue it in another play, and to make him in love, which is ſaid to have occaſioned his writing the Merry Wives of Windſor. He alſo obtained the friendſhip and favour of the earl of Southampton, who gave him a thouſand pounds to enable him to complete a purchaſe, which he heard he had a mind to. The latter part of his life was ſpent in eaſe, retirement, and the converſation of his friends. He had an eſtate equal to his wiſhes; and is ſaid to have ſpent ſome years before his death, at his native place. He died in 1616, in the fifty-third year of his age. If we conſider Shakeſpeare as a man born in a rude age, and educated in a low manner, without much inſtruction from books, he will appear in our eyes as a prodigy. His dramatic writings abound with animating and paſſionate ſcenes, filled with nervous and pictureſque deſcriptions: he had a fertile and great genius, equally enriched with the tragic and comic vein. Hence he has ever been a favourite of, and ſtill continues to be admired by, the Engliſh.

Ben Johnſon, the ſon of a clergyman, was born at Weſtminſter, in 1574, and educated at Weſtminſter ſchool; from thence he was taken home by his mother, who had married a bricklayer for her ſecond huſband, who obliged him to work at his trade; but being entirely averſe to it, he enliſted himſelf as a ſoldier, and was diſtinguiſhed by his bravery in the wars in the Netherlands. Upon his return to England, he reſumed his former ſtudies, and was admitted into St. John's college, Cambridge; but being unable to ſupport himſelf there, he entered into an obſcure play-houſe, called the curtain; but was unable to gain any reputation as an actor.

He there quarrelling with one of his brother comedians fought a duel, in which he killed his antagoniſt. He was committed to priſon, but was ſome time after diſcharged. At his firſt entrance into the play-houſe, he had written a play or two, which were condemned. He offered anot which he had put into the hands of a perſon her, who careleſsly read it, and was ready to return it with a diſagreeable anſwer; when Shakeſpeare having by accident ſeen it, he was ſo pleaſed, that he brought it upon his own ſtage, where he was manager, and acted himſelf one of the parts. Ever after Shakeſpeare continued to recommend Johnſon, lent his hand in finiſhing ſome of his productions, and played a part in every play wrote by Johnſon, while he continued on the ſtage. Johnſon was afterwards poet laureat to James I. and Charles I. He wrote ſeveral pieces, which are printed with his plays, in ſeven volumes octavo, and died on the ſixteenth of Auguſt, 1637, in the ſixty-third year of his age. Johnſon poſſeſſed all the learning which was wanting in Shakeſpeare, and wanted the genius of which Shakeſpeare was poſſeſſed.

Character of the illuſtrious queen Elizabeth.

In her perſon ſhe was tall and ſtraight; with a fair complection, fine white teeth, and yellow hair. Having high cheek bones, ſhe had her portraits taken in the garden, without ſhades, ſo that all her pictures from the life appear flat. She had a ſhrill voice, danced with great agility, and played upon ſeveral inſtruments. Hiſtory affords few perſons who have been more expoſed to the calumny of enemies, and the applauſe of friends, than this queen; but poſterity have placed her reputation in a true light; and in ſpite of religious animoſities, and political factions, have formed almoſt a uniform judgment, with reſpect to her character and conduct. Her penetration, vigilance, vigour, ſteadineſs, and magnanimity, deſerve the higheſt praiſes, and appear not to have been exceeded by any one who ever filled the Engliſh throne. She poſſeſſed an excellent memory, underſtood the dead and living languages, had made great proficiency in the ſciences, and was well acquainted with hiſtory. She anſwered the Poliſh ambaſſador in latin, without premeditation, and in a very ſpirited manner. She tranſlated Boethius of the Conſolation of Philoſophy; Xenophon's Dialogue between Hiero and Simonides, and the Meditations of the queen of Navarre. She alſo wrote a Comment on Plato, and tranſlated into latin a play of Euripides, and two of the orations of Iſocrates. Her heroiſm was free from temerity; her active temper from a vain ambition; her friendſhip from partiality; and her frugality from avarice. Few of the ſovereigns of England ſucceeded to the throne in a more difficult and dangerous ſeaſon; yet the government was never conducted with ſuch uniform ſucceſs and felicity. Though the idea of religious liberty was, in that age, very contracted, without knowing the advantages reſulting from a toleration, yet Elizabeth, by her ſuperior prudence, preſerved her people from thoſe confuſions in which theological controverſies, carried on with frantic zeal, had involved all the neighbouring nations. Her ſingular talents for government were equally founded on her capacity and heroic ſpirit; and being endowed with great command over herſelf, when the intereſt of her kingdom required it, ſhe ſoon obtained an uncontrouled aſcendant over her people, whoſe eſteem ſhe won by her wiſdom and virtues. Though her enemies were the moſt active, the moſt enterprizing and the leaſt ſcrupulous princes of Europe, ſhe was enabled by her courage, and the deep policy of her adminiſtration, to make a ſtrong impreſſion on their ſtates; while her own greatneſs remained untouched and unimpaired. She was the protectreſs of the proteſtant religion, the baſis of its proſperity both at home and abroad, and ſhe is highly deſerving of praiſe for her ſteady adherence to an impartial adminiſtration of juſtice. Her reign was adorned with the wiſeſt miniſters, the braveſt warriors, and the brighteſt literati of the age, who ſhared the

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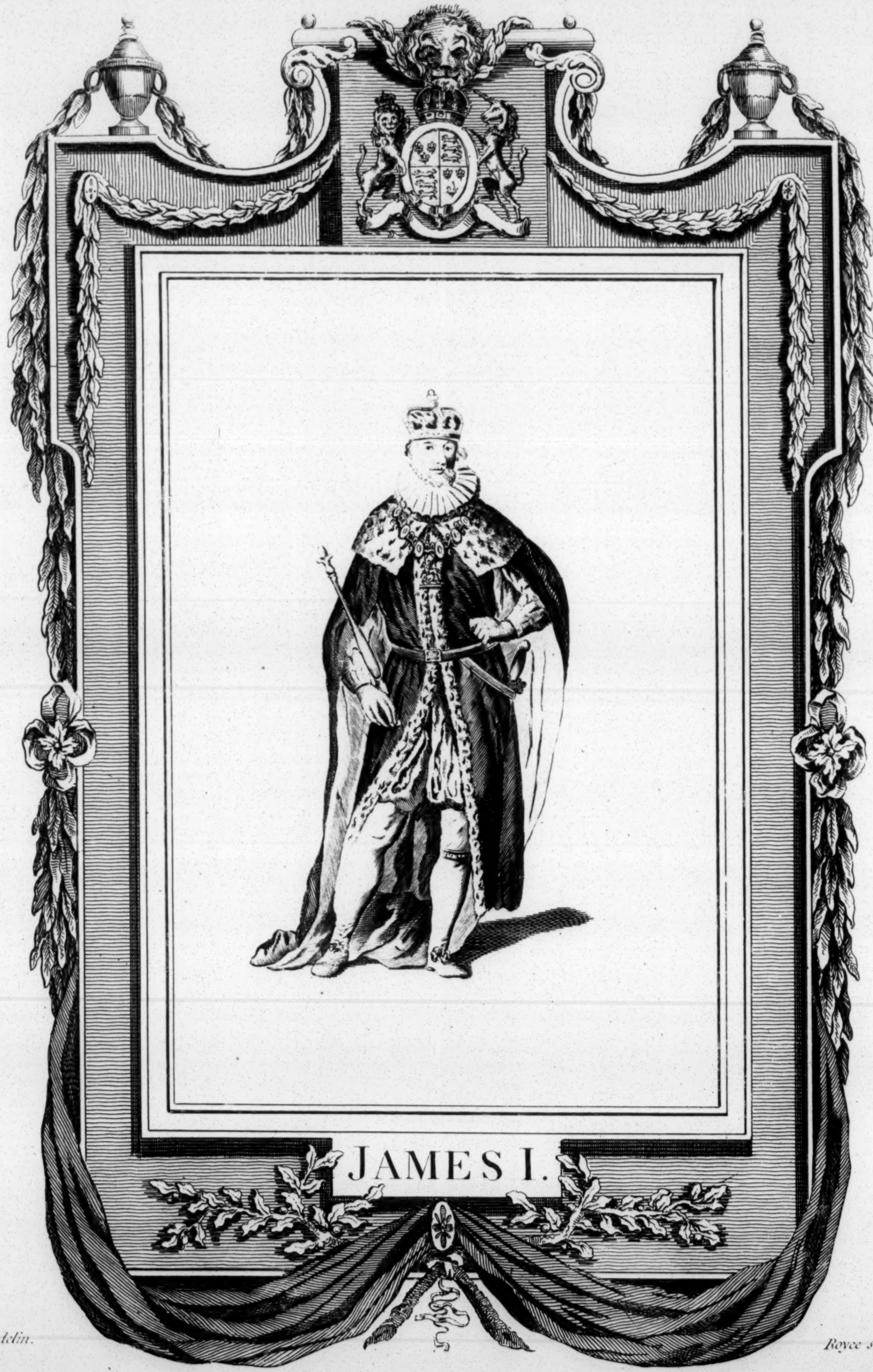

JAMES I.

Wale delin. Royce sculp.

He was Born *at* Edinburgh *June, 19. 1556* — Crowned King *of* Scotland *July, 22. 1567* — *On the* Death *of* Elizabeth, Succeeded *to the* Crown *of* England *March 24. 1603, on which account he was stiled* King *of* Great Britain — *And* Died *of an* Ague *March, 27. 1625.*

praiſe of her ſucceſſes, but thoſe brilliant ornaments of her crown, inſtead of leſſening, add to the applauſe which is her due; ſeeing they all owed their advancement to her choice, were ſupported by her conſtancy, and with all their abilities were never able to acquire an undue aſcendancy over her. Thus ſhe conſtantly remained miſtreſs in her family, in her court, and in her kingdom. Her œconomy was ſo remarkable, that the ſmalleſt expence, if it could poſſibly have been ſaved, appeared conſiderable in her eyes; even the charge of an expreſs was not below her notice; yet this wiſe queen was ſo void of avarice, that ſhe amaſſed no treaſures, and even refuſed ſubſidies from parliament, when ſhe had no preſent occaſion for money. During that age, the ſplendor of a court was a great part of the public charge; and Elizabeth being a ſingle woman, and being expenſive in no kind of magnificence, except in cloaths, this enabled her to perform great things with her ſcanty revenue; for ſhe is ſaid to have paid a debt of four millions, left on the crown by her father, brother, and ſiſter; an incredible ſum for that age. But with all theſe amiable and great qualities, it muſt be confeſſed, that ſhe had ſome of the foibles belonging to the weakeſt of her ſex. She was proud, imperious, and in ſome caſes even cruel; as an inſtance of which, we need only cite her treatment of the unfortunate queen of Scots, her ſiſter queen and near kinſwoman. She carried not only her prerogative, but her ſtate to the greateſt height, not permitting any one to ſpeak to her without kneeling. She gave way to the ſallies of anger, the rivalſhip of beauty, a fondneſs for admiration, and flattery to her perſon; ſo that when near ſeventy years of age, ſhe liſtened with delight to the moſt fulſome praiſes of her beauty. On contemplating her as a woman, we cannot but be ſtruck with the higheſt admiration of her extenſive and uncommon qualities; yet we are alſo apt to require more ſweetneſs of diſpoſition, more gentleneſs of manners, a greater lenity, and that mildneſs of temper, by which her ſex is diſtinguiſhed. But a more juſt method of forming a true eſtimate of her merit, is to lay aſide all theſe conſiderations, and to conſider her merely as a rational being, entruſted with the government of a part of mankind; in which view, her magnanimity, wiſdom, policy, bravery, and ſteadineſs, have immortalized her fame, and juſtly entitle her to univerſal admiration. Had ſhe been leſs rigorous, leſs imperious, and without theſe foibles, ſhe would have been, what never did, or can exiſt in this world—a perfect character.

BOOK IX.

From the union of the crowns of England and Scotland, under James I. the XLIIId king of England, and firſt of Great Britain, to the reſtoration of Charles II.

THE FAMILY OF THE STUARTS.

CHAP. I.

JAMES I.

His reception in England—Tranſactions at the commencement of his reign—His conduct with reſpect to the puritans—The commons attempt in vain a redreſs of grievances—Gunpowder-plot—Farther ſtruggles between the king and the parliament—Affairs of Ireland—The riſe and fall of Somerſet—Murder of Sir Thomas Overbury—The riſe of Buckingham—Affairs of Scotland—Sir Walter Raleigh's expedition and fatal end—Loſs of the Palatinate—The fall of Bacon—The prince of Wales's journey to Madrid—A rupture with Spain—Maſſacre of the Engliſh at Amboyna—The king's death and character.

A. D. 1603. JAMES VI. of Scotland, was the great grandſon of Margaret, the eldeſt daughter of Henry VII. and on the failure of the male line, his hereditary right to the crown of England, remained unqueſtioned. James I. having been long conſidered by the people as the ſucceſſor of Elizabeth, he was proclaimed by the council ſix hours after her demiſe. They then diſpatched letters to notify his acceſſion, and receive his commands; in conſequence of which, having left a commiſſion with his council for the adminiſtration of affairs in Scotland, James departed for England, on the fifth of April, accompanied by the duke of Lenox, the earls of Mar, Murray, and Argyle; the lords Hume and Kinlos, Sir George Hume, treaſurer, and ſecretary Elphinſton. The people, in general, expreſſed moſt extravagant joy on his entering the kingdom, crowding in multitudes to ſee their new ſovereign, and invoking heaven to bleſs him with a long and proſperous reign; but the concourſe of thoſe, whom curioſity had brought together, gave him ſuch offence during his progreſs, that he iſſued a proclamation, forbidding ſuch a tumultuous reſort. At York, he received the homage of almoſt all the nobility in the kingdom; and there, to the ſurprize of all preſent, he honoured Cecil with a gracious reception, though he had been the inveterate enemy of Eſſex, whom James had highly eſteemed, and was the ſon of that Burleigh, who brought his mother to the block. At Newark, to ſhew his high idea of regal prerogative, he commanded a thief to be hanged without any form of trial. Soon after, his ſeverity was exerciſed on Valentine Thomas, of whom he had complained to Elizabeth, that he had calumniated his conduct. He found this unfortunate man impriſoned for that ſuppoſed crime, and had him condemned, under the pretence of a conſpiracy againſt Elizabeth, and ſome of her council. On his arrival at Theobalds, a ſeat belonging to the ſecretary, he was viſited by the council in a body, and augmented that honourable board with ſome of his attendants, to whom he added lord Gough, and baron Burleigh, brother to ſecretary Cecil. When James entered the capital, he was received with the greateſt rejoicings. The whole nation appeared intereſted in favour of their new monarch; and he was crowned at Weſtminſter on Monday, the twenty-fifth of July, by Whitgift, archbiſhop of Canterbury, amidſt the acclamations of the people. He began his reign with laviſhing a profuſion of honours on his courtiers. Within ſix weeks after his aſcending the Engliſh throne, he conferred the honour of knighthood on no leſs than two hundred and thirty ſeven perſons. To ridicule this imprudent manner of beſtowing titles, a paſquinade was affixed to the gate of St. Paul's, advertiſing, that an artiſt had diſcovered the beſt method of retaining, in weak memories, the names of the new nobility. The greater part of theſe honours were conferred upon the Scots, at which the Engliſh were offended, and this partiality might have occaſioned national quarrels, had not James reſolved to employ Engliſhmen only in the adminiſtration. Among theſe ſecretary Cecil, created ſucceſſively lord Eſſindon, viſcount Cranborne, and earl of Saliſbury, was always regarded prime miniſter and chief counſellor. Very different was the fate of Sir Walter Raleigh, who had been cloſely connected with Cecil in oppoſing Eſſex, whom James conſidered as a zealous partizan of the ſucceſſion in the houſe of Stuart. Among thoſe courtiers who were moſt diſſatiſfied with the change of royal favour were Raleigh, and the lords Gray and Cobham, who were ſo indiſcreet, that a kind of conſpiracy for ſetting Arabella Stuart, the king's couſin-german, upon the throne, was charged againſt them, in conjunction with Aremberg, the Flemiſh ambaſſador, and the three following Engliſh commoners, Sir Griffith Markham, Anthony Copley, and George Brooke, the lord Cobham's brother. The ground of their accuſation, was ſome imprudent words ſpoken in the height of reſentment; and this ended in the condemnation of all the accuſed; though Sir Walter Raleigh could not be brought in guilty without the violation of every eſſential law in the conſtitution, there being no other evidence againſt him, than a letter ſigned by lord Cobham, who afterwards declared, that his name to that letter was fraudulently obtained. In this cauſe Sir Edward Coke, then attorney-general, impleading for the crown, threw out a torrent of abuſe on Raleigh, beſtowing on him the epithets of traitor, monſter, viper, and ſpider of hell: while that great man defended himſelf with temper, eloquence and courage. To all but Brooke, the ſentence of death was mitigated to impriſonment; but Watſon and Clerk, two accomplices in this pretended conſpiracy, were executed.

James, with little judgment, and a ſhallow capacity, had acquired ſome common-place learning, which rendered him conceited and open to adulation. He diſplayed a fondneſs for idleneſs, while he enjoyed a reputation of buſineſs; and affected to decide, by his own judgement, all religious and civil affairs; yet devoted his whole time to amuſement, ſpending his days in hunting, or idle compoſitions, and his evenings in all the variety of entertainments which the ingenuity of his queen could procure him. The ſycophants at court extolled his genius and learning, flattering him with the epithets of moſt ſacred majeſty, and the Solomon of the age. But by this time he had incurred the almoſt general odium of the people, by his encouragement of undeſerving favourites, and his partiality for his own countrymen, who not only engroſſed his whole favour, but became ſo arrogant, that quarrels, murders, and riots, univerſally prevailed. So attached was this king to arbitrary ſentiments, that the moſt apparent proſpect of fatal conſequences could not prevail on him to ſlacken the reins of deſpotiſm; nay, he was ſo ludicrouſly imperious, that he would curſe the people, who, through accident, had obſtructed the courſe of his diverſions, which he preferred to the moſt ſerious concerns. However, notwithſtanding theſe ill qualities, impartiality muſt acknowledge, that he ſerved the ſtate by ſuſpending all monopolies, granted in the late reign, to the obſtruction of commerce; ſuperſeding all illegal delays of ſuits by protections, and putting a ſtop to the abuſe of purveyors. An opportunity was now afforded James of diſplaying his pedantic learning, by a petition from ſeven hundred and fifty clergymen, for the reformation of ſeveral articles in the eſtabliſhed church. The king gave them hopes of an impartial debate, in which he was to preſide as judge; and the aſſembly being met at Hampton-court, James turned principal diſputant, ſilencing all oppoſition by his loquacity and authority. Theſe were ſome of his powerful arguments: "If you aim at Scottiſh preſbytery, it agrees as well with monarchy, as God and the devil. There Jack, Tom, Will and Dick, ſhall meet to cenſure me and my council. Therefore, I reiterate my former ſpeech; *Le roy, ſ'aviſera.* Stay, I pray you, for one ſeven years, before I demand; and then, if you find me grow purſy and fat, I may perchance hearken unto ye." The clergy were obliged to acquieſce, with no other conviction, than of their being miſtaken in the hopes they had formed from his education. The churchmen and courtiers ſhewed great exultation on this occaſion. Chancellor Egerton ſaid, that he had often heard of royalty and the prieſthood being united, but never ſaw it verified till now; and archbiſhop Whitgift, carrying his flattery ſtill farther, exclaimed, that he verily believed the king ſpoke by the ſpecial aſſiſtance of the Spirit of God. This curious debate was followed by two proclamations; one commanding all jeſuits and prieſts, who had received orders from any foreign power, to depart the kingdom; and the other enjoining the puritans to conform to the eſtabliſhed church. The latter ſoon after ſuffered ſo ſevere a perſecution, that they offered a petition to the king for relief while he was hunting; when being offended at this unexpected intruſion, he ordered them, to lay their grievances before the council: but no ſooner did theſe deputies make this application, than they were ſent to priſon; and Sir Francis Haſtings, Sir Valentine Knightly, and Sir Edward Montague, by whoſe direction they had taken this ſtep, were turned out of the lieutenancy of the county, and the commiſſion of the peace.

The marquis of Roſny, afterwards the famous duke of Sully, a miniſter worthy of Henry IV. was charged with the affairs of France at the Engliſh court. That able ſtateſman propoſed a league with James, in conjunction with Venice, the United Provinces, and the northern crowns, in order to invade the houſe of Auſtria on every ſide, and to humble the exorbitant power of that ambitious family. But the genius of the Engliſh monarch was not adapted to ſuch an enterprize; the love of peace was his ruling paſſion; and Roſny found James to be maſter of ſo much diſſimulation, that all his addreſs was inſufficient to carry his point. James had the art to hide his real intentions. He refuſed to make any declaration but in general terms, of his ſincere deſire of living in friendſhip with France. A ſolemn conference was, however, at laſt held, wherein it was agreed, that the Dutch ſhould have the liberty of levying forces both in France and England; that the two monarchs ſhould ſupply that republic with the ſum of one million four hundred thouſand livres a year; that the whole ſum ſhould be advanced by the king of France, but that one third of it ſhould be deducted to diſcharge a debt due from that monarch to Elizabeth; and that if the Spaniards attacked either the territories of France or England, the contracting parties ſhould aſſiſt each other, James with a force of ſix thouſand, and Henry with one of ten thouſand men.

A. D. 1604.

The parliament aſſembled on the ninth of March, whoſe meeting had been delayed on account of the plague, which had raged ſo dreadfully in London, that above thirty thouſand perſons are ſaid to have died of it in one year; though, at that time, the city contained only a hundred and fifty thouſand inhabitants. The king, in a tedious ſpeech from the throne, while he endeavoured to diſplay his learning, more fully diſplayed his real character. After having expatiated on his title, which he fixed on the baſe of divine right, as being ordained by God for his people, he expreſſed his ſatisfaction at the cordial reception he had received on his firſt entry into his new kingdom. "Shall it be ever blotted out of my mind, ſaid he, how, at my firſt entry, the people of all ſorts rid and ran, nay rather flew to meet me; their eyes flaming nothing but ſparkles of affection; their mouths and tongues uttering nothing but ſounds of joy; their hands, feet, and all the reſt of their members, in their geſtures, diſcovering a paſſionate longing and eagerneſs to meet and embrace their new ſovereign." He then expatiated on the manifold bleſſings England had received in his perſon: which would complete their happineſs, if the two nations were united in one kingdom. He obſerved, that he was the huſband, and the whole iſland his lawful wife, and hoped none would be ſo unreaſonable, as to think a Chriſtian king ſhould be a polygamiſt, or huſband to two wives. He acknowledged the Roman catholic to be the mother church, though defiled with ſome impurities; and that he was conſidering to lighten the burden of laws againſt them; but as to the ſects of puritans and noveliſts, they were inſufferable in a well-governed commonwealth. This ſpeech, which was pedantic, laboured, and extremely prolix, diſſatisfied all parties. The proteſtants were alarmed at the advances made towards the catholics, and the nonconformiſts were enraged to hear the king profeſs himſelf their open enemy; nor was the whole nation leſs deſpleaſed at the hints he threw out of an union with Scotland. The parliament having confirmed the king's title, a motion was made for the redreſs of the following grievances: the wardſhips of children; the abuſe of purveyors, and of monopolies; diſpenſations in penal ſtatutes, the exportation of ordnance, and the abuſes of the exchequer. In a conference with the lords, on a propoſal to petition the king, for leave to take into conſideration their giving him a recompence in exchange for wardſhips, the lords heartily joined in the cauſe, and recommended their comprizing in the petition, licence of alienation, reſpite of homage, and other intolerable burdens, which had been obtained by ſtretches of prerogative. Theſe ſpirited exertions were, however, rendered uſeleſs, by an incident which now diſturbed the concord ſubſiſting between the two houſes. One of the prohibitions in the king's proclamation for aſſembling a parliament was, that no out-law ſhould be returned. Sir Francis Goodwin had been choſen member for the county of Bucks, and his return, as uſual, was made into chancery: but the chancellor pronouncing him an out-law, vacated his ſeat, iſſued writs for a new election, and the county choſe Sir John Forteſcue in his room. The firſt act of the houſe was to reverſe the chancellor's ſentence, and reſtore Sir Francis to his ſeat. On which the lords, by the king's command, deſired a conference on this ſubject; but this the commons refuſed, as the queſtion related ſolely to their own privileges. They, however, agreed, that their ſpeaker ſhould remonſtrate to the king, that though the returns were made by form into chancery, the ſole right of judging, with reſpect to elections, belonged to that houſe alone. James, not ſatisfied, ordered a conference between the houſe and the judges, which, he ſaid, he commanded as an abſolute king; adding, that "all their privileges were derived from his grant, and he hoped they would not turn them againſt himſelf." This opened the eyes of the commons, who now ſaw the conſequences of the power aſſumed by the chancellor, to which their predeceſſors had, in ſome inſtances, blindly ſubmitted; and they were determined to ſhake off that puſillanimity which had rendered them ſo ſubſervient to the orders of the crown in the preceding reign, and to aſſert their privileges with a becoming ſpirit. They appointed a committee to confer with the judges before the king and council; there the queſtion of law appearing in the eye of James, more doubtful than he had hitherto imagined it to be, he propoſed, that Goodwin and Forteſcue ſhould be both ſet aſide, and a writ be iſſued by a warrant of the houſe for a new election. To this Goodwin conſented, and the commons embraced the expedient; which at once ſhewed their reſpect for the king, and ſecured the right they claimed, of being the ſole judges in their own elections and returns.

The attention of the parliament was next turned to a propoſal for a union of the two kingdoms, which true policy would have conſidered as the greateſt advantage to both. The king was very deſirous of completing this union. He told the parliament, "that he juſtly regarded it as the peculiar felicity of his reign, that he had terminated the bloody animoſities of two hoſtile nations, and reduced the whole iſland under one empire, enjoying tranquillity within itſelf, and ſecurity from all foreign invaſions." He added, "that while his ſubjects of both kingdoms reflected on the diſaſters of former times, he hoped they would entertain the ſtrongeſt deſire of ſecuring themſelves againſt a return of ſimilar calamities, by a thorough union of laws, parliaments, and privileges." But theſe reaſons, however powerful, when conſidered without prejudice, loſt their effect. James was ſo bent on the accompliſhment of this ſcheme, that he had aſſumed the title of king of Great-Britain, quartered St. Andrew's croſs with that of St. George; and iſſued a proclamation, to make the coin of Scotland current in England. Let it here be noted, that whenever we ſpeak of the coins and great ſeals of England, we would refer the curious, to our elegant copper-plates, deſigned particularly to illuſtrate the ſubject of our hiſtory, which have been accurately taken from original impreſſions, and procured for the entertainment of our ſubſcribers, at no ſmall trouble and expence.

The commons aſcribed the exceſſive zeal of the king for an union between England and Scotland, to partiality in favour of his antient ſubjects, of which, on other occaſions, they thought they had ſufficient reaſon to complain; they therefore took his plan into conſideration, rather out of compliment to him, than with any deſign to bring it into execution. They were, indeed, chiefly intent on a redreſs of grievances; but the gleam of public virtue, which appeared in the lords at the beginning of the ſeſſion, was now entirely vaniſhed; yet the commons, though thus foiled in their intentions for the public good, were determined that the people ſhould not be robbed, to feed the luxury of the courtiers; when therefore a queſtion of a ſupply was brought before the houſe, the ſame ſpirit of oppoſition appeared among them; they oppoſed vehemently a ſubſidy being granted to the king, who rather than ſuffer the mortification of a refuſal, ſent a meſſage to the houſe, informing them, that he deſired not a ſupply. In this parliament, the commons demanded the delivery of Sir Thomas Shirley, one of their members, who had been committed to the fleet; and puniſhed the warden for contempt of the houſe, in having at firſt refuſed to releaſe his priſoner. Thus the commons eſtabliſhed their power of puniſhing both the perſon at whoſe ſuit any member is arreſted, and the officers who either arreſt or detain them.

Soon after the prorogation of parliament, a peace was finally concluded between Spain and England; one of the articles of which was, that James ſhould fix a day, before the expiration of which the United Provinces ſhould agree to the peace, and in caſe of their refuſal, he ſhould deem himſelf abſolved from his former engagements. It is remarkable, that in James's proclamation, he plainly ſuppoſes, that as he had himſelf, while king of Scotland, always lived in friendſhip with Spain, peace was attached to his perſon; and that merely by his acceſſion to the crown of England, without any articles of agreement, he had ended the war between the two kingdoms. Soon after the concluſion of this treaty, the town of Oſtend capitulated, having endured a three years ſiege. The Spaniards found nothing in the place but heaps of ruins to recompenſe them for the vaſt ſums of money, and the incredible number of lives they had loſt in making the conqueſt. James gave himſelf no concern about the loſs of this fortreſs, reſolving to improve his preſent connection with Spain. He accordingly diſpatched the earl of Nottingham, lord high admiral, with the character of ambaſſador extraordinary to that court, attended by a numerous and magnificent retinue.

We come now to that page of hiſtory, wherein is recorded an event ſcarcely to be paralleled in the annals of this, or any other country. It ſtands as an awful warning to religious bigots of every deſcription, ſhewing them, how far the human mind may be drawn aſide from the paths of right reaſon and moral obligations, by the baneful influence of narrow prejudices, and falſe zeal. The gunpowder plot, whether we conſider either the inſtruments, the means employed, or the end propoſed, is one of thoſe infernal ſchemes, which one would think human nature, in its moſt depraved ſtate, could neither deviſe nor execute. The papiſts had expected at leaſt the free exerciſe of their religion from the ſon of Mary Stuart; but when they found their eſtates were confiſcated, under the diſtinction of popiſh recuſants, and that the laws enacted againſt them were executed with rigour, ſurprize and rage ſtifled the ſoft dictates of humanity, and in the baſe thoughts of revenge, they forgot the real duties of religion. Cateſby, a gentleman of an antient family, in one of his converſations with Piercy, a deſcendant of the houſe of Northumberland, firſt opened his plan for overturning the Engliſh government. Piercy, in a ſally of paſſion, propoſed aſſaſſinating the king; on which Cateſby cried, "In vain would you put an end to the king's life; his children would ſucceed both to his crown, and to his maxims of government. In vain would you extinguiſh the whole royal family: the nobility, the gentry, the parliament, are all infected with the ſame hereſy. To anſwer any good purpoſe, we muſt at one blow deſtroy the king, the royal family, the lords, the commons, and involve all our enemies in one common ruin. Happily, they will be aſſembled on the firſt meeting of parliament, and afford us an opportunity of a glorious revenge. A few of us may run a line below the hall in which they meet; and chuſing the very moment when the king makes his ſpeech to both houſes, conſign over to deſtruction thoſe determined foes to all piety and religion; while the impious inhabitants, meditating, perhaps, new perſecutions againſt us, ſhall paſs from flames above to flames below, there for ever to endure the torments due to their crimes. The glorious cataſtrophe may eaſily be laid at the door of the puritans." Piercy appeared highly pleaſed with this daring project; and it was agreed between him and Cateſby, to communicate the deſign to a few of their friends, particularly to Thomas Winter, whom they ſent into Flanders, to bring over Guy Fawkes, an officer in the Spaniſh ſervice, with whoſe zeal for the catholic faith, and courage to execute any deſperate enterprize, they were well acquainted. Fawkes having entered into the conſpiracy with all the ardour of wild enthuſiaſm, a houſe was hired in Piercy's name, adjoining to that in which the parliament was to meet. They began their operation in the month of December; and to prevent ſuſpicion, laid in ſtore of proviſions, and never deſiſted from their labour.

A. D. 1605.

It being expected that the parliament would be aſſembled ſome time in February, the work was carried on with aſtoniſhing perſeverance; nor was reſolution wanting, ſeeing they had provided themſelves with fire arms, in order, ſhould they have been diſcovered, to periſh rather than be taken. They ſoon pierced through the wall, though three yards in thickneſs; but on their approaching the other ſide, they were alarmed at hearing a noiſe, which they were at a loſs to account for. A diſcovery was now apprehended, and the conſpirators prepared to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity; but upon enquiry it was found, that the place from whence the noiſe proceeded was a large vault under the houſe of lords, where a quantity of coals were ſelling off, and that the vault would be let to the higheſt bidder. Piercy immediately hired the place, conveyed into it thirty-ſix barrels of powder, and covered the whole with faggots. The door was boldly flung open, as if it contained nothing dangerous, or that ought to be concealed. The whole train of miſchief was now completely laid; but the parliament being prorogued to the fifth of November, the conſpirators had time to perfect the remaining part of their diabolical project. James, his queen, and prince Henry, were all expected to be preſent at the opening of the parliament. The duke of York, on account of his tender age, they knew would be abſent, and it was agreed, that Piercy ſhould ſeize, or aſſaſſinate him. The princeſs Elizabeth, alſo a child, was at lord Harrington's, in Warwickſhire; but Sir Everard Digby, Rookwood, and Grant, engaged to aſſemble their friends, under the pretence of a hunting match; and after ſeizing that princeſs, to proclaim her queen. The long wiſhed-for time now drew near, for carrying this infamous ſcheme into execution; and the vile agents waited with impatience for its arrival. The horrid ſecret, though communicated to above twenty perſons, had been kept almoſt a year and a half. Not a ſyllable had tranſpired. Not one of the conſpirators had abandoned the enterprize, either through fear of puniſhment, or the hopes of reward. Fear, pity, and remorſe, the voice of conſcience, and the ſoft whiſpers of humanity, were all ſtifled by a religious frenzy; but, under the providence of God, the royal family and kingdom were ſaved from deſtruction, by a ſeeming trifling occurrence. About ten days before the meeting of parliament, lord Monteagle, ſon of lord Morley, a catholic peer, received the following letter, which had been delivered to his ſervant by an unknown hand. "My lord, out of the love I bear to ſome of your friends, I have a care of your preſervation: therefore I would adviſe you, as you tender your life, to deviſe ſome excuſe to ſhift off your attendance on this parliament; for God and man have concurred to puniſh the wickedneſs of this time. And think not ſlightly of this advertiſement, but retire yourſelf into the country, where you may expect the event with ſafety; for though there be no appearance of any ſtir, yet, I ſay, they will receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they ſhall not ſee who hurts them. This counſel is not to be contemned, becauſe it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the danger is paſt as ſoon as you have burned the letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good uſe of it, to whoſe holy protection I commend you." Monteagle, alarmed at this ambiguous letter, carried it at midnight to lord

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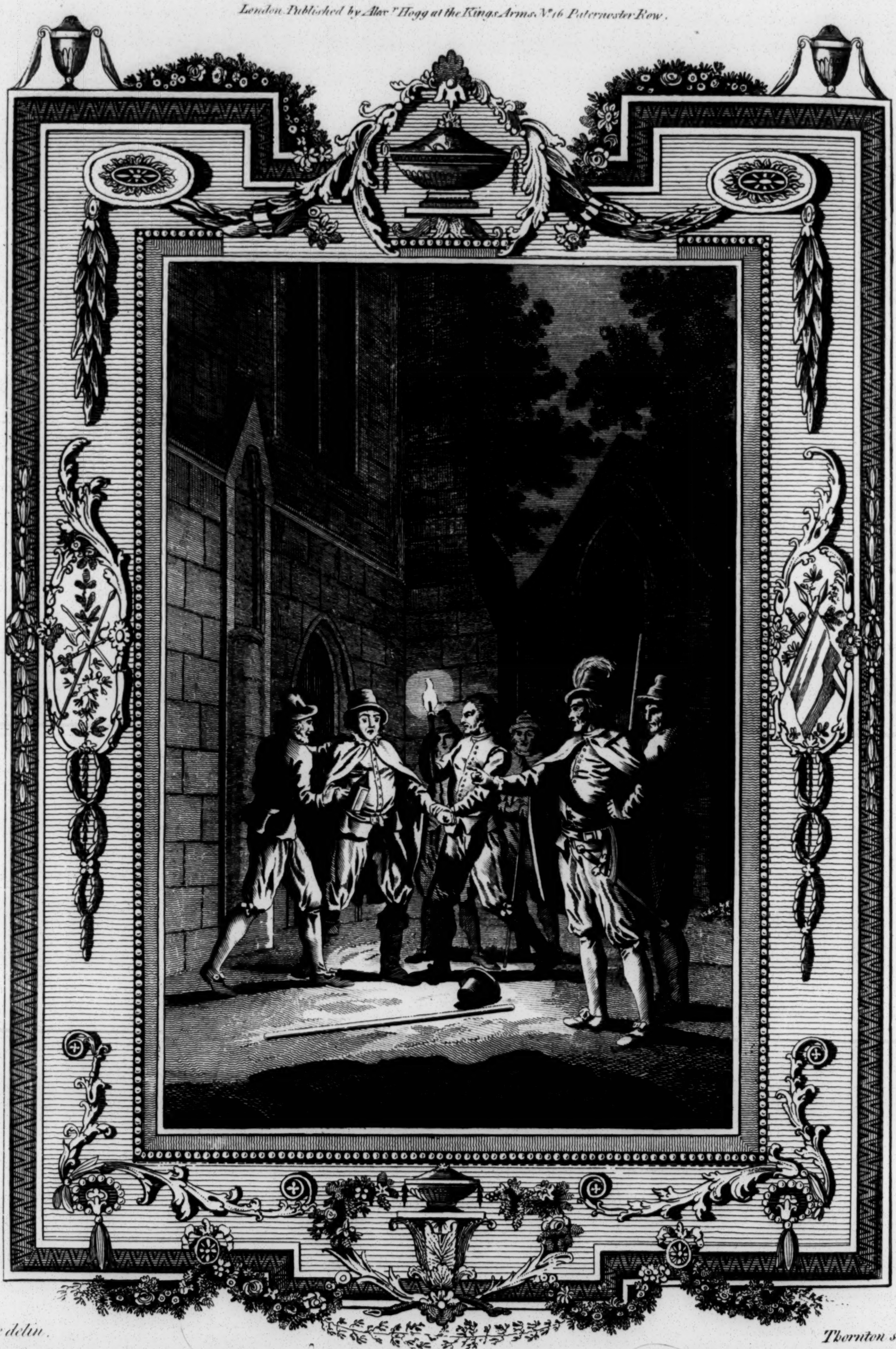


Wale delin. Thornton sculp.

The Seizing of **GUY FAWKES** who was going to blow up the Parliament House, in the reign of James the first, 1606.

Saliſbury, who conſulted with the earl of Suffolk, lord chamberlain, about the enigmatical contents, which were afterwards communicated to the king, the earls of Nottingham, Worceſter, and Northampton. Having peruſed and canvaſſed this dark intimation, they conjectured, from the earneſt ſtile of the letter, that ſomewhat very dangerous was intended: and that the effect which was repreſented to be at once both ſudden and terrible, ſeemed to denote a contrivance by the means of gunpowder; and it was thought adviſeable, to ſearch all the vaults under both houſes of parliament. Accordingly, on the fourth of November, the lord chamberlain, who was obliged by his office to ſee every thing in readineſs againſt his majeſty's coming, viſited, as uſual, all the places about the parliament houſe. He obſerved, though ſeemingly with a ſlight inſpection, the great piles of wood and faggots in the vault under the upper houſe, and caſt his eye upon Fawkes, who ſtood in a dark corner, and ſaid, he was one of Piercy's ſervants. The lord chamberlain was ſtruck with the appearance of the man, in whoſe countenance all the ſigns of ferocious courage were ſtrongly marked. It appeared a little extraordinary, that Piercy, who ſeldom reſided in town, ſhould have here ſuch a quantity of fuel; and, upon comparing all circumſtances, it was reſolved to make a more thorough ſearch. This reſolution being taken, about midnight, Sir Thomas Knevet, a juſtice of the peace, was ſent, with proper attendants, to examine the cellar, under the pretext of ſearching for ſtolen goods. Fawkes had juſt put the finiſhing ſtroke to his preparations, and was coming out of the vault, when Knevet arrived on the ſpot. The daring conſpirator was inſtantly ſecured; and the faggots being removed, the barrels of powder were laid open to view. Fawkes had a dark lantern in his hand; and the matches, with every thing neceſſary for ſetting fire to the powder, were found in his pockets. The guilt of this determined villain was now apparent; who, knowing that all denial would be in vain, avowed the dreadful deſign, at the ſame time expreſſing the utmoſt regret, that he had loſt the opportunity of firing the powder, and at once deſtroying both his enemies and himſelf. When examined before the council, he diſplayed the ſame intrepid firmneſs, mixed with ſcorn and diſdain. He ſhewed not the leaſt concern, but for the failure of the enterprize, and refuſed to diſcover his accomplices. This obſtinacy continued two or three days; but being cloſely confined in the Tower, and brought before the rack, his courage forſook him, and he made a full diſcovery of all the conſpirators. Such of theſe who reſided in town had not abandoned their hopes of ſucceſs, till they heard that Fawkes was taken. They then fled into Warwickſhire, where Sir Everard Digby, perſuaded that the attempt had ſucceeded, was ready to ſeize the princeſs Elizabeth; but ſhe had prevented their deſign by flying to Coventry. The whole country was now raiſed and armed by the ſheriff; and Sir Richard Walſh, high-conſtable of Worceſterſhire, aſſiſted by the inhabitants, ſurrounded the conſpirators at Holbeach. Their number, including all their attendants, did not exceed eighty perſons. Having confeſſed, and received abſolution, they reſolved to ſell their lives as dear as poſſible. But this conſolation was denied them. A quantity of powder, laid before the fire to dry, taking fire, diſabled them from making any defence. The people ruſhing in upon them, Piercy and Cateſby were killed by a ſingle ſhot. Digby, Winter, Rookwood, and Bates, being taken priſoners, were tried, confeſſed their guilt, and died, as did alſo Garnet, the jeſuit, by the hands of the common executioner. Fawkes, with ſeveral more, ſuffered in Old Palace Yard.

The earl of Northumberland was fined thirty thouſand pounds, and impriſoned ſeveral years in the Tower, under pretence of his having been acquainted with the conſpiracy; though the only grounds of ſuſpicion were, his having admitted Piercy, his kinſman, into the number of gentlemen penſioners, without tendering him the oath of ſupremacy. The lords Mordaunt and Sturton were fined by the ſtar-chamber; the former ten thouſand pounds, and the latter four thouſand. On the other hand, the lord Monteagle was rewarded with an eſtate of two hundred pounds a year, and a penſion of five hundred. The diſcovery of this aſtoniſhing treaſonable plot, occaſioned the meeting of parliament to be put off till the ninth of November; when the king, in his ſpeech from the throne, obſerved, that it would be highly unjuſt, nay, criminal, to involve the whole body of catholics in the guilt of a few; that it could not be ſuppoſed they were all inclined to engage in ſuch horrid barbarities; that all men who maintained the tenets of the Roman church, ſhould not be conſidered as ſupporters of the pope's power of dethroning kings, or ſanctifying aſſaſſination; for though the wrath of heaven is denounced againſt crimes, yet innocent error may obtain favour. "For my own part, added he, conſpiracy, however atrocious, ſhall never alter my plan of government: while I puniſh guilt with one hand, I will ſupport and protect innocence with the other." He then charges the members of both houſes, not to think that any foreign princes had a hand in the plot, but to ſpeak and think of them reverently; and concludes with inſtructing them, that they were not to buſy themſelves in propoſing new laws, but to conſult on thoſe propoſed by their king. After this ſpeech, which was drawn to a great length, he prorogued the parliament to the twenty-ſecond of January.

A. D. 1606.

This moderation of James, though much applauded by the courtiers, was far from being agreeable to his ſubjects; on the contrary, the generality of the people were much diſpleaſed with his ſpeech; the puritans particularly ſo, who repreſented his lenity as a proof that his heart was inclined to the doctrines of Rome. But James was at this time cajoled by Spain with the hopes of a family alliance, attended with theſe flattering conditions; that he was to be made the arbiter of all the religious differences in Europe; that a large part of Flanders, and an annual penſion of a million of ducats, were to be the portion of the Infanta, and that he was to aſſiſt Spain againſt the Seven United Provinces: hence proceeded the tenderneſs he diſcovered for the catholics; hence the many proclamations to prevent the public from ſuſpecting that the conſpirators had been promiſed aſſiſtance from Spain; and hence proceeded his charge to the commons, to think and ſpeak reverently of foreign princes. Nevertheleſs, on the meeting of parliament, the heinouſneſs of the late conſpiracy engaged the attention of both houſes; the reſult of which was, an act which appointed an annual thankſgiving on the fifth of November; an act for diſcovering and repreſſing popiſh recuſants; and another to prevent dangers that may ariſe from perſons of this deſcription. When the buſineſs of a ſupply was introduced, it was accompanied with a demand for the redreſs of grievances. Three ſubſidies, and ſix fifteenths were required; but while the houſe debated upon theſe, the whole city was thrown into confuſion, by a report of the king's having been murdered at Oking, about twenty miles weſt of London. The citizens were put under arms; and the frighted members ſent meſſage after meſſage to the council, to know the truth; but in a few hours, James ſent word that he intended to be in London that day. While the minds of men were agitated by this double ſurprize, the courtiers paſſed the ſupply ſo warmly, that they carried the motion; and the next day, when ſome of the members moved that the bill ſhould not paſs till the heavy grievances of the nation were redreſſed, this motion was over-ruled, and the bill being ſent up to the houſe of lords, it met with an eaſy and quick aſſent. This ſupply, though very conſiderable, was ſoon ſquandered by the king's profuſion. A viſit which James received from the king of Denmark, and prince Vaudemont, third ſon to the duke of Lorraine, helped to conſume the large grants the king had juſt received. One continued round of magnificent ſhews, and expenſive amuſements, diſſipated reflection. The whole court was employed in feaſting and revelry, in maſques and interludes. Prince Vaudemont was attended by ſeven earls, ten barons, forty gentlemen, and one hundred and twenty domeſtics, which greatly encreaſed the ſplendor that then reigned in every part of the palace.

On the eighteenth of November the parliament met again at Weſtminſter, when the project of an union between the two kingdoms was revived. James laboured hard to complete this his favourite ſcheme. Sir Francis Bacon employed all his powers on the ſame ſubject; and, in order to ſoften the members, ſome trifling conceſſions were made, with reſpect to a few of the leaſt important grievances; but the only point gained, was an act for the utter abolition of the memory of hoſtilities between the two nations; and for repreſſing occaſions of diſcord for the time to come. The king, impatient at theſe delays, ſummoned the two houſes to appear at Whitehall, where he ſtrove to convince them of the advantages that would flow from his plan. Yet, notwithſtanding all his rhetoric, the parliament were determined not to attempt the incorporation of the two nations; while the king's partiality, and the pretenſions of the Scots, forbad all hopes of its being done on advantageous, or even equitable terms.

A. D. 1607. During this ſeſſion, the puritans exerted themſelves, as uſual, in bringing in bills againſt pluralities, and moved for a toleration of thoſe who oppoſed the ceremonies of the church; but all their efforts were in vain. In the mean time, an inſurrection happened in the counties of Northampton, Warwick, and Leiceſter, occaſioned by large tracts of land being encloſed, whereby the people were deprived of their right of commonage. A body, conſiſting of three or four thouſand men, roved about the country, demoliſhing encloſures, and laying open the lands that had been taken from them. They were headed by one John Reynolds, a perſon in very low condition, but who had acquired great authority among the populace. Several proclamations were publiſhed, and the ſheriffs raiſed the poſſe of their reſpective counties againſt them, but carefully avoided coming to blows. At laſt James publiſhed a conciliating proclamation, expreſſing his unwillingneſs to proceed againſt them by martial law, and promiſing them mercy, and redreſs of grievances. This produced the deſired effect; the people laid down their arms, and returned to their reſpective habitations. A few weeks after this commotion ſubſided, James, though no ſupply had been granted him by the parliament, paid a debt of ſixty thouſand pounds contracted by Elizabeth, who, about nine years before, had borrowed that ſum of the city of London, and left it undiſcharged at her deceaſe. In the year following, nothing memorable occurs but the death of Thomas Sackville, earl of Dorſet, lord high-treaſurer. He was ſucceeded in his office by Robert Cecil, earl of Saliſbury, a nobleman every way qualified to inſtruct James in the methods uſed by former kings, for raiſing money without the aſſiſtance of parliament. The king continued to gratify his capricious humour without reſtraint, and to diſpenſe favours with ſuch profuſion, that his finances were reduced to the loweſt ebb. Though he was wholly inattentive to the concerns of the States, he demanded the payment of the debts owing to the crown of England, amounting to eighteen hundred, eighteen thouſand and eight pounds ſterling, which they acknowledged and promiſed to diſcharge after the rate of thirty thouſand pounds, payable half-yearly. All former treaties were confirmed, together with the privileges before this time enjoyed by the Engliſh in Holland, and the Dutch in England.

A. D. 1609. This year is remarkable for the prevailing influence and triumph of liberty, over the efforts of arbitrary power, and Spaniſh cruelty. Never conteſt ſeemed, at firſt, more unequal, than that between Spain and the States of the United Provinces, and never was conqueſt finiſhed with more honour to the weakeſt ſide. On the part of Spain were numbers, riches, diſcipline, and authority; on that of the revolted provinces, were the attachment to liberty, and the enthuſiaſm of religion. The republic, from the ſmalleſt beginnings, had acquired amazing power; and having vanquiſhed the forces of Spain in every quarter of the globe, obliged the Spaniards to declare the Dutch an independent ſtate. Long had the pride of Spain ſtruggled, before it would give up the point; but after a tedious negociation, a truce of twelve years was concluded, under the mediation of the kings of France and England; in which the king of Spain treated with them as a free people. This was very mortifying to James, who always conſidered the Hollanders as rebels. It was his avowed maxim in all debates concerning his prerogative, that ſubjects ought not to withdraw their allegiance from their princes on any account whatever. He therefore conſidered this treaty as a dangerous precedent, and prejudicial to the ſovereign authority of kings. Cecil, who acted for James, was, on the one hand, ſhackled by his maſter's fear of being involved in a war; and, on the other hand, by the warm inclination of the Engliſh to aſſiſt the States. Influenced by theſe contrarieties, his conduct was ſo lukewarm, as to raiſe the jealouſy of the Dutch, and the reſentment of Spain. However, though the former were not aſſiſted by the Engliſh with ſuch vigour as they ought to have been, yet, by their perſeverance in not abandoning them, may be attributed the terms they obtained from Spain, and their being acknowledged a Sovereign State by all other potentates.

A. D. 1610. James, notwithſtanding the many artifices he employed for levying money, ſoon found his exchequer empty, and was obliged to ſummon a parliament, which met on the ninth of February, to raiſe neceſſary ſupplies. This taſk was undertaken by the earl of Saliſbury, who, in order to allure the commons into a compliance, aſſured them of his majeſty's gracious intention to redreſs their grievances. He then apologized for the low ſtate of the king's finances, by obſerving, that he had paid the debts of the late queen; that he had maintained in Ireland an army of nineteen thouſand men; that he had expended large ſums in his journey with his family from Edinburgh to London; in the entertainment of the king of Denmark, and foreign ambaſſadors; in maintaining ſeparate courts for himſelf, the queen, and the prince of Wales; in ſending envoys to the different courts on the continent; and in acts of munificence to his officers and dependants. He declared, that his majeſty far from having imbibed arbitrary maxims, was ever ready to attend to the remonſtrances of his ſubjects, ſo far as conſiſtent with the reſpect due to ſo great, ſo wiſe, and ſo gracious a ſovereign. But theſe and ſeveral other reaſons were urged by the treaſurer in vain, and without effect; the commons loudly complaining of the king's prodigality, partiality to his countrymen, and deſign on their liberties; as well as the rigour with which he treated the puritans, whoſe cauſe was eſpouſed by a majority of the members then preſent. The king on this occaſion had recourſe to his uſual method of inſignificant harangue; ſometimes menacing, ſometimes reproving, and ſometimes alluring, ſo that the commons expreſſed their willingneſs to comply with his deſires, provided they did not exceed the bounds of reaſon. Accordingly the earl of Saliſbury moved for a conference with the commons, when he propoſed, that an adequate ſupply might be granted for his majeſty's preſent occaſions, and that two hundred thouſand pounds a year ſhould, for the future, be added to the royal revenue, in order to ſupport the dignity of the crown. Fired at this propoſal, the commons voted only one ſubſidy, and one fifteenth, which did not amount to a ſixth part of what had been required; and they refuſed to ſettle any ſtanding revenue, unleſs the king would purchaſe it with ſome valuable conſideration. They complained of his infringement on the liberty of the ſubject, by annexing the force of laws to his proclamations; veſting the high commiſſion court with a power to which it was not entitled; altering the book of rates, and impoſing new cuſtoms on various kinds of merchandize. They deſired, that no one ſhould be compelled to lend money to the king, or aſſign a reaſon for his refuſal. They afterwards paſſed a bill againſt taxes on merchants, together with another againſt eccleſiaſtical regulations, made without authority of parliament; but both theſe were thrown out by the lords. Theſe bold attempts, with others of a ſimilar nature, could not fail of being very diſagreeable to a prince firmly attached to arbitrary principles. He told the parliament in his ſpeech, that he would never agree to have his power diſputed, but ſhould always be willing to explain the motives of his conduct, and to regulate it by the laws. "A good prince (he obſerved elſewhere) though above the laws, will make his actions conformable to them; and thus ſet an examble to his people, whilſt he himſelf is not amenable, nor ſubject to the laws." It is not to be wondered, that, with ſuch oppoſite ſentiments, the king and his parliament parted, on prorogation, equalled diſſatisfied.

A. D. 1611. Henry IV. of France, by his good ſenſe and experience, was now become one of the greateſt politicians and generals of the age. That prince ſaw, that while the houſe of Auſtria was always ready to aggrandize herſelf, France had every thing to fear from her ambitious projects; and he had formed a noble plan for humbling the wide extending branches of that aſpiring family. But all his great deſigns were blaſted in a moment by the poniard of an infamous aſſaſſin. Ravaillac had for ſome time followed the king in his excurſions, in queſt of an opportunity of perpetrating his horrid purpoſe. One morning he intended to ſtab Henry at the Feuillans, where he went to hear maſs; but was prevented by the interpoſition of the duke de Vendome. After dinner the king appeared extremely uneaſy, and leaning his head upon his hand, was heard to ſay, "My God! what is this that will not ſuffer me to be at quiet?" About four in the afternoon he went into his coach with the duke d'Epernon, and attended by ſeveral other noblemen. In paſſing through the ſtreet de la Roquelaer, which was very narrow, a ſtop was made by two loaded carts: the king had ſent away his guards, and ordered the coach to be opened, that he might ſee the preparations that were making for the queen's entry; all the pages were gone round another way, except two, one of whom went before to clear the ſtreet, and the other had ſtept on one ſide to tie his garter. Ravaillac, who had followed the carriage, took this opportunity to effect his bloody deſign. He mounted on the coach-wheel, and with a two-edged knife ſtruck the king over the ſhoulder of the duke d'Epernon. Henry exclaimed, "I am wounded!" The daring aſſaſſin repeated the blow with greater violence, and the knife, penetrating the thorax, divided the vena cava, ſo that the king expired immediately. Ravaillac was not perceived by any one while he perpetrated this horrid murder, ſo that he might have eſcaped; but he ſtood upon the wheel fixed like a ſtatue, with the bloody knife in his hand. A gentleman coming up would have put him to death immediately, but the duke d'Epernon called aloud, "Save him on your life," and the miſcreant was ſafely ſecured. On his examination, he boldly confeſſed he murdered the king, becauſe he would not take up arms againſt the hugonots, and that his making war againſt the pope, was nothing leſs than making war againſt God; "becauſe the pope was God, and God was the pope." This fanatical villain ſoon after ſuffered for his treachery, all the torments a human being is capable of ſupporting. The diſcovery of the principle on which this regicide had been actuated gave James no ſmall uneaſineſs, and as the jeſuits were univerſally believed to be the prime inſtigators in the bloody tragedy, the king thought it prudent to remove from his perſon men who held the moſt deteſtable of all doctrines. A proclamation was therefore iſſued, commanding all jeſuits and prieſts of the Roman perſuaſion, to depart the kingdom, and all recuſants not to come within ten miles of the court. At the ſame time the juſtices of the peace in every county were ordered to adminiſter the oath of allegiance to all catholics. But theſe precautions did not divert James from exerting himſelf to improve the navigation and commerce of the kingdom. He encouraged diſcoveries of every kind, that had the leaſt tendency to promote the happineſs of his people. He erected large ſtore houſes for the benefit of victualling his ſhips and ſupplying them with military ſtores, and carried naval architecture to a much greater degree of perfection than it ever before had reached in England. His care for promoting the intereſt of the Eaſt India Company, muſt not be omitted. That company, incorporated by queen Elizabeth, had hitherto ſubſiſted under great diſadvantages, from the difficulty and length of their voyages; but the large returns of a fortunate voyage, induced them to apply to the king for an enlargement of their charter, by which they propoſed to augment the riches and ſtrength of the kingdom, and to deprive the Turks and Perſians of the commerce of the Eaſt Indies. James entered into theſe conſiderations with an attention becoming the father of his people: he granted them a new charter, enlarged their patent, and formed them into a body corporate and politic. Yet, it muſt be confeſſed, James was much better fitted to ſhine in a college than on a throne. His timidity and indolence rendered him little attentive to foreign affairs; but a controverſy at Leyden made him ſummon up all his religious zeal. Vorſtius, a profeſſor of divinity, and a diſciple of Arminius, differed from his Britannic majeſty, in denying that men were condemned to everlaſting torments, by the ſecret decrees of God, and in maintaining the doctrine of free-will. The royal diſputant therefore attacked the profeſſor with all the rage of arrogance and preſumption. Apprehenſive of the conſequences that might enſue from this ſcholaſtic contention, the States thought proper to deprive Vorſtius of the chair he had filled with ſo much reputation. The king was appeaſed by this mark of condeſcenſion in the States, though he charitably hinted to them, "that as to the burning of Vorſtius for his blaſphemies and atheiſm, he left them to their own Chriſtian wiſdom; but ſurely never heretic better deſerved the flames." The States, however, had too much ſenſe and humanity to underſtand his majeſty's meaning; they even procured a chair for the profeſſor in another univerſity. But amidſt theſe theological diſputes, in which James was engaged, he forgot not a project he had formed in favour of Ireland, and which did him more real honour than all his polemical divinity. This was an attempt to civilize the Iriſh, and to make them acquainted with the happineſs that attends a well-regulated ſociety. He began with aboliſhing the Iriſh cuſtoms, which ſupplied the place of laws; and having taken all the natives under his protection, declared them free citizens, and proceeded to govern them by a regular adminiſtration. Statutes were eſtabliſhed, juſtice adminiſtered, oppreſſion baniſhed, and crimes and diſorders of every kind were ſeverely puniſhed. The whole province of Ulſter having fallen to the crown, by the attainder of the rebels, a company was eſtabliſhed in London, for planting new colonies in that province. It was divided into moderate ſhares, the largeſt not exceeding two thouſand acres: tenants were tranſported from England and Scotland: and the Iriſh being removed from their hills and faſtneſſes, were ſettled in the open country, where they were taught huſbandry and the arts. By theſe means, Ulſter, from being the moſt wild and diſorderly province in Ireland, ſoon became the moſt cultivated and beſt civilized. In a word, after proceeding regularly, during the courſe of a few years, James came at length to govern by juſtice and the laws, a people, who appeared incapable of acknowledging them. He frequently boaſted of the management of Ireland as his maſter-piece, and his vanity in this particular was not altogether without foundation; it doubtleſs forms the moſt glorious monument of his reign.

A. D. 1612. The ſudden death of Henry prince of Wales, on the ſixth of November, diffuſed an univerſal grief throughout the nation. This young prince had not reached his eighteenth year, and yet poſſeſſed more dignity in his behaviour, and commanded more reſpect, than even his father, with all his learning and experience. Endowed with a genius more refined, he devoted his time to thoſe ſtudies and diverſions, in a regular alternate courſe, which tended to embelliſh his mind, and habituate his body to martial and manly atchievements; and this, added to an elegant perſon, rendered him the delight of the Engliſh nation. Nor was this the only loſs the ſtate ſuſtained in the courſe of this year. The king's chief counſellor, the earl of Saliſbury, died on the fourteenth of May. His death was a great misfortune to James, who was thereby deprived of a very able miniſter, and one perfectly acquainted with the diſpoſition and genius of the Engliſh. He was a nobleman of great parts, honour, and fidelity, a lover and encourager of virtue and learning in others. Soon after the death of the prince, the marriage of the princeſs Elizabeth to Frederic, the Elector Palatine, ſerved to diſſipate the grief occaſioned by that melancholy event. This marriage was celebrated with ſuch joy and feſtivity, that the expence of the nuptials amounted to fifty thouſand pounds: but it proved an unhappy union to the king and his ſon-in-law; for the Elector truſting to ſo great an alliance, engaged in enterprizes beyond his ſtrength, and the king was neither able nor willing to extricate him from his diſtreſſes. The fate of Arabella Stuart was ſtill more deplorable than that of her kinſwoman Elizabeth. James, to whom ſhe was couſin-german, had ſeized on her poſſeſſions, and allowed her a penſion for her ſupport. This unhappy lady, tired of ſuch dependence, and urged by her youthful inclinations, married privately Seymour, grandſon to the earl of Hertford, upon which, both of them were apprehended, but found means to make their eſcape, one of them on board a French bark, and the other in a Newcaſtle collier. The unfortunate Arabella was retaken, and conveyed to the Tower. The fatigue ſhe had ſuffered, the ſeverity of her treatment, and her diſappointment, had ſuch a fatal effect upon her tender conſtitution, that ſhe immediately loſt her ſenſes, and ſoon after her life. The avowed cauſe of Arabella's melancholy fate, was the jealouſy her conſanguinity gave to the crown.

A. D. 1613. The court was now immerſed in ſenſuality, and nothing prevailed but gaudy parade and thoughtleſs jollity, while the Engliſh and Scottiſh dependants vied with each other, in attaching the king to ſome favourite who might gain the aſcendancy over his weak mind, and be the diſpenſer of his prodigal honours. The lord Hay, ſenſible that perſonal beauty would, in the eſteem of the king, preponderate every other accompliſhment, introduced Robert Carr, a youth who had been James's page in Scotland. Without mentioning him at court, he appointed him at a tilting match to preſent his device and buckler to the king, in hopes that he would gain that monarch's attention. On Carr's advancing to execute his office, his horſe threw him, and his leg was broke in the king's preſence. James approaching him, was ſtruck with the beauty of his perſon, and ordered him to be immediately lodged in the palace. He reſorted after the titling to his chamber, and frequently viſited him during his confinement. James, highly conceited with his own wiſdom, pleaſed himſelf with thinking, that by his leſſons and inſtructions this raw unexperienced youth would, in a little time, be initiated into all the profound myſteries of government, and equal his wiſeſt miniſters. James ſoon conferred on him honorary titles and lucrative offices. He knighted him, created him viſcount Rocheſter, beſtowed on him the garter, brought him into the privy council, and at laſt honoured him with the ſupreme direction of all his buſineſs and political concerns; and while all his wiſeſt miniſters could with difficulty, ſupport the exigences of government, the king, with an unſparing hand, loaded this inſignificant youth with riches. Having given him an order to receive five thouſand pounds, for his own uſe, from the exchequer, the earl of Saliſbury, to convince his majeſty of his prodigality, invited him to dinner, and led him through a room, where the whole ſum in ſpecie lay on the table; the king, ſurprized at the ſight of ſo much gold, demanded for what uſe it was intended, when being told it was the money his majeſty had ordered to be given to the lord Rocheſter, he ſwore it was too much for any private man, and deſired the treaſurer would give him only two thouſand pounds. James is ſaid to have found his pupil to be ignorant even of the firſt rudiments of the Latin tongue, and that the monarch, laying aſide the ſceptre, inſtructed him in the principles of grammar. Carr was not ſo intoxicated with advancement, as to be entirely inſenſible of his own ignorance and inexperience, he had therefore recourſe to the aſſiſtance and advice of a friend; and found, in Sir Thomas Overbury, a judicious counſellor, who inſtilled into him the principles of prudence and diſcretion. Thus while he was governed by Overbury's friendly advice, he enjoyed the favours of his prince, without incurring the hatred of the people.

No ſooner had James aſcended the throne, than he remembered his friendſhip for the unhappy families of Howard and Devereux, who had ſuffered for adhering to the cauſe of Mary. Having reſtored young Eſſex to his blood and dignity, and conferred the titles of Suffolk and Northampton on two brothers of the houſe of Norfolk, he endeavoured to unite theſe families, by cauſing the earl of Eſſex to marry the lady Francis Howard, the earl of Suffolk's daughter. But as he was only fourteen years of age, and ſhe no more than thirteen, it was thought proper that he ſhould go abroad before conſummation, and paſs ſome time in his travels. After four years abſence he returned to England, was pleaſed to find his counteſs in the full luſtre of beauty, and poſſeſſed of the admiration of the whole court: but on his claiming the privileges of a huſband, he was received with ſigns of averſion, and met with a flat refuſal. Upon his applying to her parents, they obliged her to retire with him into the country, and to partake of his bed: but nothing could overcome her ſullenneſs and obſtinacy; and ſhe ſtill roſe from his ſide without allowing him the leaſt favour. Diſguſted with repeated denials, he at laſt ſeparated himſelf from her; and from thenceforward abandoned Frances to her own will and diſcretion. This lady had, during her huſband's abſence, received the addreſſes of the favourite, in which he had been too ſucceſsful; and ſhe imagined, that while ſhe refuſed the embraces of Eſſex, ſhe could not be deemed his wife, and that a divorce might open the way for her being married to her beloved Rocheſter. Though they had already indulged themſelves in all the gratifications of love, they thought their happineſs incomplete; and both the lover and his miſtreſs were impatient, till marriage crowned their mutual ardour. An affair of ſuch moment could not, however, be concluded without conſulting Overbury, who was accuſtomed to ſhare all Rocheſter's ſecrets. The friend, who had conſidered his patron's attachment to the counteſs of Eſſex merely as an affair of gallantry, which he imagined would endear him to James, who liſtened with pleaſure to the amours of his court, was greatly alarmed at Rocheſter's mentioning his deſign of marrying the counteſs, and uſed every argument to diſſuade him from it. He repreſented how invidious and difficult it would be for her to obtain a divorce from her huſband: the diſgrace of taking to his bed a profligate woman, who, after being married to a young nobleman of the firſt rank, had made no ſcruple of proſtituting her character, to gratify a capricious and momentary paſſion; and, in the zeal of true friendſhip, he threatened Rocheſter with ſeparating himſelf for ever from him, if he could be ſo blind to his honour, as to complete the intended marriage. This converſation Rocheſter had the folly to reveal to the counteſs of Eſſex: and on her giving vent to her rage againſt Overbury, he had alſo the weakneſs to ſwear to be revenged on him, for the greateſt inſtance he could have given of a ſincere friendſhip. As ſome contrivance was neceſſary for the execution of their baſe reſolve, Rocheſter complained to the king, that his own indulgence to Overbury, had rendered him ſo arrogant, that he ſhould be glad to get rid of him; and therefore deſired that he might be ſent on an embaſſy to Ruſſia; which he repreſented as a retreat for his friend that would be both honourable and profitable. When Overbury conſulted him, he earneſtly diſſuaded him from accepting it, and promiſed to ſatisfy the king, if he ſhould be diſpleaſed at his refuſal; to the king, on the other hand he aggravated the inſolence of Overbury's conduct, and on the twenty-firſt of April obtained a warrant for committing him to the Tower, which James intended as a ſlight puniſhment for his diſobedience. The lieutenant of the Tower, whom Rocheſter had put into that poſt to ſerve his purpoſe, confined Overbury ſo ſtrictly, that he was debarred the ſight of his neareſt relations, and deprived of hearing what paſſed abroad during near ſix months, which time he was permitted to live. This troubleſome counſellor being thus removed from the ſcene of action, the divorce was ſolicited with ſuch ſucceſs, that the ſentence was ſoon pronounced; and the king not only gave his favourite leave to marry the counteſs, but alſo created him earl of Somerſet, that her ſecond choice might not be inferior in dignity to her firſt. The nuptials were ſolemnized in the moſt magnificent manner; and nothing was now wanting to complete their triumph but the death of Overbury, without which that implacable woman could not be ſatisfied. She uſed every art to effect her bloody deſign; and at laſt prevailed both on her huſband and the earl of Northampton, her uncle, to engage in the atrocious deed, of taking him off by poiſon. Several attempts were accordingly made for this purpoſe, but the ſtrength of Overbury foiled all the attacks of weak poiſons. At laſt nature gave way to repeated experiments, and he died in his priſon on the ſixteenth of September, by a poiſoned clyſter. His interment was hurried on with the greateſt precipitation; and though the public entertained a ſtrong ſuſpicion, it was not till ſome years after, that the full proof of the horrid crime was brought to light.

A. D. 1614.

The earl of Saliſbury having died the preceding year, the favourite and the earl of Suffolk ſucceeded him in the miniſtry; and the taſk of ſupplying an exhauſted treaſury falling to their lot, ſeveral projects were to this end carried into execution. The title of baronet was ſold for a thouſand pounds, and two hundred patents of that ſpecies of knighthood were diſpoſed of. An inferior order, with the title of knights of Nova Scotia, were ſold at three hundred pounds each. The dignities of baron, viſcount, and earl, were reſpectively ſold at ten, fifteen, and twenty thouſand pounds: benevolences were exacted, to the amount of fifty-two thouſand pounds; and theſe expedients proving inſufficient to ſupply the king's neceſſities, a public lottery, the firſt of its kind in England, was appointed to ſupply the deficiency; yet all theſe expedients proved inſufficient; and the invention of the miniſtry being exhauſted, the king found himſelf obliged, though much againſt his inclination, to call a parliament. Great pains were taken to procure a majority; and James, in the exordium of his ſpeech, compared himſelf to a mirror, which diſcovered his true intentions, and aſſured them, "that his integrity was like the whiteneſs of his robe; his purity, like the gold in his crown; his firmneſs and clearneſs, like the precious ſtones he wore; and his affections like the redneſs of his heart;" but his ſpeech was received coldly, and he himſelf obtained little ſatisfaction from this parliament. The commons, ſtill animated by the ſame public ſpirit againſt the prerogative, determined to confine it within proper limits; and inſtead of granting a ſupply, as deſired by the king, they reſumed the ſubject debated in the laſt parliament. Nor did they think their remonſtrances ſufficient: they even applied to the lords for a conference, in order to ſecure the liberty of the ſubject, by circumſcribing the unlimited power of the crown. Informed of their intention, and determined to render their deſign abortive, James diſſolved the parliament, after about a ſeſſion of two months, in which not one ſtatute was enacted, nor any ſupply granted. In the ſpace of ſix hundred years, there are only three inſtances of the parliament's refuſing an aid to the crown. They were diſſolved on the ſeventh of June; after which James wreaked his vengeance on the leading members, by throwing ſeveral of them into priſon.

A. D. 1615. The favourite, deprived of the advantage of Overbury's counſel, found himſelf greatly embarraſſed in the management of public affairs. Though he had eſcaped the enquiry of juſtice, he had not eſcaped that remorſe, which, amidſt all the hurry and flattery of a court, ſtung him with the remembrance of his ſecret crime. Somerſet, conſcious of the murder of his friend, received ſmall conſolation from the enjoyments of love, and the favour of his ſovereign. The graces of his youth, and the gaiety of his manners gradually diſappeared; his politeneſs and obliging manners were changed into ſullenneſs and thoughtful ſilence. James began to eſtrange himſelf from one who no longer contributed to his amuſements. The queen herſelf was inſulted by this minion, and joined a party formed againſt him. After many conſultations on the moſt likely method of effecting the ruin of Somerſet, it was agreed to give the king a new favourite. George Villiers, a young man, remarkable for his beauty and effeminacy, was the object choſen for this purpoſe. James firſt beheld this younger brother, of a good family, at a comedy, acted at Cambridge, where he was conſpicuouſly placed, and immediately engaged the affections of the king. Villiers was introduced to court, and ſoon weakened the influence of the favourite. He was immediately knighted, and made a gentleman of the bed-chamber, with the yearly penſion of a thouſand crowns. Somerſet ſaw his fall, and exerted all his influence to avert it; but his efforts were in vain: the diſcovery of Overbury's murder involved him in infamy and ruin. The apothecary's apprentice, who had made up the poiſons, having retired to Fluſhing, talked very freely of this cruel tranſaction. His diſcourſe came at length to the ears of Trumbal, the king's envoy in the Netherlands, who ſent an account of it to Sir Ralph Windwood, ſecretary of ſtate. The evidence of the boy was confirmed by the information of the counteſs of Shrewſbury, then a priſoner in the Tower. That lady had found means to inſinuate herſelf into the confidence of Sir Jarvaiſe Elwis, lieutenant of the Tower; and being of an intriguing diſpoſition, ſhe drew the ſecret from him. James affected to be aſtoniſhed at finding ſuch enormous guilt in a man whom he had admitted to his boſom, and recommended to Sir William Coke, the chief juſtice, a moſt rigorous ſcrutiny, telling him, "that Somerſet and his wife had made him a pimp to carry on their bawdry and murder; and commanded him to ſpare no man whatſoever; adding, God's curſe be upon you and your's, if you ſpare any of them; and God's curſe be upon me and mine, if I pardon any of them." Accordingly Weſton, who had given Overbury the poiſoned tarts and jellies, and at laſt the clyſter; Mrs. Turner, chief confidant of the counteſs of Somerſet; Franklin, the apothecary, who had prepared the poiſon; and Sir Jarvaiſe Elwis, were apprehended. All theſe, together with Somerſet and his counteſs, were convicted of the atrocious fact on the fulleſt evidence. Somerſet and his counteſs, notwithſtanding James's tremendous execration, after continuing a long time in priſon, received not only a pardon, but a penſion of four thouſand pounds a year. With this they retired into the country, and languiſhed out old age in obſcurity and infamy. Their guilty love was turned into hatred, and they lived together in the ſame houſe, without any intercourſe or correſpondence with each other.

The fall of Somerſet made way for the advancement of Villiers. He was created duke of Buckingham, lord high admiral of England, conſtable of Windſor. His family was alſo raiſed to the height of favour, honours, and riches. His mother obtained the title of counteſs of Buckingham; his brother was created viſcount Purbeck; and the ſpoils of Somerſet, amounting to the ſum of two hundred thouſand pounds, and an eſtate of nineteen thouſand pounds a year, gave credit and authority to his neceſſitous relations. Thus a profuſion of honours rendered Villiers raſh, precipitant, and inſolent, while, at the ſame time, it increaſed the king's neceſſities, and obliged him to raiſe money by the moſt obnoxious means. To recruit his empty exchequer, James delivered up the three cautionary fortreſſes of Fluſhing, the Brille, and Rammekins, which had been delivered to queen Elizabeth, as pledges for a debt due to her from the States. At the concluſion of the truce between them and Spain, they had entered into an agreement with the king, that this debt, which then amounted to eight hundred thouſand pounds, ſhould be diſcharged by their paying forty thouſand pounds annually; and five years having elapſed, the debt was reduced to ſix hundred thouſand pounds; and in fifteen years more it would have been finally diſcharged; ſo that the remainder, which only amounted to the annual ſum of fourteen thouſand pounds, was all that accrued to the king. Hence the Dutch now offered, on ſurrendering thoſe places, to pay him immediately two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, and to incorporate the Engliſh garriſon into their army; and this propoſal being accepted, they were evacuated on the fourteenth of June, 1616, and from this period we may date the full liberty of the Dutch republic. The ſmall ſum above-mentioned was ſoon diſſipated by ways unknown; none of the king's debts were paid; the navy was not repaired; nor had any money been ſent to the army in Ireland, though their arrears formed the chief pretence for treating with the States. At length it was diſcovered, that the lord treaſurer, Suffolk, had converted the greater part of the money, received from Holland to his own uſe. He being father-in-law to Somerſet, conſequently no friend to Villiers, this opportunity to effect his ruin was readily embraced. Accordingly the lord treaſurer was accuſed in the ſtar-chamber, of ſeveral miſdemeanors in the execution of his office, and particularly of having embezzled large ſums of money. Sir Edward Coke, who carried on the proſecution againſt him for the crown, aggravated the charges brought againſt him, his extortions, his miſmanagement of the king's treaſure, his boldneſs, in applying it to his own uſe, the corruptions and artifices of his deputy Bingley. He then produced ſeveral precedents of treaſurers who had been puniſhed for much ſlighter crimes than thoſe of the earl of Suffolk, and diſplayed the dangerous conſequences that muſt reſult from the corrupt adminiſtration of the public money. Had Suffolk thrown himſelf upon the mercy of the king, he would have been acquitted; but he endeavoured to invalidate the evidence brought againſt him, and to juſtify his conduct againſt the malignant accuſations of his enemies. He failed in the attempt, and his judges pronounced him guilty. He was fined thirty thouſand pounds, and condemned to impriſonment during the king's pleaſure. Nor did his deputy eſcape: he was ſeverely reprimanded, and fined two thouſand pounds. The friends of Somerſet were now no longer capable of giving Villiers any diſturbance. This new favourite began his influence by filling all the places about the court with his own creatures. The lord chief juſtice Coke was deprived of his office, and his place was filled by Montague; and Bacon, on the death of Elleſmere, was appointed lord chancellor.

A. D. 1617. James, in the ſummer of this year, reſolved to pay a viſit to his native country, in order to renew his antient friendſhip, and to introduce that change of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline and government on which his heart was ſixed. He had, before his acceſſion, extorted from the Scotch clergy, an acknowledgment of the juriſdiction of biſhops; who were received, though with great reluctance, as perpetual preſidents, or moderators, in their eccleſiaſtical ſynods; and by ſuch gradual innovations, the king flattered himſelf, that he ſhould imperceptibly introduce the epiſcopal authority. This he could not hope to eſtabliſh, without firſt procuring an acknowledgment of his ſupreme authority in all eccleſiaſtical cauſes; but nothing could be more contrary to the principles of the preſbyterian clergy. On his arrival in Scotland, he propoſed to the parliament, then aſſembled, that whatever his majeſty ſhould determine, in the external government of the church, with the conſent of the archbiſhops, biſhops, and a competent number of the miniſtry, ſhould have the force of law, by which means his eccleſiaſtical authority, had this bill paſſed, would have been eſtabliſhed in its full extent; but ſome of the clergy proteſting againſt it, James, dreading clamour and oppoſition, dropped the bill, though by dint of authority, he had cauſed it to be paſſed by the lords of articles. Sometime after, he aſſembled, at St. Andrews, a meeting of the biſhops, and thirty-ſix of the moſt eminent clergy, to whom he declared his reſolution. They intreated him rather to ſummon a general aſſembly: yet this aſſembly, which met on the twenty-fifth of November, after the king's departure from Scotland, eluded all his applications to carry his favourite point. Indeed in every ſtep of this affair, as well as in all the general aſſemblies, the nation ſhewed the utmoſt averſion to all innovations. Hence every prudent man condemned the meaſures of the king, who by an ill-timed zeal for ceremonies, had betrayed equal narrowneſs of mind, with thoſe whom he treated with the utmoſt contempt. James at the ſame time ſhocked the lovers of pure religion among the Engliſh, by iſſuing a proclamation to allow and encourage, all kinds of lawful games and diverſions, after divine ſervice on Sundays; which his ſubjects conſidered as an inſtance of profaneneſs and impiety.

A. D. 1618. The ſentiments of the public reſpecting Sir Walter Raleigh were at this time much changed. People had leiſure to reflect on the injuſtice of his ſentence, and were concerned that a perſon of ſuch an enterprizing ſpirit, ſhould, for the ſpace of thirteen years, have ſuffered the rigours of confinement; and they admired his unbroken activity, which at his age, and under ſuch circumſtances, could undertake and execute ſo great a work as his Hiſtory of the World. Notwithſtanding he was treated by his ſovereign with a barbarous indignity, he had, on every opportunity offered his ſervice, and, on many occaſions, had given uſeful advice, particularly with regard to forming the mind of prince Henry. He alſo recovered the queen from a fit of illneſs by medicines of his own compoſing. Theſe ſervices, added to the general good opinion of the people, forced from James a mitigation of his unjuſt treatment; his lands were reſtored to him, and he had ſome indulgencies with reſpect to his liberty: but Raleigh having before made over the conſiderable eſtate of Sherburn to his ſon, the omiſſion of a word in the deed of conveyance made a flaw in young Raleigh's title, and the forfeited lands reverted to the crown. Raleigh's wife petitioned the king on this occaſion; when the anſwer he returned, was, "I mun ha the lands, I mun ha the lands for Car."

Raleigh, who had enjoyed full liberty, by reaſon of a coldneſs which ſubſiſted between the courts of England and Spain, offered a project which promiſed to recruit his broken fortune, and flattered the avarice of the king. He had formerly made a voyage to Guiana, in South America, and from his knowledge of the country, had imbibed a notion, that it contained inexhauſtible riches. He had actually marked particular parts of the territory, in which he believed were mines of gold. Upon the ſtrength of theſe conjectures, he offered to James the plan of an expedition, which promiſed mountains of wealth, and it was eagerly received by the king, though he, at the ſame time, aſſured Sarmiento, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, that Raleigh ſhould be bound up by his commiſſion, from all hoſtilities againſt the Spaniards; and that if they were committed, he ſhould be delivered up to the reſentment of his catholic majeſty: but when the commiſſion was made out, it contained no caution againſt attacking the Spaniards. Raleigh ſet ſail on the fourteenth of Auguſt, with fourteen ſhips, all fitted out by private perſons; he himſelf venturing the wreck of his broken fortune, beſides an eſtate which his wife had given up to him. After a tedious voyage, in which the adventurers experienced ſtorms, ſickneſs, and want of water, they reached the coaſt of Guiana, when new obſtacles oppoſed their obtaining the golden prize: the river Oroonoko was too ſhallow for the large ſhips to ſail up it; a diviſion of the force was unavoidable; the ſmaller veſſels, with a detachment of three hundred men, were ſent in queſt of the mines, while Raleigh ſtaid behind with the large ones, to defend the mouth of the river againſt the Spaniards. The detachment was commanded by his ſon; and the pilotage entruſted to his old friend Keymis, who had ſome knowledge of the river. On their landing at the appointed place, they were briſkly attacked by the garriſon of St. Thomas; but they repulſed the enemy, took, burned, and plundered the town, but with the loſs of many men, and of young Raleigh. Among the plunder were found papers containing the whole of Raleigh's ſcheme, which had been ſent to Spain by Sarmiento, to whom James had the weakneſs to divulge it. This ſo enraged the ſoldiers, that refuſing to be conducted farther by Keymis, they returned to the place where their commander lay, without having ſearched for any mines. Before the return of Raleigh's forces, he had heard the news of his accumulated misfortunes; no leſs ſevere than the death of his ſon, the blaſting of all his hopes, and the danger he was in from the violence committed on the Spaniſh town. In vain did Keymis attempt to excuſe his conduct, who, in deſpair, put an end to his life, and this increaſed the perplexity of the unhappy adventurer, who loſt in Keymis an evidence to juſtify his conduct. Theſe diſorders were ſucceeded by a mutiny among the crew: ſome were for returning to England, and ſome againſt it: the unfortunate Raleigh was of the former opinion, and prevailed ſo far as to bring his remaining force home. James was ſoon made acquainted with all the circumſtances of the miſcarriage; and the artful Sarmiento did not fail to work upon his paſſions, by repreſenting, in lively colours, a war between the two nations, and a certain breach of the marriage contract. Alarmed by ſuch artful inſinuations, the king iſſued a proclamation, declaring his abhorrence of what had been tranſacted; however, notwithſtanding the proclamation, Raleigh landed at Plymouth; and having ſurrendered himſelf, wrote a pathetic letter to the king, in which he ſtated his misfortunes in a clear and juſt light; but James was not to be moved by conſiderations of juſtice or compaſſion, being ſolely actuated by the fear of a rupture with Spain. That power was bent on the deſtruction of Raleigh; and his death was to be the cement of friendſhip between the two courts. The only queſtion was, how to compaſs it under the appearance of law. With this view the council endeavoured to render Raleigh's actions as odious as poſſible. A declaration, publiſhed by James on this ſubject, begins with aſſerting,

ing, that kings are not bound to give an account of their actions to any but God; however, he declares, that he is willing to repreſent his proceedings in this affair to the world. He then urges ſeveral charges; and among others, that Raleigh's only deſign was to plunder the Spaniſh ſettlements, and to ſurprize their fleets. Raleigh compoſed an unanſwerable apology for his conduct. But notwithſtanding this, on the eighteenth of October, in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age, he was taken out of his bed, while in a fit of an ague, and brought up to the king's bench. He attempted to make a defence, by explaining the juſtneſs of his conduct in the expedition; but was interrupted by the court, who told him, that the matter of the voyage had nothing to do in the preſent caſe; and they condemned him upon a former ſentence. He then ſupplicated, in very pathetic terms, a reſpite of the execution of the ſentence for a few days, that he might ſettle his private affairs, and vindicate his reputation; but an order was produced, ready ſigned by James, though at that time in Hertfordſhire, for his execution the next morning. Cruel as this haſte was, it had no effect on the compoſure of Raleigh's mind, who met death with the greateſt intrepidity. His manly philoſophical deportment, during the interval of his ſentence and execution, was uniformly calm; nor leſs heroic was his behaviour when he came upon the ſcaffold; here he denied, with an awful appeal to God, the heavy charges which had been laid againſt him; then feeling the edge of the axe, ſaid, "It is a ſhort remedy, but a ſure one for all ills;" after which he received the fatal blow, with an indifference, which left ſtrong impreſſions of veneration and eſteem in the hearts of all the ſpectators. His hard fate was regretted by the whole body of the nobility; and heightened the diſguſt which the public had long entertained to James. The execution of a man of merit, upon a ſentence originally illegal; a ſentence whoſe rigour had been already felt, in the loſs of a large fortune, and of fifteen years impriſonment; a ſentence which had been underſtood to have been pardoned by the truſt and command lately conferred, was conſidered as an inſtance of the utmoſt cruelty and meanneſs; and this, to forward an alliance which the whole nation deteſted, excited the greateſt indignation and contempt. James had conceived the moſt ridiculous notion, that it was unworthy a prince of Wales to marry any other than the daughter of a king. Gondomar the Spaniſh ambaſſador in England, in order to open a negotiation, had dropped ſome hints, that the infanta, Maria, would not be refuſed, if demanded for the king's ſon; and in order to render the temptation irreſiſtible to the neceſſitous monarch, he gave the greateſt hopes, that an immenſe dowry would be the portion of that princeſs. The deſire of accompliſhing ſo advantageous a treaty, induced James to embrace the propoſal with the greateſt avidity: and after many formalities and ſcruples had been diſcuſſed by the Spaniſh council, certain articles were tranſmitted by lord Digby, the Engliſh ambaſſador at Madrid, for his approbation. But in this tranſaction, the whole intention of the Spaniſh court ſeems to have been only to amuſe the king, in order to prevent his ſending a powerful aſſiſtance to the proteſtants of Germany.

A commotion was excited which threatened their ruin; yet the ſentiments of liberty never prevailed more ſtrongly in Europe than at this period: even Hungary, Bohemia, and Auſtria, were as jealous of their rights as the Engliſh themſelves. The ſpirit of independence had taken root in Germany ever ſince the reign of Charles V. The emperor Matthias poſſeſſed the crown of Bohemia; and to pleaſe the catholics, adopted Ferdinand, his couſin-german, who was arch-duke of Gratz, for his ſucceſſor, who was deſcended from a younger branch of the houſe of Auſtria, and was a zealous Roman. Not ſatisfied with this adoption, he obliged him through the means of the catholic party, to reſign the nominal crown of Bohemia; and by a partial call of the States, in an aſſembly compoſed of catholics, obtained the election, though he was not to act as ſovereign till after the emperor's death. The kingdom of Bohemia was now governed by a council of papiſts, and the proteſtant party being treated in a very injurious manner, a general aſſembly of the States demanded reparation for the injuries they had received, and then adjourned to another day. The emperor's lieutenants attempted to prevent their meeting again, but the States were ſo enraged at this tyrannical oppoſition, that they ſeized the emperor's officers, and threw the moſt inſolent of them out of the window. The Bohemians now flew to arms, in defence of their religion, and of their antient conſtitution. The kingdom of Hungary, and the neighbouring principalities, Sileſia, Moravia, Auſtria, and Luſatia, took part in the quarrel, and a ſpirit of diſcord, menacing a civil war, was univerſally diffuſed throughout thoſe populous and martial provinces. In the mean time, Matthias died, and Ferdinand obtaining the imperial dignity, all the catholic princes of the empire embraced his defence, and even Saxony the moſt powerful of the proteſtants. Poland had likewiſe declared in his favour; as did alſo the king of Spain, who intereſting himſelf in the quarrel, prepared powerful ſuccours, and advanced large ſums for the ſupport of Ferdinand, and of the catholic religion. The States of Bohemia, alarmed at theſe vaſt preparations, began alſo to ſolicit foreign aſſiſtance. They caſt their eye upon Frederic, Elector Palatine; who, beſides his having conſiderable forces, was ſon-in-law to the king of England, and nephew to prince Maurice, who had almoſt an abſolute authority in the United Provinces, and offered him their crown, which he accepted, without conſulting either James or Maurice, and marched with all his forces into Bohemia, to ſupport his new ſubjects. The news of theſe events no ſooner reached England, than it had different effects upon the king and his ſubjects. The people animated by zeal for liberty, and ardently longing to relieve their proteſtant brethren, were fired with impatience to enter as parties into the quarrel: but the king, whoſe ambition was ſolely centered in the Spaniſh match, had oppoſite diſpoſitions. In the mean time affairs were haſtening to a criſis. Ferdinand levied a great force, commanded by the duke of Bavaria and the count of Bucquoy, who advanced into Bohemia; and Spinola aſſembled a veteran army of thirty thouſand men in the Netherlands. The news reached England almoſt at the ſame time that Frederick, being defeated in the great and deciſive battle of Prague, had fled with his family into Holland; and that Spinola had invaded the Palatinate, where, meeting with no reſiſtancee, except from ſome princes of the union, and from two thouſand four hundred Engliſh, under the command of the brave Sir Horace Vere, he had reduced the greateſt part of that principality.

A. D. 1619.

Anne of Denmark, James's queen, did not live to know the entire ruin of her daughter's fortune, for her death happened in the beginning of this year, in the forty fifth of her age. She was of a vain and haughty temper, and the court amuſements which were under her direction, were pompous and gaudy, without any degree of taſte or propriety: but as ſhe had little influence over her huſband, ſhe eſcaped the odium which fell on all who had the management of public affairs. Murmurs and complaints againſt the king's neutrality and inactivity now roſe high, and this James attempted to turn to his own pecuniary advantage, by demanding an aid towards the recovery of the Palatinate: but whether the people thought this only a pretext, or whether they were diſguſted at its being demanded, when it was too late to expect ſucceſs, the king got little from his ſubjects by this ſtratagem.

A. D. 1620. It was now ſaid publickly, that he had not only deprived the Elector of that aſſiſtance which the Engliſh were willing to afford him, but had alſo deterred other princes from eſpouſing his quarrel. We cannot ſurmiſe that James was unwilling to preſerve the Palatinate; but he was ſo much governed by the artful Gondomar, that he was perſuaded the moſt effectual expedient for that purpoſe, was the marriage of his ſon with the Infanta of Spain, and that the treaty he was negotiating to that end would infallibly miſcarry, if he took any vigorous meaſures in favour of the Elector. Beſides, his averſion to war rendered him proud of the title of the pacific king; but he never conſidered that his puſillanimity tended only to expoſe him to contempt: he never imagined that the Spaniſh match itſelf was attended with ſuch difficulties, that all his art of negotiation would not be able to remove.

A. D. 1621. A parliament being now found the only reſource that could furniſh large ſupplies, writs were iſſued for ſummoning that great council of the nation, which aſſembled on the twenty-firſt of January. James opened the ſeſſion with a long ſpeech from the throne, wherein he enumerated the duties of a parliament, expatiated on his preſſing wants, and demanded ſupplies for the relief of the Palatinate. The commons, highly incenſed againſt the ambitious views of the houſe of Auſtria, voted the king two ſubſidies, with which James was ſatisfied for the preſent. This affair being diſcuſſed, the commons received petitions againſt the increaſe of popiſh recuſants, monopolies, and projectors. The king had farmed to certain individuals the power of licenſing taverns and public houſes; and granted to Sir Giles Mompeſſon and Francis Michel, an excluſive patent for the ſale of gold and ſilver lace. By virtue of this privilege, they had been guilty of ſuch ſcandalous frauds and extortion, that upon complaint being made to the upper houſe, they were ordered to be committed to priſon. Mompeſſon, however, found means to eſcape; but he was degraded from the honour of knighthood, and his eſtate confiſcated. His companion in iniquity was ſentenced to do public penance in the ſtreet, ſitting on horſeback with his face towards the tail, to pay a fine of a thouſand pounds, and to be impriſoned for life. By theſe vigorous proceedings of the two houſes againſt the delinquents, James began to fear for his favourite, who had been the author of theſe monopolies. He therefore went to the houſe of peers; and in a ſpeech filled with the moſt affectionate expreſſions, aſſured the parliament, that had he known of theſe grievances, he would have puniſhed the authors with the utmoſt ſeverity; at the ſame time cautioning the houſe not to credit every report, leſt the innocent ſhould ſuffer inſtead of the guilty. The houſe underſtood his meaning, and endeavoured not to trace the evil to its ſource. In a ſhort time after, lord chancellor Bacon, viſcount St. Albans, was impeached by the commons: upon which the king again repaired to the houſe, and in a ſpeech repreſented the neceſſity of puniſhing corrupt judges; and ſolicited farther ſubſidies, as the ſupplies granted by the commons were already expended in ſubſiſting the Elector Palantine and his family, who had taken refuge in Holland. He obſerved, that large ſums would be neceſſary for defraying the expence of ſending extraordinary ambaſſadors to all the courts of Europe, as well as in maintaining an army to act with vigour, if the negotiations proved abortive: and concluded with proteſting, that he would not diſſolve the parliament till all the affairs then under conſideration ſhould be fully determined. Bacon was a nobleman equally admired for the greatneſs of his genius, and beloved for his courteous and affable demeanor: but his want of œconomy, and his indulgence to his ſervants, had involved him in debts; and in order to ſupply his neceſſities, he had been tempted to take bribes from ſuitors in chancery. It is, however, affirmed that notwithſtanding this enormous abuſe, he ſtill maintained in the ſeat of juſtice, an unſhaken integrity; and had given ſuch juſt and equitable decrees, that none of them were ever afterwards queſtioned or reverſed. Conſcious of his guilt, he implored the mercy of his judges, and endeavoured, by a general confeſſion, to avoid the ſhame of a public enquiry. But the lords were inexorable, and inſiſted on a full confeſſion of all his corrupt practices. He acknowledged twenty-eight articles, and was condemned to pay a fine of forty thouſand pounds: to be impriſoned in the Tower during his majeſty's pleaſure; to be for ever incapable of enjoying any office or employment, and of ſitting any more in parliament. This ſevere ſentence he ſurvived five years; and being ſoon after releaſed from his confinement, he retired into the country, and diſplayed ſuch abilities in literature, as have thrown a vail over his guilt, or rather his weakneſs: his genius only is admired by poſterity. He has left a ſtriking leſſon to thoſe of the human ſpecies who are born for the inſtruction of mankind, how much preferable the exerciſe of their talents is to the attractions of ambition. The bold ſpirit of the commons was growing imperceptibly. Nothing eſcaped their attention and vigilance. It was in this parliament the two parties, afterwards known by the names of Whigs and Tories, were firſt formed; and of whom it may be ſaid, that if they have often threatened the government with total diſſolution, they have, notwithſtanding, been the real cauſe of its conſtant life and vigour. Under the princes of the houſe of Tudor, the great council of the nation were, in reality, nothing more than ſlaves to the court. Though they retained the privilege of making laws and granting the peoples money, they ſuffered themſelves to be led into the moſt paſſive obedience. Without emulation, without principles, without zeal for the ſecurity of the ſubject, without ſpirit in public buſineſs, they ſeemed ignorant of the Engliſh conſtitution, as founded on Magna Charta, or at leaſt abandoned it to the abſolute power of the ſovereign. But now the ſpirit of liberty, or rather of independence, revived, and every tranſaction of government became a ſubject of diſcuſſion. The commons enquired into the ſmalleſt grievances, and examined the rights of the crown even in the minuteſt articles. They drew up a ſpirited remonſtrance, which they propoſed to preſent to his majeſty, wherein they obſerved, “That the power of the houſe of Auſtria threatened the liberties of Europe; that the progreſs of the catholic religion in England occaſioned the moſt alarming apprehenſions, leſt it ſhould once more gain the aſcendant in the kingdom; that the king's lenity towards the profeſſors of that religion, had increaſed their arrogance and preſumption; that the uncontrouled conqueſts made by the Auſtrian family, had raiſed the expectations of the Engliſh papiſts; while the expectation of the Spaniſh match inſpired them with the moſt ſanguine hopes of procuring, if not a final eſtabliſhment, at leaſt an entire toleration of their religion.” They then proceeded humbly to offer to his majeſty the following remedies againſt theſe growing evils:

“ That he ſhould immediately undertake the defence of the Palatinate by force of arms; that he ſhould declare war againſt Spain, whoſe arms and riches formed the chief bulwark of the catholic religion in Europe; that he would engage in no negotiations for the marriage of his ſon, but with a proteſtant princeſs; that the children of popiſh recuſants ſhould be taken from their parents, and committed to the care of proteſtant teachers and ſchoolmaſters; and that the fines and confiſcations to which the catholics were ſubject by the law, ſhould be exacted with the utmoſt rigour.” James, who was at Newmarket when he heard of this unprecedented remonſtrance, immediately wrote a letter to the ſpeaker, in which he ſharply rebuked the houſe for debating openly on matters far above their reach and capacity, and ſtrictly forbad them to meddle with any thing that regarded his government or deep matters of ſtate; and eſpecially not to touch on his ſon's marriage with a daughter of Spain, nor to attack the honour of that king, or any of his friends or confederates. In order the more to intimidate them, he mentioned the impriſonment of Sir Edwin Sandys; and though he declared that his confinement was not owing to any offence committed in the houſe, yet he plainly told them, “ That he thought himſelf juſtly entitled to puniſh every miſdemeanor in parliament, as well during its ſitting, as after its diſſolution; and that he intended, for the future, to chaſtize every man whoſe inſolent behaviour ſhould give occaſion for offence.” This letter threw the houſe into a flame. They knew their own ſtrength too well to be intimidated at James's menaces. Inſtead of retracting what they had done, they entered with greater freedom than ever on the national grievances, and the dangerous ſtate of the reformed religion both at home and abroad. They formed a new remonſtrance, drawn up indeed in very reſpectful terms, but not leſs bold and ſpirited than the former. After reminding him with the chearfulneſs with which they undertook to aſſiſt him in the defence of the Palatinate, they obſerved, “ That their zeal for the proteſtant religion, and the intereſt of his majeſty's family, had induced them to repreſent the dangers with which both were threatened, and to point out remedies for thoſe evils: that by his letter to the ſpeaker, he ſeemed determined to deprive them of the parliamentary liberty to ſpeak freely in the houſe, and alſo of the juriſdiction which the houſe exerciſed over its own members; they therefore begged he would not violate a privilege which was their undoubted right, and which they inherited from their anceſtors; a right which he himſelf had confirmed in his ſpeeches to the parliament, and without which it would be impoſſible to diſcuſs and determine the affairs that might fall under their cognizance.” This reſolute anſwer in the commons, raiſed every ſpark of regal pride in the compoſition of James. His anſwer was ſhort, peremptory, and ſuitable to that ſpirit of kingly power which filled his breaſt. After explaining his intentions with regard to the prerogative in very clear and explicit terms, he concluded his reply, with regard to the rights and privileges of parliament, in the following manner: “ And although we cannot allow the ſtile, calling it your undoubted right and inheritance, but could rather have wiſhed you had ſaid, that your privileges were derived from the grace and permiſſion of our anceſtors and us (for moſt of them grew by precedents, which rather ſhew toleration than inheritance) yet we are pleaſed to give our royal aſſurance, that, as long as you continue yourſelves within the limits of your duty, we will be as careful to maintain and preſerve your lawful liberties and privileges, as any of our anceſtors were, nay, as to preſerve our own royal prerogative; ſo as your houſe ſhall only have need to beware to trench upon the prerogative of the crown, which would enforce us, or any juſt king, to retrench them of their privileges, that would pare his prerogative and the flowers of his crown. But of this we hope there will never be cauſe given.” The houſe of commons were juſtly alarmed. They ſaw their title to every privilege, if not plainly denied, yet conſidered at leaſt as very precarious. He plainly told them it might be forfeited by abuſe, and they had already abuſed it. They therefore reſolved to grant no ſupply, till they received ſatisfaction from James for the breach of their privileges, and drew up the following proteſtation: which is ſo very remarkable, that it will be neceſſary to give it at full length. “ The commons now aſſembled in parliament, being juſtly occaſioned thereunto, concerning ſundry liberties, franchiſes, and privileges of parliament, among others here mentioned, do make the following proteſtation: That the liberties, franchiſes, and juriſdictions of parliament, are the antient and undoubted birth-right and inheritance of the ſubjects of England; and that the urgent and arduous affairs concerning the king, ſtate, and defence of the realm, and of the church of England; the maintenance and making of laws, and redreſs of miſchiefs and grievances, which daily happen within this realm, are proper ſubjects and matter of council and debate in parliament, and that in the handling and proceeding of thoſe buſineſſes, every member of the houſe of parliament hath, and of right ought to have, freedom of ſpeech to propound, treat, reaſon, and bring to concluſion the ſame; and that the commons in parliament have like liberty and freedom to treat of theſe matters, in ſuch order as in their judgment ſhall ſeem fitteſt; and that every member of the ſaid houſe hath like freedom from all impeachment, impriſonment, and moleſtation (other than by cenſure of the houſe itſelf) for or concerning any ſpeaking, reaſoning, or declaring of any matter or matters touching the parliament or parliamentary buſineſs. And that if any of the ſaid members be complained of and queſtioned for any thing done or ſaid in parliament, the ſame is to be ſhewn to the king, by the advice and aſſent of all the commons aſſembled in parliament, before the king give credence to any private information.”

James hurried to town from Newmarket, determined to exert the regal authority with which he was intruſted, and convince the commons that they had proceeded too far in aſſerting their liberties. On his arrival, he ſent immediately for the journal book of the commons, and before the council, tore out, with his own hand, the above proteſtation, which he conſidered as an inſult on his prerogative. At the ſame time he declared it abſolutely null and void, becauſe it was voted tumultuouſly at a late hour, and in a very thin houſe; and becauſe it was expreſſed in ſuch general and ambiguous terms, as might be conſidered as a ſufficient foundation for the moſt enormous crimes, and extended to the moſt unwarrantable uſurpations on the prerogative of the crown. Soon after he diſſolved the parliament by proclamation, in which he made an apology to the public for his whole conduct. Some of the leaders among the commons he committed to priſon, and ſent others to execute a commiſſion in Ireland. At laſt he prohibited all diſcourſe on public affairs, as if he had power to prevent the people from ſpeaking on thoſe ſubjects in which they were moſt intereſted; an authority enjoyed not by the moſt deſpotic monarch.

A. D. 1622.

James had already ſeen the conſequence of fruitleſs negotiations in

Germany, though he ſtill purſued the ſame plan which had already rendered him ſufficiently contemptible. He diſpatched Digby to the emperor, deſiring a ceſſation of hoſtilities. The miniſter was referred to the duke of Bavaria, who commanded the Auſtrian armies. The duke told him that there needed no treaty for that purpoſe, ſince hoſtilities were already ceaſed by his having taken poſſeſſion of the Palatinate, which he intended to keep till a final accommodation ſhould take place between the contending parties. Notwithſtanding this groſs inſult, and though every circumſtance concurred to convince James that the emperor induſtriouſly eluded all his applications, that weak monarch had the meanneſs to follow Ferdinand through all his evaſions, and renew the conferences at Bruſſels. Frederic, finding the pacific endeavours of his father-in-law were ineffectual, embraced ſome favourable circumſtances ariſing from the expiration of the truce between Spain and the States-General, and the jealouſies of the Germans, excited by the increaſing power of the houſe of Auſtria, to make a final effort for the recovery of his dominions. Three conſiderable armies were raiſed, and commanded by three able generals, Chriſtian, duke of Brunſwick, the prince of Baden, and count Mansfeldt. But the ſame ill ſucceſs ſtill purſued the unfortunate Frederick. Count Tilly, at the head of the Imperial army, defeated the duke of Brunſwick, and ſoon after the prince of Baden. Mansfeldt, though his army was greatly inferior in numbers, ſtill continued the war; but not being ſupported with money either by the Palatinate or the king of England, he could act only on the defenſive. Theſe misfortunes, joined to the perſuaſions of James, who was deſirous that his ſon-in law ſhould lay down his arms, entirely diſheartened that prince, who retired to Sedan, where he remained an unwelcome gueſt, with his uncle the duke of Brunſwick. Count Mansfeldt was diſmiſſed from his employment; and that famous general retired with his army into the Low Countries, where he was received into the pay of the States-General. In the mean time the weakneſs of James rendered him contemptible in every court of Europe; it was even extended ſo far as to paint him ſometimes with a ſcabbard without a ſword, and ſometimes with a ſword which a number of perſons were trying in vain to draw out of the ſcabbard.

The king of Bohemia was perſuaded, that a vigorous oppoſition always bids faireſt for obtaining equitable terms; yet the repeated requeſts of his father-in-law had forced him to abandon his maxim, and now, when it was too late, he repented of his folly. Count Tilly, after the retreat of Mansfeldt, loſt not a moment to harraſs the Palatinate. He beſieged and took Heidelberg, the richeſt city in it, and ſent its fine libraries of books to Rome. The caſtle was bravely defended by Herbert, an Engliſh colonel, who, after performing prodigies of valour, was killed with a muſquet ball. Tilly next made himſelf maſter of Manheim, notwithſtanding the noble defence made by the garriſon commanded by Sir Horace Vere. James now gave up all thoughts of recovering the Palatinate from the emperor. But he ſtill flattered himſelf that if he could accompliſh his ſon's marriage with the Infanta of Spain, he ſhould be able to obtain, by the aſſiſtance of that court, the territories of his ſon-in-law, and reinſtate him in his former dignity. Ferdinand, however, determined to prevent him from executing his project. He aſſembled a diet at Ratiſbon, in which he declared, "That the Elector Palatine, having been guilty of high-treaſon, his eſtates, goods, and dignities were forfeited; but being unwilling to diminiſh the number of electors, he ordered that Maximilian of Bavaria ſhould be inveſted with the Electorate Palatine." In Spain, Digby, earl of Briſtol, had the ſole management of the negotiation for the marriage. Briſtol was a nobleman of great abilities, and had formerly diſapproved of entering into any engagement with Spain; but appeared now ſo convinced of the ſincerity of that court, that he wrote a letter to James, felicitating him on the entire accompliſhment of his views and projects: a daughter of Spain, whom he repreſented as extremely amiable, would ſoon, he ſaid, be conducted into England, and bring with her an immenſe fortune of two millions a ſum four times greater than was ever given with any other princeſs. The truth is, that the court of Spain had hitherto carried on the negotiation merely to amuſe the Engliſh monarch; but perceiving that James was determined, on any terms, to complete the alliance, it was thought that ſo favourable an opportunity of reſtoring the catholic faith in England ſhould not be neglected, as it ſeemed more than probable it might eaſily be effected by means of the Infanta, and her numerous train of domeſtics and dependants, who were to enjoy the free exerciſe of their religion. Purſuant to this reſolution, the behaviour of the Spaniſh court was now entirely changed, and appeared as eager to conclude the negotiation, as before to find excuſes for deferring it. The only difficulty conſiſted in extorting from the Engliſh monarch ſuch conceſſions, as might contribute to complete the favourite deſign, and which the impatience of James gave the greateſt reaſon to expect; that the only obſtacles that now remained to the completion of the marriage, were thoſe relating to religion. The earl of Briſtol, ever ſince his arrival in Spain, had been employed in ſettling thoſe preliminaries. At laſt the court of Spain made their final demands with regard to that particular, and the earl of Briſtol ſent them immediately to his maſter. James made ſome difficulty of agreeing to theſe articles; but his deſire of completing the marriage, at laſt got the better of his prudence; he ſigned the articles, and ſent them back to Spain. Among all the conceſſions favourable to the catholics, none gave greater diſguſt to the Engliſh, than that in which the king engaged that the children of the prince and the Infanta ſhould be educated by their mother till they were ten years of age; a condition which could only be ſtipulated with a view of implanting in their tender minds the ſtrongeſt prejudices in favour of the Romiſh religion; and though ſo early an age might ſeem little ſuſceptible of any laſting impreſſions, yet the ſame motive which prompted the Spaniſh monarch to inſert it, ſhould have induced the king of England to reject it. Beſides the public treaty, there were ſeveral private articles, by which both the king and prince of Wales engaged to ſuſpend the penal laws againſt the catholics; to obtain a repeal of them from the parliament; and to tolerate the exerciſe of the popiſh religion in private houſes.

A. D. 1623.

Nothing was wanting to conclude the marriage but the pope's diſpenſation, which was conſidered merely as a formality. Elated by this ſucceſs, James triumphed in his pacific councils, and conſoled himſelf for the contempt he had incurred in all the courts of Europe, in having tamely ſuffered his ſon-in-law to be ſtripped of his eſtates and dignity. But while he was boaſting of his ſuperior wiſdom and ſagacity, his flattering projects were ruined by the raſhneſs of a man whom he had raiſed from a private ſtation, to be the curſe of himſelf, his family, and his people.

Buckingham, who was now as much in favour with the prince as with the king, and ſeemed to direct all the affairs of the kingdom, was envious of the great credit obtained by Briſtol in the Spaniſh negotiation. The ambitious favourite therefore determined to ſupplant him, or, at leaſt, to ſhare in the honour of concluding a treaty ſo agreeable to the king. He perſuaded the prince to undertake a journey to the court of Madrid in perſon, in order to bring home his miſtreſs the Infanta. He repreſented to him, that the romantic nature of the adventure, could not fail of attracting the admiration and affection of that monarch and his ſubjects, and of introducing him to the princeſs under the character of a fond lover, rather than of a ſtately huſband; that the negotiation with regard to the Palatinate, which had hitherto languiſhed in the hands of miniſters, would quickly be terminated by ſo illuſtrious an agent, ſeconded by the mediation and intreaties of the grateful Infanta: that the Spaniſh generoſity, excited by ſo uncommon an inſtance of truſt and confidence, would undoubtedly make conceſſions far beyond what could be expected from political views and conſiderations. With theſe generous and romantic ideas, ſo peculiarly adapted to the minds of youth, Charles embraced the propoſal with rapture, and it was agreed to make application to the king for leave to carry the deſign into execution immediately. They choſe the moment when James was in the moſt kind and jovial humour; and by importunities, rather than the force of their reaſons, they extorted from him a haſty and unguarded conſent. But the prince and Buckingham had hardly left the king, before he repented of his weakneſs: every difficulty occurred with a peculiar force, and the danger to which the prince's perſon muſt be expoſed, affected him in a very ſenſible manner. He reflected, that however pardonable this romantic expedition might be conſidered in youth, it muſt reflect diſgrace on mature age: that if the profeſſions of the Spaniſh monarch were ſincere, a few months only muſt finiſh the negotiation, and bring the Infanta to England, without expoſing his only ſon, the heir of his crown, the prop of his age, to ſo dangerous an undertaking; and if he was not ſincere, the loſs would be abſolutely irretrievable. James therefore determined to recal his promiſe, and prevent, by a timely oppoſition, an undertaking which, if unfortunate, muſt render him at once both infamous to his people, and ridiculous to all poſterity. Accordingly when the prince and Buckingham returned for their diſpatches, James informed them of the reaſons which had prevailed upon him to change his reſolution, and begged they would bury all thoughts of ſo ridiculous an adventure in the pit of forgetfulneſs. The prince was greatly affected at this diſappointment, but anſwered only with tears. Buckingham aſſumed the air of authority, and told the king, that this retraction of his promiſe ſo ſoon after it was given, muſt render all his declarations for ever after ſuſpected; that the word of a king ought to be ſacred, and never broken but by the moſt powerful reaſons, or abſolute neceſſity. The king, who was unable to make any effectual oppoſition to the deſigns of the prince and favourite, renewed his conſent, proper directions were given for the journey, and the prince, with Buckingham, and their two attendants, Sir Francis Cottington, the prince's ſecretary, and Endymion Porter, gentleman of his bed-chamber, with Sir Richard Graham, maſter of the horſe to Buckingham, paſſed, diſguiſed and undiſcovered, through France. They even ventured to appear in a court ball at Paris, where Charles ſaw the princeſs Henrietta, then in the bloom of youth and beauty. On the eleventh day after their departure, they reached Madrid, where every body was ſurprized at a ſtep ſo very unuſual among the princes of that age. Penetrated with gratitude for the unbounded confidence repoſed in him by the prince, Philip paid him a viſit immediately after he was informed of his arrival; made him the warmeſt proteſtations of friendſhip; ſhewed him every reſpect in the power of majeſty to beſtow; and preſented him with a golden key which opened all his apartments, that the prince might have free acceſs to him at all hours. He gave him the upper hand on all occaſions, except in the apartments aſſigned for his reſidence, where he ſaid the prince was at home. The ſame pomp and ceremony were uſed when Charles firſt viſited the palace, as were common at the coronation of the kings of Spain; and the council received public orders to obey him as the king himſelf. Every kind of rejoicing was uſed throughout the kingdom: and all the priſons were thrown open, that even thoſe who before languiſhed in confinement might ſhare in the general joy. Nor was any advantage taken of the prince's preſence, to impoſe any harder condition of the treaty. In the mean time, pope Gregory XV. who had granted the diſpenſation, died, and Urban VIII. was placed in the pontifical chair. This event induced the nuncio not to deliver the diſpenſation till it could receive the ſanction of Urban; who hoping that ſome expedient might be diſcovered during the prince's reſidence in Spain, to effect his converſion to the catholic faith, delayed the diſpenſation. Such a dilatory method of proceeding, occaſioned great uneaſineſs both to the king of England and the prince. Philip perceived it, and neglected nothing in his power to diſſipate every apprehenſion, and prevail upon the prince to wait till the diſpenſation could be procured from the court of Rome; but, at the ſame time, he made not the leaſt difficulty of granting him permiſſion to return. He even cauſed a pillar to be erected on a ſpot where they parted, as a monument of their mutual friendſhip. And the prince, having ſworn to the obſervance of all the articles in the marriage treaty, ſet out, attended by a numerous train of the Spaniſh nobility, for St. Andero, where he embarked on board an Engliſh veſſel, ſent by the king for that purpoſe. No prince could more engage the affections of the Spaniards than Charles. His character, compoſed of decency, reſerve, modeſty, and ſobriety, rendered him very agreeable to that people. They were in love with his unparalleled confidence, and the romantic gallantry he had practiced towards their princeſs. At the ſame time, his advantageous figure, and the blooming graces of youth that adorned his countenance, endeared him to the whole court of Madrid, and made deep impreſſions on the heart of the Infanta. Had the character of Buckingham been equal to that of the prince, every thing had ſucceeded according to their wiſhes; but that nobleman was as much deſpiſed and hated as the prince was eſteemed and beloved. His diſſolute pleaſures, his ſallies of paſſion, his arrogant, impetuous temper, rendered him the object of the Spaniards averſion, and he was, in general, treated with contempt. Senſible of the affronts he had given to the court of Spain, and fearful of the influence of the Infanta when ſhe arrived in England, he determined to employ all his credit to prevent the marriage from being concluded. But it ſeemed a difficult taſk to prevail upon the prince to treat a court, where he had received the moſt diſtinguiſhed favours, with ingratitude; and, if poſſible, ſtill more difficult to induce James to break off a treaty, the accompliſhment of which had ſo long been the object of his wiſhes, and which he had now ſo nearly brought to a ſucceſsful and happy iſſue. At this diſtance of time it is impoſſible to know the reaſons he made uſe off to accompliſh his deſign: it only appears that he obtained an entire aſcendant over both the king and his ſon. James, indeed, made ſome oppoſition; and had the earl of Briſtol arrived in that critical moment, perhaps the impetuous and turbulent miniſter had ſunk under the burden of his own crimes; but the king wanted ſpirit and reſolution to reſiſt the importunities of Buckingham; he ſacrificed both honour and integrity to the folly of his minion. Orders were ſent to the earl of Briſtol for breaking off all negotiations, juſt at the time when that miniſter had, in all appearance, accommodated every difference between the contracting parties, and the Spaniards were on the point of delivering up the Infanta.

A. D. 1624. Soon after the departure of Charles and Buckingham, the diſpenſation reached Spain, and the Infanta had immediately aſſumed the title of princeſs of Wales. Philip was therefore very unwilling to break off the treaty, eſpecially as he foreſaw that a rupture between the two crowns would be the inevitable conſequence; and determined that nothing on his part ſhould be wanting to complete the marriage, and maintain the harmony that now ſubſiſted between Spain and England. He, on the eighth of January, ſent the earl of Briſtol a written promiſe, by which he engaged to procure the reſtoration of the Palatinate, either by treaty or force of arms. But when he found that this conceſſion was diſregarded, he ordered the Infanta to lay aſide the title of princeſs of Wales, and to drop the ſtudy of the Engliſh language. At the ſame time, he iſſued orders for making preparations for war in every part of his dominions, perſuaded that the court of England would not ſtop at the violation of the marriage treaty. This reſolution of James to break off all connections with Spain was no ſooner known to the people, than they celebrated the rupture with bonfires, and other public demonſtrations of joy. Buckingham, by giving a partial, and, in many inſtances, a falſe account of the negotiation, eaſily inflamed thoſe ſpirits which were already prejudiced againſt Spain. Eulogiums were poured upon him, as one of the beſt of ſubjects; he was called the deliverer of his country. James, who wanted firmneſs of mind to reſiſt the impetuoſity of the nation, was ſwept away with the torrent, and obliged contrary to his natural principles, to follow thoſe violent reſolutions that led inevitably to war. He aſſembled a parliament, in order to obtain ſupplies. In his ſpeech to the two houſes, James dropped ſome hints of the cauſes of complaint he had againſt Spain; and graciouſly condeſcended to aſk their advice, which he had ever before rejected, with regard to the conduct of ſo important an affair as the marriage of his ſon. The commons promiſed to aſſiſt him in revenging the affront put upon him by Spain: for Buckingham, by laying before a committee of both houſes a long and partial account, which he pretended was a true and complete narrative, of all the ſteps taken in the Spaniſh negotiation, had entirely gained the confidence of that aſſembly. It contained, indeed, ſo many contradictory circumſtances, that they were ſufficient to open the eyes of every reaſonable man, notwithſtanding the artful veil which was thrown over the whole proceedings. But the narrative concurred ſo well with the paſſions and prejudices of the parliament, that no ſcruple was made of immediately adopting it as a truth that could not be diſputed. Charmed with having at laſt the opportunity, ſo long and ſo ardently deſired, of going to war with papiſts, they thought not of future conſequences, but immediately adviſed the king to break off both treaties with Spain, as well as that which regarded the marriage, as that for the reſtitution of the Palatinate.

Having thus given their voice for a war, they joined in a petition to the king, that he would cauſe the laws againſt Romiſh prieſts and jeſuits to be ſtrictly executed; that he would iſſue orders for ſeizing the arms of popiſh recuſants, and obliging them to retire from the capital; that he would revoke all licences granted to ſuch recuſants, and put a ſtop to the great concourſe of people who reſorted to hear maſs in the chapels of ambaſſadors; that he ſhould deprive all papiſts of the poſts they enjoyed under the government, and not relax the laws made againſt popiſh recuſants on any account whatever. James returned a very gracious and condeſcending anſwer: but declared himſelf an enemy to all perſecution on account of religion: from a thorough conviction that it always injures the cauſe it is intended to promote; according to the received maxim, "That the blood of the martyrs was the ſeed of the church." At the ſame time, he condemned an entire indulgence to the catholics; and ſtrongly hinted, that a middle courſe ought to be choſen, as at once the moſt humane, and the moſt political. James, having determined to purſue hoſtile meaſures, repaired to the parliament houſe, where he declared, in a ſpeech to that aſſembly, his reſolution of humbling the pride of Spain, provided they would engage to ſupport him. He began his harangue with lamenting his misfortune, in being obliged in his old age, to exchange the bleſſings of peace for the inevitable calamities of hoſtile meaſures. He repreſented to them the prodigious expence requiſite for maintaining military armaments; and demanded a vote of ſix ſubſidies and twelve fifteenths, as a proper ſtock before war was declared againſt Spain. He mentioned the large debts he had contracted, principally to ſupport the Elector Palatine and his family; but declared, he inſiſted not on any ſupply for himſelf; the honour and ſecurity of the kingdom was all he was deſirous of ſupporting. He even ſo far forgot his prerogative, which he had hitherto ſo ſtrenuouſly ſupported, that he made a dangerous and unexpected conceſſion, that the ſums granted ſhould be veſted in a committee of parliament, and be iſſued by them without being intruſted to his management. Nothing could be more agreeable to the commons; they readily accepted the offer, but voted much leſs than was demanded; three ſubſidies and three fifteenths were, by the commons thought a ſufficient ſum for the preſent occaſions of the ſtate; nor did they take the leaſt notice of that part of his ſpeech which regarded his own neceſſities, though he had made a conceſſion greater than they could have even preſumed to aſk. But though they were ſo very parſimonious in their ſupplies, they took advantage of the preſent agreement between the king and the parliament, to make freſh attacks upon the prerogative. James had aboliſhed all the monopolies ſo loudly and juſtly complained of; but this did not ſatisfy the commons; they paſſed an act, by which it was declared, that all monopolies were contrary to the laws and liberties of the kingdom. By the ſame ſtatute it was enacted, that every man enjoyed an entire freedom with regard to his own actions, provided he did nothing detrimental to any perſon; and that no other authority but that of the laws ſhould ſtop this unlimited right; a principle which ſerved as a baſis for the civil liberties of England. In the mean time the Elector Palatine wrote a letter to James, wherein he enumerated the reaſons which offered themſelves both for continuing the negotiations, and attempting to recover the Palatinate by force of arms. The latter now predominated at the Britiſh court, ſince a reſolution had been taken to break off all negotiations with Spain. The indefatigable duke of Brunſwick had raiſed another army for the ſervice of the king of Bohemia, with an intention to force a paſſage into the Low Countries, and join the prince of Orange. The Dutch, in general, were well inclined to the ſame cauſe, and the princes of Germany every day diſcovered freſh ſymptoms of diſcontent at the proceedings of the houſe of Auſtria. But above all, the perſon of the queen of Bohemia, the wiſeſt and moſt virtuous lady of her age, became now an object of public concern. Her merits, her misfortunes, her young family, and the unworthy treatment ſhe had received, like ſo many charms, animated every proteſtant, who was not wholly a ſtranger to the dictates of humanity. James himſelf was ſometimes warmed into compaſſion, and ſometimes into reſentment. He had ſpared her and her family a little of the ſcanty remainder his profuſion had left, and they lived on good terms with the prince of Orange, who was at that time, ſincerely diſpoſed to have ſerved them, could James have been prevailed upon to truſt the Dutch, or they to put any confidence in him. But the inſolence of the Dutch traders, and their cruelty towards the Engliſh in the Eaſt Indies, were ſo great, that James at laſt yielded to the repeated inſtances of his ſubjects, and gave the earl of Oxford the command of a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips, in order to intercept the Dutch Eaſt India fleet in their return to Europe. By a treaty lately concluded, the Dutch and the Engliſh were to divide between them the trade of the iſlands they had taken from the Portugueſe and Spaniards; the Engliſh to enjoy one third, and the Dutch two thirds of this valuable trade. Accordingly, Engliſh factories had been ſettled in the Molucca iſlands, and at Banda. A few Engliſh merchants, not more than eighteen or twenty, had, for above two years, lived at Amboyna, where there was a Dutch fort, and two companies of ſoldiers, beſides a civil eſtabliſhment. For ſome time a correſpondence ſubſiſted between the two people; but the Dutch, envying the proſperous ſtate of the Engliſh factory, determined to ruin them. A conſpiracy was accordingly formed againſt their lives, of ſo deteſtable a nature, as is hardly credible to thoſe who do not ſufficiently reflect on the rancour of a people towards their rivals in trade; eſpecially when the ſcene is not only ſufficiently diſtant from all ſeats of juſtice, but where they themſelves preſide, uncontrouled, in the exerciſe of their tyranny, and blinded by the motives of intereſt. It was pretended that the Engliſh and Japaneſe, the whole not exceeding forty perſons, had formed a deſign for deſtroying the Dutch ſettlement. Upon this, Gabriel Towerſon, the chief agent, and the reſt of the Engliſh then upon the iſland, were taken into cuſtody, and ſtrictly examined by the Dutch council. No witneſſes of credit appeared againſt them; and the unhappy priſoners, conſcious of their innocence, denied the fact with the ſtrongeſt aſſeverations. But it had been before determined to put them to death, and only ſome pretence was wanting for carrying the bloody deſign into execution. The rack was therefore to ſupply the place of evidence, and the tortures were ſo dreadful, that even conſcious innocence was unable to ſupport them. Some ſought relief by confeſſion; but on obtaining the mercy of being put to death, they ſolemnly retracted their confeſſions with their lateſt breath; but others, with matchleſs fortitude, expired under their tortures. By this horrid proceeding, the Dutch continued maſters of the ſpice trade, and have ever ſince kept it in their own hands. No reparation was, however, obtained for this inſolent affront, till many years after, when Cromwell held the reins of government. That uſurper obliged them to pay three hundred thouſand pounds on that account. It, however, prevented a junction between the armies deſigned to reduce the Palatinate.

The earl of Briſtol having received orders to leave the court of Madrid, he applied for an audience, in order to fulfil the ceremonial of his departure. Philip expreſſed the higheſt regret that Briſtol's ſervices ſhould meet with ſo unworthy a reward; and that his enemies ſhould have ſo far prevailed, as to infuſe prejudices into his maſter and his country againſt a miniſter who had ſo faithfully performed his duty to both. He endeavoured to prevail upon him to engage in his ſervice, promiſing to beſtow upon him every advantage of rank and fortune he himſelf could deſire. But Briſtol, though he expreſſed the utmoſt gratitude for this generous offer, refuſed every thing, and determined to return immediately to his own country, not doubting but the torch of truth would ſoon expoſe the falſhoods of his enemies in their genuine colours. Philip could not even prevail upon him to accept of ten thouſand ducats, though his circumſtances rendered ſuch a preſent neceſſary. The monarch uſed every intreaty in his power to prevail, and aſſured him, that neither James, nor any one elſe, ſhould ever know he had received it. "There is one, anſwered the virtuous miniſter, who will be privy to the whole tranſaction; it is the earl of Briſtol, and he will certainly reveal it to the king of England." It was the intereſt of Buckingham to keep Briſtol at a diſtance from the king and the court, leſt the voice of truth, enforced with thoſe powers of oratory which the earl poſſeſſed in a very eminent degree, ſhould diſcloſe ſcenes which he wiſhed to bury in oblivion. He accordingly no ſooner heard of the earl's arrival in England, than he made uſe of all that power he had acquired over the mind of his weak ſovereign, for procuring an order for committing Briſtol to the tower, till he had anſwered certain queſtions that ſhould be put to him by the council. He was, however, ſoon after releaſed, but ordered to retire to his own houſe. The earl wrote to James, loudly demanding an opportunity of vindicating himſelf, and of laying his whole conduct before his maſter and the public: he aſſerted his own innocence, and threw the blame of every miſcarriage on Buckingham. He had always flattered himſelf that the hatred of the minion could not prevail over the juſtice of his maſter, as if a weak prince was not generally a dupe to the paſſions of others. Buckingham was deſirous that he ſhould own the pretended faults exhibited againſt him; but he juſtly thought a reconciliation offered on ſuch terms a real diſgrace. James himſelf declared, that to require ſuch a thing of an innocent man was the moſt horrible tyranny. How juſtly ought he to have reproached himſelf for ſuffering ſo unjuſt a ſentence to take place!

The parliament being prorogued to the twenty-ninth of May, it was neceſſary to make ſome preparations, for oppoſing the warlike armament fitting out by the court of Spain, and alſo to aſſiſt the count Palatine. Accordingly ſix thouſand men were ſent over to Holland to join the army of the States, commanded by the prince of Orange; while another army under count Mansfeldt was to penetrate into the Palatinate. Religious zeal had made the recovery of the Palatinate appear a point of vaſt importance to the Engliſh; and the ſame effect might have been expected in France, merely from political views; for while that principality continued in the hands of the houſe of Auſtria, the French dominions were, on all ſides, ſurrounded by the poſſeſſions of that ambitious family, and might be penetrated in every part by ſuperior forces. Of this the court of France was fully ſenſible; but cardinal Richlieu was reſolved firſt to ſubdue the Hugonots, before he proceeded to humble the houſe of Auſtria. However, the proſpect of an alliance with England was readily embraced, by conciliating a marriage between paince Charles, and the princeſs Henrietta Maria, daughter to Lewis XIII. The conferences were opened at Compeigne, and the marriage articles were ſigned at Paris on the tenth of November. They were nearly the ſame in ſubſtance with thoſe, which had been concluded with Spain; for as Lewis required only the ſame conditions which had before been granted to his catholic majeſty, James made no ſcruple to comply. One of the conditions was, that the children ſhould be brought up by the mother; or, which is the ſame thing, in the catholic religion, till they were thirteen years of age. To this imprudent article the misfortunes of that family have been attributed, though it was never put in execution. While this negotiation was carried on, count Mansfeldt came over to England; and after ſome conferences it was agreed, that he ſhould conduct the war in the Lower Palatinate, at the head of twelve thouſand foot, and two hundred horſe. The French miniſtry had, in general terms, made great promiſes, not only that the Engliſh troops ſhould be allowed a free paſſage, but that in their march to the Palatinate, they ſhould be joined by powerful ſuccours: but when the troops commanded by Mansfeldt, ſailed from Dover to Calais, they found that no orders had arrived to permit their landing. After therefore waiting ſome time, they were obliged to ſail towards Zealand, where proper meaſures for their diſembarkation had been alſo neglected. The Zealanders excuſed themſelves from receiving ſuch a number of unexpected gueſts, under a pretence of ſcarcity of proviſions. During a tedious period of ſuſpence, in which meſſengers were ſent to the Hague, and afterwards to London, a peſtilential diſeaſe ſpread among the Engliſh troops, ſo long cooped up in their ſhips, and carried off above two thirds of them. Of the few who eſcaped ſickneſs, ſome deſerted, ſome enliſted themſelves in the ſervice of the States. Thus ended this ill-timed expedition. The refuſal of the Zealanders to allow the king's troops to land, was the ſecond inſult he had received from the Dutch: the firſt being the maſſacre of Amboyna. This tragedy was acted at a time when James was puſhed on by the violent meaſures of his favourite, to a rupture with Spain; and the friendſhip of the Dutch appeared to him too valuable, to hazard it by an ill-timed reſentment; he therefore accepted of their excuſes, and put up with this flagrant and cruel breach of faith, without exacting any kind of ſatisfaction.

James had laid a ſolid foundation for putting an end to the diſturbances in Ireland, yet he had not been able entirely to complete his plan. The Spaniards ſtill maintained a conſtant correſpondence with the diſaffected papiſts, and kept the Engliſh government in continual alarms. The earl of Tyrone having been received into favour, and obtained the royal protection, lived for ſome time in great ſubmiſſion to the government; but imputing all the marks of favour he had received to the effects of fear, he had the boldneſs, ſoon after, to petition the king for a toleration of the catholic religion. This requeſt being refuſed, he joined the earl of Tyrconnel, and other chiefs of the Iriſh papiſts; and a deſperate confederacy was formed for aſſaſſinating the lord deputy and the council, and maſſacreing all the Engliſh in the kingdom of Ireland. This deſign was happily diſcovered by a letter dropped in the council chamber; and Tyrone, with other principal conſpirators, fled to Bruſſels, where the Archduke gave them a kind reception, and ſettled on them large penſions by expreſs orders from the court of Spain. Soon after Tyrone, paſſing over to Ireland, attempted to excite another rebellion; but his intention being diſcovered before he could put it into execution, the chiefs who had engaged in the conſpiracy, were apprehended and executed. This, and great diſputes in the Iriſh council, which continued for ſeveral years, occaſioned the government to iſſue a ſevere proclamation againſt the catholics, ordering all regular prieſts to leave Ireland, under very heavy penalties.

A. D. 1625. While James, contrary to his inclination, turned his thoughts on war, which he deteſted, and which he knew not how to conduct, he was ſeized with a diſorder that terminated his weak reign. He had long addicted himſelf to thoſe pleaſures which he could not taſte, that he might baniſh from his mind thoſe reflections which he could not bear. He had accuſtomed himſelf to the uſe of ſweet wines, and to ride hard both before and after drinking. This irregular method of living had occaſioned ſeveral ſevere fits of illneſs, which his phyſicians had rather palliated than removed; for James was too headſtrong to ſubmit with patience to any troubleſome regimen, in order to obtain a cure. Infirmities therefore increaſed upon him with age, nor was the approach of the king of terrors to be prevented any longer. The ſtate of his mind added fuel to his bodily diſorder. He was highly provoked at the behaviour of Buckingham, to whom he imputed all the misfortunes that now ſurrounded him. He was deſirous of humbling that haughty miniſter, but he wanted power to execute his deſign. Finding that all attempts in his preſent ſituation would be in vain, he compoſed himſelf with a kind of ſullen reſignation, meditating how to take the firſt opportunity of a friendly hand for his deliverance. Such was the king's ſituation, when the marquis of Hamilton, who hated Buckingham, died ſuddenly, not without ſtrong ſuſpicions of poiſon. James conſidered the death of that nobleman as a ſure prelude to his own. "If the branches are cut down, ſaid he, the ſtock cannot long ſtand." From that moment he became penſive and melancholy. In the beginning of March he was ſeized with a tertian ague, followed by a fever; and when encouraged by his courtiers with the old proverb, that this deſtemper, during that ſeaſon, was phyſic for a king, he replied, that the ſaying was meant of a young king. The counteſs of Buckingham, and ſome other ladies, who had no great opinion of regular phyſicians, but had a high opinion of empyrics, attended James, whoſe impatience for health drove him into the ſame fatal error. Buckingham had ſome time before been cured of a tertian ague by an emetic, a plaiſter, and a poſſet-drink, which James now inſiſted ſhould be adminiſtered to himſelf. Buckingham uſed every argument in his power to diſſuade him from taking any thing that was not preſcribed by his phyſicians; but all his arguments were in vain: the king ſent for the medicines, and they were given him at his earneſt requeſt. Every ſymptom of his diſeaſe was immediately increaſed, and it was ſoon perceived that he could not long ſurvive. At intervals he ſent for the prince, whom he exhorted to have a tender affection for his wife; to be ſtedfaſt in his religion; to protect the church of England; and to extend his care to the prince Palatine's unhappy family. During the laſt ſtage of his diſorder, he was cloſely beſet by Buckingham and his family, who refuſed, till near the cloſe of life, to permit his courtiers to ſee him. James was very ſenſible of his approaching end, and met the king of terrors with great fortitude. His preparations for death were extremely fervent, in which he was chiefly aſſiſted by lord-keeper Williams. In his laſt moments, he declared he died in the faith of the church of England, and expired on the twenty-ſeventh of March, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign. His body was conveyed from Theobalds to Weſtminſter-abbey, where it was interred with great funeral ſolemnity, his ſon performing the office of chief mourner upon the occaſion. By his conſort, Anne of Denmark, James had ſeven children; but two of them only ſurvived him, namely, Charles, who ſucceeded him on the throne; and Elizabeth, married to the unfortunate Elector Palatine.

In this reign the public were free from the expence of a ſtanding army; and while James was boaſting his divine vicegerency, he had not a ſingle regiment of guards. The ſole defence of the kingdom of England was its militia, which amounted to one hundred and ſixty thouſand men, who were kept in good order; for all the counties of England, emulating the capital, were fond of ſhewing a well-trained militia. In 1583 there was a general review made of all the men in England capable of bearing arms, and theſe, according to Raleigh, were found to amount to one million, on hundred and ſeventy-two thouſand men.

The growth of London in riches, beauty, and in the number of its inhabitants, has been prodigious. From 1600 it doubled every forty years; conſequently, in 1680 it contained four times as many inhabitants as at the beginning of the century. It was at this time almoſt entirely built of wood, and in every reſpect a very diſagreeable city. The earl of Arundel firſt introduced the general practice of erecting buildings of brick.

As coaches were firſt ſeen in the reign of Elizabeth, the firſt ſedan-chair was ſeen in that of James, and was uſed by the duke of Buckingham. The people, on ſeeing him carried in his chair, were filled with indignation at his pride and arrogance, exclaiming, that he made his fellow creatures do the ſervice of beaſts.

At this period, all the ſeamen employed in the merchants ſervice, appear to have amounted to only ten thouſand men, which is ſcarcely a ſixth part of their preſent number. Raleigh obſerves, that the Dutch traded to England with ſix hundred ſhips, and England to Holland with only ſixty. Moſt of the curious arts were cultivated abroad, particularly in Italy, and the Engliſh excelled only in ſhip-building, and the founding of iron cannon. Nine-tenths of the commerce of England conſiſted in woollen goods; yet the exportation of wool was not prohibited till the nineteenth year of this reign. Moſt of the cloth exported was dyed and dreſſed by the Dutch, who are ſaid to have gained ſeven hundred thouſand pounds a year by this manufacture; and Raleigh computes the loſs to England at four hundred thouſand pounds. Yet a proclamation publiſhed by James againſt exporting cloth in that condition ſucceeded ſo ill, on account of the Dutch refuſing to buy the dreſſed cloth, that great murmurs aroſe againſt it; and this meaſure was retracted by the king, the nation complaining of it as if it had been the moſt impolitic thing in the world. Engliſh cloth was then in ſo little credit, that the king was obliged to ſeek expedients to engage the people of faſhion to wear it. The manufacture of linen was at this time entirely unknown in England, and the ſame may be obſerved of the ſilk manufacture.

After the diſcovery of Greenland, the whale fiſhery was, at firſt, carried on with great ſucceſs; but the Dutch ſoon deprived the Engliſh of this ſource of wealth. A company was now erected for the finding a north-weſt paſſage, and many fruitleſs attempts were made for that purpoſe. The India Company received a new patent; and enlarging their ſtock to one million, five hundred thouſand pounds, fitted out ſeveral ſhips; and in this reign the Bermuda, or Summer Iſlands, as alſo Virginia, were ſettled.

The exports of England from Chriſtmas 1612, to Chriſtmas 1613, are computed at two millions, four hundred eighty-ſeven thouſand, four hundred and thirty-five pounds; the imports at two millions, one hundred forty-one thouſand, one hundred and fifty-one pounds; ſo that the balance in favour of England was three hundred forty-ſix thouſand, two hundred and eighty-four pounds; but in 1622, the exports were two millions, three hundred twenty thouſand, four hundred and thirty-ſix pounds; the imports two millions, ſix hundred nineteen thouſand, three hundred and fifteen pounds; which made a balance of two hundred ninety-eight thouſand, eight hundred and ſeventy-nine pounds againſt England. The Eaſt-India Company uſually carried out a third of their cargo in commodities. The trade to Turky was one of the moſt gainful to the nation.

Tradeſmen had hitherto carried on their retail buſineſs by means of leaden tokens. The ſilver penny, which had the croſs deeply indented, had been broke in half, and paſſed for half-pennies, or half pence; and thoſe halves broke again into four pieces, were fourths, or farthings; but copper half-pence and farthings began to be coined in this reign in the place of this ſmall money, which was eaſily loſt. Intereſt was at ten per cent. till 1624, when it was reduced to eight.

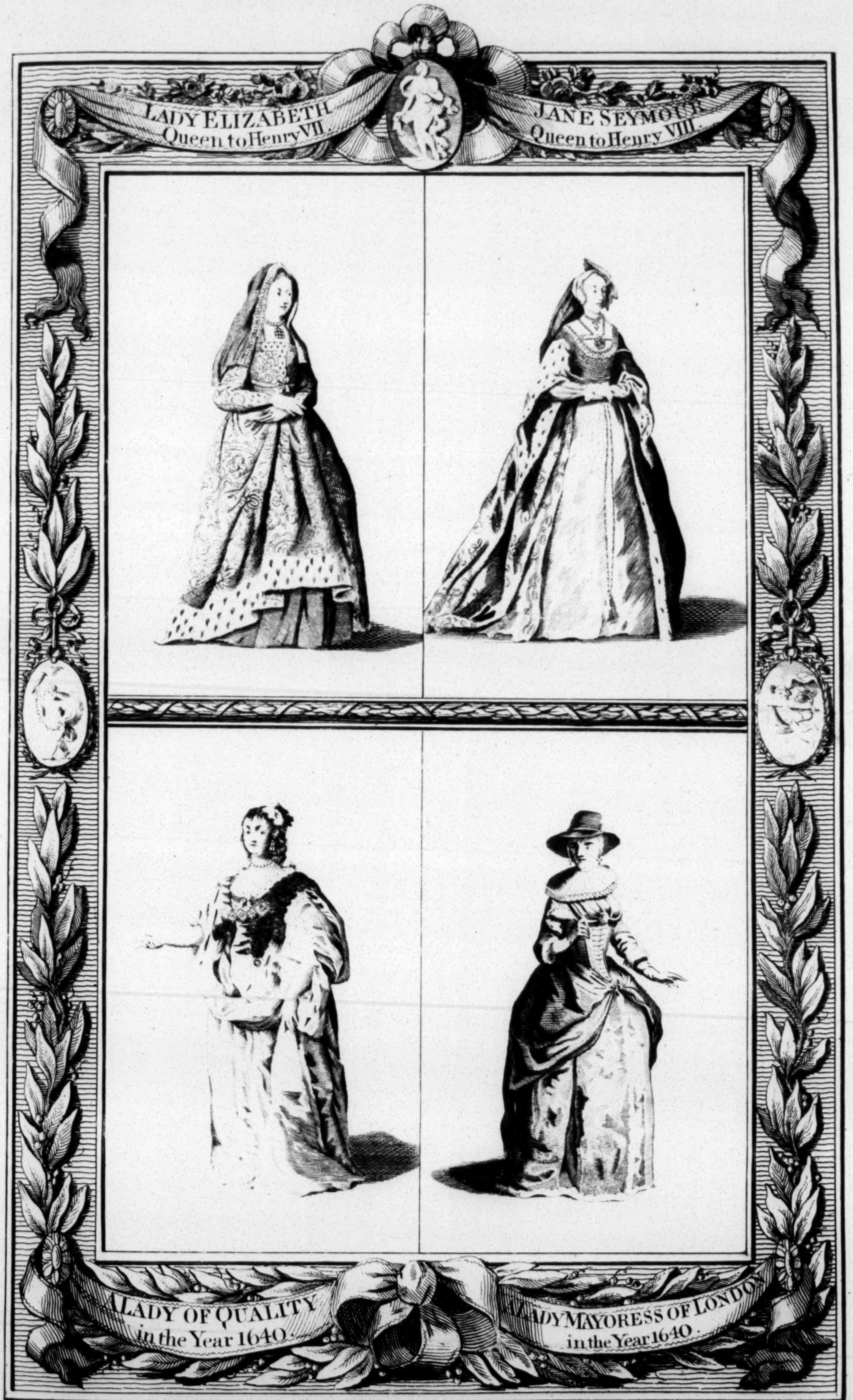
This being an age of bigotry, and as the light of reaſon had not yet ſpread its influence, religious liberty was ſtill unknown; nor was a toleration allowed to any, who entertained opinions widely different from thoſe publickly eſtabliſhed. Two Arians were burned during this period, who were offered a pardon at the ſtake, on condition of their making a recantation. The eſtabliſhed worſhip was the only one allowed during this and the former reign; and twenty pounds a month might be levied on any one who did not frequent it. The puritans, at this time members of the eſtabliſhed church, had yet no ſeparate congregations. Such of the clergy as refuſed to comply with the legal ceremonies, were deprived of their livings; nor was it ſafe for any one to ſpeak againſt the forms and ceremonies of the church.

Nor was the liberty of the preſs leſs unknown, being incompatible with thoſe principles of government which then prevailed. Elizabeth had laid the greateſt reſtraints on the preſs; and the ſevereſt penalties were inflicted on thoſe who preſumed to write againſt an eſtabliſhment, either in church or ſtate. James extended the ſame penalties to the importing ſuch books from abroad, and afterwards prohibited the printing of any book, without permiſſion from the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the archbiſhop of York, the biſhop of London, the vice-chancellor of one of the Univerſities, or of ſome perſon appointed by them.

By a proclamation for eſtabliſhing public magazines, whenever wheat fell below thirty-two ſhillings a quarter, rye below eighteen, and barley below ſixteen, the commiſſioners were empowered to purchaſe corn for the magazines. Theſe prices may be conſidered as low; though by our preſent eſtimation, they would rather paſs for high. At that time, the uſual bread of the poor was made of barley. During the greateſt part of James's reign, the beſt wool was at thirty-three ſhillings a tod.

Fifteenths and ſubſidies having been frequently mentioned in this hiſtory, and ſome of our ſubſcribers deſiring of the writer an explanation of the ſame, he here takes this opportunity of complying with their requeſt. The tax called a fifteenth, originally correſponded to the name, and was the value of a fifteenth part of moveables. But a valuation made in the reign of Edward III. being always adhered to, each town conſtantly paid a particular ſum, aſſeſſed by the inhabitants themſelves. The ſame tax, in corporate towns, was called a tenth, becauſe there it was a tenth of the moveables; but both together were conciſely termed a fifteenth: when the produce of the whole was mentioned, and throughout the kingdom, it amounted to about twenty-nine thouſand pounds. A ſubſidy was not invariable, like a fifteenth: for in the eighth of Elizabeth, a ſubſidy amounted to a hundred and twenty thouſand pounds: in the

fortieth


LADY ELIZABETH
Queen to Henry VII.
JANE SEYMOUR
Queen to Henry VIII.
A LADY OF QUALITY
in the Year 1640.
A LADY MAYORESS OF LONDON
in the Year 1640.

Holbein & Vandyke pinx.t

Grainger sculp.

Celebrated **FEMALE PORTRAITS**, *with the respective* Habits *worn at* different Periods *of the* **HISTORY of ENGLAND.**

BRITISH
29 OC 62
MUSEUM

fortieth of the ſame reign, it was not above ſeventy eight thouſand; it afterwards fell to ſeventy thouſand, and was continually decreaſing. This was owing to the method of levying it. One ſubſidy was originally given for four ſhillings in the pound on land, and two ſhillings and eight-pence on moveables, throughout the counties; which, when the nation was enriched by trade, would have amounted to a conſiderable tax, had it been ſtrictly levied; but during the reign of James, the twentieth part of that ſum was not paid. The tax was ſo far perſonal, that a man paid only in the county where he lived, though he poſſeſſed eſtates in other counties; the aſſeſſor forming a looſe eſtimation of his property, and rating him accordingly. However, to preſerve ſome rule in the eſtimation, it appears to have been the practice to keep an eye to former aſſeſſments, and to rate every man according to his anceſtors, or according to what men of ſuch eſtimated property were accuſtomed to pay. This was a ſufficient reaſon why ſubſidies could not increaſe, notwithſtanding the increaſe of money, and the riſe of rents. In ſhort, ſubſidies at laſt became ſo unequal and uncertain, that the parliament was obliged to change them into a land-tax.

James, ſucceſſor of Elizabeth, erected a magnificent monument to her memory, in the eaſt end of the north iſle of her grandfather Henry VII's chapel. It is an arch of white marble, ſupported by ten Corinthian pillars of black marble, under which lies her effigies in royal robes. The freeze is adorned with the arms of all the royal marriages from Edward the Confeſſor, and with empalements of ſeveral branches of the royal family. On the tablature over the corniſh, at the head of the tomb, is this inſcription, which Speed, in his chronicle, thus tranſlates:

For an eternal memorial

Unto Elizabeth, queen of England, France, and Ireland, daughter of king Henry VIII. grandchild to king Henry VII. and great-grandchild to king Edward IV. The mother of her country; the patroneſs and nurſe of religion and learning; a princeſs, for all the endowments of body and mind, and more eſpecially for her royal virtues, above her ſex,

INCOMPARABLE.

James, king of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, heir both of her throne and virtues, hath piouſly erected this monument to a princeſs ſo worthy of commemoration.

On the baſement at the top are theſe words:

The ſiſters, Mary and Elizabeth, who poſſeſſed the ſame throne, are companions in the grave, and here ſleep in hopes of a reſurrection.

On a like tablature on the corniſh at the feet is this inſcription:

Religion to its primitive purity reſtored; peace eſtabliſhed; money reduced to its juſt value; domeſtic rebellion quelled; France relieved when involved in inteſtine diviſions; the Netherlands ſupported; the Spaniſh Armada overthrown; Ireland, almoſt loſt by rebellion, retrieved by defeating the Spaniards; the revenue of both Univerſities much enlarged by a law of proviſions; and laſtly, all England enriched.

ELIZABETH,

During forty-five years a moſt wiſe governor, a victorious and triumphant queen, moſt ſtrictly religious; moſt happy, by a calm and reſigned death, in her ſeventy-ſecond year, left her mortal remains, till by Chriſt's word they ſhall riſe again to immortality, to be depoſited in this famous church, by her repaired and re-eſtabliſhed.

On the baſement at the feet are theſe words:

She died the twenty-fourth of March, in the year of ſalvation 1602, in the forty-fifth year of her reign, and the ſeventy-ſecond of her age.

The ſame Engliſh monarch, ſoon after his acceſſion, erected a magnificent tomb for Mary, queen of Scots, in the ſouth aiſle of Henry VIIth's chapel, over a vault to which her body had been removed from the cathedral of Peterborough, where, as we have obſerved, it was firſt interred. It is raiſed in the form of a triumphal arch, ſupported by eight Corinthian pillars, under which lies her portraiture in royal robes. The freeze is adorned with the arms of ſeveral marriages of the kings of Scotland, and the top crowned with her atchievements. On ſeveral tablatures of marble round the tomb, are epitaphs, which give a brief account of her royal deſcent and relations; the exquiſite endowments of her body and mind; the troubles of her life; her conſtancy in religion, and reſolution in death. The inſcriptions on the plate are in Engliſh.

The firſt part of her epitaph is upon the ſouth ſide of her tomb, in Roman capitals.

D. O. M.

Sacred to the memory of Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, and dowager of France; daughter and ſole heireſs of James V. king of Scotland, and grand-daughter of Margaret, eldeſt daughter of Henry VII. by Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of Edward IV. (kings of England) wife of Francis II. king of France, whilſt ſhe lived, certain and undoubted heireſs to the crown of England, and mother of the moſt potent James, monarch of Great-Britain. She was deſcended from a truly royal and moſt antient line, nearly allied by deſcent and conſanguinity to all the greateſt princes of Europe, and was abundantly adorned with the moſt excellent endowments of body and mind: but as all human affairs have their viciſſitudes, after a confinement of above twenty years, and having ſtruggled with reſolution and fortitude (though ineffectually) with the malignity of calumniators, the jealouſy of the fearful, and the ſnares of capital enemies, ſhe was at length an unprecedented, unheard of example with kings, brought to the block; where, with contempt of this world, triumphant in death, and fearleſs of the executioner; recommending her ſoul to Chriſt her Saviour, her hopes of empire and poſterity to her ſon James, and the example of her patience to all the ſpectators of ſo bloody and mournful a ſcene, ſhe piouſly, patiently, and intrepidly ſubmitted her royal neck to the accurſed axe, and exchanged this tranſitory life for a bleſſed eternity in heaven, on the eighth of February, in the year of our Lord 1587, aged forty-ſix.

The other part of the epitaph is on the north ſide of the monument, in hexameter and pentameter, or elegiac verſes. In Engliſh:

If birth illuſtrious, or if beauty's pride,
A guiltleſs mind, and faith ſeverely try'd;
If wiſdom, fortitude, a candid breaſt,
And hope in Him who comforts the diſtreſt;
If probity of heart, with patience mild
To bear injurious bonds, to be revil'd;
If goodneſs, majeſty, a lib'ral will
To raiſe the wretched, and the poor to fill,

Could 'ſcape blind fortune's thunders, that alike
On good and bad, on low and lofty, ſtrike;
Thou hadſt not early fall'n by being great,
Nor thy ſad image ſeem'd to weep thy fate.
Scotland by right, by marriage France was thine;
To theſe well founded hope did England join;
By triple right a triple crown ſhe wears,
But dim its luſtre to a crown of ſtars.
Happy, too happy if, the ſtorm allay'd,
Tho' late, the neighb'ring realm had her obey'd.
But ſee! ſhe falls to triumph in the grave,
New vigour thence, and fruits her branches have.
Conquer'd, ſhe conquers; free, tho' cloſe confin'd;
Not dead, tho' ſlain; the fates her chains unbind.
So the prun'd vine ſhoots forth with fertile ſprays,
And the cut gem reflects its purple rays;
So genial ſeeds, committed to the earth,
Riſe from the fruitful ſoil, a brighter birth.
With blood, God's covenant with man was made;
With blood, the patriarchs his wrath allay'd;
With blood, the firſt-born 'ſcap'd the general doom;
Blood ſtain'd the land which now is her's become.
Oh ſtay thy vengeance heaven, for mercy's ſake;
That fatal day be ever mark'd with black;
To murder kings, abhorr'd for evermore,
Nor Britain ſtain'd again with royal gore:
Let the example periſh with the blow,
Accurs'd its author, and its actor too.
Since in her better part ſhe triumphs ſtill,
Dumb be her fate, and ſilent every ill.
Such was her courſe as heav'n thought fit to ſteer,
She had her joys, ſhe knew her ſorrows here.
Early to life the royal James ſhe gave,
Whom ev'ry kinder pow'r in keeping have.
By nuptials great, by birth ſtill greater known,
And greateſt in her iſſue, ſuch a ſon!
Here Mary lies, of whom we ſighing ſing,
The daughter, wife, and mother of a king.
Grant heav'n, that to the lateſt times her race,
Their happy hours without a cloud may paſs,
H. N. lamenting.

Over the corniſh of this tomb at the head, is part of the twenty-firſt verſe of 1 Peter, chapter ii. In Engliſh:

"Chriſt alſo ſuffered for us, leaving us an example that ye ſhould follow his ſteps."

Over the corniſh, alſo in Latin, at the feet, is the twenty-third verſe of the ſame chapter. In Engliſh:

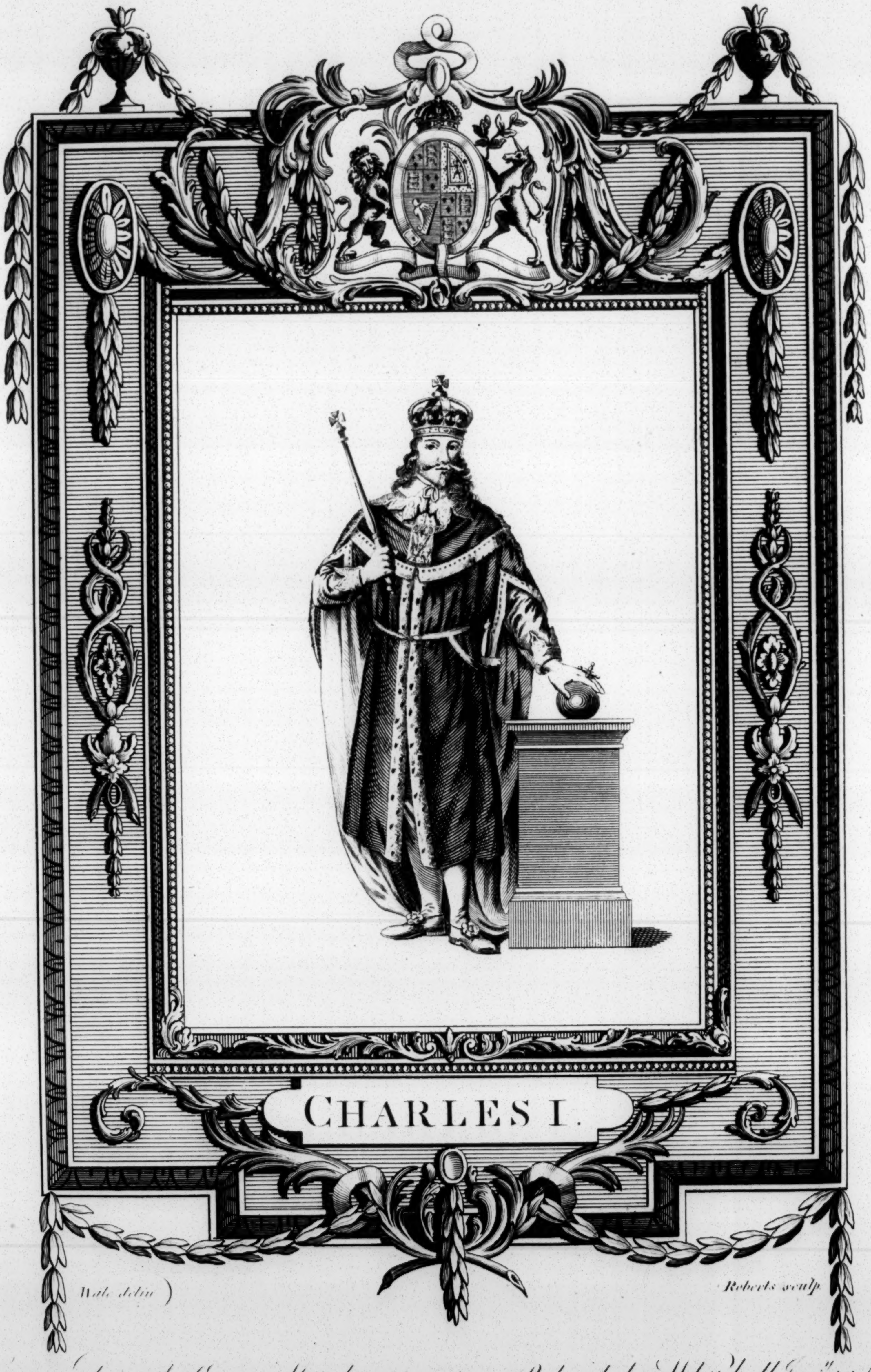
"Who when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he ſuffered, he threatened not; but committed himſelf to him that judgeth righteouſly."

Character of James I.

In his perſon he was of a middle ſtature, and of a fair complexion; jolly, but not corpulent. His countenance was rather diſagreeable, his eyes being large and rolling, his beard thin, and his tongue too big for his mouth: he had an aukward air, and his gait was remarkably ungraceful, from a weakneſs in his knees, which prevented his walking without aſſiſtance: in his diet he was tolerably temperate, but drank little elſe beſides rich and ſtrong wines.

His mental beauties were as imperfect as his perſonal accompliſhments; a mixture of virtues and vices have admitted no ſtriking lights to ſet off or relieve the ſhades of his character. This prince appears, on a ſlight view, to have poſſeſſed ſome amiable qualities; but when theſe qualities were brought forth into action, we find them all unhappily tainted; and candour herſelf is compelled to acknowledge, that his liberality degenerated into profuſion, his learning into pedantry, his pacific diſpoſition into puſillanimity, his wiſdom into mean cunning, and his friendſhip into light fancy, and puerile fondneſs. He had not the ſmalleſt idea of that manly ſcience which ennobles ſociety; which regulates the paſſions of men in a free ſtate; and which animates, directs, and completes the purpoſes of public ſpirit. He was void of all conception of the difference between liberty and licentiouſneſs; and endeavoured to erect for himſelf, in the minds of the people, as ſtrong an opinion of his infallibility, both in religion and politics, as ever the church of Rome had thought to eſtabliſh over her deluded votaries. James, more of a caſuiſt than a politician, was greatly diſtreſſed, whenever his ſubjects dared diſpute or reaſon upon matters which might lead them to a ſenſe of their true intereſt as a people; and nothing gave him greater pleaſure, than to hear and decide on the uſeleſs ſpeculative points of ſchool-divinity: but he ſeldom advanced a man of merit to preferment. While king of Scotland, his behaviour was, in many points, unexceptionable; but the ridiculous, and even profane flattery he received from the Engliſh nobility, intoxicated his brain, and filled him with ſelf-conceit. Cecil, who ſtood foremoſt among his ſycophants, had the aſſurance to tell him, on his acceſſion, that he would find his Engliſh ſubjects like aſſes, on whom he might lay any burden, and ſhould need neither bit nor bridle, but their ears. Vain of his hereditary title; a bigot to the doctrines of divine right and paſſive obedience, he aimed to imitate the example of the princes of the Tudor line, who had made great breaches in the Engliſh conſtitution. But he never reflected on the difference between their ſituation and his own. The ignorance, and conſequently the timidity of the Engliſh, was now vaniſhed; they were reſolved to defend with courage, what they had acquired by induſtry. The doctrine of reſiſtance was preached from the pulpit, and underſtood in parliament, but with ſuch reſtrictions, as left ſufficient room for a king of England to be at once both great and happy. James ſtudied to preſerve peace rather than tranquillity; the ſhadow, rather than the ſubſtance; becauſe the genuine baſis of tranquillity is freedom. Though he held the ſceptre without any ſenſible reverſe of fortune, yet the life of James was very uneven. No prince ever learned more or profited leſs by experience. The Howards, who continued in the miniſtry, had not ſufficient abilities to hold the reins of government: the Scottiſh favourites were diſagreeable to the nation; and thoſe whom James truſted, wanted both capacity and honeſty to ſerve him. His prodigality rendered him always neceſſitous. One of his minions ſeeing a load of ſilver carrying to the treaſury, ſaid to a perſon who ſtood near him, "How happy would that money make me!" The king deſired to know what he had been ſaying, and immediately gave him the whole ſum, amounting to three thouſand pounds. You think yourſelf happy, ſaid he; but I am more ſo in obliging the man I eſteem. The commons took advantage of his extravagance; and finding their aſſiſtance was abſolutely neceſſary, they made themſelves his maſters. In his youth, James gave ſeveral inſtances that he wanted neither ſpirit nor reſolution; but his political cowardice had every characteriſtic of meanneſs; for he trembled moſt when he boaſted loudeſt: but when reflection ſucceeded to fear, his good natural ſenſe convinced him, that his ſchemes were impracticable; though his pride always led him to drop them in ſuch a manner, that his crown and government were expoſed to as much danger as if he had purſued them. Hence it happened, that among all the conceſſions he made to his parliament, not one was received with thankfulneſs; they were always conſidered as the reſult of preſent convenience, or the effects of fear.

We


CHARLES I.
Wale delin
Roberts sculp

He succeeded to the Crown. March 27. 1625 & was Beheaded at Whitehall Jany. 30. 1649.
Aged 48.

We cannot unite in ſentiment with the ingenious writer of the catalogue of Royal and noble authors, when he ſays, puns, ſcripture, witticiſms, oaths, prerogative, and vanity, are the ingredients of all his ſacred majeſty's performances. James, conſidered as an author, has made a figure as a ſcholar. He certainly had a more learned education than is commonly beſtowed on princes. His works, ſtill extant, are printed in one volume, folio. He wrote the Baſilicon Doron; The true Law of Free Monarchies; A Counterblaſt to Tobacco; A Treatiſe on Witches and Apparitions; A Commentary on the Revelations; An Encomium on Sir Philip Sidney; ſome Verſes prefixed to Tycho Brahe's Work; and he began a Tranſlation of the Pſalms. Several other pieces are aſcribed to him, and many of his letters are extant; ſeveral of them in the Cabala, others in manuſcript in the Britiſh Muſeum, and others in Howard's collection. Modern wits and modern reviewers, may ſtile theſe productions the pedantic learning of James; but it is a pedantry which was peculiar to this reign, and which evidently appears both in the choice of ſubjects and ſtile, of other eminent writers of that age. If the learning of James made him a caſuiſt, not a politician, a wrangling diſputant, but not a wiſe king, yet we cannot think it ſunk him into contempt as a man. Perhaps, in ſome future more political and ſolid age than the preſent, even the works of Mr. Walpole may appear equally ſingular, pedantic, and uſeleſs, with the immenſe erudition and ſcholaſtic writings of James. And we beg leave further to obſerve in behalf of this monarch, that if his reign was ignoble to himſelf, rendered ſo by the flatterers of his age, it was undoubtedly happy for his people, who, by being bleſſed with peace, enriched by an extenſive commerce, and freed from the care of foreign affairs, had leiſure to attend to their own concerns, and to ſecure their liberties and privileges by many excellent regulations.

CHAP. II.

CHARLES I.

Succeeds his father James on the throne of Great Britain, in the twenty-fifth year of his age—Firſt tranſactions after his acceſſion—Proceedings of the parliament—Impeachment of Buckingham—Supplies raiſed, without an act of parliament, by various expedients—The emergency of the king's affairs obliges him to ſummon a parliament—Their remonſtrances and petitions of right—Death of Buckingham—Laud's innovations in the church—Money again raiſed by illegal methods—Arbitrary proceedings in the ſtar-chamber and high-commiſſion court—Ship money, and the trial of Hampden—Epiſcopacy aboliſhed in Scotland—Proceedings of the long parliament—Strafford and Laud impeached—Diſſolution of the ſtar-chamber and high-commiſſion court—The king's journey to Scotland—A maſſacre in Ireland—The arbitrary conduct of Charles toward ſeveral members of the houſe of commons—Riots and tumults—Preparations for a civil war, and its commencement—Several battles fought—Briſtol taken—The ſiege of Glouceſter—The battle of Newbury, and other actions—Invaſion of the Scots—The treaty of Uxbridge—The execution of Laud—The deciſive battle of Naſeby—Surrender of Briſtol—Conqueſt of the Weſt by Fairfax—The king flies to the Scots at Newark, and is by them delivered up—A mutiny in the army, who govern the parliament—Charles eſcapes to the Iſle of Wight—Civil war renewed—The treaty of Newport—The king again ſeized by the army—His trial, death, and character.

A. D. 1625. CHARLES I. ſon of James I. in the twenty-fifth year of his age, ſucceeded his father on the throne of Great-Britain. He began his reign by removing lord Baltimore from the office of ſecretary of ſtate; granting a pardon to the earl of Middleſex; recalling by proclamation all Britiſh ſubjects from the Imperial, Spaniſh, and Flemiſh ſervices; iſſuing commiſſions for granting letters of repriſals againſt the Spaniards, as well as raiſing ten thouſand men for a naval expedition, and for the recovery of the Palatinate. The marriage of the king being celebrated at Paris by proxy, the duke of Buckingham was employed in conducting the queen to England, where ſhe arrived on the twelfth of June, when the king received her at Dover, and the nuptials were celebrated at Canterbury. The king and queen, on the ſixteenth of the ſame month, made their public entry into London, and on the eighteenth the parliament was aſſembled. The commons, after mentioning ſome grievances not redreſſed, and demanding an account of the laſt money granted for the recovery of the Palatinate, being reſtrained from keeping together by the raging of the plague, and unwilling to give a total denial to their young king, granted him two ſubſidies, and petitioned for a receſs, on which account they were adjourned to meet on the firſt of Auguſt at Oxford. It appears very evident, from the ſmallneſs of this ſupply, that parliament had already entertained a ſtrong jealouſy of the preſent government. A trifling change had been made in the adminiſtration ſince the death of James: Charles had the ſame favourite, the ſame miniſters, and all the offices of the kingdom, continued in the hands of Buckingham's creatures. His influence over Charles exceeded even that which he had acquired over the weakneſs of James; and every public meaſure was conducted by his advice and direction. He engroſſed the entire confidence of his maſter, and was himſelf poſſeſſed of the moſt conſiderable offices of the crown. The hatred of the people had been ſuſpended, while the duke's conduct ſeemed to gratify their prejudices; but they now found that his zeal ſprang from a particular pique againſt Spain, and that an alliance had been contracted with a court no leſs hated. A chapel had been built at Somerſet-houſe for the queen and her family, with conveniences adjoining to it for the capuchin friars, who were permitted to walk abroad in their habits. Beſides, the extraordinary ſupplies granted to the crown by the laſt parliament, and the bad management of its firſt military attempt, convinced the commons, that the miniſtry were not to be truſted with ſo important a buſineſs as war; and the ſpeech of the lord-keeper, which repreſented that the ſubſidies were not only ſpent, but the revenue in debt, did not a little contribute to confirm them in this opinion. But before the meeting of parliament, an incident happened which inflamed the reſentment of the Engliſh. The French miniſtry had cajoled James into a promiſe to furniſh Lewis with one ſhip of war, and ſeven armed merchant ſhips, to be employed againſt the Genoeſe. Buckingham prevailed on Charles to lend theſe ſhips, to be uſed againſt the proteſtants at the ſiege of Rochelle, where they were to be filled with French ſoldiers and mariners, commanded by the duke de Montmorency. This was no ſooner known than the whole crew mutinied. Vice-admiral Pennington declared, that he would rather be hanged in England for diſobedience, than fight againſt his brother proteſtants in France; and notwithſtanding the repeated menaces and promiſes of the French, he refuſed to deliver up the ſhips, and ſailed back to the Downs. They there received new orders from Buckingham, lord admiral, to return to Dieppe. As the duke was ſenſible, that authority alone was not ſufficient to engage the commanders in an action ſo repugnant to conſcience and honour, a rumour was ſpread, that a peace had been concluded between the French king and his proteſtant ſubjects. On their return to Dieppe, they found they had been deceived. The captains of the merchants now maintained, that the king had no right to diſpoſe of their property, and prepared to ſail away; but Pennington, who could no longer plead a miſunderſtanding of his orders, fired to bring them to; yet the brave Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who commanded one of the veſſels, broke through, and returned to England. The remaining ſhips were delivered to the French: but all the officers and ſeamen, notwithſtanding the great offers made them, immediately deſerted; and not one individual, except a gunner, would ſerve againſt their diſtreſſed brethren, the French proteſtants. This tranſaction entirely prevented that popularity, which every Engliſh monarch ſhould endeavour to obtain at the commencement of his reign. No ſooner were theſe tranſactions known in parliament, than the commons ſhewed the ſame attachment with the ſailors for the proteſtant religion. They even carried their zeal to a height that rendered their deliberations at once ridiculous and unjuſt. Montague, one of the king's chaplains, publiſhed a book, which, contrary to the rigid tenets of the puritans, ſaved virtuous catholics, as well as other Chriſtians, from eternal torments. It now became evident that thoſe great men, who reaſoned ſo forcibly on the danger of the conſtitution of their country from the increaſing power of the crown, could not reaſon at all on the ſubject of religion. Montague was ordered to be proſecuted, a committee was appointed to conſider of the proceedings againſt him, and the eccleſiaſtic, for having done an important ſervice to the church of England, by exploding the adopted errors of her antagoniſts, was ordered into cuſtody of the ſerjeant, and to give bail of two thouſand pounds for his appearing at the next ſeſſion. It was no wonder that Charles was offended at theſe proceedings, and that he often put them in mind that they had buſineſs of far greater concern to engage their attention. But finding all attempts were in vain, the king diſſolved a parliament from which he had nothing to expect.

The favourite was now hated by Spain, he was feared by France; he was diſtruſted in Holland; he was unpopular in England. The affections of the king, and his own aſcendancy in the cabinet, were all he had to truſt to, and he therefore determined to increaſe his power, by putting more of his friends into places of conſequence. All the diſſimulation of Williams could not remove Buckingham's hatred. He was deprived of the ſeals and retired to his biſhopric with great dejection. Charles had afterwards time ſufficient to regret the loſs of this able ſervant, when the heats that afterwards flamed out ſo fatally, and ſeemed to threaten the deſtruction of the kingdom. However, notwithſtanding Buckingham was an enemy to the perſon of Williams, he was in his heart a friend to his principles, and was daily more and more convinced how impracticable it was for the government to oppoſe the people's torrent of zeal againſt popery. The earl of Holland continued to be his faithful correſpondent at the French court, and gave him intelligence how deeply Blanville, the French ambaſſador, was engaged in plotting his deſtruction. The duke determined to return to France in quality of ambaſſador; but the queen having been incautious in her expreſſions of her paſſion for that noblemen, Lewis abſolutely refuſed to admit him into his territories. This highly exaſperated Buckingham, eſpecially as the court of France refuſed to ſign a ſecret treaty againſt the houſe of Auſtria, unleſs Charles would employ his forces againſt the French proteſtants. Charles, deſerted by his parliament, was obliged to have recourſe to unconſtitutional methods of raiſing money. He iſſued privy-ſeals in order to obtain the neceſſary ſum; but the advantages he gained by this temporary ſupply were more than balanced by the diſguſt it occaſioned. By means, however, of this ſupply, he was enabled to fit out a fleet of eighty ſail, on board of which were ten thouſand ſoldiers. Buckingham was very unfortunate in his choice of the officers. Sir Horace Vere had been created a baron of England, and was endowed with every talent requiſite for the command of this armament; but he was no friend to the miniſter. Sir Edward Cecil, who had commanded under count Mansfeldt, was therefore choſen for that office, and immediately created viſcount Wimbledon. Buckingham could not have made a more unfortunate choice. Wimbledon, though a brave field officer, knew nothing of ſea affairs. The public complained loudly that Sir Robert Manſel was neglected; but they ſhould have remembered that he was engaged in the party formed againſt the miniſter. Nor was Buckingham more fortunate in his choice of the other officers. The earl of Eſſex was appointed to command under Wimbledon, though there actually ſubſiſted ſo great an antipathy between them, that they would have more readily fought with each other than againſt the enemy.

On the firſt of October the fleet ſailed, and a council of war was held off Cape St. Vincent, in order to form a plan for their future operations. The earl of Eſſex naturally gave his voice for attacking Cadiz, the ſcene of his father's glory, and his propoſal being accepted, the whole fleet ſtood towards that port. But by this time all Spain was alarmed, and ſo dreadful to the Spaniards was the remembrance of the Engliſh valour under queen Elizabeth, that their king was ready in perſon to march down at the head of a royal army to the defence of his coaſt.

The Engliſh reached Cadiz, and found every thing in readineſs to give them a warm reception, and the attack of fort Puntal was given to the earl of Eſſex. He advanced with twenty Engliſh and five Dutch ſhips with ſuch impetuoſity, that the Spaniſh ſhipping, which conſiſted of ſeventeen ſtout ſhips and eight or ten gallies, fearing the fatal conſequence of that fort's being taken, retired to Port Real. The fort, however, made a noble defence; and it was found impracticable to take it on the ſide where the attack was made. Upon this Sir John Burroughs, an old Engliſh officer, landed with his regiment, and driving ſome companies of Spaniſh infantry, who had oppoſed his landing back to the fort, the Spaniſh governor thought proper to ſurrender. The taking of this fort was, however, of no other conſequence than as it opened a paſſage to Cadiz itſelf, and commanded a large extent of villages and country round; but the raw Engliſh ſoldiers could not reſiſt the temptation of the new Spaniſh wines; they drank to exceſs, and could not be brought to act with that ſpirit and reſolution neceſſary for rendering the expedition ſucceſsful. At the ſame time diſſentions prevailed among the officers, and diſeaſes among the ſoldiers, ſo that any farther ſtay appearing fruitleſs, the troops were re-embarked, and the fleet put to ſea, with a reſolution of waiting for the Spaniſh galleons. But the plague breaking out among the ſeamen and ſoldiers, Cecil was obliged to return to England with infected crews, ſickly companies, a broken reputation, diſheartened officers, and national diſhonour.

A. D. 1626. On the ſecond of February Charles was crowned, and four days after the new parliament met at Weſtminſter. The ſeſſion was opened by the new lord-keeper, Sir Thomas Finch, with a conciſe ſpeech, wherein he acquainted both houſes, that as his majeſty intended the ſeſſion ſhould be very ſhort, he hoped they would make all imaginable diſpatch in granting the ſupplies. But the commons, without paying any regard to the lord-keeper's ſpeech, began an enquiry into the national grievances, at the very point where they had left off the laſt ſeſſion, as if the ſame men had been every where elected, and no time had intervened between their laſt meeting. Charles had he been left to himſelf would probably have ſucceeded much better than he did with this parliament. For though he had loſt nothing of his arbitrary notions, yet the neceſſity of his affairs, and his cloſe engagements on the continent, where both his honour and reputation were at ſtake, would certainly have induced him to have made ſuch ſacrifices, as would have brought over to his intereſt that very ſmall number of members, which gave the oppoſition the majority. But Charles was now governed in eccleſiaſtical affairs by Laud, a furious churchman, who, rather than give up one point of uſeleſs ceremony, or immaterial doctrine, was determined to hazard the rights of monarchy, and the tranquillity of his country. The commons indeed voted a ſupply of three ſubſidies and three fifteenths, and afterwards added another ſubſidy; but reſerved the paſſing that vote into a law till the end of the ſeſſion; ſo that if the king refuſed to grant them a ſufficient time to finiſh their enquiry into the national grievances, or refuſed to comply with their demands, he muſt expect no ſupply. Very ſoon it appeared, that the whole ſtorm was intended againſt Buckingham, who was conſidered as the ſource of all the national grievances. Charles foreſaw the conſequence, and endeavoured to ſoften the enquiries of the commons, by ordering Heath, the attorney-general, to ſend letters to the judges, enjoining them to proceed with more vigour than ever againſt the popiſh recuſants. But all orders of that kind were miſtruſted by the commons; and an embargo being at that time laid on all the Engliſh ſhipping in France, the commons ordered an enquiry to be made into the reaſon for ſuch ſtrange proceedings. In anſwer to this enquiry, it was ſaid, that the French had impoſed it upon the Engliſh, in order to indemnify themſelves for the illegal detention of a ſhip belonging to Havre-de-Grace, called the St. Peter, even after an order had been iſſued by the king for her releaſe. But upon examination, it appeared that there was ſufficient reaſon for this detention, and the enquiry was laid aſide. At this time the earl of Briſtol, who had now taken his ſeat in parliament, impeached Buckingham, his inveterate enemy; and the commons ſent up another impeachment. But however odious the irregularities of the favourite had rendered him, they were not ſuch as would condemn him as a traitor. The commons, however, purſued their deſign with unwearied attention; but the members of the council of war declining to give any anſwers to the queſtions put to them by the commons, it was thought proper to put a ſtop, for ſome time, to the enquiry.

Charles, preſſed by his allies for fulfilling his engagements, was very urgent with the parliament to finiſh the ſupplies. The houſe of peers candidly declared, that it was neceſſary to put the nation in a poſture of defence both by ſea and land; and that count Mansfeldt's army, and the king's allies ought to be ſupported. Theſe reſolutions were communicated by the upper, to the lower houſe; but the commons paid very little attention to them; the ſupporting their charge againſt Buckingham engroſſed all their attention. In the courſe of this debate, Mr. Coke, ſon to Sir Edward Coke, ſaid, "It was better to die by an enemy than to ſuffer at home;" and Dr. Turner, a phyſician, propoſed the following queſtions againſt Buckingham.

Whether the duke, being admiral of England, be not the cauſe of the king's loſs of his royalty in the narrow ſeas?

Whether the unreaſonable, exorbitant, and immenſe gifts of money and lands, beſtowed on the duke and his relations, be not the cauſe of impairing the king's revenue, and impoveriſhing the crown?

Whether the multiplicity of offices beſtowed on the duke and his dependents, be not the cauſe of the ill government of the kingdom?

Whether recuſants in general be not ſupported and encouraged by the duke's mother and father-in-law, being papiſts?

Whether the ſale of honours, offices, places of judicature, eccleſiaſtical livings, and promotions, be not carried on by the duke?

Whether the duke's ſtaying at home, though admiral of the fleet and general of the land army, was not the cauſe of the miſcarriage of the expedition to Cadiz; and whether he gave proper directions for executing the deſign?

In the midſt of this debate, the ſpeaker received the following letter from the king:

"Truſty and well-beloved, &c.

"Having aſſembled the parliament early in the beginning of the year, for the more timely help and advice of our people in our great and important affairs; and having of late, not only by meſſage, but alſo of ourſelf, put our houſe of commons in mind of our preſſing occaſions, and of the preſent ſtate of Chriſtendom, wherein they have equal intereſt with us, as well as in reſpect to their own former engagements, as of the common cauſe; we ſhall not need to tell them with what care and patience we have, in the midſt of our neceſſities, attended their reſolutions; but becauſe their unſeaſonable ſlowneſs may produce at home as ill effects as a denial, and hazard the whole eſtate of things abroad, we have thought fit, by you, the ſpeaker, to let them know, that without more loſs of time, we look for a full and perfect anſwer to what they will give for our ſupply, according to our expectation and their promiſes; wherein, as we preſs for nothing beyond the preſent ſtate and condition of our ſubjects, ſo will we accept no leſs than is proportional to the greatneſs and goodneſs of the cauſe; neither do we preſs them to a preſent reſolution in this, with a purpoſe to precipitate their counſels, much leſs to enter upon their privileges, but to ſhew that it is unfit to depend any longer upon uncertainties, whereby the whole weight of the affairs of Chriſtendom may break in ſuddenly upon us, to our diſhonour and the ſhame of this nation. And for the buſineſs at home, we command you to promiſe them in our name, that after they have ſatisfied us in this reaſonable demand, we ſhall not only continue them together at this time ſo long as the ſeaſon will permit, but call them ſhortly again to perfect thoſe neceſſary buſineſſes which will be now left undone; and now we ſhall willingly apply fit and ſeaſonable remedies to ſuch juſt grievances which they ſhall preſent unto us in a dutiful and mannerly manner, without throwing an ill-odour upon our preſent government, or upon the government of our late bleſſed father; and if there be yet who deſire to find fault, we ſhall think him the wiſeſt reprehender of our errors paſt, who, without reflecting backward, can give us counſel how to ſettle the preſent ſtate of things, and to provide for the future ſafety and honour of the kingdom." To enforce the intention of this letter, Sir Edward Weſton, chancellor of the exchequer, delivered to the houſe the following meſſage.

"1. His majeſty's fleet being returned, and the victuals expended, the men muſt, of neceſſity, be diſcharged, and their wages paid; otherwiſe a mutiny will be the conſequence, which may, at this time, prove dangerous.

"2. His majeſty hath fitted out about forty ſhips, for a ſecond attempt againſt the enemy: theſe want only victuals and a few men, but without a preſent ſupply of money, cannot ſail, nor be kept together.

"3. The army aſſembled on the coaſts muſt ſoon be diſbanded, if they be not ſupplied with victuals and cloaths.

"4. If the companies lately ſent to Ireland be not provided for, inſtead of defending that country, they will become the authors of rebellion.

"5. The ſeaſon for providing healthful victuals will be paſt if this month be neglected.

"His majeſty therefore commanded me to tell you, that he deſired to know without farther delay, what ſupply you will give him for theſe his preſent occaſions, that he may frame his courſe and council accordingly." This meſſage contained ſuch ſtrong reaſons, that, notwithſtanding all the arts of the oppoſition, and the unbounded aſcendancy the leaders of it had acquired over the minds of the people, they thought proper to join very readily in the following anſwer to Weſton's meſſage:

"Moſt gracious ſovereign,

"Your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the commons, now aſſembled in parliament, in all humility, preſent unto your royal wiſdom this their loyal anſwer to the meſſage which your majeſty was pleaſed, by the chancellor of your exchequer, to ſend unto them, deſiring to know, without any farther deferring of time, what ſupply they would give to your majeſty for your preſent and extraordinary occaſions, that you might form your courſes and counſels accordingly. Firſt of all, they moſt humbly beſeech your majeſty to know, and reſt aſſured, that no prince was ever dearer to his people than your majeſty; no people more zealous to maintain and advance the honour and greatneſs of their king than they, which, as upon all occaſions they will be ready to expreſs, ſo eſpecially in ſupport of that cauſe wherein your majeſty and your allies are juſtly engaged. And becauſe they cannot doubt but your majeſty, in your great wiſdom, even out of juſtice, and according to the example of your famous predeceſſors, will be pleaſed graciouſly to accept the faithful and neceſſary information and advice of your parliament, which can have no end but the ſervice of your majeſty, and the ſafety of your realm, in diſcovering the cauſes, and propoſing the remedies of thoſe great evils, which have occaſioned your majeſty's wants, and your people's grief. They therefore, in confidence and full aſſurance of redreſs therein, do, with one conſent, propoſe, though in former time ſuch courſe had been unuſed, that they really intend to aſſiſt and ſupply your majeſty in ſuch a way, and in ſo ample a manner, as may make you ſafe at home, and feared abroad; for the diſpatch whereof, they will uſe ſuch diligence as your majeſty's preſſing occaſions ſhall require."

But the commons, notwithſtanding this anſwer, inſtead of immediately applying themſelves to finiſh the bill relative to the ſubſidies, ſtill purſued their favourite project againſt Buckingham; and having voted upon the queries of Dr. Turner, "that common fame was a ſufficient ground of accuſation by the commons," proceeded to frame regular articles againſt the miniſter. They accuſed him "of having united many offices in his perſon; of having bought two of them; of neglecting to guard the ſeas, ſo that many merchant ſhips had fallen into the hands of the enemy; of delivering ſhips to the French king, in order to ſerve againſt the Hugonots; of being employed in the ſales of honours and offices; of accepting extenſive grants from the crown; of procuring many titles of honour for his kindred; of adminiſtering phyſic to the late king, without acquainting his phyſicians; of extorting a ſum of ten thouſand pounds from the Eaſt-India Company; and of confiſcating ſome goods belonging to ſome French merchants, under pretence of their being the property of the Spaniards." Among all theſe accuſations, the two laſt only could be regarded as of any importance; the reſt ſeem to be frivolous, or falſe, or both. But the duke's anſwer to theſe particulars was ſo clear and ſatisfactory, that it is impoſſible to refuſe our aſſent to it. Charles, perceiving that the commons were determined to purſue their own meaſures, ordered the lord-keeper to forbid the houſe meddling any farther with his miniſter and ſervant, Buckingham; and ordered them to finiſh, in a few days, the bill they had begun for the ſubſidies; and to make ſome addition to them, otherwiſe they muſt expect to ſit no longer.

This language, more proper for an eaſtern than an Engliſh monarch, tended to deſtroy the conſtitution, and to reduce Britons to that abject ſtate of ſlavery known only in the moſt deſpotic kingdoms. It deſtroyed all confidence between the king and his parliament. At the ſame time, he ſent to demand ſatisfaction of Mr. Coke, for the words he had ſpoken, and of Dr. Turner, for the queries he had preſented to the commons. The houſe was aſtoniſhed at ſuch proceedings; ſome were intimidated with fear; ſome were filled with indignation; ſome with true patriotic zeal for a coalition between the king and his people; and others, inſtigated by a ſecret ambition, rejoiced at this language of the king, as it tended to throw every thing into confuſion. Theſe different paſſions produced different effects; and ſo many left the committee, that the ſpeaker was obliged to reſume the chair, and it was ordered that no member ſhould depart the houſe without leave.

Having taken the king's meſſage into conſideration, they preſented a ſpirited remonſtrance, in which they boldly juſtified their proceedings againſt Buckingham, as being founded upon precedents, and conſiſtent with every principle of natural liberty and ſafety: and concluded with putting the king in mind how readily they had agreed to grant him a ſupply, and requeſted his majeſty not to be prejudiced againſt their proceedings. But neither theſe meſſages nor remonſtrances had any power to withdraw the attention of the commons from their favourite project, that of ſupporting their articles of impeachment againſt Buckingham; though they muſt have known, that few of the articles exhibited againſt him contained real crimes, and that theſe were impoſſible to be proved. It is, indeed, ſurprizing, that men of ſuch remarkable abilities as the leaders of the houſe of commons were, inveterate in their hatred, and keen in their purſuit of a favourite miniſter, young and giddy at his entrance into power, bold and inſolent in its exerciſe, unfortunate and diſappointed in his meaſures, ſhould find ſo little real matter againſt him, during the ſpace of almoſt fourteen years. The truth is, that Buckingham had always been faithful to his maſters; and had been ſometimes, to gratify their arbitrary inclinations, forced upon meaſures his judgment diſapproved; and he had, for ſome years, been ſtruggling in vain againſt the tide of popular fury. The breath of the king, inſtead of diſſipating, ſwelled the ſtorm. It was now agreed to demand of the lords that Buckingham ſhould be committed to ſafe cuſtody. When this meſſage was delivered to the upper houſe, the duke addreſſed the lords in the following manner:

"My lords,

"If I hold my peace it will argue guilt; if I ſpeak it will argue boldneſs, when accuſed of ſo many crimes. Your lordſhips ſee what complaints are made againſt me by the houſe of commons. How well I ſtood in their opinion not long ſince, your lordſhips well know: what I have done ſince to loſe their good opinion, I proteſt I am entirely ignorant. I cannot ſo greatly diſtruſt my own innocency, and my heart, which abhors guilt, as to decline any courſe, or court of juſtice; and had they not brought my cauſe before your lordſhips, it would have been my own work: they have done me a favour, by delivering me out of their hands into thoſe of your lordſhips.

"I will not endeavour to throw any reflection on thoſe who have taken pains to repreſent me in ſo vile a light; it will be ſufficient for me to proteſt my innocence, which I hope to prove, as the cauſe is now before juſt judges: I deſire that my trial may be haſtened, that I may ſuffer no longer than is abſolutely neceſſary: and as my accuſers have not been content with my proceſs only, but to preſcribe to your lordſhips the manner of your judgment, and to puniſh me before I am heard, I ſhall not give way to any of their unjuſt demands."

About this time, the earl of Suffolk, chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge, died; and Buckingham, though then under impeachment, was choſen in his place. The commons reſented, and loudly complained of this affront; but the king was ſo far from regarding the cenſure of the commons, that he wrote a letter to the univerſity, extolling the duke, and giving them thanks for his election. Sir Dudley Digges, and Sir John Elliot, who had been employed as managers of the impeachment againſt Buckingham, were ſent to the Tower. This highly exaſperated the commons, who immediately declared, that they would proceed no farther upon buſineſs till they had received ſatisfaction with regard to their privileges. Charles alledged, as a reaſon for this violent meaſure, certain ſeditious expreſſions, which, he ſaid, had dropped from thoſe members in their accuſation of the duke. Upon enquiry, it appeared that no ſuch expreſſions had been uſed; upon which the members were releaſed.

The example of the houſe of commons was now imitated by the peers. They claimed liberty for the earl of Arundel, who had been lately ſent to the Tower. The king made ſeveral attempts to elude the demand of the lords, but was at laſt obliged to comply, and the earl was accordingly releaſed from his confinement. The king having complied with the demand of the commons, with regard to the diſcharge of their members, and even declared that he had been impoſed upon, there were no plauſible reaſons for with-holding the ſupplies. A great majority of the houſe would readily have paſſed the bill, but were oppoſed by other turbulent members, who intimated, that they had ſome doubts whether the money would be properly applied, and whether there was any real intention of ſending out the fleet that year. Theſe inſinuations were at once both groundleſs and malicious, yet many events concurred to render them poſſible. The king had as yet given them no ſatisfaction, nor even an anſwer to their remonſtrance. The houſe of peers had refuſed to proceed againſt Buckingham, or even to admit that he might be criminal, by ſending him to the Tower. The French court had made peace with the Hugonots, by the mediation of the Engliſh ambaſſadors: they had paid off, and ſent home, the Engliſh ſhips employed in their ſervice; they had taken off the embargo laid on the Engliſh merchantmen; and, after renewing the treaty of 1610, ſeemed entirely diſpoſed to act with vigour againſt the houſe of Auſtria. For this purpoſe, Lewis had offered to make a diverſion, with twenty-five thouſand men, in Germany; and to continue the war, if neceſſary, for four years to come, provided England would enter into the ſame engagements; but refuſed to be concerned any farther againſt the houſe of Auſtria, than the reinſtating the Palatine, and other deprived German princes, in their dominions. From theſe circumſtances the diſcontented members took the opportunity of urging, that there would be no occaſion for the operations of the fleet, and that the houſe ought to be very careful how they granted money for that purpoſe. Theſe artful ſpeeches made a viſible impreſſion to the diſadvantage of the court, and the commons ſeemed perſuaded that the ſupply was not neceſſary. Charles endeavoured to quicken their proceedings by meſſages; and even proceeded ſo far as to threaten the commons that if they did not furniſh him with the ſupplies, he ſhould be obliged to have recourſe to "new councils." This language could not be miſtaken; but leſt any of the members ſhould conſider it as ambiguous, Sir Dudley Carleton, vice-chamberlain, took ſome pains to explain it fully. "I pray you conſider, ſaid he, what theſe new councils are. I fear to declare thoſe that I conceive. In all Chriſtian kingdoms you know that parliaments were formerly in uſe, by which thoſe kingdoms were governed in a moſt flouriſhing manner; until the monarchs began to know their own ſtrength, and ſeeing the turbulent ſpirit of their parliaments, at length they, by little and little, began to ſtand on their prerogatives, and at laſt overthrew the parliaments throughout Chriſtendom, except here only with us.—Let us be careful, then, to preſerve the king's good opinion of parliaments, which bringeth ſuch happineſs to this nation, and makes us envied of all others, while there is this ſweetneſs between his majeſty and the commons; leſt we loſe the repute of a free people by our turbulence in parliament." Theſe imprudent ſuggeſtions rather gave the commons warning of the deſigns formed againſt them, than ſtruck them with terror. They conſidered a precarious liberty, or that preſerved by unlimited complaiſance, as no liberty at all. They were determined to preſerve the ſubſtance, or loſe the ſhadow. Inſtead, therefore, of paſſing the bill for the ſupplies, they renewed their enquiries into grievances; they ordered the houſe to be called over, and all abſent members to be puniſhed. They revived their attack on the revenues of the crown. They entered on a remonſtrance againſt the levying of tonnage and poundage without conſent of parliament. This article, together with the new impoſitions laid on merchandize by James, conſtituted near one half of the royal revenues. This attack, therefore, had it ſucceeded, muſt have proved deciſive; and as they were not able to fix any legal crime upon Buckingham, they intended to preſent a petition to his majeſty for removing him from his perſon and councils. To preſerve, however, the appearance of moderation, the ſubſidy bill was again read, but kept in ſuch ſuſpence as ſufficiently indicated, that if all the grievances preſented by the commons were not removed, the bill would never paſs into a law. The king, alarmed at theſe proceedings, determined to diſſolve the parliament. The lords endeavoured to diſſuade him from this reſolution, but in vain; and when they petitioned him, that he would allow the parliament to ſit ſome time longer, he anſwered, in a very haſty manner, "Not a moment longer." The commons had juſt finiſhed their remonſtrance when the king carried his threats into execution, by diſſolving the parliament, before they had completed a ſingle act.

Their remonſtrance began with a kind of recapitulation of the reaſons why the preſent and former parliament had been in a manner abortive, and the whole blame thrown upon Buckingham. Among other things they charged him with appointing Sir Edward Coke, and ſeveral other leading members againſt him, ſheriffs of counties, in order to diſqualify them from ſerving their country in parliament; and for ſending Mr. Glanville abroad, as ſecretary of the fleet for the ſame purpoſe. They afterwards declared it was their firm reſolution to have ſignally ſupported his majeſty in the proſecution of the war, had not all their intention been blaſted by the enormities of Buckingham, whoſe crimes they ſum up in the following manner. "We found, ſay they, that the moſt preſſing and comprehenſive miſchief and grievance ſuffered by the late king, was fundamentally ſettled in the vaſt power, and enormous actions of the ſaid duke, being ſuch, by reaſon of his plurality of offices; ſome procured by ambition, and ſome by money, expreſsly againſt the laws of your majeſty's realm; his breach of truſt in not guarding the ſeas; his high injuſtice in the admiralty; his extortion; his delivering over the ſhips of this kingdom into the hands of a foreign prince; his procuring the compulſory buying of honour for his own gain; his unexampled exhauſting of the treaſures and revenues of the kingdom; his tranſcendent preſumption of that unhappy application of phyſic to your royal father of bleſſed memory, ſome few days before his death; of theſe and ſome other of his offences carefully examined by us, we made a parliamentary charge againſt him to the lords, by your majeſty aſſembled in parliament, there expecting ſome remedy by a ſpeedy proceeding againſt him; but may it pleaſe your moſt excellent majeſty, not only during the time of our examination of the matters and offences of the ſaid charge, we were often interrupted and diverted by meſſages, procured, through miſinformation from your majeſty, which with moſt humble duty and reverence we did ever receive, whence it firſt fell out that ſo, not only much time was ſpent among us, before the ſaid charge was perfected, but alſo within two days after the ſame charge was tranſmitted by us to the lords, two of our members, Sir Dudley Digges, and Sir John Elliot, upon untrue and malicious informations, privately and againſt the privilege of parliaments, given to your majeſty of certain words, were by your majeſty's command committed to cloſe impriſonment in the Tower of London, their lodgings preſently ſearched, and their papers taken away; by reaſon whereof not only our known privileges of parliament were infringed, but we ourſelves, who in full hopes of ſpeedy courſe of juſtice againſt the ſaid duke, were preparing with all dutiful affection to proceed to diſpatch the ſupply and other ſervices of your majeſty, were wholly, as the courſe and privilege of parliament bind us, employed for ſeveral days in taking into conſideration the proper methods to be purſued for the ratifying and preſerving the privileges ſo infringed." They next complain of the inſolence of lord Conway, ſecretary of ſtate, who had ordered the meſſengers, who, by their warrants, were to have apprehended the members at their lodgings, to ſeize them in the very houſe of commons. This outrage they alſo charged upon the duke, as they do all the interruptions they received, when they were well diſpoſed to grant the ſupply. They next attack that nobleman for procuring himſelf to be elected chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge, becauſe, ſay they, "the ſame univerſity, having two burgeſſes in parliament, did by the ſame burgeſſes, a few weeks before, conſent with us in the charge againſt him, for his ambition in procuring ſuch a plurality of offices; ſuch was his ambition to ſue for it; ſuch was his power to make them give it him, contrary to what they had agreed in parliament with all the commons of England." They next charge him "with having ſcreened Montague, and deſpair of being able to do any thing for the public ſervice, while Buckingham remained in poſſeſſion of his power, continued to abuſe the confidence of his majeſty, and enjoyed the arbitrary diſpoſal of rewards and puniſhments to all ranks of people. They promiſe to reply to this anſwer to the articles they had exhibited againſt him. They tremble to think of the conſequences that muſt attend his majeſty's following new councils, as he had intimated, if, by new councils, he meant to govern and raiſe money without conſent of parliament. They added, that they had reaſon to fear, that this was really his meaning, or perhaps that of his miniſter, the rather, ſay they, becauſe the ſubſidies of tonnage and poundage, which determined on the death of your moſt royal father, our late ſovereign, and were never payable to any of your majeſty's anceſtors, but only by a ſpecial act of parliament, and ought not to be levied without ſuch an act; yet, ever ſince the beginning of your majeſty's happy reign over us, the ſaid ſubſidies have been levied by ſome of your majeſty's miniſters, as if they were ſtill due; although one parliament had ſince that time been held and diſſolved, by procurement of the ſaid duke, wherein no act paſſed for the ſame ſubſidies. Which example is ſo much againſt the conſtant uſe of former times, and the known right and liberty of your ſubjects, that it is an apparent effect of ſome new counſels, given againſt the ancient ſettled courſe of government of this your majeſty's kingdom, and chiefly againſt the right of your commons, as if there might be any ſubſidy, tax, or aid levied upon them, without their conſent in parliament, or contrary to the ſettled laws of the kingdom. But if any ſuch do ſo ill uſe an office, as by the miſrepreſentation of the ſtate and right of your majeſty's loyal ſubjects, adviſe any ſuch new counſels, as the levying any aid, tax, or ſubſidy, among your people, contrary to the ſettled laws of your kingdom, we cannot, moſt gracious ſovereign, but eſteem thoſe who ſhall adviſe, not only as vipers, but peſts to their king and commonwealth, and alſo capital enemies as well to your crown and dignity, as to the commonwealth. And we ſhall, for our parts, ſhew, in parliament, as occaſion may require, and be ready to declare their offences of this kind ſuch, as may be rewarded with the higheſt puniſhment your laws inflict on any offenders." In the concluſion of this remonſtrance, after laying before the king the dangers and miſeries which muſt attend his continuing to place his confidence in this ſingle miniſter, they proceed in the following manner; "Give us then leave, moſt dear ſovereign, in the name of all the commons of this your kingdom, proſtrate at the feet of your ſacred majeſty, moſt humbly to beſeech you, even for the honour of Almighty God, whoſe religion is directly undermined by the practice of that party whom this duke ſupports; for your honour, which will be much advanced in the relieving your people in this their great and general grievance; for the honour, ſafety, and welfare of your kingdom, which by this means is threatened with almoſt unavoidable dangers; and for the love which your majeſty, as a good and loving father, bears unto your good people, to whom we profeſs, in the preſence of Almighty God, the ſearcher of all hearts, you are as highly eſteemed and beloved, as ever any of your predeceſſors were, that you would be graciouſly pleaſed to remove this perſon from having acceſs to your ſacred preſence, and that you would not balance this one man with all theſe things, and with the affairs of the Chriſtian world, which do all ſuffer, ſo far as they have relation to this kingdom, chiefly by his means. For we proteſt to your majeſty, and to the whole world, that until this perſon be removed from intermeddling in the great affairs of ſtate, we are out of hope of any good ſucceſs; and do fear, that whatever money we can or ſhall give, will, through his miſmanagement, be turned rather to the hurt and prejudice of this your kingdom than otherwiſe; as by lamentable experience we have found in thoſe large ſupplies we have formerly and lately given. But no ſooner ſhall we receive redreſs and relief in this, which, of all others, is the moſt inſupportable grievance, but we ſhall forthwith proceed to accompliſh your majeſty's own deſire for ſupply; and likewiſe, with all chearfulneſs, apply ourſelves to the perfecting of divers other great things, ſuch as we think no one parliament in one age can parallel, tending to the ſtability, wealth, ſtrength, and honour of this your kingdom, and the ſupport of your friends and allies abroad: and we doubt not but through God's bleſſing, as you are the beſt, ſo ſhall you be the beſt beloved and the greateſt monarch that ever ſat on the royal throne of this famous kingdom."

The commons intended to have preſented this remonſtrance to the king; but being prevented from carrying their deſign into execution, they cauſed it to be diſperſed among the people in juſtification of their conduct. Charles was no ſtranger to its contents, but determined not to make the ſacrifice requeſted of him. He thought that the great guilt of Buckingham conſiſted in being his friend and favourite. All the other complaints againſt him he conſidered as mere pretences. A few months before he was the idol of the people; and no new crime had ſince been pretended to be diſcovered. After the moſt diligent enquiry, prompted by the greateſt malice, the ſmalleſt appearance of guilt could not be fixed upon him. What idea, he aſked, muſt all mankind entertain of his honour, ſhould he ſacrifice his innocent friend to pecuniary conſiderations? What farther authority would he entertain in this nation, were he capable, in the very beginning of his reign, to give, in ſo ſignal an inſtance, ſuch matter of triumph to his enemies, and diſcouragement to his friends? Indeed, the whole charge againſt Buckingham was ſo general, that it might have been thrown out againſt a virtuous as well as a wicked miniſter. It was equally abſurd in them to ſuppoſe, that the act of the two members for the Univerſity of Cambridge, was the act of the Univerſity itſelf; nor did the repreſentatives of that body, by agreeing or not agreeing to the charge againſt the duke, make it more or leſs binding upon the Univerſity to approve or diſapprove of the ſame charge. The raiſing of tonnage and poundage, without conſent of parliament, was indeed a ſtrong and an alarming circumſtance, and laid, as it were, the axe to the root of liberty. An Engliſh houſe of commons, could not, therefore, be too loud upon this head; they acted as true patriots, when, while ſuch an arbitrary meaſure was purſuing, they made the poſt of honour the place of danger, and poured out the vials of public indignation againſt any miniſter, guilty or not guilty, who ſhould dare to ſerve a prince that avowed ſuch dangerous principles. By way of anſwer, the government alſo diſperſed a declaration, ſhewing the reaſons which induced the king to diſſolve the two laſt parliaments; but it is one of the weakeſt pieces ever publiſhed by any miniſtry. It contains nothing in reply to thoſe ſtrong facts and principles which had been urged by the commons in their remonſtrances; it conſiſted of particulars which no body pretended to deny, namely, That the king, by the advice of his parliament, had been engaged in a war with the houſe of Auſtria; that this war had been attended with great expence; that he had called the two laſt parliaments for furniſhing him with ſupplies for carrying on the war; that he had preſſed them again and again for that purpoſe; and that being always diſappointed in his expectations, he had diſſolved them. Theſe were facts never diſputed; nor did the moſt violent oppoſers of the court ever deny, that the occaſions for ſtrengthening the hands of his majeſty were great and urgent. But the true queſtions were, whether the foreign war was of ſo much importance, as to interpoſe between them and every thing that ought to be dear to a free people? Whether they ought to ſupport a prince, who threw his favourite into one ſcale, as a counterpoiſe againſt his parliament in the other? Whether this favourite, ſole and ſupreme as he was, might not, when poſſeſſed of money granted by the parliament, make uſe of it to rivet thoſe chains he was then forging, and to eſtabliſh the principles his maſter had avowed? Charles, in all his papers and declarations, gave no conſtitutional ſatisfaction as to any one of thoſe doubts, and his ſilence admitted of the worſt conſtruction.

Had Charles immediately made peace with Spain, he might perhaps have found the neceſſary reſources to have ſupported the expences of his government. But beſides the treaties and engagements which he had entered into with Holland and Denmark, the king's thoughts were at this time entirely averſe to pacific counſels. He was determined to carry on the war, and to feed it by opening the ſluices of prerogative. He was always perſuaded that he had much leſs to fear from the papiſts than the puritans; and to take away the great objection which the latter urged for exclaiming againſt the violent part of the church of England, he iſſued a proclamation againſt preaching or diſputing either for or againſt the religious tenets of Arminius. It was long before Buckingham could gain this point; and perhaps no prince ever committed more folly than James and Charles did, in ſo long ſupporting the principles of the Anti-Arminians, contrary to their own private opinions, and to the ſenſe of almoſt every man to whom they truſted for the advancement of their meaſures. The council was now entirely engaged in forming meaſures for raiſing the ſupplies neceſſary for carrying on the war; and it was reſolved that the king might continue to levy all thoſe duties upon goods and merchandize, called by the ſeveral names of cuſtoms, ſubſidies, and impoſts, in the ſame manner as they had been levied during the late reign. The other proceedings of the government were of the ſame kind. It was well known that nothing could be more diſagreeable to the people of England, than the leaſt attempt to favour popery; yet the king granted a commiſſion to the archbiſhop of York, Sir John Saville, and others, "To treat and make compoſitions with the ſaid recuſants for all forfeitures in not going to church, under ſuch conditions and immunities as they ſhall ſee meet and convenient, according to ſuch inſtructions as his majeſty hath or ſhall give for that purpoſe; his majeſty rather deſiring their converſion than deſtruction." The king imagined, that he could not effect a more popular action than to increaſe the ſtrength of the royal navy; and in the commiſſion for compounding with the recuſants, he had aſſigned the neceſſity of guarding the northern ports, as the reaſon for his appropriating the compoſition-money to himſelf. Advantage was alſo taken of ſome precedents, by no means applicable to the preſent times, for charging the ſea-ports with certain ſums of money for fitting out ſhips. This demand fell heavy upon the city of London, which was ordered to fit out twenty ſhips. But the king ſoon perceived that this meaſure would be attended with ſome difficulty. Not only the capital, but the deputy-lieutenants and juſtices of Dorſetſhire, remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt this impoſition, which they conceived to be without precedent. This ſufficiently ſhewed that they were little converſant in Engliſh hiſtory, as many precedents occur; though they were in themſelves either tyrannical, obſolete, or warranted by immediate neceſſity. They were, however, to be found; and the council conſidering them as ſufficient for their purpoſe, rejected all petitions, and particularly that of the city of London, to have this impoſition abated. They alſo, to increaſe the appearances of neceſſity, augmented the wages of ſailors from fourteen to twenty ſhillings a month; and publiſhed ſeveral proclamations, giving them other encouragements. At the ſame time rigorous directions were iſſued for putting all the ſea-coaſts, and the principal fortreſſes of the kingdom, in a poſture of defence, as if an actual invaſion or rebellion had already taken place. Nothing was ſeen throughout the kingdom but muſters and arrays of forces; and the military law, with all its terrors, was ſuſpended over the heads of the aſtoniſhed people. Charles had ſoon occaſion for all theſe precautions, though the event was not, perhaps, foreſeen. He had paid the king of Denmark large ſubſidies; and that prince, by his encouragement, having for ſome time acted as the patron of the Germanic liberty, had marched his army towards the Weſer, where he took Minden and Hamelin; but upon the approach of count Tilly, at the head of an army of veteran Imperialiſts, he retired towards Ferden, to wait the arrival of Mansfeldt with twelve thouſand Engliſh and Dutch forces. While he remained in that ſituation, he had ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with the Imperialiſts, who were ordered to keep him fully employed, till the Emperor could place the crown of Hungary on the head of his eldeſt ſon. This coronation exaſperated the famous Bethlem Gabor, a prince of Tranſylvania, who aſpired to the throne of Hungary, and propoſed to enter into the league formed againſt the houſe of Auſtria. His offer was accepted; and it was agreed that he ſhould invade Hungary, and be joined by the troops under count Mansfeldt, as ſoon as he arrived in Sileſia. But before this could be effected, the Emperor had aſſembled one army on the Weſer, another under the famous Wallenſtein on the frontiers of Sileſia, and a third under count Tilly in Lower Saxony. This obliged the king of Denmark to divide his army; which, by the junction of Mansfeldt and the German princes, was now increaſed to ſixty-thouſand men, into three bodies. The firſt, commanded by duke Chriſtian of Brunſwick, was to act upon the Weſer; the ſecond, by Mansfeldt, was to oppoſe Wallenſtein, and, if poſſible, force a paſſage into Sileſia; and the third, commanded by the king of Denmark in perſon, was to act in the intermediate ſpace between the other two. The active count Mansfeldt, in his route to Sileſia, made himſelf maſter of the whole province of Magdebourg, before Wallenſtein could come up to oppoſe him; but being ſtopped by general Altringer at Deſſau upon the Elbe, Wallenſtein had time to march to the relief of the place; and falling upon his army, obliged Mansfeldt to retire, with the loſs of the greater part of his infantry, baggage, and artillery, into the marquiſate of Brandenburgh. Mansfeldt did not, however, abandon his principal deſign, that of penetrating into Sileſia, and gaining ſome marches upon Wallenſtein. He was ſo induſtrious, that he ſoon recruited his army, which now conſiſted of twenty-five thouſand men, and advanced at their head to join Bethlem Gabor. But that prince, upon the firſt news of Mansfeldt's defeat, made peace with the Emperor. This behaviour ſo greatly diſguſted Mansfeldt, that he reſigned the command of his troops to duke Erneſt of Saxe Weimar, and retired to Buda, when he ſet out for Venice, but died on his journey in an obſcure village of Dalmatia. About the ſame time, the brave duke Chriſtian of Brunſwick, who commanded another diviſion of the confederate army, paid the debt of nature; and ſoon after, the duke of Saxe Weimar, Mansfeldt's ſucceſſor. The loſs of thoſe three great generals was irreparable to the confederates, whoſe hopes now entirely centered in the king of Denmark. Tilly, who had all this time watched the motions of that prince, had now retaken Minden, and ſome other places; but was very near being ſurprized in his camp by the king of Denmark, at a time when he thought that prince was at thirty leagues diſtance. But Tilly, after making a maſterly retreat, was reinforced by ſo great a body of veterans, that the king of Denmark, who had no great opinion of his own new-raiſed troops, would in his turn have gladly declined a battle; but this was impoſſible. The conteſt was very bloody, but ended in favour of the Imperial general; and the king was obliged to retire, with the loſs of his baggage and artillery, towards Holſtein. Three thouſand men of the confederate army were ſlain on the field of battle, and three thouſand taken priſoners.

This defeat of the king of Denmark, redoubled the endeavours of Charles to obtain ſupplies. He had ſent a ſquadron of ſhips to lie at the mouth of the Elbe, to prevent the Spaniards from furniſhing themſelves with naval ſtores from that country. But this not only exaſperated the Hamburghers, whoſe commerce was thereby greatly leſſened, but the attempt itſelf was ineffectual, becauſe the enemy was ſupplied from Lubec, and the paſſage of the Sound was left open. The ſquadron was therefore recalled at the interceſſion of the Hamburgh merchants. The public did not fail to make their own reflections upon theſe inconſiſtent diſpoſitions of the court; for either the deſtination of the ſquadron had been improper, or the recalling of it impolitic. The truth is, the object of Buckingham's reſentment was changed. Beſides his paſſion for the young queen of France, and his reſentment at the refuſal of Lewis to receive him as ambaſſador, he had the greateſt reaſons to watch the conduct of cardinal Richelieu. The proteſtants of France had accepted the peace, under the guarantee of the king of England. By concluding this treaty, Charles committed a great political error. He gave peace to France, hoping that France would then join him againſt the Spaniards; but he was deceived. Inſtead of fulfilling their promiſes, they made uſe of this tranquillity as an argument for extorting advantageous terms from Spain. Richelieu, the better to conceal his real intentions from the allies during this negociation, had procured the prince of Piedmont to be appointed lieutenant-general of the French armies in foreign parts: preparations were made in every province of France; and it was expected that the ſtorm, which had been ſo long gathering, would ſoon burſt upon the houſe of Auſtria. But no ſuch thing was intended: for, in a few days it was publickly known, that a peace had been concluded between France and Spain. This perfidious conduct raiſed

Richelieu many enemies, particularly the duke of Savoy, and the duke of Orleans, brother to the king. The former was now left expoſed to the vengeance of the Spaniards; and the latter, for reaſons foreign to this hiſtory, was more exaſperated againſt the miniſter than ever. But Richelieu's fortune roſe ſuperior to all difficulties. Fearful of a correſpondence between England and the duke de Vendome, governor of Brittany, which lay ſo convenient for a deſcent from England, he prevailed upon Lewis to undertake a journey into that province, where he cauſed the duke of Vendome to be arreſted. But the moſt active agent againſt Richelieu was the abbot of Scaglia, ambaſſador in England from the duke of Savoy, a reſtleſs intriguing miniſter, who hated Richelieu, and was now become very intimate with Buckingham. This produced a ſecret correſpondence between England, the court of Savoy, and the duke of Rohan, the head of the French Hugonots, who were now convinced that all the great preparations in France were intended againſt Rochelle, the principal place in their poſſeſſion. It was eaſy for the abbot of Scaglia, by the aſſiſtance of Buckingham, and the duke of Soubiſe, who managed the affairs of the French Hugonots in England, to inſpire Charles with a contemptible opinion of the duplicity of the French court; and to perſuade him, that having now loſt all hopes of prevailing upon Lewis to join in the alliance againſt the houſe of Auſtria, he ought to revive the antient policy of England, in preventing the total ruin of the Hugonots. The abbot gave him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his maſter's friendſhip and aſſiſtance; and it was accordingly determined to ſupport the proteſtants of France. But how to effect this was the point. Supplies were wanting to pay both the fleet and the army; and the neceſſities of Charles increaſed, as his extenſive engagements were augmented. It was therefore determined to have recourſe to a general loan, in which every man was to be aſſeſſed according to the rolls of the laſt ſubſidy. But this expedient anſwered not the intentions of the miniſter: the people refuſed to ſubſcribe to the loan, and the whole country became a ſcene of confuſion. Among other articles of ſecret inſtruction, the commiſſioners appointed to levy theſe loans were enjoined, "If any man ſhall refuſe to lend, and ſhall make delays or excuſes, and perſiſt in his obſtinacy, that they examine him upon oath, whether he has been dealt with to deny or refuſe to lend, or make any excuſe for not lending? Who has dealt with him, and what ſpeeches or perſuaſions were uſed for that purpoſe? And that they alſo charge every ſuch perſon in his majeſty's name, upon his allegiance, not to diſcloſe to any one what his anſwer was." It is aſtoniſhing that the king could be prevailed upon to ſuffer ſo impracticable an attempt to be made by his officers. A very little reflection would have been abundantly ſufficient to have convinced him, that the ſecrecy he enjoined was impoſſible; and that ſo violent an inquiſitorial power could not fail of exciting the indignation of his ſubjects. The principal leaders in the late parliament, and others who had adopted their ſentiments, refuſed to ſubmit to an impoſition not agreed to by the legiſlature. Moſt of them were thrown into priſon; the goals were filled with illuſtrious offenders. All who petitioned the clemency of the king were releaſed; but five gentlemen, Sir Thomas Darnel, Sir John Corbet, Sir Walter Earl, Sir John Heveningham, and Sir Edmund Hampden, not only refuſed to ſolicit the clemency of his majeſty, but boldly demanded their releaſement, not as a favour from the court, but as a right derived from the laws of their country. The queſtion was at laſt ſolemnly argued in the court of King's-bench, when it appeared, beyond contradiction, that the perſonal liberty of the ſubject had been ſecured againſt the arbitrary power of the crown by ſix ſeveral acts of parliament, beſides an article of the Great Charter itſelf, the moſt ſacred foundation of the laws and conſtitution of England. The judges, however, thought proper to remand the gentlemen to their priſons; though they refuſed to enter a general judgement, that no bail could be granted upon a commitment of the king or council. But liberty loſes not her nature by confinement; her voice was heard from all quarters of the kingdom.

Impriſonment was not the only engine employed by government to force the people to ſubmit to the arbitrary orders of the court: recourſe was alſo had to religious prejudices; the duty of unlimited obedience was preached from the pulpit. Manwaring, one of his majeſty's chaplains, diſtinguiſhed himſelf on this occaſion. Among other curious paſſages in his elaborate diſcourſes, the following are remarkable: "That the king is not bound to obſerve the laws of the realm, concerning the ſubjects rights and liberties; but that his royal will and command in impoſing loans and taxes, without the common conſent of parliament, is ſufficient to oblige the conſcience of the ſubject, under pain of eternal damnation. That thoſe who refuſed to pay this loan, offended againſt the law of God, and the king's ſupreme authority, and became guilty of impiety, diſloyalty, and rebellion. That the authority of parliament is not neceſſary for the raiſing of aids and ſubſidies; and that the ſlow proceedings of ſuch numerous aſſemblies are not fitted for the ſupply of the ſtate's urgent neceſſities, but would rather occaſion many impediments to the juſt deſigns of princes." Sibthorpe was another divine that exerted all his abilities in recommending the ſame ſlaviſh tenets. Abbot, archbiſhop of Canterbury, refuſed to licence theſe ſermons. This was conſidered as ſo heinous an offence, that the prelate was ſuſpended from the exerciſe of his office, and confined to one of his country-ſeats. This ſequeſtration and confinement of the firſt peer and prelate of England, were alarming monuments of Buckingham's power over the mind of his maſter. The archbiſhop had always acted with the greateſt moderation, and was conſidered by the public as a ſincere friend to the liberties of his country; but he could never be brought to offer incenſe to the favourite miniſter, and this marked him out as an object of diſgrace. Even indifference in the ſervice of deſpotic purpoſes, was now conſidered as criminal by the government. Sir Randal Carew was removed from his poſt of lord chief-juſtice of the King's-bench, for his coldneſs in promoting the loan; and Williams, the late lord-keeper, whoſe great abilities had rendered him a favourite of the people, was not ſuffered to enjoy the retirement he had choſen. He was conſidered as an encourager of the puritans; for every perſon who favoured the cauſe of liberty, whatever his religious tenets might be, was branded with that epithet, and was conſidered by the miniſter as an enemy to the government.

A. D. 1627.

While the people were thus harraſſed with perſecutions with regard to the loan, vigorous preprations were making for covering the ſeas with armaments. The duke of Soubiſe, who was then in England, received a commiſſion from Charles for employing the ſhips fitted out by the Hugonots in his ſervice, and for cruiſing on the Spaniards. This occaſioned great confuſion in the buſineſs of the Engliſh admiralty, where it was difficult to diſtinguiſh between the prizes made by the Engliſh, and thoſe taken by the French proteſtants. The French were in a very bad condition to ſupport a war againſt England; but all the catholics in the kingdom were united, and deſirous of exerting all their power againſt the enemies of their religion. On the other hand, the unpopularity of Buckingham, the high exertion of the prerogative, and the impriſonment of ſome of the worthieſt men in England, rendered the ſincereſt intentions of Charles diſtruſted: nothing could be expected from the efforts of a nation divided within itſelf. A fleet of one hundred ſail, having on board an army of ſeven thouſand men, were fitted out for the invaſion of France; and both intruſted to the command of the duke of Buckingham, though he was wholly unacquainted both with the land and ſea-ſervice. When the fleet appeared before Rochelle; the inhabitants of that city were divided into two factions, one for the court of France, and the other for the Engliſh. The former endeavoured to perſuade the people, that if the Engliſh were admitted into the town, they would, by their great ſuperiority at ſea, ſeize the government, and keep poſſeſſion of the place in defiance of the whole power of France. The latter, which was headed by the mother and ſiſter of the dukes of Rohan and Soubiſe, oppoſed theſe aſſertions; declaring that the Engliſh were their friends, and were come to ſupport their religious privileges. The French party, however, prevailed, and it was determined not to admit the Engliſh. Buckingham, who was ſurprized that the gates were not opened, ſent Soubiſe and Sir William Beecher aſhore, but it was not without difficulty they were permitted to enter the gates. The council was immediately aſſembled, and Soubiſe did every thing in his power to perſuade them of the friendly intentions of the Engliſh monarch, and that he had fitted this large and expenſive armament purely for their ſervice. The council, however, thought proper to decline their profered aſſiſtance, under pretence that they could not determine on an affair of ſuch importance without conſulting the whole body of the Hugonots. Exaſperated at this refuſal, Buckingham determined to make a deſcent on the iſland of Rhè. It had before been agreed between Soubiſe and Buckingham, that the Engliſh ſhould land on Oleron, a fertile and then defenceleſs iſland, where refreſhments of every kind might eaſily be procured, and the troops in no danger of any attack from the enemy. But the Engliſh general thought proper to alter this plan of operations, and ſtood immediately for the iſland of Rhè, then well garriſoned and fortified. Had the military abilities of Buckingham been equal to his perſonal courage, he might have acquired immortal honour both to himſelf and his country. Thoyras, the French general, who commanded in the iſland, no ſooner perceived the Engliſh were preparing to land, than he drew out his forces to oppoſe them; but imagining the firſt debarkation was only a feint to draw his attention to that quarter, while the main body of the Engliſh army was landed at another, he thought it imprudent to attack them, till they were followed by greater numbers. Thoyras now perceived his miſtake, and marched immediately to give them battle; but the Engliſh volunteers jumping aſhore, and performing wonders in their own perſons, ſo animated the ſoldiers, that they preſſed forward with the utmoſt intrepidity, and put the enemy to flight, though far ſuperior in numbers. Soubiſe, who was an excellent ſoldier, adviſed Buckingham to purſue his victory, and immediately attack the caſtle of St. Martin's. Had this prudent advice been followed, there is the greateſt reaſon to think that the attempt would have ſucceeded; but Buckingham pretended that it would be imprudent to march his troops againſt that fortreſs, till intelligence could be procured of the ſtrength of the enemy. By this dilatory method of proceeding five days were loſt to the Engliſh, and that loſs was irretrievable. He alſo neglected to take fort Prie, which was then but meanly garriſoned, and being ſituated on the ſhore, would have afforded an excellent retreat, in caſe of accident, to the Engliſh.

On the twenty-ſeventh of July, he opened his trenches before St. Martin's, and was ſo confident of ſucceſs, that he aſſured the king by expreſs, he would be maſter of the caſtle in eight days time. This occaſioned a ridiculous proclamation to be publiſhed in England, for encouraging people to tranſport themſelves and their families to the iſland of Rhè. But Buckingham was not born to ſhine in a camp. Though determined to ſtarve the garriſon into a ſurrender, he took ſo little care to guard the ſeas, that the French found means to throw ammunition and proviſions into the place. It was now perceived, that the taking the caſtle would not be ſo eaſy a taſk as imagined; he endeavoured therefore to make himſelf maſter of fort Prie; but the garriſon had been reinforced, and the attempt miſcarried. The French had now in the iſland an army under the command of marſhal Schomberg, ſuperior in numbers to that of the Engliſh; and Buckingham determined to make an attack upon the place, in order to put an end to the ſiege by one deſperate attempt. He had been informed by ſome French deſerters, that there were no more than eight hundred ſoldiers in the caſtle, and that the curtain towards the ſea was but poorly fortified. It was therefore reſolved to ſtorm the curtain without attempting to make any breach in the wall. The army was accordingly divided into two bodies, one of which was to attack the caſtle on the land ſide, and the other on the ſea. The latter was the principal attack, and it was propoſed to mount the curtain with their ſcaling ladders. But the meaſures were ſo improperly taken, that there were no hopes of ſucceſs. The French immediately perceived their intention, and ſuffered them to advance to the foot of the curtain, where the Engliſh ſoon pereived their ladders were too ſhort for ſcaling the wall. They behaved, however, in both attacks with amazing intrepidity, but were at laſt obliged to retreat with the loſs of five hundred men killed, and fifty taken priſoners. The French were, however, convinced by this ſpecimen of Britiſh valour, that it would be dangerous to attack them in the open field; Schomberg did not chuſe to preſs cloſely ſo brave an enemy. After this miſcarriage it was ſufficiently evident that any farther attack upon the caſtle would be the height of imprudence; and Buckingham accordingly began his march in excellent order towards his ſhips, intending to paſs through a hollow way, the only paſſage by which he could retreat. The French army under marſhal Schomberg followed him at a diſtance. Buckingham perceived it, and offered the marſhal battle, which he declined, and the Engliſh continued their march towards the hollow way, their rear, by ſome ſtrange neglect, conſiſting only of the inſignificant guard of eighty horſe. When the Engliſh had advanced a conſiderable diſtance in the hollow way, they were attacked by the French cavalry, who forced the Engliſh rear-guard to break the ranks of their own men, and there being no room for the foremoſt battallions to form, a general rout enſued. But they had no ſooner paſſed the hollow way, than they faced about, and once more offered the marſhal battle, notwithſtanding the great loſs they had ſuſtained. Schomberg was too prudent to venture a general engagement; he retired with his army, and Buckingham embarked his forces, after loſing near two thirds of his army. Thus ended an expedition which totally diſcredited Buckingham, both as an admiral and a ſoldier; he acquired no praiſe but that vulgar one of courage and perſonal bravery. If he was unpopular before, he was now deteſted by the people; the enemy triumphed in the narrow ſeas, and inſulted the Engliſh in their own harbours. The inhabitants of Rochelle, who had declared for the Engliſh, were now in the moſt dreadful ſituation. They were threatened with an immediate ſiege from their enraged maſter, and had expended great part of their proviſions in ſubſiſting Buckingham's forces on the iſland of Rhé. The deputies from that city were loud in their complaints; but ſo greatly was Charles infatuated with Buckingham, that all their inſtances, joined with the general voice of his people, could not prevail upon him to cenſure his conduct. Something, however, muſt be done to ſilence the clamours of the people. They believed their liberties had been raviſhed from them, and illegal taxes extorted. They ſaw their commerce daily declining, and the military honours, tranſmitted to them by their anceſtors, ſhamefully ſtained, by two ill-concerted and unſucceſsful expeditions. They dreaded the calamities of a war carried on againſt two of the moſt powerful kingdoms in Europe, and feared for their domeſtic ſafety from the general clamour excited in every part of the nation. Theſe evils were ſolely aſcribed to the obſtinacy of the king in adhering to the counſels of Buckingham, whoſe abilities were far from deſerving ſuch implicit confidence. The only expedient that offered to relieve the government from this embarraſſing ſituation, was that of calling a parliament. It was expected that the miſcarriage of the attempt upon Rhé would be ſeverely cenſured, and the duke's conduct made the ſubject of the cloſeſt ſcrutiny. Sir Robert Cotton therefore adviſed his majeſty, that Buckingham ſhould make a motion in the council for aſſembling the parliament; hoping that by his appearing to favour a meaſure ſo highly agreeable to the people, his former faults would be forgotten.

A. D. 1628.

On the ſeventeenth of March, the parliament was opened by a ſpeech from the throne, in which the king very pathetically enumerated the neceſſities of the government, and required the aſſiſtance of his parliament; but concluded with fairly telling the commons, " that if they did not do their duty in contributing to the neceſſities of the ſtate, he muſt, in diſcharge of his conſcience, uſe thoſe other means which God had put into his hands, in order to ſave that, which the follies of a few particular men may otherwiſe endanger. Take not this as a threatening, added he, for I ſcorn to threaten any but my equals; but as an admonition from him, who, by nature and duty has moſt care of your preſervation and proſperity." Having finiſhed his ſpeech, the lord-keeper by the king's command, laid before the houſe the ſtate of affairs of Europe, and the motives which induced the king to attempt the reduction of the dangerous power of the houſe of Auſtria, and to interpoſe between the French king and his proteſtant ſubjects. He obſerved, that the powers which uſed to balance the alarming greatneſs of the houſe of Auſtria, were now otherwiſe employed; the Turk in an Aſiatic war, and the Swede in a war with Poland, fermented by Spain; that the king of Denmark was already ſtripped of great part of his dominions, and the houſe of Auſtria on the point of being maſters of all the ſea-coaſts between Dantzick and Embden: that they were arming all the ſhips they can procure in the Baltic ſeas, and endeavouring to engage the Hanſe Towns in their quarrel, in order to deprive the Engliſh of the Eaſtland trade, and make themſelves maſters of the ſea, without ſtriking a blow: that the fleets of France and Spain, were preparing in conjunction to ruin our fiſhery, and to render it dangerous for our merchant ſhips to paſs from one part of the kingdom to another: that a large armament was fitting out at Liſbon, in order, as there is the greateſt reaſon to fear, to make a deſcent either in England or Ireland. He then ſtrongly recommended unity, as the only means of diſappointing the intentions of the enemy, and preſſed them in the moſt earneſt manner to aſſiſt the government, as the moſt conſtitutional method of impoſing the neceſſary taxes. " This way of parliamentary ſupplies, added he, as his majeſty told you, he hath choſen, not as the only way, but as the fitteſt; not becauſe he is deſtitute of others, but becauſe it is moſt agreeable to the goodneſs of his moſt gracious diſpoſition, and to the deſire and weal of his people. If this be deferred, neceſſity and the ſword of the enemy make way to others. Remember his majeſty's admonition, I ſay remember it." Notwithſtanding the members of this parliament were men of the ſame independent ſpirit with their predeceſſors, and poſſeſſed of ſuch large eſtates, that it was computed their riches ſurpaſſed three times that of the houſe of peers; though they were all inflamed with the love of liberty, and many of them had ſuffered by the violent meaſures of the government; yet they entered upon buſineſs with great temper and decorum. They feared that the king, diſguſted with popular aſſemblies, wanted only a fair pretence, offered by any incident or undutiful behaviour of the members, to govern alone with a deſpotic power; and ſhould that ever happen, no remedy could be hoped for, but from inſurrection and civil war, of which the event would be extremely uncertain, and muſt, at all events, prove infinitely diſtreſſing to the whole nation. Decency of conduct was therefore abſolutely neceſſary to carry on the great work of reformation in the government, and to paſs ſome laws which might ſecure the privileges of parliament, and the liberties of the people. At the ſame time they did not propoſe to ſuffer calmly the grievances under which the nation had lately groaned. They knew that the conſtitution of their country was at ſtake, and that every effort muſt be exerted in its defence. The cry of liberty was therefore ecchoed in the houſe of commons as it had anciently been in the Roman ſenate. " We are called here by his majeſty, ſaid Sir Francis Seymore, to give him faithful counſel, ſuch as may conduce to his honour and dignity, and we ought to do it without flattery. We are ſent here by the people to deliver them from their grievances, and we ought to do it without fear. Not to be diſpoſed to part with life and fortune when the intereſt of our king and country required the ſacrifice, were not to be good ſubjects; but, on the other hand, to ſuffer our property to be taken from us, inconſiſtently with liberty, our inclination, and the laws of our country, this were to be ſlaves. While we oppoſe ſuch encroachments, we tread only in the ſteps of our great anceſtors, who always preferred the public to their private intereſt, nay, even to their very lives. It will be the higheſt injury to ourſelves, to our poſterity, to our conſciences, if we forego this claim and pretenſion." " I can live, ſaid Sir Robert Philips, though another, who has no right, be joined with me; nay, I can live, though burthened with impoſitions, beyond what at preſent I labour under: but to have my liberty, which is the ſoul of my life, raviſhed from me; to have my perſon pent up in a goal, without relief from law, and to be ſo adjudged,—O! improvident anceſtors! O! unwiſe foreſathers! to be ſo careful in providing for the quiet poſſeſſion of our lands, and the liberties of parliament; and, at the ſame time, to neglect our perſonal liberty, and ſuffer us to lie in priſon during pleaſure, without redreſs or remedy! If this be law, why do we talk of liberties? Why trouble ourſelves with diſputes about a conſtitution, franchiſes, property of goods, and the like? What may any man call his own, if not the liberty of his perſon?" "The ſame evil, added Sir Thomas Wentworth, affects the king and the people, and the ſame remedy muſt heal it. We are to defend,—what?—any new object?—no—our ancient, our legitimate, our vital liberties; we muſt confirm the laws eſtabliſhed by our anceſtors; we muſt put ſuch a ſeal to them, as no licentious ſpirit ſhall dare to break." The whole houſe agreed in theſe noble and generous ſentiments; even the court party themſelves did not pretend to offer any thing but the plea of neceſſity in defence of the late meaſures purſued by the miniſtry, and to which the king had been reduced by the obſtinacy of the two laſt parliaments. No oppoſition was therefore made to a vote againſt arbitrary impriſonments and forced loans. This being paſſed, the houſe unanimouſly voted the king five ſubſidies. This ſupply, though not equal to his wants, ſatisfied his majeſty, and even the tears of affection ſtarted from his eyes, when he was informed of this conceſſion in the commons. Yet, though the ſupply was voted, the bill neceſſary to give it the force of a law was not yet paſſed, and the commons, in order to have time ſufficient to conſider the grievances of the nation, appointed a committee to prepare the model of ſo important a ſtatute, before any draught of it was laid before the houſe. Some of the commons were, indeed, for paſſing the ſubſidy bill with as much expedition as the nature of the ſubject would admit, before the grievances of the kingdom were taken into conſideration; but this was oppoſed by others with all the enthuſiaſtic warmth of true patriotic zeal. Mr. Creſwell, a young gentleman of the law, delivered his ſentiments in a very maſterly manner. "Give me leave, ſaid he, to reſemble juſtice to Nebuchadnezzar's tree; for ſhe is ſo great that ſhe ſhades at once the palace of the prince, the houſe of the noble, and the cottage of the beggar. If therefore either the blaſts of indignation, or neceſſity, the irreſiſtible violator of laws, hath ſo bruiſed any part of the branches of this tree, that either our perſons, goods, or poſſeſſions have not the ſame ſhelter as before, let us not for that reaſon, neglect the root of this lovely plant; but rather uſe every poſſible endeavour to apply to it freſh and fertile mould, and to water it even with our tears, that theſe bruiſed branches may be recovered, and the whole tree once more proſper and flouriſh.

"I well know that kings, though they are only men before the Almighty, are gods among the people: and therefore to my gracious and dread ſovereign, whoſe virtues are ingenerate both in his judgment and nature, let my arm be cut off, nay, let not my ſoul ſurvive the day that I ſhall dare to lift up my hand to touch thoſe forbidden productions, thoſe flowers of his princely crown and diadem. But yet, in our Eden, in this garden of the commonwealth, as there are flowers of the ſun which are too glorious to be touched by any but the hands of royal majeſty; ſo are there alſo ſome daiſies and wholeſome herbs, which every common hand that lives and labours in this garden, may pick and gather up, may take comfort and repoſe in them. Among all theſe, this eye of day, this lovely liberty, is, perhaps, the principal. This ſhould be cultivated with the utmoſt care, nor ſhould any conſideration, not even the frowns of power, prevail upon us to abandon its culture."

The ſpeeches of theſe patriots prevailed; and a committee was appointed to draw up the form of ſome ſtatute, which having obtained the force of a law, might form a ſufficient barrier to their rights and liberties, ſo lately violated. Forced loans, benevolences, taxes without conſent of parliament, arbitrary impriſonments, billetting ſoldiers in private houſes, and the impoſition of martial law, were the grievances complained of, and againſt theſe an eternal remedy was to be provided. At laſt the famous petition of right was drawn up, and preſented to the lords for their concurrence; that having thus obtained the ſanction of both houſes, it might have the force of an act of parliament, as ſoon as it received the royal aſſent. Charles uſed every art to divert this fatal blow to an unlimited prerogative. He repeated his meſſages to the commons; he endeavoured to gain over ſome by promiſes of favour, and to terrify others by threats. All the eloquence of the crown lawyers was exhauſted to deſtroy the principles upon which the petition was founded; and, as the laſt reſource, the king wrote a letter to the lords, informing them, that he could not give up the point of committing offenders to priſon in matters of ſtate, without expreſſing the cauſes, as that method muſt be often attended with the moſt dangerous conſequences, ſuch delinquents being generally beyond the reach of the ordinary courts of judicature. He promiſed, however, to be very tender of his people's privileges, and to commit none for the future for refuſing to lend money, and that the cauſes of all commitments ſhould be expreſſed as ſoon as it could be done with ſafety. This letter, together with the influence of the court party in the houſe of peers, had great effect on their proceedings; and ſix weeks were ſpent in hearing the pleadings of the king's council againſt, and the arguments of the commons for, the petition of right. During the whole time of the dependence of this petition, the court party did every thing in their power to diſconcert the commons in their proceedings; and in a conference between the two houſes, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was ſincerely deſirous of effecting an union between the king and the commons, propoſed, for the ſake of peace, to throw the ſubſtance of the petition into the form of propoſitions, to be preſented by both houſes to the king for his conſent. Theſe propoſitions were the following:

"1. That his majeſty would be pleaſed graciouſly to declare, that the good old law called Magna Charta, and the ſix ſtatutes conceived to be declarations, or explanations of that law, continue ſtill in force to all intents and purpoſes.

"2. That his majeſty would be pleaſed graciouſly to declare, that according to Magna Charta, and the ſtatutes aforeſaid, as alſo according to the moſt ancient cuſtoms and laws of this land, every free ſubject of this realm hath a fundamental property in his goods, and a fundamental property in his perſon.

"3. That his majeſty would be pleaſed graciouſly to declare, that it is his royal pleaſure to ratify and confirm unto all, and every his faithful and loyal ſubjects, all their ancient, ſeveral juſt liberties, privileges and rights, in as ample and beneficial a manner, to all intents and purpoſes, as their anceſtors did enjoy the ſame, under the government of the beſt of his moſt noble progenitors.

"4. That his majeſty would be pleaſed moſt graciouſly to declare, for the good contentment of his loyal ſubjects, and for the ſecuring them from future fears, that in all cauſes within the cognizance of the common law, and concerning the liberties of his ſubjects, his majeſty would proceed according to the laws eſtabliſhed in the kingdom, and in no other manner.

"5. And as touching his majeſty's royal prerogative, intrinſical to his ſovereignty, and intruſted him from God *ad communem totius populi ſalutem, et non ad deſtructionem*, his majeſty would reſolve not to uſe or divert the ſame to the prejudice of any of his loyal people, in the property of their goods, or liberty of their perſons. And in caſe, for the ſecurity of his majeſty's perſon, the common ſafety of his people, or the peaceable government of his kingdom, his majeſty ſhall find juſt cauſe to impriſon or reſtrain any man's perſon, his majeſty would graciouſly declare, that within a convenient time, he ſhall and will expreſs the cauſe of his commitment, or reſtraint, either general or ſpecial; and upon a cauſe ſo expreſſed, will leave him immediately to be tried, according to the common juſtice of the kingdom."

The commons made uſe of every reaſon in their power to convince the peers that theſe propoſitions were not ſufficient to ſecure the liberty of the ſubject; a poſitive law only, in which the rights of the people were fully defined and ſtrongly aſſerted, could anſwer the intended purpoſe. Their reaſons at laſt prevailed. The lords conſented to the petition of right, but propoſed to ſubjoin to it the following clauſe: "We humbly preſent this petition to your majeſty, not only with a care of preſerving our own liberties, but with due regard to leave entire that ſovereign power, with which your majeſty is entruſted for the protection, ſafety, and happineſs of your people." It required not the penetration of the leaders of the commons to perceive, that this clauſe, if ſuffered to be added to the petition of right, would be ſufficient to elude its whole force; and it was therefore unanimouſly rejected. "If, ſaid Sir Thomas Wentworth, we admit this addition, we ſhall leave the ſubject in a worſe ſtate than we found him, and receive little thanks for our labour when we return home. Let us leave all power to his majeſty to puniſh malefactors; but theſe laws are not acquainted with ſovereign power; we deſire no new thing, nor do we offer to trench upon his majeſty's prerogative; we may not recede from this petition, either in part or in whole." Another conference was therefore held with the lords, where theſe reaſons were thought ſatisfactory: the petition of right paſſed both houſes of parliament, and is as follows:

"To the king's moſt excellent majeſty,

I. "Humbly ſhew to our ſovereign lord the king, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons, in parliament aſſembled, That whereas it is declared and enacted, by a ſtatute made in the reign of king Edward I. commonly called *Statutum de tallagio non concedendo*, that no tallage or aid ſhall be levied by the king or his heirs in this realm, without the good-will and aſſent of the archbiſhops, biſhops, earls, barons, knights, burgeſſes, and other the freemen of the commonalty of this realm: and by authority of parliament holden in the five and twentieth year of the reign of king Edward III. it is declared and enacted, That, from thenceforth, no perſon ſhall be compelled to make any loans to the king againſt his will, becauſe ſuch loans were againſt reaſon, and the franchiſe of the land: and, by other laws of this realm, it is provided, that none ſhould be charged by any charge or impoſition called a benevolence, or by ſuch like charge: by which the ſtatutes before-mentioned, and other the good laws and ſtatutes of this realm, your ſubjects have inherited this freedom, that they ſhould not be compelled to any tax, tallage, aid, or other like charge, not ſet by common conſent in parliament.

II. "Yet, neverthleſs, of late, divers commiſſions directed to ſundry commiſſioners in ſeveral counties, with inſtructions, have iſſued; by means whereof your people have been in divers place aſſembled, and required to lend certain ſums of money unto your majeſty; and many of them, upon their refuſal ſo to do, have had an oath adminiſtered to them not warrantable by the laws and ſtatutes of this realm; and have been conſtrained to become bound to make appearance before your privy council, and in other places; and others of them have been therefore impriſoned, confined, and ſundry other ways moleſted and diſquieted: and divers other charges have been laid and levied upon your people, in ſeveral counties, by lord-lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, commiſſioners for muſters, juſtices of peace, and others, by command or direction from your majeſty, or your privy-council, againſt the laws and free cuſtoms of this realm.

III. "And whereas alſo, by the ſtatute called The Great Charter of the Liberties of England, it is declared and enacted, That no freeman may be taken or impriſoned, or be diſſeized of his freehold or liberties, or his free cuſtoms, to be outlawed or exiled, or in any manner deſtroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

IV. "And in the eight and twentieth year of the reign of king Edward III. it was declared and enacted, by authority of parliament, That no man, of what ſtate or condition that he be, ſhould be put out of his lands or tenements, nor taken, nor impriſoned, nor diſherited, nor put to death, without being brought to anſwer by due proceſs of law.

V. "Neverthleſs, againſt the tenor of the ſaid ſtatutes, and other the good laws and ſtatutes of your realm to that end provided, divers of your ſubjects have of late been impriſoned without any cauſe ſhewed; and when, for their deliverance, they were brought before juſtice, by your majeſty's writs of habeas corpus, there to undergo and receive as the court ſhould order, and their keepers commanded to certify the cauſes of their detainer, no cauſe was certified, but that they were detained by your majeſty's ſpecial command, ſignified by the lords of your privy-council; and yet were returned back to ſeveral priſons, without being charged with any thing to which they might make anſwer according to law.

VI. "And whereas, of late, great companies of ſoldiers and mariners have been diſperſed in divers counties of the realm, and the inhabitants, againſt their wills, have been compelled to receive them into their houſes, and there to ſuffer them to ſojourn, againſt the laws and cuſtoms of this realm, and to the great grievance and vexation of the people.

VII. "And whereas alſo, by authority of parliament, in the five and twentieth year of the reign of king Edward III. it is deſired and enacted, That no man ſhould be forejudged of life or limb againſt the form of the great charter and law of the land: and by the ſaid great charter, and other the laws and ſtatutes of this your realm, no man ought to be judged to death but by the laws eſtabliſhed in this your realm, either by the cuſtoms of the ſame realm, or by acts of parliament: and whereas no offender, of what kind ſoever, is exempted from the proceedings to be uſed, and puniſhments to be inflicted by the laws and ſtatutes of this your realm: nevertheleſs, of late, divers commiſſions, under your majeſty's great ſeal, have iſſued forth, by which certain perſons have been aſſigned and appointed commiſſioners, with power and authority, to proceed within the land, according to the juſtice of martial law, againſt ſuch ſoldiers and mariners, or other diſſolute perſons joining with them, as ſhould commit any murther, robbery, felony, mutiny, or other outrage or miſdemeanor whatſoever, and by ſuch ſummary courſe and order as is agreeable to martial law, and as is uſed in armies in time of war, to proceed to the trial and condemnation of ſuch offenders, and them to cauſe to be executed and put to death according to the law martial.

VIII. "By pretext whereof ſome of your majeſty's ſubjects have been, by ſome of the ſaid commiſſioners, put to death, when and where, if, by the laws and ſtatutes of the realm, they had deſerved death, by the ſame laws and ſtatutes alſo they might, and by no other ought, to have been judged and executed.

IX. "And alſo ſundry grievous offenders, by colour thereof claiming an exemption, have eſcaped the puniſhments due to them by the laws and ſtatutes of this your realm, by reaſon that divers of your officers and miniſters of juſtice have unjuſtly refuſed or forborn to proceed againſt ſuch offenders, according to the ſame laws and ſtatutes, upon pretence that the ſaid offenders were puniſhable only by martial law, and by authority of ſuch commiſſioners as aforeſaid; which commiſſions, and all other of like nature, were wholly and directly contrary to the ſaid laws and ſtatutes of your realm.

X. "They do therefore humbly pray your moſt excellent majeſty, that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or ſuch like charge, without common conſent, by act of parliament; and that none be called to make anſwer, or take ſuch oath, or to give attendance, or be confined, or otherwiſe moleſted or diſquieted concerning the ſame, or for refuſal thereof: and that no freeman, in any ſuch manner as is before mentioned, be impriſoned or detained: and that your majeſty would be pleaſed to remove the ſaid ſoldiers and mariners, and that your people may not be ſo burthenſome in time to come: and that the aforeſaid commiſſions, for proceeding by martial law, may be revoked and annulled: and that hereafter no commiſſions of like nature may iſſue forth, to any perſon or perſons whatſoever, to be executed as aforeſaid, leſt, by colour of them, any of your majeſty's ſubjects be deſtroyed, or put to death, contrary to the laws and franchiſe of the land.

XI. "All which they moſt humbly pray of your moſt excellent majeſty, as their rights and liberties, according to the laws and ſtatutes of this realm: and that your majeſty would alſo vouchſafe to declare, That the awards, doings, and proceedings to the prejudice of your people, in any of the premiſſes, ſhall not be drawn hereafter into conſequence or example: and that your majeſty would alſo be pleaſed, for the further comfort and ſafety of your people, to declare your royal will and pleaſure, That in the things aforeſaid, all your officers and miniſters ſhall ſerve you according to the laws and ſtatutes of this realm, as they tender the honour of your Majeſty, and the proſperity of this kingdom."

The king's aſſent only was now wanting to give this famous petition of right the force of a law. To this end Charles came to the houſe of peers, and ſent for the commons; when, being ſeated on his throne, the petition was read to him; but the king, inſtead of the uſual, conciſe, and clear form, by which a bill is either confirmed or rejected, gave this anſwer, "The king willeth that right be done, according to the laws and cuſtoms of the realm; and the ſtatutes be put into execution, that his ſubjects may have no cauſe to complain of any wrong or oppreſſion, contrary to their juſt rights and liberties, to the preſervation whereof, he holds himſelf in conſcience, as much obliged, as of his own prerogative." It is ſtrange that the king, after having excited the jealouſy of the commons, by his frequent evaſive meſſages in relation to this bill, could imagine, that they would be ſatisfied with an anſwer ſo vague and undetermined. The commons returned to the houſe in a very ill humour. A gloomy ſilence for ſome time prevailed. Several leading members burſt into tears. Their conſternation was increaſed, when Sir John Elliot delivering his ſentiments, in his uſual manner, againſt the miniſter, was ſtopped by the ſpeaker, who declared that he was ordered to ſuffer no ſuch ſpeeches to be continued. Upon this the houſe came to the following reſolution, "That every member of that houſe is free from any undutiful ſpeech from the beginning of parliament unto this day; and it was ordered, that no member preſume to leave the houſe on pain of being ſent to the Tower." This reſolution being paſſed, the ſpeaker, at his own requeſt, was permitted to leave the houſe, and the debate re-commenced in the committee with greater vigour than ever. Sir Edward Coke, after an elaborate detail of the power and privileges of parliament, thus proceeded: "What ſhall we do? Let us palliate no longer; if we do, God will not proſper us. I think the duke of Buckingham is the cauſe of all our miſeries, and till the king be informed thereof, we ſhall never go out with honour, or ſit with honour here: that man is the grievance of grievances; let us ſet down the cauſes of our diſaſters, and all will reflect on him." This ſpeech was received with loud applauſe, and every part of the houſe rang with approving acclamations. Mr. Selden adviſed, that a declaration ſhould be drawn up under four heads: 1. To expreſs the dutiful behaviour of the houſe towards his majeſty. 2. To repreſent, that their liberties were violated. 3. To expreſs what was the real intention of the houſe. 4. That the duke of Buckingham, fearing leſt he might be queſtioned, interpoſed, and occaſioned this diſtraction. "All this time, continued he, we have caſt a mantle over what was done in the laſt parliament; but being forced now again to look upon that man, let us proceed with what was then well begun, and let the charge be renewed that was made againſt him laſt parliament." During theſe debates, the ſpeaker was with the king, informing him of the ſenſe and diſpoſition of the houſe. Charles was in the utmoſt perplexity how to behave in this alarming criſis; but underſtanding by another meſſenger, that the commons were upon the point of naming Buckingham as the author of all their grievances, he ſent back the ſpeaker, who obtained a reſpite of their proceedings till the next day. Charles ſpent the intermediate ſpace in meditating what anſwer he ſhould return to the joint addreſs of both houſes for a more ſatisfactory anſwer to their petition of right. Nothing can more effectually juſtify the ſteadineſs of this parliament, in the ſupport of their natural rights, than the king's open encouragement and avowal of ſuch general principles, as were entirely inconſiſtent with a limited government. Dr. Manwaring had preached a ſermon, which upon enquiry had been found to be printed by the king's ſpecial command, though it contained doctrines ſubverſive of all civil liberty; maintaining, that though property was commonly lodged with the ſubject, yet, whenever a ſupply was required, all property was transferred to the crown; that the conſent of parliament was not neceſſary for the impoſition of taxes; and that the divine laws required a compliance with every demand, how irregular ſoever, which the prince ſhould make upon his ſubjects. The commons impeached Manwaring for theſe doctrines; and the peers paſſed ſentence on that hireling, that he ſhould be impriſoned during the pleaſure of the houſe; be fined a thouſand pounds to the king; make acknowledgment and ſubmiſſion for his offence; be ſuſpended during three years; be incapable of holding any ſecular office; and that his book be called in and burned. Yet no ſooner was the ſeſſion ended, than this man, ſo juſtly obnoxious to both houſes, received a pardon, and was promoted to a living of conſiderable value.

When the commons met the next day, they proceeded to cenſure the conduct of Buckingham, whoſe name they had hitherto forborn to mention. In vain did the king ſend them a meſſage, to let them know, that the ſeſſion was drawing near to a concluſion, and to deſire them not to enter upon new buſineſs, nor to caſt any aſperſions on his government and miniſtry. The commons reſumed their intended declaration; and the king, to prevent the ſtorm which was impending over the head of the duke, thought proper, upon a joint application of the lords and commons, to give them ſatisfaction with regard to the petition of right; and going to the houſe of peers after the petition had been again read, the king confirmed it in due form, by ſaying, *ſoit droit faite comme il eſt deſiré*, “Let it be law as is deſired:” Upon which the commons gave a general and loud applauſe, and a univerſal joy was diffuſed throughout the whole nation. The ſubject of a ſupply was now entered upon, and a bill for five ſubſidies, which had been formerly voted, immediately paſſed the houſe; after which the commons continued their ſcrutiny into the many innovations which had been lately made on the liberties of the ſubject; and particularly of the illegal power the king had aſſumed of exacting tonnage and poundage, without having received that grant from parliament. A remonſtrance on this ſubject was prepared; and while it was reading in the lower houſe, Charles came ſuddenly to the upper, and ſending for the commons, ended the ſeſſion by a prorogation, with the following ſpeech from the throne. “It may ſeem ſtrange, that I came ſo ſuddenly to end this ſeſſion, before I give my aſſent to the bills; I will tell you the cauſe, though I muſt avow, that I owe the account of my actions to God alone. It is known to every one, that a while ago, the houſe of commons gave me a remonſtrance, how acceptable every man may judge, and for the merit of it, I will not call that in queſtion; for I am ſure no wiſe man can juſtify it. Now, ſince I am informed a ſecond remonſtrance is preparing for me, to take away the profit of my tonnage and poundage, one of the chief maintenances of my crown, by alledging I have given away my right thereto, by my anſwer to your petition; this is ſo prejudicial to me, that I am forced to end this ſeſſion ſome few hours before I meant, being not willing to receive any more remonſtrances to which I muſt give an harſh anſwer. And ſince I ſee, that even the houſe of commons begin already to make falſe conſtructions of what I granted in your petition, leſt it be worſe interpreted in the country, I will now make a declaration concerning the true intent thereof. The profeſſion of both houſes, in the time of forming this petition, was no way to trench upon my prerogative, ſaying, they had neither intention nor power to hurt it. Therefore it muſt needs be conceived, that I have granted no new, but only confirmed the antient liberties of my ſubjects. Yet to ſhew the clearneſs of my intentions, that I neither repent, nor mean to recede from any thing I have promiſed you, I do here declare myſelf, that thoſe things which have been done, whereby many have had ſome cauſe to expect the liberties of the ſubject to be trenched upon, which was indeed the firſt and true ground of the petition, ſhall not hereafter be drawn into example for your prejudice; and from time to time, on the word of a king, ye ſhall not have the like cauſe to complain. But as for tonnage and poundage, it is a thing I cannot want, and was never intended by you to aſk, nor meant by me, I am ſure, to grant. To conclude, I command you all that are here to take notice of what I have ſpoken at this time, to be the true intent and meaning of what I granted you in your petition; but eſpecially you, my lords, the judges, for to you only, under me, belongs the interpretation of laws; for none of the houſes of parliament, either joint or ſeparate (what new doctrine ſoever may be raiſed) have any power either to make or declare a law, without my conſent.”

The war carried on againſt France and Spain, afforded the nation a very melancholy proſpect. The firſt exploit in which the miniſtry engaged, after the prorogation of the parliament, was an attempt to relieve Rochelle, which had for ſome time been inveſted; and it was apparent by Richelieu's taking the ſiege upon himſelf, that he intended to exterminate the Hugonots, whoſe whole dependance was now upon the Engliſh. Lord Denbigh, brother-in-law to Buckingham, was ſent with a fleet, conſiſting of ten ſhips of the line, and ſixty ſmaller veſſels, to ſuccour the beſieged, with a recruit of men and proviſions. In the beginning of May the Engliſh fleet anchored in the road of Rochelle. On the eighth a ſhallop, by means of a high tide, and a ſtrong favourable wind, got ſafe into the harbour, and carried the news of their arrival. Immediately the inhabitants erected ſignals on the top of their towers, and diſcharged their cannon, to ſhew that they were ready to favour, by a diverſion, the entrance of the deſtined ſuccours. The Engliſh admiral found the harbour guarded by a great number of French ſhips; and promiſed the Rochellers that he would, upon the return of the tide, attack the fleet of the enemy. During the night, a battery of nine pieces of cannon was erected at the mouth of the harbour, and played furiouſly on the Engliſh; and before noon the next day, the French ſhips were filled with troops; an army of land forces was drawn up on the ſhore to oppoſe their landing, and all the neceſſary diſpoſitions were made for a vigorous defence, in caſe any attack ſhould be made by the Engliſh. Theſe difficulties did not however intimidate Denbigh; he prepared to relieve the place, and to ſink the French ſhips that guarded the paſſage into the harbour; but the wind changing, he was obliged to lay aſide his deſign. Three days after he attacked the French ſhips on one ſide, while the Rochellers cannonaded their land forces on the other, and brought up four of their largeſt veſſels, which had been purpoſely built to draw as little water as poſſible, in order to paſs the bar; but found the attempt impracticable, not only for want of water, but alſo from the diſpoſitions the French had made to defend the paſſage. Upon this miſcarriage a council of war was held, in which the majority of Engliſh captains gave it as their opinion, that the Rochellers had deceived them in their account of the facility of the enterprize; but the vice-admiral, and another officer named Car, exclaimed againſt the backwardneſs of the reſt; and the French proteſtants in the fleet, whoſe whole force conſiſted only of twenty-two ſmall veſſels, offered with the aſſiſtance of four merchant ſhips well armed, and three fire ſhips, to throw ſuccours into the place; and agreed to pay for all the Engliſh ſhips that might miſcarry in the attempt. Denbigh excuſed himſelf by pretending that it was impracticable; and by inſiſting on the words of his commiſſion, which were not to fight unleſs firſt attacked by the enemy: and notwithſtanding the tears and prayers of the deputies from Rochelle, he refuſed to give any relief to that diſtreſſed town, and returned to England, where he was loaded with diſgrace. Thus, by a complication of treachery, ignorance, and cowardice, the expedition was rendered abortive.

Buckingham, by this diſhonour, and the remonſtrances of the commons againſt him, perceived plainly his dreadful ſituation; and found the wings of royal authority, not ſufficient to ſhelter him from the ſtorm which threatened to overwhelm him. He ſaw that no efforts of his own, no conceſſions of his maſter, could recover his credit, and that nothing leſs than his blood could ſatisfy his enemies. He therefore threw aſide all other conſiderations, and reſolved, if poſſible, to ſignalize himſelf, and recover the favour of the people, however he might ſtand with that of the parliament. He accordingly cauſed, for the relief of Rochelle, ten ſhips of a particular form, and peculiarly adapted to paſs the bar, to be got ready with the utmoſt expedition, and made the neceſſary diſpatches for ſailing, to relieve that place, now reduced to the laſt extremity. But a fixed gloom was ſettled on his countenance: he appeared abroad with omens of misfortune in his aſpect; his unſteady motions; his dark expreſſions; his earneſtly recommending his wife and children to Charles; his frequent ſolitary entertainments with his mother; his reaflections on the tender ties of nature; and the ſoft endearments of life, which he was juſt going to leave behind him, ſufficiently declared that he preſaged his approaching fate. The fleet being ready to ſail, he repaired to Portſmouth, determined to relieve Rochelle, or periſh in the attempt. One Felton, a man of good family, but of a gloomy, enthuſiaſtic diſpoſition, had ſerved in the ſtation of lieutenant under the duke, in his late attempt upon Rhé. His captain being killed in the retreat, Felton applied to Buckingham for the company; but being refuſed, he threw up his commiſſion, and retired diſcontented from the army. The remonſtrance of the commons rouſed at once both his reſentment and enthuſiaſtic fury: he was now convinced, that it would be a meritorious ſervice in the ſight of heaven to murder Buckingham, whom the parliament had accuſed of all the misfortunes of his country. Filled with theſe ideas he repaired to Portſmouth, fully determined to put his bloody deſign into execution. On the twenty-third of Auguſt, early in the morning, Buckingham received information, that a ſmall convoy of proviſions had got ſafe into Rochelle. This intelligence he communicated to the duke of Soubiſe, and other French gentlemen in his train, who inſiſted with great vehemence that the whole was falſe, and calculated only to retard the ſailing of the fleet. During this converſation, the duke drew towards the door; and turning his head to give directions to Sir Thomas Fryar, a colonel in the army, he received a mortal wound from an unſeen hand, which ſtruck a knife into his heart; and, without uttering any other words than, " The villain has killed me," he drew out the knife, and immediately expired in a deluge of his own blood. No one had ſeen the blow, nor the perſon who gave it; but in the confuſion every one made his own conjecture, and all agreed it was done by one of the French gentlemen, whoſe angry tone of voice had been heard, while their words were not underſtood. The duke's attendants inſtantly drew their ſwords in order to diſpatch the foreigners, but were ſtopped by ſome of more temper and judgment; who though they had the ſame opinion of their guilt, thought proper to reſerve them for a judicial trial. In the midſt of this confuſion, a hat was found near the door, in the inſide of which was ſewed a paper, containing a few lines of that remonſtrance of the commons which declared Buckingham an enemy to the kingdom; under which was a ſhort ejaculation. It was concluded, that the owner of the hat muſt be the murderer; but the difficulty ſtill remained of knowing who that perſon was, and it was natural to believe that he had already fled too far to be found. While they were in this perplexity, a man without a hat was ſeen walking very compoſedly before the door, on which one cried, " Here is the fellow who killed the duke." Every one ran, aſking, which is he? Felton anſwered, " I am the perſon who committed the action; let not the innocent ſuffer." Immediately the moſt furious ruſhed upon him with drawn ſwords; others, more deliberate, defended him; while he himſelf, with open arms, calmly and chearfully expoſed his breaſt to the moſt enraged. Some gentlemen, deſirous of finding whether Felton had any accomplices, hinted, that Buckingham, though dangerouſly wounded, was not dead, and that there were great hopes of his recovery. Felton, ſmiling, replied to this, in words very expreſſive of his enthuſiaſm, " I know that he is dead, for I had the force of forty men when I ſtruck the blow." Being queſtioned with regard to the perſons by whoſe inſtigations he had performed the horrid deed, he told them, that their enquiries were uſeleſs; that no perſon on earth had credit ſufficient with him to have diſpoſed him to undertake ſuch an action; that no man living was privy to his purpoſe; that the reſolution proceeded wholly from the impulſe of his own conſcience; and that if his hat was found, his motives would ſufficiently appear; for perſuaded that he ſhould die for, or might periſh in the attempt, he had taken care to explain them, that no innocent perſon might ſuffer on his account. Thus came to an untimely end George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, a nobleman of very ſlender abilities, conſidered either as a ſtateſman or a ſoldier, raiſed to the ſummit of miniſterial glory, to be the ſcourge of three kingdoms. A man, whoſe extraordinary influence over two ſucceſſive princes, will ſerve as an eternal monument of the contemptible government this nation muſt ſubmit to, who groan under the oppreſſive yoke of an arbitrary ſway, entruſted to the caprice of rapacious, weak, and ambitious individuals.

When the news was brought him of his favourite's death, Charles was at church; but he was ſo earneſt in his devotions, that no diſcompoſure appeared in his action, nor alteration in his countenance. The ſervice was, however, no ſooner concluded, than he retired to his chamber, and gave vent to his ſorrows in a flood of tears: and during his whole life, expreſſed his regard for Buckingham by a ſeries of munificent acts towards his widow, his children, and his friends. Some of the council, and biſhop Laud in particular, threatened Felton with the rack, if he did not diſcover his accomplices. But this had no effect upon the aſſaſſin: he calmly replied, " That if he was put to the torture, he did not know whom he might name in the extremity of anguiſh, perhaps the biſhop himſelf." The judges, however, being conſulted, declared, that though that practice had been formerly common, no man, by the laws of England, could be put to the torture. Reflection and confinement had more effect on the enthuſiaſtic ſpirit of Felton than all their threatenings. He ſeemed, in ſome meaſure, to recover from his deluſion; expreſſed remorſe for what he had done; and ſuffered death with compoſure and reſignation.

Charles, notwithſtanding the death of his favourite, was very deſirous of relieving Rochelle. He gave the command of the armament to the earl of Lindſay, and repaired in perſon to Portſmouth, in order to haſten the ſailing of the fleet. His preſence had ſuch effect, that more was done in ten or twelve days, than in almoſt as many weeks before. It was, however, the eighth of September, before the fleet ſailed from Portſmouth, when the vaſt genius of Richelieu had finiſhed a work thought impoſſible to be executed in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time: this was a mole of more than a mile in length, carried acroſs the mouth of the harbour in that boiſterous ocean, and by means of which all relief by ſea was cut off. On the eighteenth of September the fleet reached the road of Rochelle; but a calm coming on, it was the twentieth before the ſhips approached the mole, when a furious cannonade began, and continued for two hours, without any great loſs on either ſide. Next day the cannonading continued, but with leſs vigour; though it was known, by a gentleman who had found means to eſcape from Rochelle, that the inhabitants, unleſs relieved in two days, muſt ſurrender. But even this intelligence produced no effect on the Engliſh captains, who appear to have been deſtitute of experience, and ſome of them of courage. The duke of Soubiſe offered to attempt the mole with the French ſhips, provided the Engliſh would promiſe to follow him; but this propoſal was rejected in a council of war, by a majority of the Engliſh captains. The count Laval next propoſed, with the help of artificial mines, contrived in three ſhips, to attempt to blow up the mole; but this was alſo rejected, and the time was ſpent in fruitleſs cannonading. At laſt it was determined, in a council of war, to make one general and deciſive attack upon the mole; but before the deſign could be carried into execution, the beſieged were obliged to capitulate. Of fifteen thouſand perſons who had been ſhut up in the town, four thouſand only ſurvived the fatigues and famine they had undergone. A more ſhocking ſcene of calamity was never beheld, than Rochelle preſented at the time of its ſurrender. The living were not ſufficient to bury the dead; ſo that vermin and birds of prey devoured the uninterred bodies in the ſtreets. Many carried their own coffins into the churchyards to lie down in them, never more to riſe; and the few inhabitants who ſurvived, appeared rather as ſpectres and ſkeletons than men. This reduction of Rochelle, was the firſt neceſſary ſtep towards the proſperity of France. Foreign enemies, as well as domeſtic factions, being deprived of that reſource, the kingdom began to ſhine out in its full ſplendor, and gradually to gain an aſcendant over the rival power of Spain. The French king, however, uſed his conqueſt with great moderation; the Hugonots ſtill enjoyed a toleration, though every order of the ſtate, and every ſect, were obliged to pay ſubmiſſion to the lawful authority of the ſovereign. On the other hand, in England, the failure of the enterprize to Rochelle, tended greatly to diminiſh the king's authority in the parliament during the approaching ſeſſion. Nor did his meaſures at home tend to raiſe the character of his government. He again revived the iniquitous opinions of the judges, and ſome oppreſſive practices in former times, to juſtify the impoſition of twenty ſhillings a ton upon wines, and five ſhillings and ſixpence a hundred upon currants; he even declared in full council, that the tax ſhould be levied with rigour, and ſuch merchants as refuſed to pay it exemplarily puniſhed. He was not inſenſible of the ferment which theſe proceedings muſt occaſion in the kingdom, but took no pains to prevent it. His coffers were now full, and he could talk with his parliament upon more equal terms than before. It was therefore reſolved to juſtify the proceedings of the government upon this principle, that though his majeſty's predeceſſors had raiſed tonnage and poundage by act of parliament, yet they had, in fact, levied it in the late reigns when no ſuch act ſubſiſted: that if the parliament would agree to paſs ſuch an act, and make it commence from the beginning of the king's reign, his majeſty's proceeding would be juſtified under that act, and he would deſiſt from his claim of raiſing the tax by his prerogative; but if no ſuch bill paſſed, his majeſty would be juſtified, becauſe he did no more than had been done by his predeceſſors. Charles was confirmed in theſe reſolutions, by the late ſucceſs that had attended his endeavours to bring over the famous Sir Thomas Wentworth to his intereſt. This gentleman had been a principal leader in the oppoſition, and was conſidered by all parties as one of the moſt able members of the Britiſh ſenate. On his embracing the meaſures of the court, he was created viſcount Wentworth, and earl of Strafford, and placed at the head of the miniſtry. Aſhamed at what the party he had abandoned termed apoſtacy, Strafford, for ſome time, concealed his change of ſentiments; but at laſt boldly juſtified it by ſaying, that he had gone as far in the oppoſition as was conſiſtent with his conſcience, or the conſtitution of his country; and that he had not left his party till he perceived they had views of a very different nature from the redreſs of grievances, or an alteration of meaſures. Theſe excuſes were treated as chimerical by the heads of the party he had forſaken; and Mr. Pym in particular deſired Wentworth not to take any pains in juſtifying his conduct, but added, "Though you have left us, we will not leave you, while your head is on your ſhoulders."

A. D. 1629.

On the tenth of January the parliament met, and immediately proceeded to take into conſideration every thing that had been tranſacted againſt the liberty of the ſubject, in direct oppoſition to the petition of right. Several complaints were immediately made to the houſe by merchants, whoſe goods had been ſeized in conſequence of their having refuſed to pay the duties of tonnage and poundage. While the members were employed in debating on this ſubject, the king ſent a meſſage to the commons, deſiring they would proceed no farther in that buſineſs, till he could ſpeak to both houſes in perſon at Whitehall. The lords and commons accordingly attended him the next day, when he endeavoured to juſtify his conduct on the principles already mentioned to have been laid down in his council. He blamed them for their general reſolution of enquiring into all the infractions of the petition of right, and recommended to their diſpatch the bill of tonnage and poundage, which, he ſaid, would have been paſſed laſt ſeſſion, had there been time ſufficient for that purpoſe, and it was upon that preſumption he had ordered his officers to act in the manner they had done. But inſtead of following his majeſty's directions, thoſe members, who were no ſtrangers to the effect of ſpeeches in popular aſſemblies, turned the attention of the houſe to matters of religion; poured out the moſt inveterate invectives againſt Arminianiſm, which they termed the ſpawn of popery; but in reality they meant nothing more by the term, than biſhop Laud and his party. An Arminian was ſaid to be as bad as a papiſt; and ſome declared that they feared his ſucceſs more, than a ſecond invaſion by a Spaniſh Armada. When the houſe was ſufficiently heated by declamatory ſpeeches, Mr. Pym moved to give religion the precedency of all other matters. The motion was agreed to, and a committee appointed accordingly. This was a great point gained, eſpecially as under the head of religion they voted, "An enquiry into all eccleſiaſtical preferments; into the ceſſation of the execution of the laws againſt papiſts; into the employments and encouragements they had obtained; into the growth of ſuperſtitious ceremonies, of which Couſins, a prebendary of Durham, was mentioned as the principal author; and into the growth of hereſies, falſe doctrines, and other opinions." The conſideration of ſo many ſubjects could not fail of employing the houſe for a great length of time. The king ſaw the intention of the commons, but thought it imprudent to break with them immediately, merely becauſe they refuſed to proceed to the bill of tonnage and poundage; he thought, and indeed very reaſonably, that he could better

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juſtify any violent meaſures he might afterwards be obliged to take, if he allowed them to carry to the utmoſt extremity their attacks upon his government and prerogative. He therefore contented himſelf for the preſent with ſoliciting the houſe by meſſages and ſpeeches. But the commons, inſtead of liſtening to his ſolicitations, proceeded to carry their cenſorial ſcrutiny into his management of religion, the only grievance to which they had not as yet applied a ſufficient remedy by the petition of right. Yet while they pretended the utmoſt regard for religion, their principal deſign was to wreſt from the king the duties of tonnage and poundage, in order to render him abſolutely dependent on the parliament for ſupport. The right of tonnage and poundage on the importation and exportation of merchandize, though originally the mere gift of the people, had been ſo ſtrongly confirmed to the crown ſince the reign of Henry IV. that the kings of England had always claimed it from the moment of their acceſſion. This right, which had been granted for life to former princes, was allowed to Charles only for one year. Finding that the intention of the commons was to ſtrip him of it entirely, he ſent them a meſſage, importing, "That he had never pretended to look upon it as a branch of the prerogative; that neceſſity alone had compelled him to levy it till that time, and, in order to terminate all diſputes upon the ſubject, requeſted that the commons would paſs the bill, that he might receive it as a free gift from his people." This meſſage was diſregarded; they continued to give the preference to religion, and made ſome attempts to annul the conſecration of Montague, lately promoted to the ſee of Colcheſter, for certain complaints that had been offered againſt him by one Jones, an obſcure perſon: but failing in this unaccountable attempt, they attacked the pardons that had been granted to Montague, Mainwaring, Sibthorpe, and other divines of Laud's party, who had been cenſured by the commons. It was upon this occaſion that Oliver Cromwell, who had then a ſeat in the houſe, firſt diſtinguiſhed his zeal, by ſhewing how inſtrumental Neile, biſhop of Wincheſter, had been in procuring theſe pardons. Sir Robert Philips called upon the attorney-general to give an account by what authority he drew theſe pardons, and a committee was appointed accordingly. Upon enquiry, it appeared, that the warrants had been brought to the attorney-general by the earl of Dorſet and the lord Carleton, and that the biſhop of Wincheſter had corrected them with his own hand, and inſerted the names of Couſins, Mainwaring and Sibthorpe. It alſo appeared upon farther enquiry, that an information had been given upon oath againſt Couſins, for denying the king's ſupremacy in matters of religion, and that the attorney-general had, from a hint given him by the biſhop of Wincheſter, diſregarded the information, becauſe it came from one King, whom the biſhop ſaid was a very empty fellow, and deſerved no credit. Elliot upon this diſcovery was very ſevere upon the attorney-general, whom he threatened with an impeachment for high treaſon for a neglect of duty. While the houſe was engaged in theſe religious diſputes, Mr. Rolls, one of the members, complained that he had the day before been ſerved with a ſubpœna to attend the court of ſtar-chamber, but that at night he received a letter from the attorney-general, intimating, that it had been done by miſtake of the meſſenger, and that the information ſhould be withdrawn. The houſe, however, voted the ſerving of Rolls with a ſubpœna to be a breach of privilege. They alſo proceeded to enquire into the grievances of other merchants, and to cenſure the officers who had ſeized their goods, for refuſing to pay the duties of tonnage and poundage. Theſe proceedings alarmed the king, and a council was ſummoned to conſider the moſt proper method to be purſued on this occaſion. And as the houſe of commons had founded their reſolution upon an opinion, that the cuſtom-houſe officers had ſeized the goods upon their own account, Charles thought proper to ſend a meſſage to the houſe, importing, "That what was formerly done by his farmers and officers of the cuſtoms, was done by his own direction and command, being himſelf for the moſt part, preſent in council: and if he had at any time been abſent from the board, yet he was minutely acquainted with all their tranſactions, gave full directions in every particular, and therefore in this could not ſever the act of his officers from his own, nor could his officers ſuffer for it without the higheſt diſhonour to his majeſty." The houſe was ſo highly exaſperated at this meſſage, that after many bitter ſpeeches, the queſtion was propoſed to be put, that the ſeizing Mr. Rolls's goods was a breach of privilege; but the ſpeaker informed the houſe, that he was commanded by his majeſty not to put the queſtion. This threw the houſe into the utmoſt conſternation, and they adjourned themſelves for one day. When they met, the ſpeaker told them that he had the king's command for a farther adjournment, and to put no queſtion. Having made this declaration, he roſe and left the chair; but was puſhed back again into it, and detained there by force, by Mr. Holles and Mr. Valentine, while Sir John Elliot read the following remonſtrance:

1. "Whoever ſhall make any innovations in religion, or by favour or countenance ſeem to extend or introduce popery or Arminianiſm, or other opinions contrary to the truth and the orthodox church, ſhall be reputed a capital enemy to this kingdom and commonwealth.

2. "Whoever ſhall counſel or adviſe the taking and levying the ſubſidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, or ſhall be an actor or inſtrument therein, ſhall be likewiſe reputed an innovator in the government, and a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth.

3. If any merchant or other perſon whatſoever, ſhall voluntarily yield, or pay the ſaid ſubſidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, he ſhall likewiſe be reputed a betrayer of the liberties of England, and an enemy to the ſame."

This remonſtrance was paſſed by acclamation rather than by vote, while many of the members, thinking the leaders had gone too far in their oppoſition, expreſſed their diſlike of the whole proceeding, and the greateſt indecencies, even to blows, were committed. The king ſent the gentleman-uſher of the houſe of lords, but the doors were locked, and he could obtain no admittance till the remonſtrance was finiſhed. As ſoon as the door was opened, he, by the king's order, took the mace from the table, which put an end to their proceedings; and a few days after the parliament was diſſolved.

This rupture between the king and his parliament alarmed the nation; but Charles took no care to make uſe of lenient meaſures, which might, perhaps, have effected a reconciliation. On the contrary he inflamed the diſcontents of the people, by a ſeverity which he wanted power, perhaps inclination, to carry to extremity. He committed Denzil Holles, Eſq; Sir John Elliot, Sir Miles Hobart, Sir Peter Hayman, John Selden, Eſq; William Coriton, Walter Long, William Shoude, and Benjamin Valentine, to priſon, on account of the late tumultuous proceedings in the houſe, which were termed ſeditious. Elliot, Holles, and Valentine were brought to their trial in the court of king's bench: but refuſing to anſwer before an inferior court for their conduct as members of a ſuperior, they were condemned to be impriſoned during the king's pleaſure, to find ſureties for their good behaviour, and to be fined, the two former a thouſand pounds a-piece, and the latter five hundred. Sir John Elliot died in cuſtody, and was univerſally conſidered as a martyr for the liberties of England. The king, that he might no longer be harraſſed with the turbulence of the commons, made peace with France, abandoning the Hugonots to the mercy of Lewis XIII. and ſoon after concluded a treaty with the Spaniards, from whom he obtained nothing more than a general promiſe of their uſing their good offices in reſtoring the Elector Palatine. Being thus at peace with the neighbouring powers, eaſed of a burthen too heavy for him, inſtructed by experience, no longer a ſlave to the pernicious counſels of Buckingham, and bleſt with an able miniſter in Wentworth, earl of Stafford, it was natural to think that the troubles of his reign were over, and that a ſeries of tranquillity would ſucceed the ſtorms of popular contention. But this was not the caſe. New difficulties, new cauſes of diſtruſt, aroſe among the people, and the olive wand of peace diffuſed not domeſtic felicity over the kingdom.

A. D. 1630. Charles was as equally zealous to maintain his ſyſtem of religion, as to ſupport the prerogative of his crown. Unfortunately for him, and unfortunately for the peace of the kingdom, the king honoured with his confidence Laud, biſhop of London, a prelate, whoſe ſuperſtitious prejudices, obſtinate zeal, enterprizing ſpirit, and inflexible firmneſs, in oppoſition to the ſpirit of the nation, threatened the greateſt misfortunes to the ſtate. Laud was very deſirous of advancing the power of the prieſthood, and of multiplying church ceremonies; ſeveral of which he introduced, and moſt of them very ſimilar to thoſe of the Romiſh church. The puritans beheld with horror theſe preludes to popery. The communion-table railed in, the miniſters dreſſed in hoops to adminiſter the ſacrament, the communicants obliged to receive it kneeling, the crucifix and other images placed in the churches, were, in their eyes, ſo many ſcandalous attributes of Antichriſt. The court of Rome itſelf entertained hopes of regaining its authority in this iſland; and in order to forward Laud's good intentions, an offer was twice made him, in private, of a cardinal's hat, which he declined accepting. The general cry, however, was, that the biſhop of London was endeavouring to reſtore popery. One of the daughters of the earl of Devonſhire having turned catholic, was aſked by Laud the reaſon of her converſion. "It is principally, replied ſhe, becauſe I hate to travel in a crowd: for perceiving that you and numbers more are making preparations for Rome, I thought it more convenient to ſet out before you, that I might not be joſtled in the multitude." While the biſhops and his partizans carried the ſpiritual juriſdiction too high on one hand, and thereby incurred the hatred of the people, they did not fail, on the other, to preach up the moſt implicit obedience to the royal authority, the ſure means of obtaining the favour of his majeſty. Laud was accordingly advanced to the archiepiſcopal ſee of Canterbury, which empowered him to exerciſe a kind of deſpotiſm with vigour in the church. Diſtreſſed for money, notwithſtanding the ſtricteſt œconomy, Charles began to make a freer uſe of his authority. Illegal as the collection of tonnage and poundage was, the council preſſed it with the utmoſt violence. This induced the great merchants to enquire more than ever into its legality, and were ſoon convinced that the principle on which it was founded ſtruck at the root of liberty. This alarmed the whole fraternity of merchants, and their fears were greatly increaſed by the publication of the following reſolution of the council.

"That warrants ſhould be directed to the officers of the cuſtoms in the port of London, and elſewhere, to ſeize and detain the goods of any perſon, who ſhould attempt to land them without warrant till the duties were paid.

"That ſuch merchants goods as remained on ſhip-board, ſhould be removed into ſtore-houſes on the cuſtom-houſe-quay; and for want of room into the Tower, there to remain till his majeſty's duties, and the freight due to ſhip-maſters, were ſatisfied.

"And whereas attempts were made by replevin, directed to the ſheriff of London, to obtain thoſe goods out of the king's ſtore-houſes, the meſſengers of the council were ordered to detain them in their cuſtody, and to apprehend all perſons who ſhould preſume to make reſiſtance."

Strict orders were ſent to the officers and magiſtrates of the chief ports of the kingdom, to aſſiſt the officers of the cuſtoms, in caſe any oppoſition ſhould be made by refractory perſons. Sir Francis Cottingham was authorized to call before him ſuch merchants as had been truſted by the collectors for ſums now due by cuſtoms, and who had protracted the payment; and to require them to pay the ſeveral ſums they owed his majeſty without delay. Warrants were alſo iſſued from the council empowering their meſſengers to enter any ſhip, veſſel, houſe, warehouſe, or cellar, to break any bulk whatever, and ſeize the goods, in default of paying the accuſtomed duties; and to apprehend all perſons who ſhall publiſh ſcandalous ſpeeches againſt his majeſty and his government, or cauſe any diſturbance.

Theſe were not the only methods taken by the king for raiſing money on his ſubjects without the conſent of parliament. He publiſhed a proclamation, "declaring his majeſty's royal pleaſure to confirm to his ſubjects their defective titles, eſtates and poſſeſſions, by his commiſſion lately granted and renewed for that purpoſe." But notwithſtanding the ſpecious title of this proclamation, the people in general conſidered it only as an expedient to raiſe money without the conſent of parliament; and this increaſed the alarming diſcontent already diſſeminated in every part of the nation. But this was trifling when compared with the ſpirit raiſed by another proclamation, publiſhed on the thirteenth of July, "for the eaſe of the ſubjects in making their compoſitions for not receiving the order of knighthood according to law." The reader may recollect, that in the former part of this hiſtory, many inſtances have been given of ſubjects veſted with a certain degree of property being obliged to take upon them the order of knighthood. This property was very fluctuating in different reigns; and there was an obſolete, though unrepealed ſtatute, called, *Statutum de militibus*, paſſed in the reign of Edward II. which obliged all ſubjects poſſeſſed of fifteen pounds a year in land, to take upon them the order of knighthood, provided they were fit for that duty. The order was generally conferred at the coronation; and Charles, on account of the plague's raging in London at the time when he received the crown, had diſpenſed with the attendance of ſuch ſubjects as were qualified to be knights. But being now diſtreſſed for money, this diſpenſation was conſidered only as a matter of convenience. It was pretended, that the right of impoſing the honour, which was attended with a large expence of fees, remained ſtill with the crown; and that the king was at liberty to oblige all perſons, properly qualified, either to be knighted, or pay compoſition money to certain commiſſioners appointed to receive it: the qualification was fixed at forty pounds a year. It is not eaſy to conceive a project more abſurd, more unreaſonable, and more unjuſt, than this. As the whole ſyſtem of feudal ſervices in perſon, during war, was now aboliſhed, there was not the leaſt pretence of reviving this tax, but a ſtatute which had been made when theſe ſervices were in full force. Add to this, that if fifteen pounds a year was, in the time of Edward II. a proper qualification, two hundred pounds a year, at leaſt, ought to have been the qualification under Charles I. The king, while any hopes remained of obtaining ſupplies from his parliament, had deſiſted from collecting ſo invidious a tax; but it was now revived with ſo much vigour, that many were put to great expences in the exchequer and ſtar-chamber for refuſing to pay the compoſition-money, which was required to be one third and a half of what the perſons ſo compounding were found rated in the ſubſidy. Theſe proceedings intimidated ſo many perſons, that the king received above one hundred thouſand pounds compoſition-money. Beſides theſe, Charles granted oppreſſive patents, and monopolies, among which thoſe on ſoap and ſtarch were particularly complained of as very burdenſome to the lower claſs of people. It is ſurpriſing with what patience theſe impoſitions were borne by the nation; they occaſioned no diſturbances in any part of the kingdom.

The king was much better pleaſed to govern by his prerogative alone, than in conjunction with his parliament; and leſt the hopes of relief or protection from the commons might encourage oppoſition, he iſſued a proclamation, in which he declared, "That whereas, for ſeveral ill ends, the calling again of a parliament is divulged; though his majeſty has ſhewn, by frequent meeting with his people, his love to the uſe of parliaments: yet the late abuſe having for the preſent, driven him unwillingly out of that courſe; he will account it preſumption in any one to preſcribe to him any time for the calling that aſſembly." This was generally conſidered as a declaration, that, during this reign, no more parliaments were intended to be ſummoned.

The thoughts of the Engliſh were now turned towards the queen of Bohemia; and the king was very deſirous of procuring ſome relief for his unfortunate ſiſter, and her family. He joined his good offices with thoſe of France, and mediated a peace between the kings of Poland and Sweden, in hopes of engaging the latter to undertake the protection of the diſtreſſed proteſtants in the empire. This was the famous Guſtavus Adolphus, whoſe heroic genius, ſeconded by the wiſeſt policy, rendered him, in a few years, the moſt diſtinguiſhed monarch of the age. Charles, to encourage and aſſiſt him in his projected invaſion of Germany, agreed to furniſh him with ſix thouſand men; but in order to maintain the appearance of neutrality, he made uſe of the marquis of Hamilton's name, a nobleman nearly allied to the crown. Hamilton accordingly entered into an engagement with Guſtavus; and enliſting theſe troops in England and Scotland, at the king's expence, he landed them at the mouth of the Elbe. Guſtavus was greatly pleaſed when he heard the Engliſh were landed, and promiſed to join them as ſoon as poſſible, with the ſtipulated number of forces deſtined to conquer Sileſia. The appearance of ſo fine a body of men were of great ſervice to the proteſtant cauſe. Their numbers were greatly exaggerated by their enemies through fear, and by their friends through deſign; and ſo great was the reputation of their valour, that the celebrated victory gained a few weeks after by the Swediſh monarch over count Tilly at Leipſick, was, in a great meaſure, owing to their reputation. What remained of that hero's life, was one continued ſeries of victories, for which he was much leſs beholden to fortune than to thoſe perſonal endowments which he derived from nature, and from induſtry. The veteran troops of Ferdinand, commanded by the moſt celebrated generals of the age, were foiled in every encounter, and all Germany was over-run in an inſtant by the victorious Swede. But, by this extraordinary and unexpected ſucceſs of his ally, Charles failed of the purpoſe for which he framed the alliance. Elated by proſperity, and no ſtranger to ambition, Guſtavus began to form extenſive plans; and after freeing Germany from the yoke of Ferdinand, he intended to reduce it under ſubjection to his own. Full of theſe ideas, he refuſed to reſtore the Palatine to his principality, except on conditions that would have kept him in total dependence. And thus the negotiation was protracted till the battle of Lutzen, where the Swediſh hero periſhed in the midſt of a complete victory which he obtained over his enemies.

A. D. 1631.

Wentworth was now made preſident of the council of York. This court had been erected, after a rebellion in the north, by a patent from Henry VIII. without any authority of parliament; and this exerciſe of power, like many others, was indulged by that arbitrary monarch. The council of York had long acted chiefly as a criminal court; but beſides ſome innovations introduced by James, Charles thought proper, ſome time after Wentworth was made preſident, to extend its powers, and to give it a large civil juriſdiction, and, in ſome meaſure, a diſcretionary power. Poſſibly the king's intention in this, was nothing more than to free the inhabitants of the northern counties from the trouble, expence, and fatigue, of attending the courts at Weſtminſter; but it ſoon appeared, that the inhabitants were, by this means, deprived of the protection of the ordinary law, and ſubjected to an arbitrary authority. And accordingly, ſome irregular proceedings in that court, were now complained of, and tended to exaſperate the people ſtill more againſt the government. Wentworth was gained over to the court party, Sir Dudley Digges was made maſter of the rolls, Noy, attorney-general, and Littleton, ſolicitor-general. All theſe were leading men in the houſe of commons. But the ſame abilities which are ſufficient to perplex a court by their oppoſition, are not capable of effectually ſerving it by their compliance. Charles flattered himſelf, that by engaging thoſe eminent leaders in his ſervice, his government would meet with no more oppoſition, and that a calm tranquility would be eſtabliſhed in this kingdom during the remainder of his reign; but his miniſters fatally deceived him. Laud purſued the puritans with unremitting fury, and was fond of introducing new ceremonies into the church, and of carrying to the utmoſt height the power of prieſthood.

A. D. 1632.

The furious conduct of this imperious churchman alarmed the moderate Engliſh, and ſtruck the Scotiſh preſbyterians with terror. They were, in general, men as violent for one extreme as Laud was for the other; and the dreadful ſhock, when both afterwards encountered, cruſhed the church, the monarchy, and the conſtitution. When Mary was driven from the throne of Scotland, the conſtitution of that kingdom became ſuch a confuſed mixture of monarchical, ariſtocratical, democratical, and eccleſiaſtical powers, that it hardly deſerved the name. The prudent government of James, while he continued in Scotland, and the unſucceſsful attempts of the bigotted zealots to eſtabliſh their favourite model of religion, gave the crown great advantages; ſo that about the year 1621, epiſcopacy was reſtored in Scotland. James had been wiſely cautious in the promotion of his biſhops; they were, in general, men of great moderation, and well acquainted with the genius of the people; for which reaſon they ſtrongly oppoſed every attempt to bring the diſcipline and worſhip of the church of Scotland to a nearer conformity with that of England. The truth is, nothing in the principles of the firſt reformers, either in Scotland or foreign parts, were againſt a ſubordination of eccleſiaſtical government. All of them, indeed, concurred,

curred, that the popiſh biſhops ſhould be removed; but neither their plan of government, nor that of power, was ſo fixed, as to enable them to agree who ſhould ſucceed them, though, in general, they ſuffered thoſe who embraced the tenets of the reformation to retain both their revenues and appellations. But what at firſt was no more than a matter of convenience, ſoon became a point of principle. The eſtates of their great men were chiefly compoſed out of the ſpoils of the church; and the misfortune was, that the power of the crown was not ſufficient to prevent theſe dilapidations. The acts of parliament in favour of the preſent poſſeſſors, gave them infinite advantage; but the circumſtances under which theſe parliaments were held, rendered their authority liable to many juſt exceptions. While the king touched not this jarring ſtring of eccleſiaſtical government, the parliament ſubmitted to the prerogative in as full a manner as it had ever been exerciſed; but the landholders of Scotland could not, without the utmoſt concern, ſee the leaſt increaſe of epiſcopal power, or any nearer conformity of their church with that of England. During the whole reign of James, the Scottiſh biſhops had been contented to act, rather as preſidents in their eccleſiaſtical meetings, than the fathers of the church, in the common acceptation of their character. When a ſee happened to be vacant, James always ordered the biſhops to preſent him with the names of ſuch men as they thought moſt proper to fill it, and he generally pitched upon the beſt qualified. Hence the biſhops, in a manner, nominated one another, lived in harmony among themſelves, and acted ſo moderately, that the noblemen and great landholders in Scotland became pretty well reconciled both to their temper and their character. Happy would it have been for Charles, had he preſerved the ſame moderate conduct. But Laud deteſted all moderation in church government, and Charles would liſten to no advice but that of Laud. That imperious churchman repreſented in the higheſt terms, the dignity of the epiſcopal character: he diſplayed an army of martyrs who had died in its defence: he called to his aid all the tyrants of the eaſtern empire who had favoured it: he poured forth a profuſion of quotations, from what he called the fathers of the church: and, upon the whole, ſucceeded in convincing Charles, that the leaſt defect of reverence, either to the government, the doctrine, or the worſhip of his church, ſtruck at the moſt ſacred rights of the crown. Nor was this all: Laud was of opinion, that the church of England, as left by James, was imperfect in its worſhip. To prove this, he produced ſome opinions, which in the twilight of reformation, when ſeveral prelates wavered between the old and the new religion, had been maintained in the convocation, and ſometimes in their writings. The authorities of the weakeſt of the fathers of the church were produced, to prove, that certain forms and ceremonies, things as indifferent in themſelves as Laud's own dreams, had been formerly practiſed, and hence he inferred that they were eſſentials in religion. Nevertheleſs Charles, however warm and ſerious in theſe matters, was perſuaded that theſe ceremonies had ſo near a reſemblance to popery, that it would be imprudent to attempt their introduction, all at once, among a people accuſtomed to think on the oppoſite extreme. It was therefore determined, previouſly to new model the hierarchy, by introducing gradually a ſet of men of very different principles from thoſe that now filled the ſees of Scotland, in order to reſtore authority and diſcipline to the church, and purity and ſplendor to her worſhip. The vacant biſhoprics were accordingly filled with ſuch men as had neither the virtues nor abilities neceſſary for filling their ſtations, in a country where the minuteſt parts of their conduct were ſeverely ſcrutinized. The Scots made not the leaſt oppoſition; but under the pretence of faſts and other religious exerciſes, they formed many ſecret reſolutions for ſtrengthening their party. Charles was ſo much impoſed upon by theſe appearances of acquieſcence, that he thought he ſhould meet with nothing in that country to oppoſe his pleaſure; and imagined that his preſence, the ſplendid appearance of his court, and the weight of his authority, would bear down the ſmall remains of oppoſition.

A. D. 1633.

With theſe pleaſing ideas, and deſirous of being crowned in his ancient kingdom, he ſet out for Scotland, attended by the whole flower of the Engliſh nobility, who vied with each other in the ſplendor of their equipages. It was the fifteenth of June before Charles reached Edinburgh; and on the eighteenth, he was crowned in that city with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence. On the twentieth the parliament met, and gave the king every thing he deſired. Two acts, indeed, met with ſome oppoſition. The firſt, beſides eſtabliſhing the king's prerogative, gave him power to preſcribe what habits he pleaſed to the eccleſiaſtics of Scotland: and by the ſecond, the alienations formerly made of tithes, and other eſtates of the clergy, were revoked. Such of the Engliſh nobility who attended the king, and diſliked Laud and his principles, ſoon perceived the Scots were far from approving the bill that gave Charles the power of regulating the habits of the clergy. The dreadful ſurplice was before their eyes; and they apprehended, with ſome reaſon, that under the ſanction of this law, it would ſoon be introduced among them. This diſcovery prompted the Engliſh nobility to attempt another; namely, the real ſtrength of the royal party in Scotland. The courtiers had been at great pains to have believed that the Scots, who had been ennobled and enriched by Charles and his father, were men of the greateſt intereſt, as well as property, in their country. But the falſhood of theſe ſuggeſtions was eaſily perceived by Charles's attendants: they ſaw the Scots in general treat with great contempt the royal favourites of their own nation; and were ſoon convinced, that the perſons of the greateſt weight and property there, were in the country intereſt. This diſcovery tended to leſſen the terror conceived by the Engliſh on account of the king's power in Scotland; and laid the foundation of a correſpondence between the principal perſons of the two kingdoms, and which was not broken off till both found themſelves engaged in a civil war. After the king's return from Scotland, Juxon was placed in the ſee of London, and alſo made lord high treaſurer. He was a perſon of great integrity, mildneſs, humanity, and underſtanding; but all his virtues could not procure him the friendſhip of the puritans. He was a lover of hunting and other ſports of the field; a ſufficient reaſon, however eminent in virtue, to procure him the hatred of thoſe whoſe religion admitted not of the leaſt relaxation. Charles was in the other extreme, and very deſirous of introducing foppery into the national devotion. He renewed his father's edict for allowing ſports and recreations on Sunday, after the ſervice was over, to ſuch as attended the public worſhip: and ordered his proclamation for that purpoſe to be publicly read by the clergy after divine ſervice. Thoſe who were ſeriouſly affected refuſed obedience, and were puniſhed by ſuſpenſion or deprivation. This tended greatly to widen the breach between the church and the diſſenters, and promote that ill humour and diſcontent already too predominant in the nation. The queen, though ſtrictly virtuous, was immoderately fond of pleaſure, particularly the entertainments of the ſtage; and her example was followed by the whole court, and the greateſt men in the nation. In the midſt of this inconſiderate diſſipation, William Prynne, a barriſter of Lincoln's-inn, publiſhed a quarto of a thouſand pages, intitled Hiſtorio-Maſtyx. Its profeſſed purpoſe was to decry ſtage-plays, comedies, interludes, muſic, dancing, and other diverſions of that kind; but he alſo took occaſion to declaim againſt hunting, public feſtivals, Chriſtmas-keeping, bonefires, and May-poles. The author tells us, in his preface, that he was excited to write againſt theſe enormities, by obſerving that plays ſold better than the choiceſt ſermons, and that they were frequently printed on finer paper than even the Bible itſelf. He maintained that moſt of the players were papiſts, and all of them deſperately wicked; that the play-houſes were Satan's chapels, the frequenters of them little better than devils incarnate, and every ſtep in a dance was a ſtep to hell; that the principal crime of Nero was that of frequenting and acting of plays; and that thoſe who conſpired his death were chiefly excited to it by their indignation of that enormity. This publication gave ſo much offence to the court, that Prynne was indicted before the ſtar-chamber, where he was condemned to pay a fine of five thouſand pounds to the king, to be put from the bar, and rendered incapable of his profeſſion; to be excluded from the ſociety of Lincoln's-inn, and degraded in Oxford; to ſtand on the pillory in Weſtminſter and Cheapſide, to loſe an ear at each place, and to ſuffer perpetual impriſonment. The cruel ſeverity of this ſentence raiſed the government many enemies, and greatly augmented the numbers of the puritan party. It was thought extremely hard that an invective againſt plays ſhould merit a puniſhment proper only for the greateſt criminals. But it muſt be remembered, that this ſatire againſt the diverſions in vogue, though the pretended, was not the real crime for which Prynne was condemned. He had ſeverely cenſured the practices of the new hierarchy, and the ceremonies introduced by Laud; a crime not to be forgiven by that imperious prelate.

A. D. 1634. At this time the Dutch were great rivals in commerce to the Engliſh. A prince of Charles's principles was ſhocked at the independent pretenſions of that haughty republic, which had been nurſed by the blood, and fed by the bounty of England; nor had received any adequate ſatisfaction for the maſſacre of Amboyna. James had made ſeveral attempts for hindering the Dutch from fiſhing on the coaſt of England, but all his prohibitions were in vain; the Dutch, after various pretences, at laſt aſſerted they had a right to fiſh upon the Britiſh coaſts, founded on immemorial poſſeſſion. The States of Holland, however, diſavowed this plea of their commiſſioners; but, at the ſame time declared, that however unjuſt, and however contrary to the rights of ſovereignty in the crown of England, their practice of fiſhing on the Britiſh coaſts might be, it was ſo abſolutely neceſſary to the very exiſtence of their ſtate, that they dared not either give it up, or pay any acknowledgement for it, leſt their people ſhould riſe in open rebellion againſt them. This was an argument not to be anſwered by reaſon, and Charles was determined to drive them by force from the Britiſh coaſts. To this end vigorous meaſures were begun in ſeveral parts of the kingdom; but theſe could not be carried on without proportional revenues, and thoſe of Charles were only barely ſufficient for maintaining the ſplendor of the court, performing his engagements with foreign princes, and defraying the neceſſary expences of his government. Noy, the attorney-general, was therefore commanded to diſcover ways and means for fitting out a fleet ſufficiently powerful to execute this purpoſe. Noy fell upon the expedient of ſhip-money; grounding it upon obſolete uſages aud records, which juſtified a tax upon the people for furniſhing a certain number of ſhips for the defence of the ſeas; and writs were iſſued accordingly. Theſe writs were accompanied with inſtructions and directions, from the lords of the council for the aſſeſſing and levying ſhip-money. Inſtructions were directed to the ſheriffs of the ſeveral counties; and by them it appears, that the ſhips aſſeſſed upon the counties of Middleſex and Hertford were to coſt three thouſand pounds; and that thoſe who refuſed to pay their proportion, were to be diſtreſſed and their goods ſold for payment, without any reſpect of perſons. The reſt of theſe inſtructions contain the particular manner of levying the tax, and gave very arbitrary powers to the officers of the peace. The writ being ſerved upon the lord-mayor of London, he immediately ſummoned a common council, where it was agreed to preſent the following petition to the king:

"To the king's moſt excellent majeſty,

"The humble petition of your faithful ſubjects, the mayor, commonalty, and citizens of your city of London, moſt humbly ſheweth,

"That whereas your majeſty, by writ bearing teſte 20 Octobris laſt, commanded your petitioners, at their own charge, to provide ſeven ſhips of war, furniſhed with men, victuals, and all warlike proviſions, to be at Portſmouth by the firſt of March next, and to continue from that time during the ſpace of twenty-ſix weeks in your majeſty's ſervice, upon the defence of the ſeas, and other cauſes in the ſaid writ contained.

"Your petitioners do, in all ſubmiſſive humbleneſs, and with acknowledgements of your ſacred majeſty's favours unto your ſaid city, inform your majeſty, that they conceive, that by ancient privileges, grants, and acts of parliament, which they are ready humbly to produce, they are exempt, and are to be freed from that charge.

"And do moſt humbly pray,

"That your majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed, that the petitioners, with your princely grace and favour, may enjoy the ſaid privileges and exemptions, and be freed from providing of the ſaid ſhips and proviſions."

Notwithſtanding this oppoſition of the capital, Charles proceeded with as much violence as if ſhip-money had always been an eſtabliſhed tax, and as if he did not expect to meet with the leaſt attempt to oppoſe his arbitrary proceedings. Noy, the attorney-general, dying about this time, left the affair unfiniſhed; but the neceſſities of Charles increaſing, he reſolved that ſhip-money ſhould be extended to the inland as well as the maritime counties. But in order to this, it was neceſſary to employ proper perſons, and to invent plauſible pretences. Sir Robert Heath, lord chief juſtice, had, in many reſpects, been found untractable, and was accordingly removed from his office, and his place ſupplied by Sir John Finch, a lawyer of great eloquence, and a firm friend to the court; and Sir John Banks was made attorney-general. It was, probably, owing to the opinion of thoſe lawyers who were far inferior in abilities to Noy, that Charles made ſhip-money a general tax; but even this attempt did not alarm the nation ſo much as was expected. The merchants, who generally take the lead on theſe occaſions, were too well acquainted with the advantages of commerce to riſque them by an oppoſition which might have given the court a pretence for impoſing heavier duties upon goods; and as the tax propoſed fell more heavy on the landed than the trading intereſt of the kingdom, they did not, for ſome time, conſider it as a ſtretch of arbitrary power. This acquieſcence gave the court a perfect ſecurity. Charles endeavoured to fill the kingdom with apprehenſions, that the Dutch and the French having entered into a new alliance, would certainly attempt to make themſelves maſters of the narrow ſeas; and a proclamation was accordingly publiſhed, commanding all Engliſh ſeamen and ſhipwrights who were in foreign ſervices, to return home immediately. A deceitful and fatal calm this. The nation ſtill continued to have the higheſt opinion of thoſe patriots, who had, in a manner, forced the king to paſs the petition of right, and rather acquieſced in, than approved of the many breaches daily made in that famous act, eſpecially with regard to ſhip-money. It was about this time that Edward Coke, the eminent lawyer and patriot, paid the debt of nature, in the eighty-third year of his age. But there were not wanting men who trod in his paths, and endeavoured to rouze the public from their lethargy, by ſhewing, that the continual encroachments of the prerogative would ſoon baniſh all law from the conſtitution.

Theſe alarming ſuggeſtions had their weight; they occaſioned ſuch diſputes with regard to the payment of ſhip-money, that no more than two hundred and thirty-ſix thouſand pounds were collected during the whole year. This oppoſition, however, produced no change in the conduct of Laud: he continued to exerciſe his eccleſiaſtical power with the greateſt ſeverity. He now attempted to oblige all foreigners ſettled in England to conform to the eſtabliſhed church, notwithſtanding the privileges and indulgencies that had been granted them by former princes, and the infinite advantages the nation acquired by their ſettling in this country. The French and Dutch churches, being joined by all the puritans in England, made a vigorous oppoſition, and refuſed, on account of the exemptions and privileges they had received from the crown, to pay any deference to Laud's authority. The primate, however, prevailed ſo far, that though all foreigners of the firſt deſcent were ſuffered to continue their own method of worſhip, yet thoſe of the ſecond deſcent, that is, thoſe who were born in England of foreign parents, were ordered by the king to repair to their own pariſh-churches, under the penalty of being proceeded againſt in the ſpiritual courts.

A. D. 1636. A fleet of ſixty ſail of large ſhips was now fitted out, under the command of the earl of Northumberland; and a proclamation iſſued, ſtrictly forbidding all perſons, not the natural-born ſubjects of theſe kingdoms, from fiſhing on the Britiſh coaſt, without proper licences from the king; who farther declared, that he intended always to keep a ſtrong ſquadron at ſea, in order to prevent all ſuch encroachments for the future, and to protect thoſe ſhips of his friends and allies who ſhould take out licences. The earl of Northumberland ſailed in the month of May; and coming up with ſome of the Dutch ſhips, he ſunk all that refuſed to leave the coaſts, and diſcontinue their fiſhery. This ſpirited conduct ſtruck a terror into all the maritime powers of Europe; even the haughty Richelieu himſelf, who had formed a deſign of rendering the Dutch the rivals of the Engliſh on the ocean, was obliged to abandon his project. The Dutch themſelves applied to Charles in the moſt earneſt manner; and at laſt conſented to pay thirty thouſand pounds for a licence to fiſh during the remainder of the year, when it was hoped a proper regulation would be made for fixing an annual tribute for the neceſſary licences. But no advantages of commerce, reputation or ſafety, could prevail upon the people to pay the odious tax of ſhip-money. The progreſs of the ſciences had increaſed their thirſt for knowledge; and the excellent writings and ſpeeches on the conſtitution of England during the late reign, were now purchaſed and read with the greateſt avidity. But particularly the plain inconſiſtencies between the levying of that tax, and the petition of right, were evident to the moſt ſlender capacity; ſo that neither the ſermons of divines, the opinions of lawyers, the threats of power, nor the arts of courtiers, had any effect: they firmly adhered to the dictates of common ſenſe, and ſet all the ſophiſtical arguments of the artful and the eloquent at defiance. Such, however, was their veneration for the government, that many paid the tax, though they were perſuaded the law could not oblige them. They knew that the judges had taken great pains to recommend it from the bench, and doubted not but an attempt would ſoon be made to render it legal by a formal deciſion. Chambers, a merchant of London, abſolutely refuſed to pay, and was ſent to priſon by Sir Edward Bromfield, lord-mayor, one of the commiſſioners for levying ſhip-money. But Chambers was not to be intimidated by the hand of power: he brought his action againſt Bromfield for a treſpaſs and falſe impriſonment. Sir Robert Berkley, one of the judges of the court, would not, however, ſuffer Chambers's council to argue againſt the legality of ſhip-money, declaring openly in court, "That there was a rule of law, and a rule of government; and that many things which might not be done by the rule of law, might be done by the rule of government." This was the deteſtable doctrine which led Charles to thoſe dangerous precipices from whence he fell, to the ruin of himſelf, and the ruin of his people. A regular diſtribution was now drawn up of ſhips adapted to the ſeveral ſhires of England and Wales, with their tonnage, number of men, and monthly expence; together with the ſums charged upon the reſpective corporate towns in each county. And Charles, that he might proceed with more ſafety, and remove the ſeveral objections that had been ſtarted againſt paying the tax, procured the opinion of the judges, "That when the good and ſafety of the kingdom in general is concerned, and the nation in danger, the king might lawfully levy a tax for fitting out ſuch a number of ſhips as ſhall be neceſſary for the defence of the nation; and that his majeſty is the ſole judge both of the danger, and when and how it is to be prevented." The king, though he now acted contrary to the laws, determined to puniſh, with the utmoſt ſeverity, all who ſhould, for the future, dare to oppoſe his royal pleaſure. It is amazing with what reluctance the people paid this tax, though they were no ſtrangers to this proſtitution and perverſion of the laws of their country: their uſual aſylum, the courts of law, were ſhut againſt them, and there was no medium; they muſt either ſubmit, or have recourſe to violence, an expedient which no wiſe man would chuſe. A choſen few, however, were ſtill in reſerve; men who dared to think with juſtice, and act with intrepidity; who, armed with the principles of civil and natural liberty, were determined to ſupport the cauſe of their country, and not tamely ſubmit to the arbitrary power of the crown. Strong reaſonings, bold elocution, deep learning, and upright intentions, were not, however, ſufficient to ſuſtain this dreadful combat; a leader muſt be found, who, beſides all theſe accompliſhments, had intrepidity ſufficient to ſtand forth in the cauſe of his country. Such a man was John Hampden, a gentleman poſſeſſed of a conſiderable eſtate, and deſcended from an antient family in Buckinghamſhire; which, being an inland county, afforded him the better pretence for refuſing to pay the tax of ſhip-money. His ſhare did not amount to more than thirty ſhillings, yet he abſolutely refuſed payment, and determined to venture a trial, the event of which would clearly point out the whole kingdom, whether arbitrary power was to prevail over juſtice.

A. D. 1637. The caſe was argued, during twelve days, in the Exchequer-chamber, before all the judges of England; and the nation regarded, with the utmoſt anxiety, every circumſtance of this celebrated trial. It will be eaſily conceived, from the opinion of the judges, that the great queſtion in this cauſe was, Whether the kingdom was in ſuch imminent danger, that the king had a right to aſſeſs his ſubjects, without waiting for the neceſſary forms of parliamentary proceedings? It was confeſſed on all hands, that both public and private dangers may be ſo great, that all property may ceaſe, while the parties are providing for their own ſafety. But none of the crown lawyers pretended, that the danger of the kingdom was then ſo preſſing, as to give the king a right to the property of the ſubject; and the ſmall portion of Mr. Hampden's aſſeſſment was no argument for his paying it, unleſs they could prove it to be according to law. Whether the king was, or was not, the ſole judge of the public neceſſity, was ſtrongly debated, but greatly to the diſadvantage of the court; ſince nothing could be more obvious than this, that when public danger becomes ſo preſſing as to confound all property, the caſe will be notorious, and ſelf-preſervation becomes the common principle with both prince and people. It is true, the king may have reaſons, unknown to his ſubjects, to fear the attempts of ſome public or private enemy, and make the neceſſary preparations to render the whole abortive; but nothing here occurred to convince any man of common underſtanding, that the danger, if indeed any was apprehended, might not have been prevented by regular parliamentary methods. With regard to the precedents brought by either ſide from former reigns, they were equally ſtrong for both parties, and therefore were of no weight in deciding this great national cauſe. The truth is, we have too many melancholy inſtances in the Engliſh hiſtory of iniquity being eſtabliſhed, not only by precedents, but by law; and that liberty often borrowed her gloom or luſtre from the vices or virtues that filled the throne. The lawyers, however, that pleaded the cauſe of Hampden, or rather that of their country, had infinite advantage over their antagoniſts, by unanſwerably proving the illegality of the tax from the poſitive and fundamental articles of the Great Charter, and other conſtitutional acts, which no practices, no precedents, ought to affect or deſtroy. And whoever examines with attention the inſtances produced on both ſides, will perceive, that the current of precedents runs always ſtrongeſt for the people in the moſt virtuous periods of governments; while thoſe for the crown ſpring from the fear of arbitrary power, from ſlaviſh complaiſance, from immediate danger, from groſs ignorance, or from prevailing corruption. Yet notwithſtanding the force of the arguments uſed by Hampden's counſel, the event was what had been long foreſeen. The prejudiced or proſtituted judges, four of them excepted, gave ſentence in favour of the crown. Hampden, however, obtained by the trial, the end for which he had ſo generouſly ſacrificed his ſafety and his quiet; the people were rouzed from their lethargy, and became fully ſenſible of the danger to which their liberty was expoſed. Theſe national queſtions were canvaſſed in every company; and the more they were examined, the more evidently it appeared to many that liberty was totally ſubverted, and an unuſual and arbitrary authority exerciſed over the kingdom. Slaviſh principles, it was ſaid, concurred with illegal practices; eccleſiaſtical tyranny lent aſſiſtance to civil uſurpations; iniquitous practices were ſupported by arbitrary puniſhments; and all the rights of the nation, tranſmitted through ſo many ages, ſecured by ſo many laws, and purchaſed by the blood of ſo many heroes and patriots, now lay proſtrate at the feet of the monarch.

Laud proceeded in the ſame imperious manner, and whoever refuſed to ſubmit to his arbitrary meaſures, was ſure to feel the weight of the hand of power. Among others, Williams, biſhop of Lincoln, was ſingled out as a perſon who oppoſed the meaſures of the government, and was a friend to the puritanical party. He was accordingly indicted in the ſtar-chamber on very frivolous pretences; fined ten thouſand pounds; ſuſpended from his office; and committed to the Tower during the king's pleaſure. Williams, when deprived of his poſt of lord-keeper, retired to his biſhopric, joined the country party, and became one of the chief leaders of thoſe who oppoſed the government. This was a crime not to be forgiven by Laud, though the primate himſelf had been indebted to Williams for his firſt promotion. But to ſee a biſhop countenance puritans; a creature of the court become its obſtinate enemy, and oppoſe with great firmneſs and vigour all the meaſures of government; theſe were circumſtances that excited indignation, and engaged the miniſters to purſue him with the utmoſt vengeance. Men of more generous and more moderate principles, beheld theſe tranſactions in a very different point of light; they conſidered the proſecution of Williams as one of the moſt iniquitous meaſures purſued by the court during the time that the uſe of parliaments were ſuſpended. Burton, a miniſter, and Beſtie, a phyſician, were alſo tried in the ſtar-chamber, for writing ſeditious and ſchiſmatical libels, and condemned to ſuffer the ſame puniſhment as had been inflicted on Prynne. Theſe writers had attacked with great ſeverity, and even intemperate zeal, the ceremonies, rites, and government of the church; crimes for which no pardon could be expected from the furious primate. The ſentence of the court was greatly condemned, as very unworthy men of their profeſſion; and the patience, or rather the alacrity, with which they ſuffered the puniſhments inflicted on them, ſtill farther increaſed the indignation of the public. But notwithſtanding all theſe meaſures, there would have been no danger of the government's being overturned, if religious zeal, ſtronger than all human paſſions, had not armed the people againſt their king. We have already ſeen how deſirous Charles was of eſtabliſhing in Scotland the diſcipline and worſhip of the church of England. He was fond of epiſcopacy, and inveſted the biſhops with an authority which he thought equally advantageous to religion and government. He loved church ceremonies, and wanted to have them received as eſſentials in divine ſervice; without reflecting how much all men are attached to their particular modes of worſhip. Charles, confident of his own power, now ſent down canons for the government of the church of Scotland, and a new liturgy for regulating the manner of worſhip. The people were far from being diſpoſed to receive them. The nobility and the diſſenting clergy were enemies to the hierarchy; and their univerſal hatred of the church of Rome, made them abhor whatever had the leaſt reſemblance to the method of its worſhip. On the ſixteenth of July, public intimations were given from the pulpits, that on the following Sunday the new liturgy would be introduced into the principal churches. Both the biſhop and dean of Edinburgh attended, to give the greater ſolemnity to this new form of worſhip. The latter, dreſſed in a ſurplice, began the liturgy. But he had not proceeded far in the ſervice, before the people cried out, "A pope! a pope! ſtone him!" The biſhop, however, mounted the pulpit, and attempted to appeaſe the tumult. But his endeavours were in vain: they threw a ſtool at his head, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that both him and the dean eſcaped with life. The contagion ſoon ſpread through the city. The magiſtrates ſuffered a thouſand inſults. The clergy declaimed with the utmoſt vehemence againſt innovations, and compared the populace to Balaam's aſs, whoſe mouth the Lord had opened. Yet notwithſtanding theſe alarming tumults, no man of any conſequence joined the people. The laws in Scotland were very ſevere againſt treaſon, and men of property were cautious of truſting their lives and fortunes to the furious declarations of an inconſtant multitude. Charles was fatally deceived by this appearance of reſtraint, and attributed their ſilence to an approbation of his meaſures. He had long been deluded by pretenſions, and raiſed to the firſt poſts in the miniſtry thoſe men who hated his perſon, his family, and his religion; they flattered him the more abjectly, that they might ruin him the more ſecurely. The whole cabinet council, indeed, was compoſed of perſons who wiſhed well to the meaſures they ſeemed to oppoſe, and which they were ſometimes obliged to puniſh. The ſpirit againſt the new liturgy daily increaſed among the common people; and the repeated commands of the court to introduce it, proved at once ineffectual and dangerous to the biſhops. The magiſtrates of Edinburgh, where theſe diſturbances chiefly prevailed, were, in ſecret, enemies to the liturgy; but, in public, they expreſſed the utmoſt abhorrence of the riotous proceedings of the populace, and frequently aſſembled, in order, as they pretended, to concert meaſures for putting a ſtop to theſe alarming attempts of the multitude. They even promiſed to aſſiſt the king to the utmoſt of their power to appeaſe the tumultuous populace, and introduce the new liturgy. But in the mean time a breach enſued between the biſhops and miniſters of Scotland, and ſoon after another between the biſhops and the nobility of that kingdom. The counſel of the moderate biſhops who had always oppoſed the violent methods of introducing the liturgy, was diſregarded by the new prelates promoted by Laud, and who were perſuaded that the intereſt of their patron with the king was abundantly ſufficient to ſupport them. This induced them to diſregard, not only the advice of their more moderate brethren, but alſo that of the nobility, who took advantage of this neglect to withdraw their countenance entirely from the proceedings of the clergy. The people, animated by the countenance of their miniſters and the nobility, began to unite and to encourage one another to oppoſe the religious innovations introduced into the kingdom. Petitions to the council were ſigned and preſented by perſons of the higheſt quality; the women, as is common in every religious diſturbance, joined with great violence in the oppoſition; the puritan miniſters declaimed vehemently againſt popery; and the pulpits reſounded with the moſt violent invectives againſt antichriſt.

A. D. 1638. Charles, reſolving to perſevere, ſeemed to deſpiſe the threats of the vulgar, and even the defection of the nobility. The primate of Scotland, a man of great temper, wiſdom, and religion, always averſe to the introduction of the new liturgy, repreſented to his majeſty, in faithful colours, the ſtate of the nation. The earl of Traquair, lord-treaſurer, repaired to London, in order to lay the matter more fully before the king. But all their repreſentations were in vain: Charles was inflexible. He had, however, nothing to oppoſe to ſo violent a combination of the whole nation but a proclamation, wherein he promiſed pardon for all paſt offences, and exhorted the people to be more obedient for the future, and to ſubmit peaceably to the uſe of the liturgy. But this was ſo far from producing the deſired effect, that it was immediately oppoſed by a public proteſtation, preſented by the earl of Hume and lord Lindeſay. This was the criſis of the oppoſition: the inſurrection which had been gathering by degrees, now broke out at once; the ſtandard of rebellion was diſplayed, and the ſword of civil diſcord on the point of being ſheathed in the bowels of that unhappy country. No diſorder, however, attended theſe dreadful appearances; on the contrary, a new order, or rather a new adminiſtration, immediately took place; a ſufficient indication that this diſturbance had been ſecretly fomented by perſons in a ſtation far exalted above the common people. Four tables, as they were called, were formed in Edinburgh: one conſiſted of nobility, another of gentry, a third of miniſters, and a fourth of burgeſſes; and in the hands of theſe four tables the whole authority of the government was placed. One of their firſt, and, at the ſame time, the greateſt act they performed, was that of the Solemn League and Covenant. This celebrated compact conſiſted firſt of a renunciation of popery, formerly ſigned by James in his youth. Then followed a bond of union, by which the ſubſcribers bound themſelves to reſiſt all religious innovations, and to defend each other againſt all oppoſition whatſoever: "and all this for the greater glory of God, and the greater honour and advantage of their king and country." It is aſtoniſhing with what eagerneſs all ranks of people flocked to ſign this covenant, conſidered by them as the bulwark of the Chriſtian religion, which, according to their way of thinking, was practiſed no where in its original purity but in Scotland.

Though a people cannot be too jealous of their liberties, and though no government has a right to attack, much leſs to deſtroy them; yet this jealouſy ought to have its bounds in reaſon, in nature, and in duty. The firſt never warrants reſiſtance but under provocation; the ſecond makes ſelf-preſervation to be her primary law; and the latter, by ſupporting ſubordination in government, preſerves the peace, the happineſs, and the tranquillity of human ſociety. But the voice of enthuſiaſm liſtens not to the declarations of reaſon. The Scottiſh preachers, determined to carry their point, though they involved the government of their country in confuſion, and recommended the ſtrongeſt oppoſition to the people. Charles was alarmed, and offered to ſuſpend the introduction of the liturgy, provided they would retract the covenant. Their anſwer was, that they would ſooner renounce their baptiſm. He then relaxed in other matters, in order to preſerve epiſcopal government, and permitted a general aſſembly to be ſummoned at Glaſgow. By this unadviſed meaſure the whole deſign was finiſhed. The laity, whom the Preſbyterians admitted, and who formed the ſtrongeſt part, began with impeaching the biſhops, whom they charged indiſcriminately with all ſorts of crimes. They afterwards declared all acts with regard to eccleſiaſtical matters, made ſince the advancement of James to the crown of England, null and void. Thus the canons, the liturgy, the court of high commiſſion, and even epiſcopacy itſelf, were aboliſhed in Scotland at one ſtroke. Meaſures like theſe could be ſupported only by arms. They accordingly prepared openly for a civil war; ſeized all places of ſtrength; fortified the town of Leith; and ſo remarkable was the deſire of completing the work, that women of quality mixed with the populace, and carried on their ſhoulders the materials neceſſary for the erecting the fortifications.

A. D. 1639. The king began to raiſe troops to reduce his rebellious ſubjects to reaſon, and ſubdue the refractory ſpirit of the Scots. By his œconomy, he had ſaved two hundred thouſand pounds; and the queen, by her influence with the catholics, engaged them to grant the king a conſiderable ſupply. The Engliſh fleet was very formidable, and well provided with every neceſſary. Five thouſand land forces were embarked on board this ſquadron, the command of which was given to the marquis of Hamilton, who had orders to ſail to the Frith of Forth, and cauſe a diverſion in the forces of the rebels. An army of near twenty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe was levied, and commanded by the earl of Arundel, a nobleman of great family, but famous neither as a ſoldier nor a ſtateſman. The earl of Eſſex, a nobleman extremely popular, and of great military abilities, was appointed lieutenant-general, and the earl of Holland general of the horſe. On the twenty-ninth of May the king himſelf joined the army, and ſummoned all the peers of England to attend him. Few diſregarded the ſummons; ſo that the Engliſh army reſembled rather the court of an eaſtern prince, than a military expedition againſt an enemy. The forces of the male-contents were little inferior in numbers to that of the Engliſh, but almoſt deſtitute of cavalry. The infantry conſiſted, indeed, of an undiſciplined and ill-armed rabble, but animated with a religious fervour, which, in ſome meaſure, ſupplied the want of diſcipline, and rendered them very formidable. The declamations of the clergy had greatly aſſiſted the officers in gaining recruits, by thundering out anathemas againſt "All who went not out to help the Lord againſt the mighty." But the leaders of the male-contents did not omit the more ſafe and prudent methods of negotiation. They knew that a defeat muſt be fatal; and however their troops might be inſpired with an enthuſiaſtic fury, they were unable to ſtand the regular attacks of diſciplined forces. They therefore immediately ſent very ſubmiſſive meſſages to the king; begged leave to be admitted to a treaty, in order to reſtore tranquillity to their native country, and ſheath the deſtructive ſword of civil diſcord. Several conferences were accordingly held; but ſo many difficulties occurred, that it was ſome time before even any preliminary articles could be eſtabliſhed. At laſt, however, a pacification was agreed to, on the following terms:

"1. The forces of Scotland to be diſbanded and diſſolved, within eight and-forty hours after the publication of his majeſty's declaration being agreed upon.

"2. His majeſty's caſtles, forts, ammunition of all ſorts, and royal honours, to be delivered after the ſaid publication, ſo ſoon as his majeſty can ſend to receive them.

"3. His majeſty's ſhips to depart preſently after the delivery of the caſtles, with the firſt fair wind, and in the mean time to cauſe no interruption either to trade or fiſhing.

"4. His majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to cauſe to be reſtored all perſons, goods, and ſhips, detained and arreſted ſince the firſt of November laſt.

"5. That there ſhall be no meetings, treatings, conſultations, or convocations, of his majeſty's ſubjects, but ſuch as are warranted by act of parliament.

"6. The works on all fortifications to be abandoned, and the places themſelves to be delivered up to his majeſty.

"7. To reſtore to every one of his majeſty's ſubjects, their liberties, lands, houſes, goods, and all other particulars whatſoever, taken or detained from them ſince the above term."

The Scotiſh deputies were at a loſs how to appeaſe their principals with regard to theſe articles, which fell far ſhort of what their ſanguine hopes had taught them to expect. Accordingly the earl of Caſſils, and ſeveral other noblemen and heads of the male-contents, loudly exclaimed againſt a pacification, which was to diſarm them, and leave them, in that condition, to the mercy of the court. No abolition of epiſcopacy, nor acknowledgement of the aſſembly at Glaſgow had been ſtipulated, as they had been made to believe; the reſtitution of ſhips taken ſince the firſt of November was but a poor conſideration, in compariſon of the common cauſe; and the drawing off the Engliſh fleet from the coaſt was of little importance, becauſe the ſhips might return whenever his majeſty pleaſed. Add to theſe conſiderations, that Charles, in one of the anſwers he had given to the deputies, had actually diſowned the aſſembly at Glaſgow; nor would he conſent to any thing farther than to refer civil matters to a parliament, and eccleſiaſtical affairs to a general aſſembly; both of which he could call or diſſolve at pleaſure. Nor was the peace more agreeable to the Engliſh; they exclaimed againſt it as loudly as the Scots; and there ſeemed very little hopes that it would be of any long continuance: the ſeeds of diſaffection were ſown in Scotland, and it was no eaſy taſk to prevent their growth.

During theſe tranſactions, an incident happened on the coaſt of England, which ſeemed to threaten alarming conſequences. The firmneſs of Charles, in ſteadily preſerving his neutrality, diſconcerted Richelieu's plan for attacking the ſea-coaſt of Flanders; and the count d'Eſtrades was ſent to conclude a new treaty of ſubſidy with the prince of Orange, in order to enable the Dutch to attack Antwerp. while the French were to beſiege St. Omer's. The ſucceſs of thoſe attempts are foreign to this hiſtory. It will be ſufficient to obſerve, that theſe diſpoſitions induced the court of Spain to fit out a ſtrong ſquadron at Corunna, conſiſting of fifty ſhips, under the command of Don Antonio Doguendo, a celebrated ſea-officer. Twelve thouſand foot were embarked on board this ſquadron, which was deſigned to join another fleet of Spaniſh ſhips at Dunkirk. Richelieu gave immediate notice of the failing of this fleet to the prince of Orange, who ſoon after diſcovered that the Spaniſh admiral was ordered not to fight, if he could poſſibly avoid it; but put himſelf under the protection of the Engliſh, and landed his men upon the coaſt of Flanders. This armament, and the fear of its being joined by the Engliſh fleet, greatly alarmed both the French and Dutch; and extraordinary efforts were made to put their fleets to ſea, in order, if poſſible, to render any attempt of the Spaniards abortive. A ſmall ſquadron of the Dutch, then at ſea, fell in with and attacked the Spaniſh fleet, but with conſiderable loſs to themſelves. Soon after, the Spaniſh admiral came to an anchor near Dover, where he thought himſelf ſafe under the protection of the Engliſh. But the ambitious Richelieu had no regard to the rights of neutrality, when they oppoſed his views. He ordered d'Eſtrades to lay before the prince of Orange, "The glory that would attend his defeating the meaſures of two great monarchs, and of crowning all his noble exploits in war, by a victory over the fleet of Spain, under the protection of the Engliſh, and, perhaps, actually aſſiſted by their ſhips." He added, "That ſuch an action would infallibly lay Flanders open to the united forces of France and Holland." The prince of Orange was ſtarled at the thoughts of committing ſo groſs an inſult on the Engliſh flag; and aſked d'Eſtrades, with ſome emotion, "Whether Richelieu was in earneſt?" D'Eſtrades aſſuring him he was, the prince ſent orders to Van Tromp to harraſs the enemy with a kind of flying ſquadron; but not to venture a general engagement, till he was joined by admiral Evertſon. As ſoon as this junction was performed, Tromp was ordered to ſend a meſſage to the Engliſh admiral, acquainting him, that having received orders from his maſters to attack their enemies wherever he found them, he requeſted that the Engliſh ſhips might leave the Spaniſh ſquadron, becauſe he was commanded not to attack them, unleſs they aſſiſted the enemy, and in that caſe his orders were to attack both without diſtinction. Charles was in the utmoſt perplexity how to behave on this alarming occaſion. The haughty republicans were now at the height of their power: their fleet, when united, conſiſted of one hundred and fifty ſail of ſhips of war, commanded by the beſt ſea officers in the world; they were highly exaſperated againſt Charles for refuſing them the liberty of fiſhing on the Britiſh coaſts, and wiſhed for an opportunity of revenging the affront, by deſtroying his fleet. At the ſame time, the public were perſuaded, that the Spaniſh fleet was either intended to conquer England, or aſſiſt the king in ſubduing his rebellious ſubjects. Charles therefore knew that he could not truſt to the fidelity of his ſeamen, even if the Dutch ſhould violate their neutrality. At the ſame time, he knew that the Spaniſh fleet, which conſiſted of ſixty-ſeven large ſhips, was in want both of cannon and ammunition; while the Dutch were liberally ſupplied with both from Calais and other ſea-port towns in France. It was ſome time before the whole Dutch fleet appeared, and made the proper diſpoſitions for attacking the enemy. During this interval, the Spaniſh miniſter preſented repeated memorials to Charles, for his protecting the Spaniſh fleet, which was now riding at anchor under the guns of the Engliſh caſtles near the South Foreland, while the Dutch remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt any Engliſh ſhip being employed in the Spaniſh ſervice. Charles knew not how to behave in this critical conjuncture, but at laſt determined to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality; and immediately iſſued orders, that no Engliſh ſhip ſhould take any Spaniards on board, or paſs from London below Graveſend without a licence. At the ſame time, he acquainted the Dutch ambaſſador, that he could not, without the higheſt diſhonour, refuſe the Spaniards that protection on his coaſts they had a right to demand from the law of nations; and that he had ſent orders to Sir John Pennington, who lay in the Downs with thirty-four ſail of Engliſh men of war, to join that fleet which ſhould be firſt attacked. This declaration leſſened the ardour of the Dutch, and the Spaniſh admiral found means to ſend twelve large ſhips and four thouſand men to Dunkirk. Charles was, however, fearful of the conſequences; and ſent the earl of Arundel to perſuade the Spaniſh admiral to ſlip away the firſt fair wind, as he could not be anſwerable for the ſucceſs of an engagement, if the Spaniards were attacked by the Dutch. Doguendo would gladly have followed this advice, but could not, on account of contrary winds: and the Dutch fleet being now completely reinforced, Van Tromp ſent a letter to Pennington, demanding the benefit of his neutrality, under pretence of the Spaniards having violated their privilege of protection, by firing on the Dutch admiral's barge, and killing one of his men. Tromp accordingly attacked the Spaniſh fleet with the utmoſt fury, forced them to cut their cables, drove twenty-three ſhips aſhore, of which three were burnt, and two ſunk. The Thereſa, mounted with a hundred braſs guns, was burnt, ſixteen were taken, and ſent to Fluſhing, with four thouſand five hundred priſoners, and fourteen ſhips were loſt near Bologne; the Dunkirk ſquadron under Doguendo, only eſcaping. The victory was complete on the ſide of the Dutch, though it was not obtained without ſome loſs; ten of their ſhips periſhing in the action. The king did not fail to repreſent this conduct of the Dutch, as an inſult upon the Britiſh flag; and made uſe of it as an argument for inforcing the payment of ſhip-money, in order to be able to keep a ſufficient fleet at ſea, to curb the inſolence of thoſe republicans. New writs were accordingly iſſued and ſent to all the counties of England and Wales for collecting the tax. About this time the lord keeper Coventry, who had the good fortune to hold the great ſeal many years, died in poſſeſſion of that high office. Every day now increaſed the obſtinacy of Charles, when it ought rather to have increaſed his caution. He determined to ſeize by violence that power which would enable him to govern the nation without controul, and to exerciſe it with prudence and equity, or, at leaſt, with ſomething which Laud and his own conſcience termed equity. The great ſeal was given to Finch, a man fit for promoting every arbitrary purpoſe. Though the odious tax of ſhip-money was raiſed with great ſeverity, and other acts of deſpotic power were daily exerciſed, the people diſcovered no remarkable uneaſineſs at the neglect of parliaments, and the unconſtitutional meaſures of the government. Peace and plenty reigned in the kingdom, and the wars that raged in the other nations in Europe, made England the repoſitory of riches from every part of the world. This greatly contributed to render the people almoſt paſſive in their preſent ſituation. They knew indeed their rights; they murmured at their being violated; they publicly proclaimed their grievances; they proteſted againſt illegal exactions; but a parliament was wanting to give their complaints ſtrength and conſiſtency.

The conduct of Charles in Scotland anſwered the moſt ſanguine hopes of the warmeſt patriots; and the diſpoſitions of the Scots were equally favourable for bringing matters to the criſis they deſired. The nobility and perſons of conſequence in that kingdom, were perſuaded they had ſufficiently guarded againſt all reſumptions of church revenues, by exacting a promiſe from Charles to call a free parliament and an aſſembly of the clergy. They would willingly have waited the reſult of both; and that great point, the only one they dreaded, being gained, they would willingly have concurred and acquieſced in every dutiful meaſure towards the crown. But they found the people untractable: they refuſed to ſtop till epiſcopacy was totally abrogated, and the principles of civil liberty founded on a more ſolid baſis than at preſent. This ſcheme might have anſwered the juſt expectations of men of property, and at the ſame time, if not have fully ſatisfied their wiſhes, have calmed the ſpirit of the people; but the whole was defeated through a want of moderation on the part of government. The marquis of Hamilton laid before Charles the deſtructive conſequences that muſt attend his not acting with ſincerity, by leaving the approaching parliament and aſſembly in Scotland, at free liberty to gratify the people with regard to every thing that had been underſtood to have been granted by the late pacification. By this he meant the total abolition of the epiſcopal order both in church and ſtate; but he perceived by the manner in which the king received his repreſentations, that this would not be granted. He therefore reſigned the office of high-commiſſioner in Scotland, and that invidious poſt was given to the earl of Traquaire.

The moderate part of the Scotiſh nobility would have been content with ſome reſtraints being laid on epiſcopal power in parliament. The marquis of Hamilton was entirely of this opinion, and fairly laid all his reaſons before the king, who had continued ſome time at Berwick. Charles was aſtoniſhed, and ordered fourteen of the chief covenanting lords to attend him, in order to conſult the proper meaſures for ſettling the affairs of Scotland. The people were alarmed at this meſſage, and openly declared, that it had been propoſed by their own leaders in order to elude the force of the covenant. This ſo greatly intimidated the noblemen, that three only of the fourteen lords could be prevailed upon to obey his majeſty's orders. Montroſe, Loudon, and Lothian, were the perſons who deſpiſed the fury of the populace, when it tended to prevent their obedience to the king. The buſineſs of Charles was ſerious and important: he was deſirous of learning the whole deſign of the covenanters, and what they intended to demand in the approaching parliament and aſſembly. Montroſe was one of thoſe noblemen who thought the king had done enough to ſatisfy all his Scotiſh ſubjects. His two companions, particularly the earl of Loudon, were of the ſame opinion, but wiſhed to have ſecurity for the performance; and this they thought could only be effected by ſome additional bulwarks to the liberties of their country, eſtabliſhed in a full and free parliament. They therefore laid fairly before Charles what they expected from the next parliament. In the firſt place, the currency of the coin in that country was not very large; but its value might be raiſed or lowered by the crown in ſo arbitrary a manner, that all property, in a great meaſure, depended upon the king, and, at beſt, was very uncertain. The ſame power had formerly been exerciſed in England, and proved an intolerable grievance; but it carried with it its own remedy when commerce enlarged. For foreigners, without regarding the orders of the Engliſh government, always proportioned the price of their commodities to the intrinſic, not the nominal value of the coin. This conduct at laſt obliged the crown to lay aſide thoſe deſtructive practices, which could ſerve only ſome mercenary immediate ends, and the Engliſh mint had been, for ſome time, under excellent regulations. But Scotland had not the ſame remedy againſt this alarming oppreſſion, becauſe the commerce of that kingdom was more reſtrained, and money of much greater value than in England. It was therefore juſtly thought, that the ſubject ought to have ſome ſecurity againſt this grievance: and that the king ſhould declare, "that the coin ſhould not be meddled with, but by advice of parliament." The ſecond grievance enumerated by the Scots, was that of the command of their garriſons being given to ſtrangers. Both James and Charles had, indeed, to uſe their own expreſſions, broken down the partition-wall between the two kingdoms; and the Scots had poured by multitudes into England, where they enjoyed a great number of offices both eccleſiaſtical and military. But the wiſeſt men in both nations condemned this partiality in favour of the native country of their prince; and even the generality of the Scots themſelves were diſſatisfied with the encouragement many of their great men met with in England, which induced them to ſpend both their money and eſtates in that country. The Engliſh, a great and powerful people, had far leſs to apprehend from the Scots than the Scots from them. The caſtles of Edinburgh and Dumbarton were already garriſoned by the Engliſh; and it was always eaſy for their navy to deſtroy the commerce of Scotland. The Scots therefore thought it reaſonable, that no ſtranger ſhould be intruſted with the government of any of their caſtles, unleſs by the advice of the ſtates. The heritable juriſdictions of Scotland were thought, even by the natives themſelves, to be dangerous, becauſe they created too great a dependence of the inferior people on particular families. They demanded, therefore, that no commiſſion of juſticiary or lieutenancy might be granted, but for a limited time. Laſtly, they excepted againſt the precedency of the lord treaſurer and lord privy-ſeal, as not being warranted by any poſitive law. This exception was, probably, intended to prevent arbitrary promotions, which might eclipſe the luſtre of their ancient nobility, and create too powerful an influence of the crown in parliament. Such were the demands intended by the Scots to be made in the enſuing parliament; and, poſſibly, if Charles had acted with ſincerity, they had ſtopped there; but he could not be prevailed upon to conſent to the abolition of epiſcopacy. The covenanters ſaw this, and were convinced that all conceſſions made by the king muſt be forced, and that he would retract them the firſt favourable opportunity. Their chiefs, therefore, thought they had no ſafety but in uniting more cloſely than ever, and openly oppoſing the power of the crown itſelf. Though their army had ſeparated on the concluſion of the late treaty, they continued ſtill in large bodies; the fortifications of Leith were continued; they iſſued commiſſions for purchaſing large quantities of arms and ammunition abroad; and Leſley ſtill kept up the character and title of general. When Traquaire had received his commiſſion, he returned to Edinburgh, where both a parliament and an aſſembly were held. They immediately paſſed a bill for aboliſhing epiſcopacy, and another for removing the grievances already mentioned. The king was greatly exaſperated at theſe precipitate proceedings, and Traquaire received orders to prorogue both the parliament and aſſembly; but his authority was diſregarded; they continued their ſeſſion; and ſent the bill they had paſſed to Charles for the royal aſſent, pretending that no prorogation could take place without the conſent of the eſtates of the kingdom in parliament. The aſſembly proceeded with equal violence; and all that Charles could obtain was an explanation of the famous covenant, in the following terms: "We do ſwear not only our mutual concurrence and aſſiſtance for the cauſe of religion, and to the utmoſt of our power, with our means and lives, to ſtand to the defence of our dread ſovereign, and his authority, in the preſervation and defence of the ſaid true religion, liberties, and laws of this kirk and kingdom; but alſo in every cauſe which may concern his majeſty's honour, we ſhall according to the laws of this kingdom, and the duties of good ſubjects, concur with our friends and followers, in quiet manner, or in arms, as we ſhall be required of his majeſty's council, or any having his authority." Charles was not contented with this explanation, though it was more than could have been expected from perſons of their diſpoſition. The aſſembly paid not due deference to the king's prepoſſeſſions, though they gave the utmoſt indulgence to their own. They voted epiſcopacy to be unlawful in the church of Scotland: the king was willing to allow it, contrary to the conſtitutions of that church. They ſtigmatized the liturgy and canons as popiſh: he agreed ſimply to their being aboliſhed. They denominated the high commiſſion tyranny: he was willing to ſet it aſide. Both were determined to perſevere; and on this account recourſe was again had to arms, and it was now ſuppoſed the ſword alone muſt decide the diſpute.

A. D. 1640.

On ſigning the late pacification, Charles had diſbanded his army; a very conſiderable ſum of money was neceſſary for raiſing another, and the council was greatly perplexed to diſcover neceſſary ways and means for that purpoſe. The only conſtitutional method, by ſummoning a parliament, was thought a dangerous experiment; but the neceſſities of the crown were ſo preſſing, that it was determined to ſummon that aſſembly. It was, however, thought, that there was a neceſſity for ſtriking ſome bold, ſpeedy, and effectual blow, to intimidate the rebels; and that the parliamentary ſupplies would be too ſlow and uncertain to anſwer the purpoſe. The earl of Strafford therefore propoſed a ſubſcription, and generouſly opened it with twenty thouſand pounds. The young duke of Richmond followed his example, and ſubſcribed the ſame ſum. Their examples influenced many of the nobility and clergy; ſo that a large ſum was ſoon ſubſcribed, in order to enable the king to oppoſe his rebellious ſubjects.

The parliament met at Weſtminſter on the thirteenth of April; and were informed by the lord keeper, Finch, that the king had been able to aſſemble and ſupport his army, not by any revenue he poſſeſſed, but by means of a large debt, amounting to three hundred thouſand pounds, which he had contracted, and for which he had given ſecurity upon the crown lands. He repreſented, that it was neceſſary to grant ſupplies for the urgent demands of his military armaments: that the ſeaſon was far advanced, the time precious, and that none of it muſt be loſt in deliberations: that though his coffers were empty, they had not been exhauſted by unneceſſary pomp, ſumptuous buildings, or any other kind of magnificence: that whatever ſupplies had been levied from his ſubjects, had been employed for their advantage and preſervation; and like vapours ariſing out of the earth, and gathered into a cloud, had fallen in ſweet and refreſhing ſhowers on the ſame fields from which they had at firſt been exhaled: that though the king deſired ſuch immediate aſſiſtance, as might, for the time, prevent a total diſorder in the government, he was far from any intention of precluding them of their right to enquire into the ſtate of the kingdom, and to offer him petitions for the relief of their grievances: that as much as was poſſible of this ſeaſon ſhould be allowed them for that purpoſe: that as he expected only ſuch ſupplies at preſent as the current ſervice abſolutely required, it would be neceſſary to aſſemble them again next winter, when they ſhould have full leiſure to conclude whatever buſineſs had been left imperfect and unfiniſhed: that the parliament of Ireland had twice put ſuch truſt in his good intentions, as to grant him, in the beginning of the ſeſſion, a very large ſupply, and had always experienced good effects from the confidence repoſed in him: and that in every circumſtance his people ſhould find his conduct ſuitable to a juſt, pious, and gracious king, and ſuch as was calculated to promote an entire harmony between prince and parliament.

Theſe topics, however plauſible, produced not the deſired effect. The leaders of the diſcontented party began to foreſee the conſequences of the Scotiſh inſurrection, and to hope that the time ſo long wiſhed for was at hand, when royal authority muſt become wholly ſubordinate to popular aſſemblies; and when public liberty muſt acquire the full aſcendant. A reaſonable compliance with the meaſures of the court was now conſidered as ſlaviſh dependence; a regard for the king, ſervile flattery; a confidence in his promiſes, ſhameful proſtitution. It was hoped, that by reducing the crown to neceſſities, the king would be puſhed into violent meaſures, which could not fail of ſerving their purpoſes; and that by multiplying theſe neceſſities, his prerogative, undermined on all ſides, muſt at laſt be overthrown, and rendered no longer dangerous to the privileges of the people. Full of theſe ſentiments, every meaſure that had a tendency to preſerve the government in its preſent form, was zealouſly oppoſed by the popular leaders; who, inſtead of noticing the king's complaints againſt his Scotiſh ſubjects, or his applications for a ſupply, entered immediately upon grievances, and a ſpeech made by Pym upon that ſubject, was much more attended to, than the harangue delivered by the lord keeper in the name of their ſovereign. Nor were the Scotiſh covenanters idle. The noblemen and gentry of that party ſtripped themſelves of every luxury, the ladies of their jewels and ornaments, to ſupport the neceſſary expences of what they termed a holy war. Some of the fortifications of Edinburgh having fallen down, the covenanters not only refuſed to ſuffer them to be rebuilt, but openly oppoſed an order ſent by the king for throwing in ſtores, proviſions and ſoldiers, to reinforce that fortreſs: but men, women, and children, worked with amazing alacrity on the fortifications of Leith; and the covenanters having demanded that the caſtle of Edinburgh ſhould be delivered into their hands, declared Ruthven, the governor, a traitor, for refuſing their demand. In the mean time the Engliſh houſe of commons had ordered, that the records and proceedings in the ſtar-chamber and king's-bench, concerning ſeveral members of the houſe, in the laſt parliament, ſhould be immediately ſent for, and a ſelect committee appointed on the violation of the privileges of parliament; and that the records, enrolments, judgments, and proceedings in the exchequer, and all other courts, concerning ſhip-money, ſhould alſo be ſent for: they then began with examining the behaviour of the ſpeaker, the laſt day of the former parliament, when he refuſed, on account of the king's command, to put the queſtion, and they declared it a breach of privilege.

They next proceeded to enquire into the impriſonment and proſecution of Sir John Elliott, Holles and Valentine; after which, they regularly claſſed the grievances under three heads; innovations in religion, the property of the ſubject, and privileges of parliament. Each of theſe branches was referred to a ſeparate committee; and it was reſolved not to grant any ſupplies till theſe grievances ſhould be removed. This ſteady behaviour in the repreſentatives of the people excited the indignation of Charles. He came to the houſe of peers; and having ſent for the commons, told them; "That the cauſe of his coming was to put them in mind of what had been delivered in his name, by the lord keeper, at the opening of the ſeſſion. That, contrary to his expectations, the houſe of commons had held conſultations with regard to religion, property, and privileges: that they had voted ſome things on each of thoſe heads, and given them precedence to the matter of his ſupply: that his neceſſities were ſo preſſing as not to bear delay: but if his commons would truſt him, whatever had been promiſed, in his name, by the lord keeper, ſhould be faithfully performed. That with regard to religion, his heart and conſcience went together with that eſtabliſhed in the church of England; and he would iſſue ſtrict orders to his archbiſhops and biſhops, that no innovations might be made. That as to ſhip-money, he never made, nor intended to make any profit of it himſelf, but had levied it merely to preſerve the dominion of the ſeas, which was neceſſary; that without it the kingdom would not ſubſiſt; that as for property of goods, and liberty of parliament, he always deſired his people ſhould enjoy them, and conſidered no monarch ſo great as he who governed a rich and free people; that if the commons refuſed to truſt him, the affairs of government muſt be diſordered, and the preſent opportunity of retrieving them irrecoverably loſt: that though they truſted him in part at firſt, yet before the concluſion of parliament, he muſt totally truſt to them, and they, at laſt, wholly confide in him for the execution of every thing paſſed in the preſent aſſembly: that ſince there was nothing more than who ſhould be firſt truſted, and that the truſt in him was but a truſt in part, he deſired the lords to take into their ſerious conſideration his and their own honour, the ſafety and welfare of the kingdom, and the great danger with which it was now threatened; and that they would endeavour, by their advice, to diſpoſe the commons to give his ſupply the precedence to grievances. The peers voted, that the ſupply ſhould have the precedency, and that there ſhould be a conference with the commons to diſpoſe them to it. The commons had always claimed the granting of ſupplies, as their peculiar privilege; and the advice of the lords was no ſooner known, and reported to them, than they unanimouſly voted ſo unprecedented an interpoſition, to be a high breach of privilege; and that they could not proceed upon any other matter, till they had firſt received ſatisfaction from the upper houſe. The lords ſeemed at firſt determined to reſent the free expoſtulations of the commons; but became at length ſenſible of their error, acknowledged the privileges of the commons, and deſired them to proceed on the important affairs of the kingdom after their own manner. Charles, with a view of bringing the matter of ſupply to a concluſion, ſent a meſſage to the houſe; and knowing that ſhip-money was the chief obſtacle, he offered to aboliſh it entirely, by any law which the commons ſhould afterwards think proper to preſent to him; but firſt demanded a ſupply of twelve ſubſidies, about ſix hundred thouſand pounds, payable in three years, demanding at the ſame time a poſitive anſwer, his affairs being in ſuch a ſtate as could endure no longer delay. The majority was againſt complying with this meaſure; yet the king had many friends in the houſe, and the debate was carried on for two days on both ſides with equal zeal and warmth. The partizans of the court urged, that the happieſt occaſion was now offered for removing all diſguſts and jealouſies between the king and people, and for reconciling the ſovereign for ever to the uſe of parliaments: that to repoſe a reaſonable confidence in the king, and generouſly to ſupply his preſent wants, would be an effectual means of gaining on his generous nature, and extorting by a gentle violence, ſuch conceſſions as were requiſite for the eſtabliſhment of public order. On the other hand, it was urged, that the court had diſcovered but few ſymptoms of that mutual truſt and confidence to which they now ſo kindly invited the commons: that eleven years intermiſſion of parliaments, the longeſt that was to be found in the Engliſh annals, was a ſufficient indication of the jealouſy entertained againſt the people; or rather for deſigns formed for the ſuppreſſion of all their liberties and privileges; that if the ſame grievances, eccleſiaſtical and civil, under which this nation itſelf laboured, had puſhed the Scots to extremities, it was not neceſſary that the Engliſh ſhould forge their own chains, by impoſing them on their unhappy neighbours: that the antient practice of parliament, was to give grievances the precedency of ſupplies; and that this order ſo carefully obſerved by their anceſtors, was founded on a jealouſy inherent in the conſtitution, and was never interpreted as any peculiar diffidence of the preſent ſovereign: that ſcarcely any argument more unfavourable could be pleaded for a ſupply, than an offer to aboliſh ſhip-money; a taxation the moſt illegal, and the moſt dangerous that had ever been impoſed on the nation: and that by bargaining for the remiſſion of that duty, the commons would in a manner, ratify the authority by which it had been levied; or, at leaſt, give encouragement for advancing new pretenſions of a like nature, in hopes of reſigning them on like advantageous conditions, While the houſe was thus divided in opinions, Sir Henry Vane ſtood up, and told them, that he was authorized to ſay, that the king would accept of nothing leſs than twelve ſubſidies, as a compenſation for the abolition of ſhip-money. Upon this the houſe aroſe. This ill timed ſpeech threw the whole houſe into a flame, and they immediately adjourned to the next day. Charles was highly provoked, eſpecially when Vane informed him, that the commons intended to aboliſh not only ſhip-money, and other illegal branches of the revenue, but likewiſe to declare their diſapprobation of the intended war againſt the Scots. Determined therefore to prevent any attempts of this kind, the king came to the houſe next morning, and having ſent for the commons, diſſolved the parliament.

The reſentment of the people was naturally excited by this haſty meaſure, who ſaw all their hopes blaſted, while none of their grievances had been redreſſed; and the king, as if they had no real grounds of complaint, perſevered obſtinately in thoſe dangerous, unpopular councils, which, from experience, he muſt have known, could only ſerve to inflame their minds. The ſtudies, and even the pockets of the earl of Warwick and lord Broke, were ſearched before the expiration of privilege, in expectation of finding treaſonable papers. Henry Bellaſis, knight of the ſhire for the county of York, and Sir John Hotham, were ſummoned before the council; and not making ſatisfactory anſwers to interrogatives, concerning paſſages in the late parliament, were committed to the Fleet. All the petitions and complaints, which had been ſent to the committee of religion, were demanded from Carew, chairman of that committee, and on his refuſing to deliver them, and thus ſcreening from diſcovery the names of thoſe who complained of innovations in religion, and the proceedings of the high-commiſſion court, he was committed cloſe priſoner to the Tower; which acts of arbitrary power were juſtly interpreted by the people, as invaſions of the privileges of parliament. Contrary to undeniable cuſtom, the convocation continued to ſit, and not only exerciſed a very dangerous independency, by granting the king a benevolence, without the ſanction of parliament, of four ſhillings in the pound for ſix years, but made canons, in which all ſectaries were made ſubject to the ſame penalties as thoſe againſt popiſh recuſants; approved the new ceremonies of placing the communion table, and bowing, towards the eaſt; rendered thoſe ſubject to excommunication who ſhould write, import, print, publiſh, or diſperſe any book or writing againſt the diſcipline and government of the church; and framed an oath, by which the clergy and graduates in the univerſities were to ſwear, that they approved the doctrine and diſcipline of the church of England, and would maintain its government by archbiſhops, biſhops, &c. All theſe canons were eſteemed illegal, becauſe not ratified by conſent of parliament; while the oath was looked upon with abhorrence by thoſe who did not approve of the doctrine and diſcipline of the church; and beſides, nothing could afford a more apt ſubject for ridicule, than an oath which contained an *et cætera* in the middle of it. The convocation being generally as much deteſted by the people, as the parliament was revered, they could ſcarcely be reſtrained from inſulting and abuſing that aſſembly; whereupon the king appointed them guards for their protection: nevertheleſs, a body of two thouſand people forced their way into St. Paul's cathedral, where the high-commiſſion court then ſat, crying, No biſhops! No high-commiſſion court! and pulled down the benches. Alſo a great number of apprentices, with others of the loweſt claſs, beſet the archbiſhop's houſe at Lambeth, when one of them being taken, was tried for treaſon, and being condemned, was drawn and quartered, and his limbs ſet up on London bridge.

The king had ſcarcely diſſolved the parliament, when he was convinced of his error. He perceived he had acted too precipitately, and was deſirous, when it was too late, to retrieve it: he therefore was obliged to have recourſe to his able counſellor Strafford, for ways and means adequate to the exigencies of the ſtate. Strafford had for ſome time been made lord deputy of Ireland, and in that capacity experienced the misfortune, which attends every prince or miniſter, who attempts to humanize a ferocious people, that of being forced to employ ſeverities, which in a well regulated government would be unjuſtifiable. Many great men in Ireland, friends to the Engliſh adminiſtration, could not bear that impartial rigour which Strafford continually exerted. But his ſervices for his maſter were very conſpicuous. Charles drew upwards of an hundred thouſand pounds a year, clear revenue, from that kingdom. Its manufactures flouriſhed, the people proſpered, the parliament was pleaſed, the army regular and powerful. Strafford imagined theſe particulars ſpoke ſo ſtrongly in his favour, that the voice of calumny would not be heard: he thought his publick conduct ſtood in no need of private management, either to vindicate or recommend it. He had alſo the merit of adviſing Charles to call the laſt parliament, a fact not only publicly known, but mentioned with applauſe by both houſes: yet, it muſt be confeſſed he complied too much with the tyrannical principles and practices of his maſter, which in the end terminated in the deſtruction of both. But, notwithſtanding all the efforts of Charles and his miniſter in raiſing neceſſary ſupplies, ſhip-money was now every where diſputed; and the ſheriffs were not only threatened by the council; but the attorney-general was required to ſend for the ſheriffs of the counties of London, Middleſex, Eſſex, Surry, York, Berks, Northampton, and Leiceſter; and was ordered to proceed againſt them as he ſhould find cauſe. The eccleſiaſtical ſubſidies amounted to an hundred and twenty thouſand pounds; and three hundred thouſand pounds were raiſed by ſubſcriptions; but theſe ſums not being ſufficient to defray the expence of the great preparations which were making againſt the Scots, Charles attempted to compel the city of London to lend him two hundred thouſand pounds. The riſing ſpirit of liberty, however, repelled this attack, and he was obliged to be ſatisfied with the dangerous revenge of impriſoning three aldermen, for refuſing to collect the names of thoſe who were able to contribute towards raiſing this ſum; and with proſecuting in the ſtar-chamber, the lord mayor and aldermen, for not diſtraining citizens, who had not paid ſhip-money. At the ſame time, the bullion in the Tower was ſeized, and forty thouſand pounds extorted from the merchants to redeem the reſt. All the pepper was bought of the Eaſt India Company upon credit, and ſold at a great diſcount for ready money: coat and conduct money for the ſoldiery, were again levied, and a ſcheme for coining two or three hundred thouſand pounds of baſe money, in which was to be only a fourth part of ſilver, and the reſt of copper; but this laſt expedient was, with difficulty, ſet aſide, by a ſpirited diſcourſe of Sir Thomas Rowe, in which he ſtrongly repreſented the many fatal conſequences with which this ſtep might be attended.

In this interval, while the king and his miniſters were thus employed, the Scots raiſed a more numerous body of troops than they were able to bring into the field the laſt year; for which purpoſe they exacted a tenth penny throughout that kingdom; borrowed large ſums; and the Scotch women, imitating the Roman matrons, gave up their jewels and ornaments to ſupply the neceſſities of their country. Their army was ſooner ready than the king's, and after having taken Edinburgh caſtle, marched towards the borders of England, under the command of general Leſley. The royal army conſiſted of twenty thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe. The earl of Northumberland was appointed general, the earl of Strafford lieutenant-general, and lord Conway general of the horſe. According to the original plan of this campaign, an army of twenty thouſand foot, with two thouſand horſe, was deſigned to act on the borders of Scotland, near Berwick; ten thouſand foot and five hundred horſe were to be landed from Ireland, and to take poſſeſſion of the town of Aire in Scotland; ten thouſand foot and five hundred horſe were to be ſent into the north of that kingdom; and a fleet of ſhips with another body of ſoldiers on board, were to ſail into the Frith of Forth; but the ſums of money raiſed by the king, were not ſufficient to execute this well laid plan. The Scots ſtill preſerved the moſt ſubmiſſive language, and declared, in their manifeſtos, that they entered England with no other view, than to obtain acceſs to the king's preſence, and to lay their humble petitions at his feet. At Newburn upon Tyne, they were oppoſed by a detachment of five thouſand foot, and two hundred horſe, under Conway, who ſeemed reſolved to diſpute the paſſage of the river. The Scots firſt intreated them in a civil manner, not to ſtop their march; but meeting with a refuſal, attacked them with great bravery, killed ſeveral, and chaſed the reſt from their ground. Such a panic ſeized the whole Engliſh army, that the forces at Newcaſtle fled to Durham; yet not thinking themſelves ſafe, they deſerted that town, and retreated into Yorkſhire. The Scots now took poſſeſſion of Newcaſtle, with the king's magazines of powder, ammunition, and proviſion; but preſerved an exact diſcipline, paid for every thing they had, and diſpatched meſſengers to the king, who was arrived at York, redoubling their expreſſions of loyalty, and deploring the neceſſity of their being obliged to ſhed the blood of their Engliſh brethren. At the ſame time, they treated the priſoners they had taken with ſuch civility, that they brought them over to their ſide; and their reports were afterwards of infinite ſervice to them. Charles was now in the utmoſt diſtreſs: his army was diſcouraged and diſcontented; he was ſerved by officers whom he could not employ; ſurrounded by counſellors whom he dared not truſt: his treaſury was exhauſted; his ſpirits were low, his general diſliked, and his cauſe reprobated by the public. When he mentioned war and chaſtiſing the Scots, he met with coldneſs in every look of his peers, more expreſſive of diſapprobation than the moſt violent debate. He aſked counſel of Strafford. Strafford confeſſed frankly he was for fighting; but the marquis of Hamilton ſtill retained his pacific ſentiments. He recommended earneſtly this opinion, and was ſo well ſeconded by the reſt of the council, that the king agreeing to a treaty, appointed ſixteen Engliſh noblemen to meet eleven Scotch commiſſioners at Ripon. This was followed by the arrival of a petition of the city of London for a parliament; and by another to the ſame purpoſe, preſented by twelve noblemen; but the king thought fit to ſummon a great council of the peers at York; a meaſure which had formerly been taken on a ſudden emergency, but which in the preſent could be of little ſervice.

On the third of November the parliament met, and ſuch was the ſpirit of the times, that the houſe of commons was almoſt full at the very opening of the ſeſſion. The king, in his ſpeech to both houſes, recommended, with ſome warmth, the chaſing the Scots out of the kingdom; ſaid, he was reſolved to confide in the love and affection of his Engliſh ſubjects, promiſed heartily to concur in redreſſing their juſt grievances; and recommended to them to provide for the payment of his army, which muſt otherwiſe be diſbanded, while that of the rebels was kept on foot; but when the commons entered upon buſineſs, committees were appointed for privileges, elections, religion, grievances, courts of juſtice, trade, and Iriſh affairs. Such a multiplicity of complaints now poured upon them, that theſe large committees were ſubdivided into forty leſſer ones. Every hour brought freſh proofs of the diſcontent of the nation; beſides petitions in favour of Leighton, Prynne, Burton, Baſtwick, Lilbowin, and other private ſufferers; and there was not a county which did not ſend up a long liſt of grievances by their ſeveral repreſentatives. Theſe were diſplayed by eminent ſpeakers with great ſpirit and eloquence; and an Iriſh gentleman drew ſuch a lively picture of the tyrannical adminiſtration of the kingdom of Ireland, as increaſed the prejudice of the houſe againſt Strafford, who by his behaviour in every other reſpect had rendered himſelf extremely unpopular. When his arrival in London was known, Mr. Pym enumerated, in a long ſpeech, all the grievances under which the nation laboured; and inferred from a complication of ſuch oppreſſions, that a deliberate plan had been laid for changing entirely the form of government, and ſubverting the ancient laws and liberties of the kingdom. "Could any thing, ſaid he, increaſe our indignation againſt ſo enormous and criminal a project, it would be to find, that, during the reign of the beſt of princes, the conſtitution has been endangered by the worſt of miniſters; and that the virtues of the king have been ſeduced by wicked and pernicious councils. We muſt enquire from what fountains theſe waters of bitterneſs flow; and though, doubtleſs, many evil counſellors will be found to contribute their endeavours, yet there is one who challenges the infamous pre-eminence, and who, by his courage, enterprizes, and capacity, is entitled to the firſt place among the betrayers of his country: I mean the earl of Strafford, lieutenant of Ireland, and preſident of the council of York, who, in both places, and in all other provinces, where he has been intruſted with authority, has raiſed ample monuments of tyranny, and will appear, from a ſurvey of his actions, to have been the chief promoter of every arbitrary meaſure. He proceeded to enumerate ſome particulars, and then entered on a perſonal attack on that miniſter, and endeavoured to expoſe his whole character and manners. He concluded with obſerving, that it belonged to that houſe to provide a remedy proportioned to the diſeaſe, and to prevent further miſchiefs; which might otherwiſe be juſtly apprehended, from the influence he had acquired over the counſels of their ſovereign." Sir John Hotham, and others, ſpoke to the ſame effect; and after many hours ſpent on the ſame ſubject, while the doors were previouſly locked, to prevent a diſcovery of their purpoſe, it was ſuddenly moved, that the earl of Strafford ſhould be immediately impeached of high treaſon. This motion was received with univerſal applauſe; nor was there a ſingle perſon who ſpoke in his favour. Lord Falkland alone, though known to be his enemy, deſired the houſe to conſider, whether it would not be more conformable to the gravity of their proceedings, firſt to digeſt by a committee, many of thoſe particulars that had been mentioned, before they ventured to ſend an accuſation againſt him to the lords; but this was over-ruled, and after ſome debate, the impeachment was voted, and Mr. Pym choſen to carry it up to the lords; and, to ſhew their unanimity on this ſubject, moſt of the houſe accompanied him. Strafford was then in the houſe of peers, and it is conjectured, that he intended that day to accuſe the lord Say, and other members of both houſes, who were thought to have held a correſpondence with the Scots. He found the lords in a debate, which took them up a conſiderable time; and while he was waiting for an opportunity to addreſs them, Mr. Pym appeared at the bar, and in the names of all the commons of England, impeached him of high treaſon, and deſired that he might be ſequeſtered from all councils, and put into ſafe cuſtody. Mr. Pym then retiring, Strafford was committed to the uſher of the black rod, to remain under his care, until the commons ſhould bring in their ſpecific charges againſt him.

The commons, thus ſucceſsful againſt a man whom they conſidered as the nation's capital enemy, proceeded to conſider more particularly public grievances, which they reduced under the heads, privilege of parliament; prejudice of religion; liberty of the ſubject. Under the firſt general head were reckoned, reſtraining the members of parliament from ſpeaking; forbidding the ſpeaker to put the queſtion; impriſoning divers members for matters done in parliament; proceeding againſt them in inferior courts; enjoining their good behaviour, and continuing them in priſon even until death; and abrupt diſſolutions of parliament. Under the ſecond general head of religion were placed, the ſuſpenſion of the laws againſt perſons profeſſing the popiſh religion; their places of truſt and honour; their free reſort to London, and to the court; and their being permitted to have a nuncio, to execute the orders of the pope. Under innovations of religion were enumerated, maintenance of popiſh tenets in books, ſermons, and diſputes; practices of popiſh ceremonies countenanced and enjoined, as altars, crucifixes, and images; diſcouragements of proteſtants by rigid proſecutions of the ſcrupulous, for things indifferent; and encroachment of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction. Under the third general head was an enumeration of grievances. 1. Tonnage and poundage unduly taken. 2. Compoſition for knighthood. 3. The unparalleled one of ſhip-money. 4. Enlargement of the foreſts beyond due bounds. 5. Selling of nuiſances by compounding for them. 6. Commiſſion for building. 7. The commiſſion for deputation. 8. Unlawful military charges, by warrant of the king, letters of the council, and orders of the lieutenants of the counties, and their deputies. 9. Extra-judicial declarations of the judges, without hearing counſel or arguments. 10. Monopoliſts countenanced by the council-board, and juſtices of the peace required to aſſiſt them. 11. The ſtar-chamber court. 12. The king's edicts and proclamations lately uſed for maintaining monopolies. 13. The ambitious and corrupt clergy preaching divine authority and abſolute power in kings to act as they pleaſe. 14. The intermiſſion of parliament. Theſe heads of enquiry ſufficiently indicated, that a total alteration of the conſtitution was intended, and this intention was ſupported by ſpeeches enforced by all the eloquence and learning of that age. The houſe of lords were not backward in encouraging this ſpirit of the commons. But other matters for ſome time engaged their attention. Sir Thomas Rowe having made a report concerning the treaty with the Scots, it appeared, that a contribution of eight hundred and fifty pounds a day had, for a conſiderable time, been levied on the inhabitants of the north, and that they had petitioned his majeſty for relief in the moſt affecting terms; and it was known that the Scots had declared, they ſhould conſider the ceſſation of payment as an infraction of the treaty; and ſhould be at liberty to paſs the river Tees, and advance farther into the heart of England. The lord keeper, in a conference between the two houſes endeavoured to prove, that as the lord commiſſioners were the firſt who adviſed a ceſſation of arms, the miſeries of the country, in conſequence of that meaſure, could not be attributed to the king. This being premiſed, he admitted the neceſſity of providing for the Scotiſh army; but at the ſame time enlarged on the abſurdity of ſuffering that of the king's to ſtarve, or be diſbanded. The Scotiſh commiſſioners were by this time arrived in London, where they were received as the guardian angels of the rights and liberties of the people. It ſoon appeared, that the buſineſs of the Scotch commiſſioners was rather to concert meaſures with their friends, than to finiſh the treaty. The great aim of the popular leaders was to protract it; though that could not be effected, but at the enormous expence of maintaining at leaſt forty thouſand men in a country already exhauſted.

However, the commons thought it highly improper that the ſpirit of oppoſition ſhould loſe any of its vigour, till the parliament had teſtified, in the ſtrongeſt terms, its diſapprobation of the late arbitrary meaſures, and inflicted ſome ſignal infamy or puniſhment upon the principal authors. A committee was choſen to conſider of the ſtate of the nation; and the members were to be directed in their proceedings by the petitions againſt grievances, ſent up by different counties. Religion was one of the principal ingredients in the compoſition of the remonſtrance intended to be drawn up by this committee, and it was reſolved to accuſe Windebank of high treaſon, for the many ſervices and favours which he, as ſecretary of ſtate, had conferred on prieſts and papiſts. Windebank ſaw their intention; but affected ſuch a firmneſs of reſolution, that the commons imagined he would make a ſtand againſt all the power of their indignation: but being interrupted by a meſſage from the lords, when they were on the point of declaring him a traitor to his country, he took the opportunity of leaving the houſe, and made his eſcape into France.

Violent ſpeeches were now made againſt the uſurpations of the clergy; and it was reſolved to purge the army of papiſts, to preſent the names of recuſants, to examine the high commiſſion courts of Canterbury and York, and to enquire into the proceedings of the late convocation, or as the clergy themſelves had termed it, the holy and ſacred ſynod. Theſe reſolutions were hardly finiſhed, when alderman Pennington preſented to the houſe, a petition ſubſcribed by above fifteen hundred perſons in the city of London, againſt the hierarchy and government of the church of England, by archbiſhops, biſhops, deans, and archdeacons, praying the houſe, "That the ſaid government, with all its dependencies, roots, and branches, might be aboliſhed; and all laws in their behalf made null and void." A ſchedule was annexed to this petition, conſiſting of twenty-eight articles, in which were contained all the common-place objections to the epiſcopal hierarchy, whether founded on the pretended unlawfulneſs of the order itſelf, or the abuſes and vices of thoſe who compoſed it. Thus was launched the bolt which had been long preparing againſt the church, and which, at laſt, together with the church, deſtroyed the conſtitution of England. The length of the ſchedule annexed to this petition, required time for deliberation; and it was ordered, that members only ſhould have a copy of either. Four days after the petition was delivered, the houſe came to the following reſolutions: That the clergy of England, convened in any convocation, or ſynod, or otherwiſe, have no power to make any conſtitutions, canons, or acts whatſoever, in matter of doctrine, diſcipline, or otherwiſe, to bind the clergy or laity of this land, without the common conſent of parliament. That the ſeveral conſtitutions and canons eccleſiaſtical, paſſed with the conſent and approbation of his majeſty in the laſt ſynod, do not bind either the clergy or laity of this kingdom. That theſe canons and conſtitutions eccleſiaſtical, eſtabliſhed with the king's conſent in the laſt ſynod, contain in them many matters contrary to the king's prerogative, to the fundamental laws and ſtatutes of this realm, to the rights of parliaments, and to the property and liberty of the ſubject; and alſo matters tending to ſeditious and dangerous conſequence. That the ſeveral grants of the benevolence, or contribution, granted by his majeſty by the laſt ſynod, are contrary to the laws, and ought not to bind the clergy." Theſe reſolutions were followed by ſeveral bitter ſpeeches againſt Laud, archbiſhop of Canterbury, particularly one by Mr. Grimſtone. He accuſed the primate of having introduced the earl of Strafford to his majeſty, and of procuring the poſt of ſecretary for Windebank, whom he termed "The very broker and pander to the whore of Babylon." He upbraided him for having advanced Montague, Manwaring, and other prelates, ſuſpected of popery; and laſtly, he accuſed him of being the main ſpring and promoter of all the deteſtable projects and monopolies, that had proved ſo oppreſſive to the ſubject. Several others ſpoke nearly to the ſame purpoſe; and it was at laſt voted, that Mr. Hollis ſhould go up to the lords with a meſſage, "To accuſe William Laud, archbiſhop of Canterbury, of high treaſon, in the name of the commons of England, and to deſire he might be immediately ſequeſtered from parliament, and committed; and that the houſe, in a convenient time, will offer particular accuſations againſt him."

The primate was ordered to withdraw, but he requeſted to be heard a few words in his place. This being complied with, he began with proteſting his innocency: and added, that he was perſuaded there was not a member in the houſe of commons, who believed in his heart that he was a traitor. He was called to order for that expreſſion by the earl of Eſſex, who obſerved, that the primate had ſeverely reflected on the houſe of commons, by affirming they had brought him in guilty of a charge, which they themſelves did not believe. Laud was deſirous of retracting this indiſcretion, which had eſcaped him without mature deliberation; but the peers were ſo little favourable to his cauſe, that they refuſed to grant him even this ſmall indulgence. He was immediately ſequeſtered from parliament, and committed to cuſtody. This commitment of Laud was accompanied with the releaſe of biſhop Williams from the Tower. The maxims and conduct of that able prelate were remembered to his honour by all parties. His ſufferings had rendered him popular; and every wiſe and moderate Engliſhman, thought him the only perſon whoſe counſels and prudence could give ſuch weight to the epiſcopal character, as would enable it to ſtem the torrent by which it was now oppoſed. During all his ſufferings he had behaved towards his country like a genuine patriot, and towards the church as a worthy prelate. Thoſe who formed the oppoſition to the king were perſuaded, that the many provocations he had received could not fail of having rendered him an implacable enemy to the court; but the friends of Charles knew too much of his private character to believe, that his reſentments would ever influence him to join with thoſe who aimed at the deſtruction both of church and ſtate. He had made ſeveral dutiful applications to the king to be reſtored to his ſeat in parliament; but all his attempts were defeated by the violent oppoſition of Laud, notwithſtanding the queen herſelf had interpoſed in his favour. This was now publicly known, and a motion was made and carried in the houſe of peers, for reſtoring Williams to his ſeat in parliament. The king readily gave his conſent, and he was, with great pomp, introduced into the houſe of lords, where he omitted nothing conſiſtent with his duty as a churchman, to conciliate the friendſhip and good opinion of the houſe of commons. The grand cauſe of ſhip-money now came to be heard before the commons, and ſeveral animated ſpeeches were made on the occaſion; and it was reſolved, "That the charge impoſed upon the ſubjects of this kingdom, for the providing and furniſhing of ſhips, and the aſſeſſments for raiſing of money for that purpoſe, commonly called ſhip-money, are againſt the laws of the realm, the ſubjects right of property, and contrary to former reſolutions in parliament, and to the petition of right." This reſolution was followed by others which condemned the extra-judicial determination of the judges upon ſhip-money, publiſhed in the ſtar-chamber; all writs iſſued for levying it; and the judgment in the Exchequer againſt Mr. Hampden. It ſhould be remembered, that all theſe reſolutions paſſed in the houſe without one diſſenting voice; though many gentlemen, who afterwards ruined their families, and loſt their lives in defence of his majeſty, were members.

But theſe precautions were not thought ſufficient; it was feared that ſome rapacious miniſter might prevail upon the king to diſſolve the parliament, cruſh their proceedings in the bud, and attempt to reduce England to a deſpotic government. To prevent ſo dreadful a calamity, no meaſure was thought ſo proper as ſome poſitive, conſtitutional act, which might render the calling of parliaments leſs precarious, and more frequent. Many ſpecious arguments, beſides thoſe drawn from the circumſtances of this important criſis, were urged with great force and eloquence. Parliaments, in former times, regularly met once a year; and it could not be any unreaſonable conceſſion in the crown to bring the conſtitution ſo far back to its firſt principles, as to paſs an act for triennial parliaments. This bill was ſtrongly ſupported by lord Digby, ſon to the earl of Briſtol. He appealed for the truth of what he urged to the violations of the petition of right, which had happened through the diſcontinuance of parliaments. "Let his majeſty (ſaid he) hear our complaints ever ſo compaſſionately; let him purge away our grievances ever ſo efficaciouſly; let him puniſh and expel ill miniſters ever ſo exemplarily; let him make choice of good ones ever ſo exactly; if there be not a way ſettled to preſerve and keep them good, the miſchiefs will all grow again like Sampſon's locks, and pull down the houſe upon our heads. The people of England cannot open their ears, their hearts, their mouths, or their purſes, to his majeſty, but in parliament. We can neither hear him, acknowledge, nor give, but there. This bill, Mr. Speaker, is the ſole key that can open the way to thoſe reciprocal endearments, which muſt make and perpetuate the happineſs of the king and kingdom. Let no man object any derogation from the king's prerogative by it: we only preſent the bill; it muſt be made a law by our ſovereign; his honour and his power will be as conſpicuous in commanding at once that a parliament ſhall aſſemble every third year, as in commanding a parliament to aſſemble this or that year: there is more of majeſty in ordaining primary and univerſal cauſes, than in the actuating of ſubordinate effects. I do not doubt but that the glorious king Edward III. when he made thoſe laws for the yearly calling of parliaments, did it with a right ſenſe of his dignity and honour: the truth is, the kings of England are never in their glory, their ſplendour, their majeſtic ſovereignty, but in parliament. Where is the power of impoſing taxes? Where is the power of reſtoring from incapacities? Where is the legiſlative authority? In the king, Mr. Speaker, but how? In the king encircled and environed by his parliament. Out of parliament, the king has only a limited power, a circumſcribed juriſdiction; but, waited on by his parliament, no monarch of the eaſt is ſo abſolute in diſpelling grievances. In chaſing away bad miniſters, we do nothing more than diſſipate clouds that may gather again; but in voting this bill, we ſhall contribute, as far as is in our power, to the perpetuating our ſun, our ſovereign, in his vertical, in his noon-day luſtre."

Such were the ſentiments of a man, who afterwards loſt his life and fortune in the royal cauſe. He thought the ſentiments of liberty were not all incompatible with thoſe of loyalty; that a king of England could be great only by ruling over a free people; and that the people could be no longer free, than the king was great. But he believed, and believed with reaſon, that Charles had imbibed falſe notions of royal greatneſs, aad that he ſought to make that perſonal, which was only political. That a king of England can do no ill, was an allowed maxim in the conſtitution; but that his miniſters may, and that they may be puniſhed for it, was equally allowed. Charles, while he was able to keep the ſeat of power, ſupported the firſt of theſe maxims, but was willing to evade the latter. He endeavoured to ſcreen his miniſters; and by this prepoſterous conduct he at laſt received, in his own breaſt, thoſe darts of popular reſentment, which were originally aimed only at them. Charles ordered both houſes of parliament to attend him at Whitehall, where he complained ſtrongly of their ſlow proceedings, and recommended to them the better ſupport of the two armies, the forts and the navy. He profeſſed, in very earneſt terms, his deſire of their perfecting the reformation they had begun; but, at the ſame time, wiſhed them not to make any alteration in the eſtabliſhed government. "You have (ſaid he) taken the whole machine of government in pieces; a practice frequent with ſkilful artiſts, when they deſire to clear the wheels from any ruſt which may have grown upon them. The engine may again be reſtored to its former uſe and motions, provided it be put up entire, ſo that not a pin be wanting." But this was far from the intention of the commons; they were perſuaded that the machine was incumbered with many wheels and ſprings which retarded and croſſed its operations, and retarded its utility. Happy would it have been for themſelves, and happy for the kingdom, had they proceeded with moderation, and been contented with their preſent plenitude of power, to remove ſuch parts only as might juſtly be deemed ſuperfluous and incongruous.

For ſome years, Can, a Scotchman, and afterwards Roſetti, an Italian, had openly reſided at London, and frequented the court, as perſons veſted with a commiſſion from the pope. The queen's zeal and authority with her huſband had been the cauſe of this imprudence, ſo offenſive to the nation. But the ſpirit of bigotry now roſe too high to permit any longer ſuch indulgencies. Informed that the commons were greatly exaſperated at theſe proceedings, and deſirous of removing every cauſe of complaint, the queen ſent a meſſage to the houſe of commons, in which ſhe obſerved, "That ſhe had been always ready to uſe her beſt endeavours for removing all miſunderſtandings between the king and his ſubjects; that, at the requeſt of the lords, who petitioned the king for calling a parliament, ſhe wrote expreſſly to his majeſty, conjuring him to have recourſe to ſo ſalutary a method; that ſhe had ſince been moſt willing to do every good office in her power between the king and his people, a circumſtance not unknown to ſeveral in the houſe of lords; and that ſhe would continue to purſue the ſame intention, from a full perſuaſion of its being the only method of procuring happineſs to the king, to herſelf, and to the kingdom; that it was her earneſt deſire that all things might be juſtly ſettled between the king and his people, and all cauſes of miſunderſtanding taken away and removed: that her majeſty, being informed that the perſon ſent to her from the pope is obnoxious to the kingdom, ſhe is deſirous of giving all the ſatisfaction in her power, and will, within a convenient time, remove him out of England: that underſtanding exception has alſo been taken at the great reſort of people to her chapel at Denmark-houſe, her majeſty will be careful not to exceed what is convenient and neceſſary for the exerciſe of her religion: that as the parliament is not ſatisfied with the method ſhe purſued for raiſing money on the catholics for aſſiſting the king in his late journey to the north, ſhe deſires it may be obſerved, that ſhe was moved to it merely by her dear and tender affection for the king, and the example of many others among his majeſty's ſubjects. If, therefore, any thing in her proceedings be illegal, ſhe hopes it will be remembered, that ſhe was ignorant of any laws to the contrary, and carried away by her great deſire of aſſiſting the king on ſo preſſing an occaſion; but promiſes to be more cautious for the future, not to do any thing contrary to the eſtabliſhed laws of the kingdom: that being deſirous of employing her own power to unite the king and his people, ſhe wiſhes the parliament would look forward, and paſs over ſuch errors and miſtakes as her ſervants may formerly have committed; and promiſes to repay this inſtance of reſpect with all the good offices ſhe can do the houſe; and that they ſhall experience the real good effects of her interpoſition, as often as there ſhall be occaſion."

A bill was brought in for giving the king the duties of tonnage and poundage for a limited time; but the utmoſt care was taken by the commons, in the preamble, to aſſert their own right of beſtowing this gift, and to diveſt the crown of all independent title of aſſuming it. And that they might increaſe, or rather finally fix, the entire dependence and ſubjection of the king, they voted theſe duties only for two months; and afterwards renewed their grant from time to time, by very ſhort periods. Charles paſſed this important bill without any heſitation; probably with an intention to ſhew, that he entertained not the leaſt intention of ever more attempting to govern without a parliament.

A. D. 1641. The triennial bill was now offered to the king, under the title of "An act for preventing the inconveniencies happening from the long intermiſſion of parliaments;" and, at the ſame time, the commons preſented a bill for the relief of his majeſty's army, and the northern parts of the kingdom, and both received the royal aſſent. No act that had ever paſſed, ſeemed better calculated for preſerving the liberties of the ſubject, than the bill for triennial parliaments; for it provided, "That in caſe the king ſhould refuſe to ſummon a parliament at the time therein limited, the chancellor or keeper of the great ſeal might iſſue writs for ſummoning the peers, and for the election of the commons; and if the chancellor or keeper ſhould neglect to do it, any twelve of the peers might ſummon the parliament; and if the peers ſhould neglect to iſſue the neceſſary ſummonſes, the ſheriffs of the counties, and other magiſtrates reſpectively, were empowered to proceed to the election; and ſhould the ſheriffs refuſe, the freeholders of each county might elect their members; and the members ſo choſen were obliged to attend under ſevere penalties." Charles ſeems to have been by this time ſenſible of the many miſchiefs ariſing from the too long intermiſſion of parliaments, and to have reſolved to communicate his ſentiments by that method, more freely to his ſubjects; and his giving ſo readily his aſſent to this bill, was highly pleaſing to the people in general, who every where expreſſed their ſatisfaction by bonfires and other marks of public rejoicings: both houſes alſo waited on the king at Whitehall, with an addreſs of thanks on the occaſion. The king now ſeems to have had nothing elſe in view than the regaining the confidence of his people, by endeavouring to ſatisfy his parliament, and ſmooth his meaſures. In order to this, he agreed to make ſeveral conſiderable alterations in his court. He admitted into his council the earls of Hertford, Eſſex, Bedford, Briſtol and Warwick, the lords Say, Seville, and Kimbolton. Juxon, biſhop of London, who had never deſired the treaſurer's ſtaff, now requeſted to reſign it, that he might apply himſelf entirely to the government of that turbulent dioceſe committed to his care. The king gave his aſſent; and it is remarkable, that, during all the ſevere enquiries carried on againſt miniſters and prelates, the mild and prudent virtues of this man, who bore both theſe invidious characters, remained unmoleſted. The earl of Bedford, a popular nobleman of great authority, wiſdom, and moderation, was intended to ſucceed Juxon; but unfortunately both for king and people, he died about this very time. The king alſo intended to make ſeveral other promotions: St. John was created ſolicitor-general; Hollis was to be made ſecretary of ſtate, in the room of Windebank, who had fled the kingdom; Pym chancellor of the Exchequer, in the place of lord Cottington, who had reſigned; lord Say, maſter of the wards, in the place of the ſame nobleman; the earl of Eſſex governor, and Hampden tutor to the prince. Charles at firſt imagined, that by making this remarkable conceſſion, he ſhould be able to ſave Strafford's life; but he was greatly miſtaken. His impeachment was puſhed on with the utmoſt vigour; and after long and ſolemn preparations, it was brought to a final iſſue. On this occaſion, Weſtminſter-hall was formed into a ſpacious court of judicature. The earl of Arundel preſided as high-ſteward; the peers ſat in their robes as judges; the commons appeared as accuſers; and therefore it was determined that the impeachment ſhould be managed by commoners. Accordingly, George lord Digby, an Iriſh peer, John Hampden, John Pym, Oliver St. John, Sir Walter Earle, Geoffrey Palmer, John Maynard, and John Glynn, were appointed a committee for this important office, and Whitlock was choſen their chairman. The biſhops, agreeable to the precepts of the canon law, which forbid their aſſiſting at any trial for life, withdrew. At the upper end of the hall was a chair and cloth of ſtate for the king; and on each ſide a cloſe gallery, in which the king and queen, who attended during the whole trial, ſat in private.

On the twenty-ſecond of March the trial began; when the accuſations were enforced, ſupported by the united efforts of the three kingdoms. The accuſation and defence laſted eighteen days; and Strafford, in his replies, was obliged to preſerve a reſpect for his moſt implacable enemies, the Scottiſh nation, and the Iriſh parliament. Nothing had hitherto appeared againſt him to juſtify the charge of treaſon. Indeed, the charge itſelf was founded on a kind of accumulative or conſtructive evidence, by which many actions, either totally innocent in themſelves, or criminal in a leſs inferior degree, ſhould, when united, ſubject the perſon to the higheſt penalties inflicted by the law.

"Where," ſaid Strafford, in the concluſion of his ſpeech, "Has this ſpecies of guilt lain ſo long buried during ſo many centuries, that no ſmoke ſhould appear, till it burſt out at once to conſume me and my children? Better it were to live under no law at all, and by maxims of cautious prudence, to conform ourſelves, the beſt we can, to the arbitrary will of a maſter; than fancy we have a law on which we can rely, and find, at laſt, that this law ſhall inflict a puniſhment precedent to the promulgation, and try us by maxims unheard of, till the very moment of the proſecution. If I ſail on the Thames, and ſplit my veſſel on an anchor, in caſe there be no buoy to give me warning, the party ſhall pay me damages; but if the anchor be marked out, then is the ſtriking on it at my own peril. Where is the mark ſet upon this crime? Where is the token by which I ſhould diſcover it? It has lain concealed under water, and no human prudence, no human innocence, could ſave me from the deſtruction with which I am at preſent threatened. It is now full two hundred and forty years ſince treaſons were defined; and ſo long has it been ſince any man was touched to this extent, upon this crime, before myſelf. We have lived, my lords, happily to ourſelves at home; we have lived glorious abroad to the world: let us be content with what our fathers have left us; let not our ambition carry us to be more learned than they were, in theſe killing and deſtructive arts. Great wiſdom it will be in your lordſhips, and juſt providence for yourſelves, for your poſterities, for the whole kingdom, to caſt from you into the fire theſe bloody and myſterious volumes of arbitrary and conſtructive treaſons, as the primative Chriſtians did their books of curious arts; and betake yourſelves to the plain letter of the ſtatute, which tells you where the crime is, and points out to you the path by which you may avoid it. Let us not, to our own deſtruction, awake thoſe ſleeping lions, by raking up a company of old records, which have lain for ſo many ages by the wall, neglected and forgotten. To all my afflictions add not this, my lords, the moſt ſevere of any; that I, for my other ſins, not for my treaſons, be the means of introducing a precedent ſo pernicious to the laws and liberties of my native country. However, theſe gentlemen at the bar ſay, they ſpeak for the common-wealth, and they believe ſo; yet, under favour, it is I, who in this particular, ſpeak for the common-wealth. Precedents like thoſe endeavoured to be eſtabliſhed againſt me, muſt draw along with them ſuch inconveniencies and miſeries, that in a few years the kingdom will be in the condition expreſſed in a ſtatute of Henry IV. and no man ſhall know by what rule to govern his words and actions. Impoſe not, my lords, difficulties unſurmountable on miniſters of ſtate; nor diſable them for ſerving, with chearfulneſs, their king and country. If you examine them, and under ſuch ſevere penalties, by every grain, by every little weight, the ſcrutiny will be intolerable; and no wiſe man, who has any honour or fortune to loſe, will ever engage himſelf in ſuch dreadful, ſuch unknown perils. My lords, I have now troubled your lordſhips much longer than I ſhould have done. Were it not for the intereſt of theſe pledges, which a ſaint in heaven left me, I ſhould be loth."—Here he pointed to his children, and his tears ſtopt him.—"What I forfeit for myſelf is nothing; but I confeſs, that my indiſcretions ſhould forfeit for them, it wounds me very greatly. You will be pleaſed to pardon my infirmities. Something I ſhould have ſaid, but I ſee I ſhall not be able; and therefore I ſhall leave it. And now, my lords, I thank God I have been, by his bleſſing, ſufficiently inſtructed in the extreme vanity of all temporary enjoyments, compared to the importance of our eternal duration. And ſo, my lords, even ſo, with all tranquillity of mind, I ſubmit clearly and freely to your judgment; and whether that righteous doom ſhall be to life or death, I ſhall repoſe myſelf, full of gratitude and confidence, in the arms of the great Author of my exiſtence." The death of Strafford was conſidered of too great importance to be left unaccompliſhed. A bill of attainder was therefore introduced into the lower houſe, immediately after the concluſion of this pleading, which paſſed the houſe on the twenty-firſt of April, after very warm debates, fifty-nine votes only diſſenting, and was immediately ſent up to the lords. On the firſt of May the king went to the houſe of peers, and in a ſpeech, earneſtly requeſted both houſes that they would not carry their proſecutions againſt the earl of Strafford to the utmoſt extremity; declaring, upon his conſcience, that he could not condemn him of high treaſon; but aſſured them, that for his miſdemeanors he ſhould never ſerve him, or the kingdom, in any place of truſt, "no not ſo much as a conſtable." This ſpeech was highly offenſive; and the commons voted it a breach of privilege for the king to take notice of any bill depending before the houſe. At the ſame time they employed their emiſſaries without doors, to diſperſe, in different parts of London, papers, containing the names of the fifty-nine members who voted againſt the bill of attainder. Thoſe names were alſo fixed up at public places, under the denomination of Straffordians and betrayers of their country; and thus expoſed to the fury of the multitude, who were arrived to ſuch a pitch of madneſs, that, on the third of May, great numbers from the city appeared at Weſtminſter, armed with ſwords and cudgels, crying out for juſtice againſt the earl of Strafford; and ſuch as were ſuppoſed to be the friends of that unfortunate nobleman, were afraid to appear in public. Eighty peers had conſtantly attended the trial of Strafford; but ſo much were they intimidated by the popular tumults, that only forty-nine were in the houſe of lords when the bill of attainder was introduced; yet even nineteen of theſe had the courage to vote againſt it. A ſtrong proof that, had liberty of debate been allowed, the bill would have been rejected by a great majority.

About this time a diſcovery was made which heightened the fury of the people, and haſtened the fate of the devoted Strafford. Some principal officers of the king's army, partly from their attachment to the crown, and partly from an averſion to the parliament, had formed a plan for engaging in the king's ſervice the troops under their command. With this view they entered into an aſſociation, bound themſelves by an oath of ſecrecy, and maintained a cloſe correſpondence with the king's ſervants. The form of a petition to the king and parliament was drawn up, to which they reſolved to procure the ſubſcription of the army. In this petition, after repreſenting the great danger to which the ancient conſtitution of the kingdom was ſubject, by the inſolent proceedings of certain factious and turbulent ſpirits, the army offered to come up and protect his majeſty and the parliament. "So ſhall the nation," as they expreſs themſelves in the concluſion, "not only be vindicated from precedent innovations, but be ſecured from the future which are threatened, and which are likely to produce more dangerous effects than the former." The draught of this petition being conveyed to the king, he was, unhappily, prevailed on to counterſign it, as a mark of his approbation. One of the aſſociation, named

Goring, imagining the affair could not long remain a ſecret, diſcovered the whole to the lords Newport and Dungarvon, and they to Pym, who immediately imparted it to the houſe. This diſcovery could not fail to excite the moſt violent indignation among the people. It was now reported, that a ſcheme was concerted between the court and the army, to cut the throats of the parliament, and of all thoſe who ſtood up for their liberties. To convey more ſpeedily their terror and indignation at this plot, the commons voted, that a proteſtation ſhould be ſigned by all the members, to maintain the proteſtant religion againſt popery, to defend the king's perſon, the power of parliament, and the rights and liberties of the ſubject. This proteſtation was ſent up to the lords, and ſigned by all of them, except Southampton and Roberts; and then the commons, by their ſole authority, iſſued orders that it ſhould be ſigned by the whole nation. Alarms were every day given of new conſpiracies, and theſe of ſuch a nature as to keep up the rage of the miſguided multitude, and animate them in their demands of juſtice againſt the unfortunate Strafford. A bill was now brought into the houſe for continuing the parliament, which ſhould not be prorogued, adjourned or diſſolved, without the conſent of both houſes, until the grievances ſhould be redreſſed. This was on the fifth of May, and the ſame day the commons ſent to the king, deſiring acceſs to him, which being granted, they attended in the banquetting-houſe, where they preſented to him the bill of attainder againſt Strafford, and that for the continuance of parliament. Charles told them they might expect his anſwer on the Monday following, and ſo diſmiſſed them. He came to the houſe of lords according to his promiſe, and aſſured them of his firm reſolution, for which he offered them any ſecurity, never again to employ Strafford in any public affairs; but at the ſame time owned himſelf entirely diſſatisfied with regard to the circumſtances of treaſon, and on that account declared his difficulty in giving his aſſent to the bill of attainder. The commons, not content with this declaration of the king's, voted it a breach of privilege for him to take notice of any bill depending before the houſe. The nation was now in ſuch a ferment as threatened ſome great and violent convulſion. Wherever the king turned his eyes he ſaw no remedy or relief. He had not a ſervant about him, Juxon excepted, who would ſpeak his mind, or interpoſe, by his advice, between him and parliament. The queen, terrified with the appearance of ſo great a danger, with tears conjured him to ſatisfy his people in this demand, which ſhe flattered herſelf would appeaſe them. But Juxon, whoſe courage was equal to his other virtues, adviſed the king, if in his conſcience he thought the bill unjuſt, by no means to give his aſſent to it. The devoted Strafford, informed of the great perplexity his royal maſter ſuffered, carried his loyalty to an extraordinary height. He wrote a letter to him, wherein he beſought him, for the ſake of public peace, to put an end to his unfortunate, however innocent, life, and to quiet the tumultuous people, by granting them a requeſt for which they were ſo anxious. "In this, ſaid he, my conſent will more acquit you to God than all the world can do beſides. To a willing man there is no injury. And as for God's grace, I forgive all the world with a calmneſs and meekneſs, of infinite contentment to my diſlodging ſoul; ſo, Sir, to you I can reſign the life of this world with all imaginable chearfulneſs, in the juſt acknowledgment of your many and exceeding favours." After the moſt violent doubt and anxiety, the king at laſt granted a commiſſion to four noblemen to give the royal aſſent, in his name, to the bill, and likewiſe to that which rendered the parliament perpetual. Charles ſent ſecretary Carleton to inform Strafford of the final reſolution which neceſſity had extorted from him. The earl was at firſt ſomewhat moved, but ſoon recollecting himſelf, he with courage and reſignation prepared to ſuffer the fatal ſentence. Charles paſſed this bill contrary to his conſcience, and ſtill continued to be very unhappy about it. On the tenth of May, he ſent the prince of Wales to the houſe of peers with a letter, in which he enjoined them to interpoſe their good offices with the commons, in order to procure a mitigation of Strafford's ſentence, or at leaſt a ſhort delay; but both theſe requeſts were refuſed, and a committee of twelve lords was appointed to ſatisfy the king, that even a delay of the death of this noble criminal would endanger his own ſafety, and that of his family.

On the twelfth of May the earl of Strafford was brought to Tower-hill, where the ſcaffold was erected. In his way, he ſtopped under Laud's windows, with whom he had long lived in the ſtricteſt friendſhip, and intreated the aſſiſtance of his prayers, in thoſe awful moments which were approaching. The aged primate, diſſolved in tears, and having, with a broken voice, pronounced a tender bleſſing on his departing friend, ſunk into the arms of his attendants. Strafford, ſtill ſuperior to his fate, walked on with an elated countenance, and with an air of even greater dignity than what uſually attended him. His diſcourſe on the ſcaffold was full of decency and courage. He ſaid, "he feared that the omen was bad for the intended reformation of the ſtate, when it commenced with the ſhedding of innocent blood." After bidding adieu to his brother and friends, who attended him, and ſending a bleſſing to his wife and children, who were abſent, he ſaid, "I have now almoſt done. One ſtroke will make my wife a widow, and my dear children fatherleſs, deprive my poor ſervants of an indulgent maſter, and ſeparate me from my affectionate brother and all my friends! But let God be to you and them, all in all." As he was laying his head upon the block, he ſaid, "I thank God, I am not afraid of death, nor am I daunted with any terrors; but do as chearfully lay down my head at this time, as ever I did when going to repoſe." After finiſhing this ſhort declaration, the executioner, with one blow, put a final period to his life. The parliament, ſoon after his death, as if conſcious of the violence with which the proſecution had been conducted, remitted to his children the moſt ſevere part of the ſentence.

Having thus, by the death of the earl of Strafford, removed the great obſtacle to the reformation of the ſtate, the commons proceeded to proſecute the projected plan, with the utmoſt induſtry and vigour. All the taxes which the king had impoſed, the ſtar-chamber, and high-commiſſion court, the extenſion of the foreſts, and the practice of impriſoning thoſe who refuſed to comply with ſuch impoſitions, were voted contrary to law; and the greater part of the monopolies were ſuppreſſed. The judges had hitherto enjoyed their patents only during his majeſty's pleaſure: the commons now petitioned the king to grant them patents during their good behaviour; and Charles was perſuaded to comply with their requeſt. The marſhal's court which took cognizance of offenſive words, and was extremely arbitrary in its proceedings, was ſuppreſſed. The ſtannary court, which exerciſed juriſdiction over the miners of Cornwall, being liable to a like objection, ſuffered the ſame fate. The council in the north, and that in Wales, were both aboliſhed from ſimilar reaſons. The authority of the clerk of the market, who had a right to inſpect the weights and meaſures throughout the kingdom, was transferred to the mayors, ſheriffs, and ordinary magiſtrates. In a word, if we examine the proceedings of this memorable parliament during the firſt period of its operations, we ſhall find, that we are obliged to it for many valuable privileges and bleſſings we ſtill enjoy.

The treaty with the Scots being brought to a concluſion, Charles allowed the parliament of that kingdom to aſſemble, and declared his intention of aſſiſting at it in perſon. The commons ſuſpecting that he deſigned to put himſelf at the head of his army in the north, under pretence of viſiting his kingdom of Scotland, demanded a conference with the lords; and propoſed that both armies ſhould be diſbanded before his departure, which the king, at their requeſt, poſtponed till the twenty-fifth of Auguſt. Both armies were accordingly diſbanded at the ſame time, and the Scots returned to their own country, very well ſatisfied with their expedition. This being finiſhed, the king ſet out on his journey; but their diſtruſt ſtill ſubſiſting, the parliament propoſed that a committee of both houſes ſhould attend the king into Scotland, under pretence of conferring with the Scotiſh parliament, but in reality of being ſpies on his majeſty's conduct. Lord Howard of Eſcrick was, however, the only member of the upper houſe, who undertook that journey: but the committee of the commons conſiſted of Nathaniel Fiennes, Sir William Armye, Sir Philip Stapleton, and John Hampden. The commons ſtill continued ſitting, and took ſeveral grievances into conſideration; and then reſolved to adjourn from the ninth of September to the twentieth of October.

A great number of the members of both houſes retired into the country; and ſome of the more rigid preſbyterians took this opportunity to propoſe an alteration in the book of common prayer; but the liturgy was ſo vigorouſly defended by Mr. Hyde, afterwards earl of Clarendon, that no ſtep was taken with regard to this ſubject. During this diſpute in the lower houſe, the lords voted that the book of common-prayer ſhould ſtill be uſed without any alteration. This vote produced a conference between the houſes. The commons deſired the lords to concur with them in publiſhing a declaration for ſuppreſſing all the late innovations in the church, and all diverſions on the Lord's day. On the other hand, the lords demanded the concurrence of the commons in publiſhing an order of their houſe, prohibiting all change in divine worſhip, as eſtabliſhed by law. The lower houſe abſolutely rejected this propoſal, and ordered their declaration to be printed, and diſperſed through the whole kingdom. At the ſame time they appointed a committee of forty-three members to manage all affairs of importance during the interval of their adjournment. The lords eſtabliſhed another for their houſe; and then the parliament adjourned till the twentieth of October.

The king attended by the duke of Lenox, lately honoured with the additional title of duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hamilton, and lord Willoughby, ſet out for Scotland on the tenth of Auguſt. He was received at Edinburgh with great demonſtrations of affection by the people; and in return for this reception, he not only confirmed the articles of the treaty between the two kingdoms by act of parliament, but likewiſe all his former conceſſions, together with all the particulars that had been tranſacted in their general aſſembly. At the ſame time, to gain more effectually their eſteem, he conferred titles of honour and dignity on ſome, and places of truſt and profit on others. Among the former, the marquis of Hamilton was created a duke; and general Leſley, earl of Leven. While the king was thus aſſiduouſly employed in compoſing the troubles in Scotland, he received intelligence, that a rebellion was broke out in Ireland. The catholics of that kingdom were perſuaded, that they had now the faireſt opportunity of ſhaking off the Engliſh yoke; and religion and liberty, thoſe two ſources of the greateſt actions, hurried them into the moſt barbarous attempt. They agreed to riſe throughout all the provinces in one day, and after ſurprizing the caſtle of Dublin, to murder every proteſtant in the kingdom. The execution of this ſavage conſpiracy was delayed, till the approach of winter, that the ſending troops from England might be attended with greater difficulty. Cardinal Richelieu had promiſed the conſpirators a conſiderable ſupply of men and money; and many Iriſh officers had given the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that they would heartily concur with their catholic brethren, as ſoon as any inſurrection appeared. The deſign upon the caſtle of Dublin, which was to have been carried into execution on the twenty-third of October, was prevented by a timely diſcovery of the plot to two of the lords-juſtices the very night before; and thus the capital was preſerved. The bloody part of the conſpiracy was however paſt prevention, for the conſpirators were in arms early in the morning of the day appointed, and actually maſſacred forty thouſand defenceleſs proteſtants. No age, no ſex, no condition was ſpared. The wife weeping for her butchered huſband, and embracing her helpleſs children, was pierced with them and periſhed by the ſame ſtroke. The old, the young, the vigorous and the infirm, underwent the ſame fate, and were blended in one common ruin. In vain did flight ſave from the firſt aſſault: deſtruction was every where let looſe, and met the hunted victims at every turn. In vain was recourſe had to relations, to companions, to friends: all connections were diſſolved, and death was dealt by that hand, from which protection was implored and expected. Without provocation, without oppoſition, the aſtoniſhed Engliſh, living in profound peace, and full ſecurity, were maſſacred by their neareſt neighbours, with whom they had long maintained a continued intercourſe of kindneſs and good offices. Nay even death was the ſlighteſt puniſhment inflicted by theſe monſters in human form: all the tortures which wanton cruelty could invent, all the lingering pains of body, the anguiſh of mind, the agonies of deſpair, could not ſatiate revenge excited without injury, and cruelty derived from no cauſe. Humanity forbids a particular enumeration. Such enormities, though atteſted by undoubted evidence, appear almoſt incredible. Depraved nature, even perverted religion, though encouraged by the utmoſt licence, cannot reach to ſuch a pitch of ferocity. Even the weaker ſex themſelves, naturally tender to their own ſufferings, and compaſſionate to thoſe of others, here emulated their robuſt companions, in the practice of every cruelty. The very children, taught by example, and encouraged by the exhortations of their parents, dealt their feeble blows on the dead carcaſes or defenceleſs children of the Engliſh. Nor was the avarice of the Iriſh a ſufficient reſtraint to their cruelty. Such was their frenzy, that the cattle they had ſeized, and by rapine had made their own, were, becauſe they bore the name of Engliſh, wantonly ſlaughtered, or, when covered with wounds, turned looſe into the woods, there to periſh by ſlow and lingering torments. The commodious habitations of the planters, as if upbraiding the ſloth and ignorance of the natives, were laid in aſhes, or levelled with the ground. And where the wretched owners had ſhut themſelves up in the houſes, and were preparing for defence, periſhed in the flames, together with their wives and children.

Charles received intelligence of this inhuman inſurrection by a meſſenger ſent from the north of Ireland, and immediately laid the diſpatches before the Scotiſh parliament, demanding immediate ſuccours for the ſuppreſſion of the rebels. But the Scots referred the buſineſs to the Engliſh parliament, alledging that Ireland depended upon England, and not upon Scotland. Diſappointed in this attempt to procure aſſiſtance, the king haſtened to London; and, after communicating the account he had received of this ſavage maſſacre, preſſed to ſend immediate relief to the wretched Engliſh ſettled in Ireland. He added, that the inſurrection was not, in his opinion, the reſult of any raſh enterprize, but of a conſpiracy long formed againſt the crown of England. "To your care and wiſdom," continued he, "I commit the conduct and proſecution of the war, which, in a cauſe ſo important to national and religious intereſts, muſt of neceſſity be immediately entered upon, and vigorouſly purſued." But the commons determined to make this event contribute to the attainment of their favourite purpoſe, and therefore to proceed in a very cautious manner. They had conſtantly encouraged a horror againſt the papiſts, however innocent; they had endeavoured to excite a terror againſt the conſpiracies of that ſect, however improbable. It is therefore no wonder that the whole nation was aſtoniſhed to hear of a rebellion, at once both dreadful and unexpected: a rebellion attended with the moſt deteſtable circumſtances ever recorded. The guilt peculiar to the Iriſh papiſts was eaſily, in the preſent diſpoſition of men's minds, attributed to that whole ſect, who were ſo much already the object of general abhorrence. Accuſtomed to join the prelatical party with the papiſts, the people immediately ſuppoſed this inſurrection to be the reſult of their united councils; and this unjuſt ſuſpicion was confirmed by an aſſertion propagated by the Iriſh rebels.

The houſe of commons thinking, or at leaſt pretending to think, that Charles was concerned in the Iriſh rebellion, ſent but very ſlender ſupplies of men and money to that kingdom; and, at the ſame time reſuming their former diſpoſitions, they ſufficiently ſhewed, in every vote, their determined reſolution of extended their own authority, and proportionally abridge the power of the ſovereign. In order to this they embraced every opportunity of exaſperating the people againſt the government. Accordingly, they preſented to him, at Hampton-court, that famous remonſtrance, which was ſoon productive of the moſt important conſequences. It was not addreſſed to the king, but plainly declared to be an appeal to the people; and the ſeverity of the matter was exceeded only by the ſeverity of the ſtyle. It was indeed a recapitulation of all the wrong meaſures which Charles had purſued ever ſince the commencement of his reign, and for which he had ſo ſeverely atoned by the conceſſions he had undergone. In many other particulars they were remarkably ſevere againſt the popiſh lords and the Engliſh prelates in the houſe of peers, to whom they attributed all the oppoſition they had met with from the upper houſe in all their popular meaſures. They concluded with petitioning the king, for laying on the papiſts and their favourers farther reſtraints and puniſhments; and concluded with declaring, that unleſs he made uſe of ſuch miniſters, both at home and abroad, as they could confide in, they would give him no ſupport. They even let his majeſty know, that he might eaſily gueſs their meaning, though they neither named or impeached perſons; and that it was ſufficient to diſqualify any perſon if they diſtruſted him, or if he had ever been known to countenance or defend any who had been queſtioned in parliament.

Had the oppreſſions here complained of ſtill exiſted, this remonſtrance had been a wiſe meaſure: but as all thoſe grievances had been already redreſſed: as the land-marks of the conſtitution had now been refixed; as Charles had been as liberal in granting as his ſubjects had been in aſking: what could any unprejudiced perſon imagine the parliament meant by this remonſtrance? the anſwer is obvious. They intended to inflame the people againſt the government, and throw the whole ſtate into confuſion. It is therefore no wonder that an appeal of ſuch an invidious and malignant nature ſhould meet with a ſtrong oppoſition in the houſe of commons, where it paſſed by only a majority of eleven. One hundred and fifty-nine being for, and one hundred and forty-eight againſt the motion. It was indeed now too evident that thoſe who only deſired the reformation of the government, muſt now divide from thoſe, who were determined to aboliſh monarchy itſelf. The proceedings of the oppoſition were very diſagreeable to many of their own friends in the houſe, who began more and more to diſtruſt their intentions. Mr. Capel, member for Hertfordſhire, a perſon of great integrity and authority in parliament, had been very warm in the oppoſition, and as forward as any member in the houſe for removing the real grievances of his country. The ſame may be ſaid of the lords Falkland and Digby, Sir John Culpepper, Mr. Hyde and many others, whoſe concurrence againſt the meaſures purſued by the court, had given great credit to the oppoſition. But they now thought the king had gone as far as in prudence, and perhaps farther than in duty they could require, and that therefore oppoſition ought to ceaſe. They made no ſecret of theſe ſentiments, and Mr. Capel had been called up to the houſe of peers. Treaties were alſo now begun with many other gentlemen, who were quite wearied out by the encroachment of the puritanical party in the lower houſe, though none had yet the courage, except lord Digby, to break with the violent party among the commons.

Charles received the remonſtrance with ſome impatience, but with great civility and politeneſs; and it is remarkable, that it was carried to the king by Sir Ralph Hopton, who afterwards became ſo ſtrenuous an advocate for that prince. In the mean time the leaders of the oppoſition took care to ſtir up the populace againſt the biſhops, who were ſo odious to the puritan party. The whole city was filled with ſedition, and the populace aſſembling in great multitudes before the houſe of lords, exclaimed, "No biſhops! No biſhops!" Twelve prelates, intimidated by theſe riotous proceedings, reſolved to retire, and proteſted againſt all laws, votes, and reſolutions which ſhould be made in their abſence. The lords, upon receiving this proteſt, ſent them to the Tower; and the reſt of the biſhops, dreading the ſame fate, retired from the houſe. Tumults now became every day more outrageous; and ſome reduced officers and gentlemen of the inns of court, offered their ſervices to guard his majeſty's perſon. They accordingly appeared as guards at Whitehall, and frequent ſkirmiſhes happened between them and the people. By way of reproach, thoſe gentlemen who ſupported the royal cauſe, ſtigmatized their antagoniſts with the appellation of *roundheads*, on account of their having their hair round and ſhort; and theſe, in return gave the others the name of *cavaliers*. Thus the nation was provided with party names, under which the oppoſite leaders might range their adherents, and ſignalize their mutual hatred and reſentments. The countenance given by the king to the cavaliers proved fatal to that prince, as it furniſhed the commons with the plauſible reaſon for demanding of the king a guard for defending the parliament; and on his refuſal, a committee was appointed to ſit at Guildhall, under protection of the citizens.

A. D. 1642.

Charles, a few days after, committed a more fatal indiſcretion. Lord Digby, of a warm paſſionate diſpoſition, repreſented to Charles, that if he exerted the authority of a monarch, his inſolent ſubjects would ſhrink from him. The queen and ſeveral of the courtiers enforced this advice, and the king, who was weak and haſty, yielded to the importunity of his raſh counſellors. It was propoſed to give a finiſhing ſtroke, at one blow, to the oppoſition, by producing undeniable proofs of their having invited the Scots to invade England. Herbert, the attorney-general, with this view, appeared in the houſe of peers, on the third of January, and, in his majeſty's name, entered an accuſation of high treaſon againſt lord Kimbolton, a member of that houſe, and five commoners, namely, Mr. John Pym, Sir Arthur Haſlerig, Denzil Holles, John Hampden, and Mr. William Strode. The following extraordinary articles of high treaſon were exhibited againſt them. 1. That they had traiterouſly endeavoured to ſubvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom; to deprive the king of his royal power; and to place in the ſubjects an arbitrary and tyrannical power over the laws and liberties of his majeſty's liege people. 2. That they had traiterouſly endeavoured, by many foul aſperſions upon his majeſty and his government, to alienate the affections of his people, and to make his majeſty odious to them. 3. That they had endeavoured to draw his majeſty's late army to diſobedience, and to ſide with them in their traiterous deſigns. 4. That they had invited and encouraged a foreign power to invade his majeſty's kingdom of England. 5. That they had endeavoured to ſubvert the rights, and very being of parliament. 6. That for completing their deſigns, they had endeavoured, ſo far as in them lay, by force and terror, to compel the parliament to join with them, and to that end had actually levied war againſt the king. The lords were ſeized with amazement, on hearing both houſes accuſed of high treaſon; every act which had been made to ſecure the people from any future attempt, condemned, as extorted by violence; and themſelves requeſted to perform ſo unconſtitutional an act, as to commit five members of the lower houſe, over whom they had no power. But their aſtoniſhment was beyond deſcription, when informed, that a meſſenger had been ſent to the houſe of commons, and in his majeſty's name, demanded the perſons of the five members; but was ſent back without any poſitive anſwer. In the mean time, Sir William Fleming, Sir William Killigrew, and others, were at Mr. Holles's and Mr. Pym's, ſealing up their trunks, papers, chambers, and doors. Theſe proceedings being reported to the commons, they came to the following reſolutions: "That the ſerjeant at arms be ordered to apprehend and bring hither, as delinquents, the perſons who have ſealed up the trunks or doors, or ſeized the keys of Mr. Pym, Mr. Holles, or any other member of this houſe: and that the ſerjeant ſhall have power to break open the doors, and to break the ſeals off from the trunks. That if any perſon whatſoever ſhall go to the lodgings of any members of this houſe, and there offer to ſeal the trunks, papers, &c. of any members, or to ſeize upon their perſons, that ſuch members ſhall require the aid of the conſtable, to keep ſuch offenders in ſafe cuſtody, till this houſe give farther order; and this houſe doth declare, that if any perſon whatſoever ſhall offer to arreſt, or detain, the perſon of any member, without firſt acquainting this houſe therewith, and receiving farther order, that it is lawful for ſuch member, or any one aſſiſting him, to ſtand upon his or their defence, and to make reſiſtance, according to the proteſtation taken to defend the privilege of parliament." Exaſperated at theſe proceedings, the king had recourſe to the moſt extravagant reſolution ever formed by any monarch of England: he determined by the advice of his ſycophants, to ſupport what he had begun by one vigorous ſtroke of authority; forgetting that this was a juncture in which he ought not to have expoſed that authority to any new affront. But the king's deſign was not kept ſufficiently ſecret to anſwer his majeſty's intention. The counteſs of Carliſle, ſiſter to the earl of Northumberland, diſcovered it, and ſent intelligence to the five members, ſo that they had time to withdraw a few minutes before Charles arrived. He went the next day, attended by his ordinary retinue, and a train of five hundred followers, to the houſe of commons, in order to ſeize the perſons he had accuſed. Leaving his retinue in the lobby, and the door being immediately thrown open, he advanced to the chair, while all the members roſe up to receive him. Charles looked carefully round, but not ſeeing the accuſed members, he made the following ſpeech to the commons.

"Gentlemen,

"I am ſorry for this occaſion of coming to you. Yeſterday I ſent a meſſage to demand ſome, who, by my order, were accuſed of high treaſon. Inſtead of obedience, I received a meſſage. I muſt here declare to you, that though no king that ever was in England could be more careful of your privileges than I ſhall be, yet, in caſes of treaſon, no perſon has privilege. Therefore I am come to tell you, that I muſt have theſe men whereſoever I can find them. Well, ſince I ſee all the birds are flown, I do expect you will ſend them to me as ſoon as they return. But I aſſure you, on the word of a king, I never did intend any force, but ſhall proceed againſt them in a fair and legal way; for I never want any other. And now, ſince I ſee I cannot do what I came for, I think this no unfit occaſion to repeat what I have ſaid formerly, that whatever I have done in favour, and to the good of my ſubjects, I do intend to maintain it." The fury into which the houſe was thrown by this unguarded action of the king, is impoſſible to be deſcribed. Before the king reached the door, ſome of the members called aloud, "Privilege! Privilege!" Immediately after his departure the houſe adjourned till the next day; and the five accuſed members retired for protection into the city. The guards at the gates were immediately doubled, and the greater part of the citizens continued the whole night under arms, while reports of various kinds were raiſed, that the cavaliers and papiſts were coming to fire the city, with the king at their head. The next morning Charles diſpatched a meſſenger to the lord mayor, ordering him to call a common-council immediately. His commands were obeyed; and about ten o'clock, the king, attended only by three or four lords, repaired to Guildhall, where he delivered to the common-council the following ſpeech.

"Gentlemen,

"I am come to demand ſuch perſons as I have already accuſed of high treaſon, and do believe are concealed in the city. I hope no good man will keep them from me; their offences being treaſons and miſdemeanors of a very high nature. I deſire your loving aſſiſtance herein, that they may be brought to a legal trial. And whereas divers ſuſpicions are raiſed, that I am a favourer of the popiſh religion, I do profeſs in the name of a king, that I did, and ever will, to the utmoſt of my power, be a proſecutor of all ſuch as ſhall in any ways oppoſe the laws and ſtatutes of this kingdom, either papiſts or ſeparatiſts; and not only ſo, but I will maintain and defend that true proteſtant religion which my father profeſſed, and will continue in it during life." The lord mayor and aldermen behaved with great civility, and attended the king to Temple-bar; but he could not eſcape the inſults of the populace; the cry of "privilege of parliament!" reſounded from all quarters; and one of the mob, more daring than the reſt, advanced near to the coach door, and called aloud, "To your tents, O Iſrael," words uſed by the Iſraelites, when they abandoned the tyrannical Rehoboam. The next day a proclamation was iſſued for apprehending the five members, forbidding all perſons to harbour them; and the articles againſt them were printed and diſperſed. The houſe of commons only met to vote, that the king had violated the privileges of parliament, and adjourning themſelves for ſome days, appointed a committee to ſit at Guildhall, to conſider of every thing for the good and ſafety of the city and kingdom, and how to ſecure the privileges of parliament. This committee had alſo the direction of the Iriſh affairs; and the king had ſcarcely left the city, when they drew up a declaration, with regard to the late attempt on the privilege of parliament, which was afterwards confirmed to the houſe. It was conceived in the following terms: "Whereas his majeſty, in his royal perſon, came yeſterday to the houſe of commons, with a great multitude of men, armed in a warlike manner, with halberts, ſwords, and piſtols, who came up to the very door of this houſe, and placed themſelves there, and in other places and paſſages near to the houſe, to the great terror and diſturbance of the members thereof then ſitting, and, according to their duty, in an orderly manner, treating of the great affairs of both kingdoms of England and Ireland; and his majeſty having placed himſelf in the ſpeaker's chair, did demand the perſons of divers members of that houſe to be delivered to him:—It is this day declared by the houſe of commons, that the ſame is a high breach of the rights and liberties of parliament, and inconſiſtent with the freedom thereof; and therefore the houſe doth conceive, that they cannot, with ſafety of their own perſons, or the indemnities of the rights and privileges of parliament, ſit here any longer, without a full vindication of ſo high a breach of privilege, and a ſufficient guard wherein they may confide, for which both houſes jointly, and this houſe by itſelf, have been humble ſuitors to his majeſty, and cannot yet obtain." This committee was treated in the city with the greateſt reſpect, having a guard of ſubſtantial citizens to attend them. Nothing was now talked of but declarations, votes and remonſtrances, againſt the late flagrant breach of privilege; and ſeveral addreſſes were preſented to the king, requeſting him to name the perſons who had adviſed him to purſue ſuch alarming meaſures. Petitions were alſo ſent up from different parts of the kingdom, and among others, the lord mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, repreſented to his majeſty, "That trade was decayed, to the ruin of the proteſtant religion, and the lives and liberties of the ſubjects, by the deſigns of papiſts; more particularly by their fomenting the Iriſh rebellion, by changing the conſtable of the Tower, by fortifying Whitehall, and his majeſty's late invaſion of the houſe of commons. They therefore prayed, that by the parliament's advice, the proteſtants of Ireland might be relieved; the Tower put into the hands of perſons of truſt; a guard appointed for the ſafety of parliament; and that the five members might not be reſtrained, nor proceeded againſt, but by the privilege of parliament." Charles thought proper to return an anſwer to this petition, in which he obſerved; "that, merely to ſatisfy the city, he had removed a very worthy perſon from his command in the Tower; and that the late tumults had rendered it abſolutely neceſſary for him to fortify Whitehall for the ſecurity of his own perſon: that his going to the houſe of commons was to apprehend thoſe five members for high treaſon, to which the privilege of parliament could not extend; but that he never intended to proceed againſt them any otherwiſe than by legal methods only."

The king, either apprehenſive of danger from the enraged multitude, or unable to bear the triumph of his enemies, contrary to the advice of his friends, retired to Hampton-court before the meeting of parliament. The committee, with the accuſed members, were now conducted to Weſtminſter, with great ſtate and ſolemnity, in a triumphant proceſſion of the city trainbands: the Thames was, at the ſame time, covered with boats and other veſſels, adorned with flags and ſtreamers, in which were ſmall pieces of ordnance; alſo drums, trumpets, and all other kinds of martial muſic. When the news of the parliament being aſſembled was declared to the multitude, they expreſſed their joy by the ſound of trumpets, the beat of drum, the diſcharge of ordnance on the water, and muſketry on the land, intermixed with loud ſhouts and congratulations. The houſe of commons now confirmed all the acts of their committee. The lord Kimbolton entreated the lords not to permit him to lie under a charge, in which his life, his eſtate, and his honour were concerned: but to allow the attorney-general to proſecute the accuſation againſt him: but the next day his majeſty ſent to inform the lords, that he was pleaſed to wave his former proceedings; and that when the minds of people were compoſed, he intended to proceed in an unqueſtionable manner; and aſſured his parliament, that he would be as careful of their privileges as his own. He afterwards, by ſucceſſive meſſages, offered a pardon to the members; propoſed to concur in any law that ſhould acquit or ſecure them, and to make reparation for the breach of privilege, of which he acknowledged they had reaſon to complain. They, however, reſolved not to accept of any ſatiſfaction, unleſs the king would diſcover his adviſers in that illegal meaſure; but this he poſitively refuſed. Diſtruſt, fear, and jealouſy, not only poſſeſſed the minds of both houſes, but of all the people. A petition from the county of Buckingham was preſented to the houſe of commons, by ſix thouſand men, who promiſed to live and die in defence of the privileges of parliament. The city of London, the counties of Eſſex, Surry, Hertford, and Berks, did the like. A petition from the apprentices was alſo received; and the porters, whoſe number, they ſaid, amounted to fifteen thouſand, preſented theirs, containing the ſame articles with all the others: the privileges of parliament, the danger of religion, the rebellion in Ireland, and the decay of trade. Another petition was preſented in the name of many thouſands of the poor. The very women petitioned; and a brewer's wife, attended by ſeveral thouſands of her ſex, preſented a petition to the houſe, in which they expreſſed their terror of the papiſts and prelates, and their dread of the like maſſacres, rapes, and outrages which their ſex had ſuffered in Ireland. It was now ſufficiently evident from the proceedings of both ſides in this remarkable conteſt for power, that the ſword alone could decide it. Charles, ſeemingly deſirous of averting the horrors of a civil war, ſent a meſſage to the parliament, deſiring, "that they would digeſt into one body all the grievances of the kingdom, and to ſend them to him, promiſing his favourable aſſent to thoſe means which ſhould be thought moſt effectual for redreſs." This requeſt was refuſed; the commons being engaged in matters of far greater conſequence. In ſhort, their leaders had ſo invincible a diſtruſt of Charles, that they put no confidence in his promiſes: and were perſuaded that nothing leſs than wreſting all power from his hand would be ſufficient for their ſafety. By the deſpondency of the king's party, their opponents every where obtained an undiſputed authority; and the bills ſent up by the commons, which had hitherto ſtopped with the peers, now paſſed, and were preſented for the royal aſſent. Theſe were the preſſing bills, and the bill againſt the votes of the biſhops in parliament. The king's power was, by his miſconduct, reduced to the loweſt ebb; and the queen being threatened with an impeachment, and finding no reſource in his protection, was preparing to retire into Holland: the rage of the people being levelled at her, on account of the advice ſhe gave the king; and ſhe being deſirous to facilitate her eſcape from England, prevailed on his majeſty to paſs theſe bills, in hopes of appeaſing for a time the rage of the people. The commons being ſenſible that the king would take every opportunity to regain the power of which they had deprived him, reſolved to prevent him by every method their wiſdom could ſuggeſt. The arms and ammunition of the late army had been, by the king's command, laid up in the town of Hull. Previous to the attempt of ſeizing the five members, he had ſent the earl of Newcaſtle to be governor, and to draw into the town as many of the militia as he could. This alarming the commons, they diſpatched thither Sir John Hotham, a gentleman of conſiderable fortune in the neighbourhood, and gave him the authority of governor. They ſent orders to Goring, governor of Portſmouth, to obey no commands, without the king's authority, ſignified to him by the lords and commons; and never ceaſed ſoliciting the king, till he had given the command of the Tower to Sir John Conyers, in whom alone they ſaid they could confide. At the ſame time both houſes preſented a petition, that the forts and militia of the kingdom might be put into their hands. To this the king anſwered, that when he ſhould be informed of the extent of the power intended to be eſtabliſhed in thoſe perſons to whom the parliament deſired to entruſt the command of the militia, and how long he was to be debarred from exerciſing his power over it without the advice of parliament, he would then put in ſuch perſons as the parliament ſhould approve, provided he had no objections to them. The parliament, perceiving that the king's ſole deſign was to gain time, paſſed an ordinance, which reſtored to the lieutenants and deputies the ſame authority they had formerly exerciſed, with power to employ the militia in England and Wales, for the ſuppreſſion of inſurrections and invaſions. The names of the perſons who had been inveſted with this authority, were inſerted in the ordinance; they were to be accountable to parliament, and their authority to continue during the pleaſure of that aſſembly. When this demand was made, the king was at Dover, attending the queen and the princeſs Mary in their embarkation; and he replied, that he had not now leiſure to conſider a matter of ſuch importance, and muſt, therefore, defer his anſwer till his return. The parliament inſtantly diſpatched another meſſage to him, expreſſing their grief at his majeſty's anſwer to their juſt and neceſſary petition; repreſenting, that any delay during ſuch preſſing dangers and diſtractions, was not leſs unſatisfactory and deſtructive, than an abſolute denial. In return, he deſired, if the military authority were defective, it ſhould firſt be conferred upon the crown; and promiſed to beſtow commiſſions, but revocable at pleaſure, on the ſame perſons the parliament had mentioned in the bill. To this they inſtantly replied, that the dangers and diſorders of the nation could endure no longer delay; and unleſs the king ſpeedily complied with their requeſt, they ſhould be forced, for the ſafety of the prince and people, to diſpoſe of the militia by the authority of the two houſes, and were reſolved to do it without delay; at the ſame time they invited him to fix his reſidence in London. On the receipt of this meſſage, Charles peremptorily replied, that, for the militia, he was ſo aſſured that his anſwer was agreeable to what in juſtice or reaſon they ſhould aſk, or he, in honour, grant, that he ſhould not alter it in any point; as touching his reſidence near the parliament, he wiſhed it might be ſafe and honourable, and that he had no cauſe to abſent himſelf from Whitehall. "What would you have?" (ſaid the king in his reply.) "Have I violated your laws? Have I denied to paſs any bill for the eaſe and ſecurity of my ſubjects? I do not aſk what you have done for me. Have any of my people been tranſported with fears and apprehenſions? I offer as free and generous a pardon as you yourſelves can deviſe. All this conſidered, there is a judgment of heaven upon this nation, if theſe diſtractions continue. God ſo deal with me and mine, as all my thoughts and intentions are upright for the maintenance of the proteſtant religion, and for the obſervance and preſervation of the laws; and I hope God will bleſs and aſſiſt thoſe laws for my preſervation." This poſitive refuſal produced in the commons the following reſolutions: that the kingdom ſhould be forthwith put in a poſture of defence, in the way already agreed on by both houſes; and that a committee ſhould be appointed to prepare a declaration to free the houſe from ſuſpicions, and to lay down the juſt cauſes of the fears and jealouſies on which they proceeded.

The earl of Clarendon ſuppoſes, that if the king had returned to the parliament immediately after the queen's departure, and the two houſes had been convinced that he was no longer governed by her dictates, matters would have been compoſed by very moderate conceſſions on his part: but when it was known that his majeſty intended to viſit the northern parts of his kingdom, and to make the city of York the place of his reſidence, and to take the prince with him, they fell into their uſual heats and debates on their juſt cauſes of jealouſy and diſtruſt. When the king reached Huntingdon, he ſent a meſſage to the commons, upbraiding them for their conduct with regard to the affairs of Ireland, and informing them, "That he expected an equal tenderneſs in them with regard to his known privileges, among which he is ſure it is a fundamental one, that his ſubjects cannot be obliged to obey any act, order, or injunction, to which his majeſty had not given his conſent; and therefore he thinks it neceſſary to publiſh, that he expects and hereby requires obedience from all his loving ſubjects to the laws eſtabliſhed, and that they preſume not, on any pretence of order or ordinance, to which his majeſty is no party, concerning the militia, or any other things, to do or execute what is not warranted by thoſe laws, his majeſty being reſolved to keep the laws himſelf, and to require obedience to them from all his ſubjects." Many were the declarations and meſſages which paſſed between the king and parliament during his journey. The king endeavoured to perſuade the people, that, to give the parliament ſatisfaction, he had granted every thing he ought; while the parliament, by commenting on his conduct, ſtrove to convince the nation, that at the very time when they, in a manner, forced his aſſent to their neceſſary demands, he had been, and was now, contriving the means to invalidate thoſe conceſſions. When Charles reached York, he at firſt found the people cautious in offering their ſervice; and the diſpoſitions of men in general not ſo favourable as he expected in the counties more remote from the capital; this induced him to inform the parliament, that he was reſolved to go in perſon to ſuppreſs the rebellion in Ireland, and intended to raiſe in the counties near Cheſter a guard, conſiſting of two thouſand foot, and two hundred horſe, to be armed from his magazine at Hull; and that the officers and common ſoldiers ſhould all take the oath of allegiance and ſupremacy. But both houſes were unanimouſly of opinion, that it would be dangerous and unſafe to conſent to his majeſty's going into Ireland; for their fears were alarmed at the apprehenſions, that he would place himſelf at the head of the two oppoſite armies, that under Ormond, and that of the rebels, who pretended that he allowed of their proceedings. They therefore drew up a petition againſt it; to which they added a reſolution, declaring thoſe enemies to the ſtate, who ſhould endeavour to raiſe forces for Ireland without the conſent of parliament. Manifeſtoes, and all the forerunners of a civil war, were now publiſhed on both ſides. Lord Falkland, ſecretary of ſtate, and Mr. Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon, were the authors of the papers in defence of the king. In theſe, the Engliſh conſtitution was defined with great preciſion; the three ſpecies of government, monarchical, ariſtocratical, and democratical, were diſtinguiſhed; and the government of England ſhewn to be a compound of the whole, each tempering the other.

Charles, diſappointed in his Iriſh ſcheme, now turned his thoughts towards getting poſſeſſion of the important fortreſs of Hull, where the arms of all the forces levied againſt the Scots had been depoſited. The parliament, jealous of his near neighbourhood to this place, had ſent orders to Sir John Hotham to introduce into the town eight hundred of the Yorkſhire militia; and though this reinforcement was ſufficient to repel any force the king could bring againſt it, yet fearing treachery, they petitioned the king to permit the removal of the magazine to the Tower of London, where the ſtores were much exhauſted. This being denied, the parliament ſent orders to prepare ſhips, and remove the magazine to London. But Charles hoped before this order could be executed, to be himſelf maſter of Hull. To this end he ſent his ſon, the duke of York, the elector Palatine, and ſome of thoſe nobles who had followed his fortune to the town, where they were received with great civility. The next day, which was the twenty-ſecond of April, he advanced with three hundred horſe, and ſent a meſſenger to Sir John Hotham, with a letter, to inform him, he intended to viſit his town of Hull, and the magazine; and ordered him to provide for himſelf and train. Sir John, in great confuſion, called the chief magiſtrates of the town, and officers of the garriſon, to a council, in which it being reſolved not to admit the king, a reſpectful meſſage was ſent, entreating him to forbear his intended viſit; and on his nearer approach the bridge was drawn up, and the garriſon ſtood to their arms. Charles, with a loud voice, demanded entrance; when Sir John kneeling, pleaded his having received his truſt from parliament, and with much civility of language, gave the king an abſolute refuſal. Charles then repeated his demand, and offered to reduce his train to twenty perſons. This was alſo denied. He then deſired the governor to come out to him, promiſing that he ſhould return in ſafety. The governor excuſed his non-obedience; but readily conſented to the demand, that the king's ſon, and the reſt of his friends, ſhould leave the town. Charles, enraged at this diſappointment, proclaimed Hotham a traitor, by two heralds at arms, and after having ſtaid five hours before Hull, returned to Beverley.

The increaſing inclinations of the inhabitants of Yorkſhire for the royal cauſe, greatly alarmed the parliament. They had raiſed a guard of ſix hundred men for his perſon, and ſeemed determined to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power. The parliament, though they had already levied a guard for themſelves, had attempted to ſeize the whole military power, the navy, and all the forts of the kingdom; yet they immediately voted, "That the king, ſeduced by wicked counſels, intended to make war againſt his parliament, who, in all their conſultations and actions, had propoſed no other end but the care of his kingdoms, and the performance of all duty and loyalty to his perſon: that this attempt was a breach of the truſt repoſed in him by his people, contrary to his oath, and tending to a diſſolution of the government; and that whoever ſhould aſſiſt him in ſuch a war, were traitors by the fundamental laws of the kingdom." Thus things haſtened towards a criſis. The parliament appointed the earl of Eſſex general of their forces; and the ardour was ſo great among the people in the capital, that no leſs than four thouſand men inliſted in one day. At the ſame time the parliament voted a declaration, which they required every member to ſubſcribe, that they would live and die with their general. Orders were iſſued for bringing in loans of money, in order to maintain the forces levied to defend the parliament: and the zeal of the people was, in this particular, more remarkable, than their enliſting under Eſſex; for during ten days the throng was ſo great, that the perſons appointed to receive the offerings of the populace, had neither time nor room ſufficient for the purpoſe; many of them were therefore obliged to carry back their treaſures till a more convenient opportunity, when the commiſſioners would be at leiſure to receive them.

But the parliament were totally eclipſed by the ſplendid appearance of the nobility, who flocked to the king at York. Above forty peers of the higheſt rank in the kingdom attended upon Charles, among whom was the lord-keeper Littelton; while the houſe of lords at Weſtminſter ſeldom conſiſted of more than ſixteen members, and even ſome of theſe were of the royal party, and conſtantly oppoſed the meaſures of the commons. The king iſſued commiſſions of array all over the kingdom; but the execution of them was voted treaſonable by the parliament. They were, however, greatly aſtoniſhed and alarmed, when they perceived ſo large and reſpectable a part of the kingdom had declared for the king. This produced a new ſet of propoſitions, on which they were willing to come to an agreement. Their demands were,

"1. That the officers of the crown, the miniſters of ſtate, and the governors of all the ports and forts of the kingdom, ſhould be choſen and approved of by the two houſes, or by the council in the intervals of parliament. 2. That no places ſhall be given for life; but that thoſe on whom they ſhould be beſtowed, may hold them no longer than they diſcharge their duty well. 3. That the two houſes, and the council, ſhall name the perſon unto whom the government and education of the king's children ſhall be committed. 4. That no marriage ſhall be concluded, or treated, for any of the king's children, without the conſent of parliament. 5. That the laws againſt Jeſuits, and other ſecular prieſts, and in general againſt all papiſts, ſhall be ſtrictly put in execution, without any toleration or diſpenſation whatſoever. 6. That the popiſh lords be expelled from the houſe of peers, and their children taken from them, in order to their being brought up in the proteſtant religion. 7. That ſuch a reformation be made of the liturgy and church government, as both houſes of parliament, with the advice of divines, ſhall adviſe. 8. That the king ſhall reſt ſatisfied with the method taken by the parliament for ſettling the militia. 9. That a ſtrict alliance be entered into with the ſtates of the United Provinces, and other neighbouring princes and ſtates of the proteſtant religion, againſt the pope and his adherents. 10. That the five impeached members be cleared by act of parliament, and reſtored to their rights, that future parliaments may be ſecured from the conſequence of that bad example. 11. That peers made hereafter be reſtrained from ſitting and voting in parliament, without the conſent of both houſes. 12. That the military forces now attending the king be diſcharged. 13. That the lords and others of the privy-council, and others in offices and employments, be removed, except ſuch only as ſhall be approved by both houſes of parliament; and that the perſons made choice of to fill their places and employments, may be approved of by both houſes of parliament; and that the privy counſellors ſhall take an oath for the due execution of their places, in ſuch form as ſhall be approved of by the parliament. 14. That the great affairs of the kingdom ſhall not be concluded nor tranſacted by the advice of private men, or by any unknown or unſworn counſellors; but that ſuch matters as concern the public, and are proper for the high court of parliament, ſhall be debated, reſolved, and tranſacted only in parliament; and ſuch as ſhall preſume to do any thing to the contrary, ſhall be reſerved to the cenſure and judgment of parliament; and ſuch other matters of ſtate as are proper for the privy-council, ſhall be debated and concluded by ſuch of the nobility and others as ſhall, from time to time, be choſen to fill that board, by approbation of both houſes of parliament; and that no public act, concerning the affairs of the kingdom, which is proper for the privy-council, ſhall be eſteemed of any validity, as proceeding from the royal authority, unleſs it be done with the advice and conſent of the major part of the council, atteſted under their hands; that the council ſhall be limited to a certain number, not exceeding twenty-five, nor under fifteen; and if any counſellor's place happen to be vacant, it ſhall not be ſupplied without the aſſent of the major part of the council, which choice ſhall be confirmed at the next ſitting of parliament, or elſe be void. 15. That the lord high ſteward of England, the lord high conſtable, the lord chancellor, or keeper of the great ſeal, the lord treaſurer, the lord privy-ſeal, the earl marſhal, the lord admiral, the warden of the cinque ports, the chief governor of Ireland, the chancellor of the exchequer, the maſter of the wards, the ſeveral ſecretaries of ſtate, the two chief juſtices and chief baron, ſhall always be choſen with the approbation of both houſes of parliament; and in the intervals of parliament, by the aſſent of the major part of the council, in the ſame manner as is before expreſſed in the choice of counſellors. 16. That ſuch members of either houſe of parliament, as, during this preſent parliament, have been put out of any place or office, ſhall either be reſtored, or otherwiſe have ſatisfaction, upon the petition of ſuch houſe of which they are members. 17. That all privy-counſellors and judges ſhall take an oath, the form whereof ſhall be agreed upon and ſettled by act of parliament, for maintaining the petition of right, and of certain ſtatutes made by this parliament, which ſhall be mentioned by both houſes; and that an enquiry of all breaches and violations of thoſe laws ſhall be given in charge by the juſtices of the king's-bench every term, and by the judges of aſſize in their circuits, and juſtices of the peace at the ſeſſions, to be preſented and puniſhed according to law. 18. That the juſtice of parliament ſhall paſs upon all delinquents, whether they be within the kingdom or in foreign parts; and that all perſons, cited by either houſe of parliament, ſhall appear, and abide the cenſure of parliament. 19. That a general pardon ſhall be granted, with ſuch exceptions as ſhall be adviſed by both houſes of parliament." It muſt be acknowledged that theſe propoſitions new modelled the conſtitution, and would have infuſed ſo much of a republican ſpirit into it, as to have left the king little more than the ſhadow of royalty, and deprived him of every prerogative pernicious to good government; but in his preſent circumſtances, he was not in a diſpoſition to conſent to ſuch an abridgement of his royal privileges. "Should I grant theſe demands," ſaid he, in his reply, "I may be waited on bareheaded; I may have my hand kiſſed; the title of majeſty continued to me; and the king's authority ſignified by both houſes of parliament, may be ſtill the ſtile of your commands: I may have ſwords and maces carried before me, and pleaſe myſelf with the ſight of a crown and ſceptre; but even theſe twigs would not long flouriſh, when the ſtock upon which they grew was dead; but as to true and real power, I ſhould remain but the outſide, but the picture, but the ſign of a king." About this time the queen, by diſpoſing of the crown jewels in Holland, had been enabled to purchaſe a conſiderable quantity of arms and ammunition; and a ſmall veſſel laden with part of theſe, after having eſcaped many dangers, arrived ſafely to the king, who now prevailed with the nobility of York to ſign a paper, in which they engaged to defend his perſon, crown, and dignity, and to iſſue out commiſſions of array; at the ſame time declaring, that his intentions were not to make war againſt the parliament, but againſt a few malignant ſpirits whom he was determined to bring to juſtice. The commiſſion of array was an antiquated prerogative, founded on a ſtatute of Henry IV. which had been repealed, and therefore gave great diſguſt.

Advice from Holland having been received by parliament, that veſſels had ſailed from thence laden with arms, with prince Rupert, prince Maurice, and other officers on board, who intended to ſerve in the royal army, that ſome of the troops raiſed by the commiſſion of array had begun hoſtilities on the militia, and had attempted to ſeize a magazine of arms in Leiceſterſhire, guarded by the earl of Stamford; that the earl and his followers were declared traitors; that troops were ſent into Lincolnſhire, and horſes ſeized by force; that a garriſon was put into Newcaſtle; that fortifications were erected on the river Tyne, to interrupt the conveyance of coal; that ſeveral commiſſions had been delivered out to raiſe volunteers for the king's ſervice; and that a threatening declaration was made againſt the proceedings of both houſes; they reſolved to put themſelves in a poſture of defence, and paſſed a vote for raiſing an army, of which the earl of Eſſex ſhould be general, and the earl of Bedford commander of the horſe. At the ſame time a vote was paſſed for petitioning the king to come to an agreement with his parliament. Their propoſals, however, were rejected. Charles proceeded to attempt the reduction of Hull; but the earl of Lindſey, after making a few impotent attacks with a ſmall body of raw, undiſciplined troops, amounting to two thouſand five hundred horſe and foot, was obliged to draw off his forces. However, this repulſe was fully compenſated by the conduct of Goring, governor of Portſmouth, who, notwithſtanding his having profeſſed the moſt ſtrict attachment to the parliament, declared for the king. The acquiſition of ſuch an important ſea-port town elated Charles to ſuch a degree, that he immediately publiſhed a declaration, in which he recapitulated all thoſe actions, which he termed inſolent and rebellious in the two houſes; and at the ſame time publiſhed a proclamation, requiring all men who could bear arms to repair to his ſtandard, which was to be erected at Nottingham, on the twenty-fifth of Auguſt following. It ſhould be remembered, as a proper clue to the tranſactions of this reign, by all thoſe who would candidly inveſtigate cauſes and motives, that the nation had at that time the higheſt veneration for parliaments. The cuſtom of reviling thoſe aſſemblies for corruption was then unknown; and the houſe of commons was conſidered in no other light than as the repreſentatives of the people, whoſe intereſt was the ſame with that of the public, who were the eternal guardians of law and liberty, and whom no motive could ever engage but the neceſſary defence of the nation, in an oppoſition to the crown. Hence the torrent of general affection ran to the parliament, who, actuated by a generous love of freedom, and incited by the fear of again falling into that ſlavery from which they had glorioully redeemed themſelves and their country, were now excited by every conſideration of public and private intereſt, to defend themſelves againſt a prince, who for the ſpace of twelve years had levelled the boundaries of law, and thrown down the bulwarks of civil and religious liberty: that ſuch a prince, in his adverſe ſtate, ſhould find a party to eſpouſe his broken fortunes; that he ſhould be able to perſuade men to lift their impious hands againſt the authors of freedom, and drench their country in blood, to ſupport a power he had abuſed, are circumſtances which exhibit a melancholy proof of the extreme weakneſs and depravity of the human mind. The injuries which the Engliſh had ſuffered under the family of the Stuarts, had, in appearance, rouſed an univerſal ſpirit of oppoſition; yet, when the indefeaſible power of the people was oppoſed to the claims of monarchy, the king found among men of fortune and family a numerous party, who priding themſelves on their deſcent from opulent anceſtors, fancied they had a right to tyrannize over their fellow citizens; and growing ſick of the new broached doctrines, which aſſerted, that all men had a right to equal liberty, deſerted the cauſe which oppreſſion had engaged them to abet, and ranged themſelves on the ſide of the crown. Thus the greater weight of the landed intereſt fell on the ſide of the king, who had alſo all the catholics, and thoſe who were ſuperſtitiouſly attached to the hierarchy. But theſe advantages were more than balanced by the popularity of the parliament; and by the love of liberty, which was diffuſed among the active, the induſtrious, and the commercial part of the nation. The king had a particular diſadvantage ariſing from the duplicity of his conduct: he had frequently violated his engagements with his people; and now, notwithſtanding all his aſſertions to the contrary, they in general believed, that he had an averſion to the free government of the country; that he had conſented to all the laws in favour of liberty with reluctance; that neither his oaths nor promiſes could be depended on; and that he only waited till he had ſufficient power, and a proper opportunity, to reſume all his former arbitrary meaſures.

On the day appointed the royal ſtandard was erected at Nottingham; but to the ſurprize and mortification of the king, the people did not at firſt reſort to it, in obedience to his proclamation. His artillery, far from numerous, had been left at York, for want of horſes; and, beſides the trained bands of the county, raiſed by Sir John Digby, the ſheriff, he had not got together above three hundred infantry. His cavalry, which did not exceed eight hundred, and were very ill provided with arms, was commanded by prince Rupert, and lay at Leiceſter; and his force was ſo much inferior to what the parliament had now in the field, that Sir Jacob Aſtley, ſerjeant-major-general of his army, told him, that he could not give him any aſſurance that he might not be taken out of his bed, ſhould the rebels attempt it. While the king and his friends were ruminating on the danger of their ſituation, they received the mortifying advice, that Portſmouth being beſieged both by ſea and land by the parliament's forces, would be reduced in a few days. Charles, in his way to Nottingham, had propoſed to enter Coventry; but the citizens ſhut their gates, fired at his men, and obliged him to retire. The anxiety of mind occaſioned by theſe alarming circumſtances, was heightened by ſuperſtitious apprehenſions, ariſing from his ſtandard having been blown down by a high wind. Theſe incidents induced the nobility to preſs the king to ſend an immediate meſſage to the parliament with overtures of peace; but this he abſolutely refuſed, and haſtily broke up the council. However, the earl of Southampton the next day urging the ſame advice, it was liſtened to with more coolneſs and deliberation; and, by the unanimous deſire of the counſellors, he was prevailed with to embrace Southampton's advice; and that nobleman, with Sir John Colepepper, and Sir William Uvedale, were diſpatched to London, with offers of a treaty to the following purport: that the king had, with unſpeakable grief of heart, beheld the diſtractions of the kingdom; and to prevent the miſeries ready to overwhelm the nation by a civil war, propoſed to the parliament to appoint perſons to treat with a like number authoriſed by him; and he concluded with aſſuring them, that this motion was ſolely owing to his Chriſtian and pious care to prevent the effuſion of blood; his proviſion of men, arms, and money, being ſufficient to ſecure him from violence, till it pleaſed God to open the eyes of his people. The parliament waſted no time in unneceſſary diſputes; but two days after they had received this propoſal, diſpatched a meſſage to the king, in which they told him, that till he ſhould recall his proclamations, by which the earl of Eſſex, and both houſes of parliament, with thoſe who obeyed their commands, were declared traitors; and till his ſtandard was taken down, they could not, conſiſtently with the public truſt repoſed in them, or the good and ſafety of the kingdom, give any anſwer to his propoſal. This ſudden determination ſo alarmed the royaliſts, that they adviſed the king to lay aſide all thoughts of conqueſt, to haſte to London, and appear in parliament before they had any item of his intention. This ſeaſonable advice was rejected with diſdain: but the parliament having ſent their principal officers to their army, which lay at Northampton, with orders to prepare for their march, it was thought neceſſary to amuſe them with another meſſage, in which the king promiſed to recall his proclamations, provided they would recall theirs, in which his adherents were declared traitors. The parliament, perceiving the king's aim, immediately diſpatched the meſſenger with an anſwer, in which they charged the king with duplicity of conduct, in ſending hoſtile inſtructions to his commiſſioners of array, ſince his pacific profeſſions; and entreated him to diſband his forces, and return to his parliament, where, they ſaid, he would find ſuch expreſſions of their fidelity and duty, as ſhould aſſure him that his ſafety, honour, and greatneſs, could only be found in the affections of his people, and in their ſincere councils. From this period the king's levies and other warlike preparations, were carried on with great expedition. When the earl of Eſſex joined the army, it amounted to fifteen thouſand men; and the king found it neceſſary to decamp from Nottingham, and retire into the weſt. It would have been extremely eaſy, while he lay at Nottingham, or in his retreat from thence, for the parliament's forces to have diſperſed the ſmall handful of his followers, and either to have taken him priſoner, or oblige him to quit the kingdom: but this opportunity was miſſed, by the too cautious diſpoſition of the earl of Eſſex, who had not yet received his inſtructions. A neglect, occaſioned by the ſanguine hopes of the parliamentary leaders, who, depending on the king's unpopular character, and judging the ſentiments of the fickle vulgar by the liberal warmth of their own feelings, conſidered it as impoſſible for him to raiſe a force ſufficient to encounter their army; they thought that the nobility and gentry would ſoon be weary of maintaining the troops already on foot, and that they ſhould thus accompliſh their deſigns, without ſpilling the blood of their countrymen. Charles was therefore permitted to retreat to Shrewſbury without moleſtation.

At Wellington, Charles made a rendezvous of all his forces, and cauſed his military orders to be read at the head of each regiment, and that he might bind himſelf by reciprocal ties, he ſolemnly made the following proteſtation before the whole army.

" I do promiſe in the preſence of Almighty God, that as I hope for his bleſſing and protection, that I will, to the utmoſt of my power defend and maintain the true reformed proteſtant religion, eſtabliſhed in the church of England, and, by the grace of God, in the ſame will live and die.

" I deſire that the laws may ever be the meaſure of my government, and that the liberty and property of the ſubject may be preſerved by them with the ſame care as my own juſt rights. And if it pleaſe God, by his bleſſing on this army, raiſed for my neceſſary defence, to preſerve me from the preſent rebellion, I do ſolemnly and faithfully promiſe, in the ſight of God, to maintain the juſt privileges and freedom of parliament, and to govern to the utmoſt of my power, by the known ſtatutes and cuſtoms of the kingdom, and particularly, to obſerve inviolably the laws to which I have given my conſent this parliament. Meanwhile, if this emergence, and the great neceſſity to which I am driven, beget any violation of law, I hope it ſhall be imputed by God and man to the authors of this war; not to me, who have ſo earneſtly laboured to preſerve the peace of the kingdom. When I willingly fail in theſe particulars, I ſhall expect no aid or relief from man, nor any protection from above. But in this reſolution, I hope for the chearful aſſiſtance of all good men, and am confident of the bleſſing of heaven."

At the commencement of troubles in England, the princes Rupert and Maurice, ſons to the unhappy Palatine, had made a tender of their ſervice to the king, and the former at this time commanded a body of horſe, which had been ſent to Worceſter, in order to watch the motions of Eſſex, who was marching towards that city. No ſooner had the prince arrived, than he ſaw ſome cavalry of the enemy, commanded by colonel Sandys, approaching the gates. He, and his company, with admirable courage and preſence of mind, attacked and totally routed them. Sandys and thirty of his men were killed on the ſpot, and a number of the officers taken priſoners. This trifling ſkirmiſh greatly elated the ſpirits of the royaliſts, and impreſſed the enemy with a terror of prince Rupert, who had given ſuch an early proof of his extraordinary courage and promptitude. After this engagement the prince threw himſelf into Worceſter; but hearing that Eſſex was marching thither with his whole army, he quitted it, and retired to Ludlow. Charles, on muſtering his army, found he had about ten thouſand men. The earl of Lindſey was general; prince Rupert commanded the horſe; Sir Jacob Aſtley the foot; Sir Arthur Aſton the dragoons; and Sir John Heydon the artillery. The lord Bernard Stuart was at the head of a troop of guards, and their ſervants, under the command of Sir William Killigrew, made another troop, and always marched with their maſters. About the middle of October the king left Shrewſbury, and directed his march towards London. Two days after his departure Eſſex quitted Worceſter, and on the twenty-ſecond of October the two armies were within ſix miles of each other. The king having received intelligence that Eſſex had advanced to Kempton, on the borders of Warwickſhire, drew up his army on Edge-hill, about two miles from the enemy, and on Sunday the twenty-third gave the earl battle. This engagement, which was carried on with great bravery on both ſides, laſted till night, when both parties claimed the victory. They lay under arms all night, but in the morning neither ſide ſeemed inclined to renew the battle. Eſſex firſt drew off, and retired to Warwick, and the king returned to his former quarters. Five thouſand men are ſaid to have been found dead on the field of battle; and the loſs of the two armies was ſuppoſed to be nearly equal. The earl of Lindſey was carried to a barn, and expired before his wounds could be dreſſed. The lord Aubigney, brother to the duke of Richmond, and Sir Edward Verney, the king's ſtandard-bearer, were likewiſe killed, as were ſeveral other officers, but none of diſtinction. Lord Willoughby, ſon to the earl of Lindſey, Sir Thomas Lundsford, Sir Edward Stradling, and Sir William Vavaſer, were taken priſoners. On the ſide of the parliament the lord St. John and colonel Eſſex were killed; and Sir William Eſſex, father to the colonel was taken priſoner. A party of Eſſex's horſe, who had been drove off the field in the beginning of the action, alarmed the city and parliament with the news of a total defeat; but ſoon after expreſſes arriving from the army, aſſured them that their cauſe had received but a ſlight check; upon which they aſſumed the merit of a victory, and ordered public thankſgivings for the ſame. Charles alſo, on his part, took care to diſplay his advantages; though he had few marks of victory to boaſt, except the taking of Banbury ſome days after; from whence he continued his march, and took poſſeſſion of Oxford. The royal army was again put into motion, and a party of horſe advanced to Reading, of which Martin had been appointed governor by the parliament; at their approach the governor was ſeized with a ſudden panic, and the garriſon following his example, they fled to London. Charles, imagining that every thing would now yield to him, conducted his whole army to Reading, and in a few days advanced to Colnbrook. The parliament were alarmed at the near approach of the royaliſts, while their own forces lay at a diſtance; and voted an addreſs for a treaty. They diſpatched the earls of Northumberland and Pembroke, with three commoners, requeſting his majeſty to fix on ſome convenient place for his reſidence near London, till commiſſioners ſhould attend him, with propoſals for healing the preſent unhappy breach between him and his parliament. The king named Windſor, and demanded that the garriſon ſhould be withdrawn, and his own troops received into the caſtle. In the mean time Eſſex, advancing by haſty marches, had poſſeſſed himſelf of Windſor, Hampton, and Acton, and Charles received intelligence that he was fortifying himſelf at Brentford. A council of war being called, it was agreed that prince Rupert ſhould attack the parliament's army and works at Brentford, which he did with ſuch irreſiſtible fury, that, notwithſtanding the noble reſiſtance that was made by the regiment of Holles, they were all either drowned, wounded, or taken priſoners, and prince Rupert remained maſter of the town. The parliament had ſent orders to forbear all hoſtilities, and had expected the ſame compliance from the king; though no ſtipulations to that purpoſe had been mentioned by their commiſſioners. Loud complaints therefore were raiſed againſt this attack, as being an inſtance of the utmoſt perfidy, and a breach of the treaty then negotiating on both ſides. Inflamed with reſentment, and anxious for its own defence, the city marched the trained bands, in excellent order, to reinforce the army under Eſſex; who drew up his forces, now amounting to upwards of twenty-four thouſand men, at Turnham-green. Charles was at this time preparing to march towards London; but finding the number of the enemy ſo vaſtly ſuperior to his own, he thought it moſt prudent to retire over the bridge at Kingſton to Oatlands, and from thence to Reading, where he left a good garriſon, and then marched with his army to Oxford. The royaliſts in the north, were, by this time, become very conſiderable. The earls of Newcaſtle and Cumberland having joined each other with their troops, compoſed a ſmall army of eight thouſand horſe and foot, which were daily increaſing: ſo that thoſe who commanded for the parliament in thoſe parts were unable to cope with them, eſpecially after the arrival of colonel Goring at Newcaſtle, who brought a ſupply of two hundred men, and a quantity of ammunition from Holland. The parliament now found means to engage the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Eſſex, Cambridge, and the city of Norwich, in an aſſociation, to ſtand by them with their lives and fortunes; and the lord Grey of Werk, received a commiſſion from Eſſex, whereby he was appointed commander in chief in thoſe parts, with an authority to raiſe forces.

A.D. 1643. In February the queen landed at Burlington bay, from Holland, and brought with her a conſiderable ſupply of artillery, arms and ammunition; and very ſoon after ſet out again in queſt of new ſuccours. About this time Sir Hugh Cholmley, who had the government of Scarborough for the parliament, declared for the king, with three hundred men of his garriſon; and prince Rupert took the town of Cirenceſter by ſtorm; cut in pieces a whole regiment of the parliament's forces, took eleven hundred priſoners, about four thouſand ſtand of arms, and the whole magazine of the enemy. The king now hoped to relieve the calamities of his people, and recover his own diſtreſſed fortune by an equitable peace; for this purpoſe he propoſed a treaty to the parliament; to which they conſented; and the earl of Northumberland, with four members of the lower houſe came, as commiſſioners, to Oxford. But the propoſitions of peace were dictated in ſuch ſtile, that Charles, finding nothing could be done to compoſe the reigning diſorders, without abſolutely ſacrificing his kingly character, diſmiſſed the commiſſioners; upon which the earl of Eſſex was ordered to advance with his army to beſiege Reading, the garriſon of the king which lay neareſt London, and at that time eſteemed a place of conſiderable ſtrength. He accordingly ſat down before this place, on the fifteenth of April, with an army of eighteen thouſand men. The engineers ſeemed very little acquainted with the buſineſs of ſieges. They had, however, ſuch advantages by the ſituation of the place, that their cannon played directly into the town. Sir Arthur Aſton, the governor, being wounded, colonel Fielding ſucceeded to the command, and ſoon after the town was found to be no longer in a condition of defence, and though Charles approached with an intention of obliging Eſſex to raiſe the ſiege, the diſpoſition of the enemy was ſo ſtrong, as rendered the deſign abortive; and on the twenty-ſeventh of April, Fielding was obliged to ſurrender; but on condition that he ſhould bring off all the garriſon with the honours of war, and in return he was to deliver up all the deſerters. This laſt condition was thought ſo ignominious and of ſuch prejudice to the king's intereſt, that Fielding was tried by a council of war, and condemned to death for conſenting to it; which ſentence was afterwards remitted by the king.

Beſides the operations between the principal armies, which lay in the centre of England; each county, each town, nay almoſt each family, was divided within itſelf, and the moſt violent commotions agitated the whole kingdom. Throughout the winter continual efforts had been made, by each party, to ſurmount its antagoniſt, and the royaliſts were in moſt parts victorious. In the north the lord Fairfax commanded for the parliament, and the earl of Newcaſtle for the king. The latter united in a league for Charles the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Weſtmoreland, and Durham, and ſome time after engaged other counties in the ſame aſſociation. Finding that Fairfax and Hotham were making great progreſs in the ſouthern parts of Yorkſhire, he advanced with a body of four thouſand men, and took poſſeſſion of York. He attacked the parliament's forces at Tadcaſter, and diſlodged them; but his victory was not deciſive. He obtained ſeveral other inconſiderable advantages; the chief benefit reſulting from which was the eſtabliſhment of the king's authority in all the northern provinces. All this time the two capital armies lay inactive, that under the king about Oxford and Abington, and that under Eſſex about Reading. The latter was about this time joined by Sir William Waller; who had taken Wincheſter and Chicheſter, after which he advanced towards Glouceſter, which was in a manner blockaded by lord Herbert, who had levied conſiderable forces in Wales for the royal party. While Waller attacked the Welſh on one ſide, a ſally from Glouceſter made impreſſion on the other. Herbert was defeated, five hundred of his men killed, a thouſand taken priſoners, and he himſelf, with great difficulty, eſcaped to Oxford. Hereford, which was a ſtrong place, and defended by a conſiderable garriſon, through the cowardice of Price, the governor, ſurrendered to Waller. Tewkſbury ſhared the ſame fate; and after theſe victories he made an attempt upon Worceſter, which proved unſucceſsful. Buckinghamſhire being diſpoſed in favour of the king, Eſſex fixed his head quarters at Thame, as he could from thence over-awe that country. While he lay here, colonel Urrey, a Scotſman, deſerted from the parliament's army to the king. He informed prince Rupert of the diſpoſition of the enemy, and perſuaded him to beat up their quarters. To convince him of the practicability of this exploit, he offered to go firſt with a detachment; which being conſented to, he conducted the men to part of theſe quarters, where he defeated ſome regiments, and brought a great number of priſoners to Oxford. The prince, encouraged by his ſucceſs, complied with his advice in attacking that part of the army which lay at Thame. They took a ſtrong body of horſe with them from Oxford, and marching all night, by break of day arrived at Wickham, where they cut in pieces two regiments of the enemy; and attacked another quarter with the ſame ſucceſs. By this time Eſſex had taken the alarm, and detached part of his cavalry to engage the prince till he could come up with the infantry. On their arrival, the prince charged them with ſuch impetuoſity, that they betook themſelves to flight, after having loſt ſome of their beſt officers, among whom was the celebrated John Hampden, who, from the commencement of the war, had acted as colonel of a regiment, and proved in many encounters, that his courage was equal to his other extraordinary endowments. After this victory prince Rupert returned in triumph to Oxford, and ſpoke in ſuch high terms of the conduct and courage of Urrey, that the king immediately conferred the honour of knighthood on that gentleman, and gave him the command of a regiment. The king's affairs alſo wore a very favourable aſpect in the weſtern counties. In Cornwall, Sir Bevil Granville, Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir Nicholas Slanning, Arundel, and Trevannion, undertook, at their own charges, to raiſe an army for Charles; and their great intereſts in the country, enabled them to effect their purpoſe. Alarmed at theſe proceedings, the parliament ordered Ruthven, governor of Plymouth, to march with all the forces of Dorſet, Somerſet, and Devon, and make an entire conqueſt of Cornwall. The earl of Stamford followed him at ſome diſtance with a conſiderable ſupply. Ruthven having entered Cornwall by bridges thrown over the Tamar, haſtened to an action; leſt Stamford ſhould join him, and obtain the honour of a victory, of which he had already aſſured himſelf. The royaliſts were alſo impatient to bring the affair to a deciſion, before Ruthven ſhould receive ſo conſiderable a reinforcement. The armies met at Bradock-down: where Ruthven was totally defeated. With a few broken troops he fled to Saltaſh, and when that town was taken, he, with great difficulty, and almoſt alone, eſcaped to Plymouth. Stamford retired, and diſtributed his forces into Plymouth and Exeter; till about the middle of May, when having aſſembled a ſtrong body of near ſeven thouſand men, well ſupplied with money, proviſions, and ammunition, he advanced upon the royaliſts, who were not half his number, and were oppreſſed by every kind of neceſſity. He encamped on the top of a hill near Stratton, and detached Sir George Chudleigh, with twelve hundred cavalry, to ſurprize the ſheriff of the county at Bodmin. The Corniſh loyaliſts reſolved to attack the camp in four diviſions. One was commanded by lord Mohun and Sir Ralph Hopton; another by Sir Bevil Granville and Sir John Berkley; a third by Slanning and Trevannion; and the fourth by Baſſet and Godolphin. They preſſed as many different ways up the hill with the utmoſt vigour, which their enemies as obſtinately defended. The battle continued with very doubtful ſucceſs, till word was brought to the chief officers of the Corniſh army, that their ammunition was ſpent to four barrels of powder. They then agreed to advance without firing till they ſhould reach the top of the hill. The courage of the officers was ſo well ſeconded by the ſoldiers, that they forced the enemy on all ſides to give way; and major general Chudleigh being taken priſoner, the parliamentarians were ſoon put to the rout, and the royaliſts took poſſeſſion of their cannon and camp. The earl of Stamford retired with precipitation to Exeter, and Sir George Chudleigh, as ſoon as he was informed of the earl's defeat, took the ſame route from Bodmin.

The attention of both Charles and the parliament was directed towards the weſt as to a very important ſcene of action. The marquis of Hertford and prince Maurice, were ſent by the king with a reinforcement of cavalry, who having joined the Corniſh army, the two bodies united amounted to above ſeven thouſand men. They ſoon ſubdued the county of Devon, and advancing into that of Somerſet, began to reduce it to obedience. The parliament now put Sir William Waller, in whom they placed great confidence, at the head of their new army, and ſent him into the weſt in order to check the progreſs of the royaliſts. After ſome ſkirmiſhes the two armies met on the fifth of July at Lanſdown near Bath, and fought a pitched battle, with great loſs on both ſides, but deciſive on neither. It was now reſolved that Hertford and prince Maurice ſhould march to Oxford with the cavalry, procure a reinforcement from the king, and return immediately to the relief of his friends, by which means they would be enabled to make head againſt Waller, who having received ſeveral additions to his army, much ſurpaſſed the royaliſts in number. No ſooner were they gone, than Waller, confident of taking their infantry, wrote to the parliament, that their work was done, and that his next letter ſhould inform them of the number and quality of the priſoners. But before Hertford and the prince could reach Oxford, the king had received intelligence of the great difficulties to which his army in the weſt was reduced, and diſpatched a conſiderable body of horſe, under the command of lord Wilmot, to their aſſiſtance. Waller drew up on Roundway-down; and advanced with his horſe to engage Wilmot, and prevent his joining the infantry. He was received with great valour by the royaliſts, who, after a ſharp engagement, put the parliamentarians to the rout; and Waller, with a few horſe, eſcaped to Briſtol. Wilmot then, ſeizing their cannon, joined the friends whom he came to relieve, attacked Waller's infantry with redoubled courage, and obtained a complete victory. At this time the queen returned to England with a freſh ſupply of men and money; of which Eſſex received intelligence, left Thame and Ayleſbury, where he had hitherto lain, and marched to London. The king, freed from this enemy, ſent his army, under prince Rupert, weſtward; and by its conjunction with the Corniſh troops, a very formidable force, for numbers, as well as reputation and valour was compoſed. Having reduced Bath, they now marched to form the ſiege of Briſtol, of which Fiennes, ſon to lord Say was governor, and the garriſon conſiſted of two thouſand five hundred foot, one regiment of horſe, and another of dragoons. It was reſolved by prince Rupert to ſtorm the city. Accordingly the Corniſh men, in three diviſions, attacked the weſt-ſide with amazing reſolution. The middle diviſion had already mounted the wall, but ſo great was the diſadvantage of the ground, and ſo brave the reſiſtance of the beſieged, that the aſſailants were repulſed with conſiderable loſs both of officers and private men. The aſſault on the prince's ſide, was conducted with equal courage and loſs, but with better ſucceſs. At length Waſhington, with a ſmall party, finding a place in the curtain weaker than the reſt, broke in, and ſoon made way for the horſe to follow. The ſuburbs was now gained; but the entrance to the town was ſtill more difficult, and by the loſs already ſuſtained, as well as by the proſpect of farther danger, every one was extremely diſcouraged; when to the great ſurprize and joy of the royaliſts, the city beat a parley, and ſurrendered, after obtaining leave to march out with their arms and baggage; but their cannon, ammunition, and colours, they were obliged to leave behind them. Fiennes was afterwards tried by a court martial, found guilty of cowardice, and condemned to loſe his head: but this ſentence was not executed.

The king hitherto had ſubſiſted his forces by contributions and aſſeſſments, or by loans, and voluntary preſents from all parts of England; but the ſupplies, including thoſe brought him by his queen, were ſtill very diſproportionable to his preſſing neceſſities. The acquiſition of Briſtol therefore was of the utmoſt advantage to him, for prince Rupert ſeized all the ſhips in which the moſt wealthy citizens of that place had embarked their riches, with a view of conveying them to London. The king went to Briſtol, where he received the news of the ſurrender of Dorcheſter to the earl of Caernarvon: and a day or two after, Portland, Weymouth, and Melcombe, likewiſe ſubmitted; ſo that the royal party, before the concluſion of the ſummer, were in poſſeſſion of all the weſtern counties, from the Land's-end, the moſt weſtern point of Cornwall, execpt a few garriſoned places which were cloſely blocked up. Nor was there any army in the field to oppoſe that of the king, in any of the northern counties, even to the borders of Scotland.

London was now greatly divided between the two parties; many of the wealthier and more creditable citizens favoured the king's cauſe; and many of the gentry, in the aſſociated counties, were ready on the firſt appearance of the royal army, to ſecure theſe counties for the king. Theſe favourable appearances indicated that the moſt ſpeedy method of putting an end to the civil war, was for Charles to march at the head of his army directly to London, and detach the earl of Newcaſtle to ſecure the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. But this favourable opportunity was loſt, from a reſolution of a council of war held at Briſtol, where it was determined, that the weſtern army ſhould be ſent back to protect the loyaliſts in their reſpective counties, and the ſiege of Glouceſter ſhould be undertaken immediately. Nothing could be more fatal to the king's affairs, than this reſolution. A few days after the earl of Newcaſtle ſat down before Hull, where the lord Fairfax, after ſeveral repeated defeats had taken refuge. He defended the place with great bravery and conduct for ſeveral weeks, though attacked with the greateſt vigour. At laſt the beſieged made a furious ſally, and after a very obſtinate diſpute, drove the beſiegers from their trenches, and ſeized all their artillery. The ſame day another part of Newcaſtle's army, under the command of lord Widdrington, was routed at Horncaſtle, by the earl of Mancheſter, aſſiſted by Sir Thomas Fairfax and Oliver Cromwell. In the mean time the king marched to the fatal ſiege of Glouceſter, and on the tenth of Auguſt ſat down before that city with an army of eight thouſand horſe and foot. As ſoon as intelligence of this ſiege arrived in London, the conſternation of the inhabitants was as great as if the enemy was already at their gates. The rapid progreſs of the royaliſts threatened the parliament with immediate ſubjection: the factions and diſcontents among themſelves in the city, and throughout the neighbouring counties, prognoſticated ſome dangerous diviſion, or inſurrection. A cry for peace was renewed, and with more violence than ever. Crowds of women, with a petition for that purpoſe, flocked about the houſe, and were ſo clamourous and importunate, that orders were given to diſperſe them; and ſome females were killed in the fray. Bedford, Holland, and Conway, had deſerted the parliament, and retired to Oxford: Clare and Lovelace had followed them. Northumberland had retired to his country ſeat; Eſſex himſelf ſhewed extreme diſſatisfaction, and exhorted the parliament to make peace. The upper houſe accordingly ſent down terms of accommodation more moderate than had hitherto been inſiſted on. It even paſſed by a majority among the commons, that theſe propoſals ſhould be tranſmitted to the king. The zealots were now alarmed: a petition againſt peace was framed in the city, and preſented by Pennington the mayor. Multitudes attended him, and renewed all their former menaces againſt the moderate party. The pulpits thundered out anathemas againſt all who deſerted the good cauſe; and rumours were ſpread, that twenty thouſand Iriſh had landed and deſigned to murder every proteſtant. The majority was again turned for war; and all thoughts of pacification being laid aſide, every preparation was made for reſiſtance, and for the immediate relief of Glouceſter, on which the parliament knew all their hopes of ſucceſs depended.

Maſſey, governor of Glouceſter, reſolute to make a vigorous defence, and having under his command the citizens and garriſon, all of them ambitious of acquiring the crown of martyrdom, had hitherto baffled all the attempts of the royaliſts with courage and capacity. By continued ſallies he attacked them in their trences, and gained ſudden advantages over them. By diſputing every inch of ground, he repreſſed the vigour and alacrity of their courage, elated by former ſucceſſes. His garriſon, however, was reduced to the laſt extremity, and he conſtantly, from time to time, informed the parliament, that unleſs ſpeedily relieved, it would be impoſſible for him in his extreme want of proviſions and ammunition, to defend the place for any conſiderable time longer againſt the enemy. The parliament, in order to repair their declining condition, and put themſelves in a poſture of defence, now exerted their whole power and authority. They voted that an army ſhould be levied under Sir William Waller, whom, notwithſtanding his misfortunes, they loaded with extraordinary careſſes. Having aſſociated in their cauſe the counties of Hertford, Eſſex, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincoln, and Huntingdon, they gave the earl of Mancheſter a commiſſion to be general of the aſſociation, and appointed an army to be levied under his command. But they were principally ſolicitous that the army of Eſſex, on whom their whole fortune depended, ſhould be put in a condition of marching againſt the king. They engaged the city to ſend four regiments of its militia to the relief of Glouceſter. In the mean time all the ſhops were ordered to be ſhut, and every man expected, with the utmoſt anxiety, the event of that important enterprize. On the twenty-ſixth of Auguſt, Eſſex began his march from Hounſlow-heath to Ayleſbury, where the general rendezvous was appointed; and being there joined by the lord Grey, and reinforcements from the aſſociated counties, he found himſelf at the head of eight thouſand infantry, and about half that number of horſe. With this army he continued his march by Brackley, though conſiderably incommoded by a party of the king's horſe, detached on purpoſe to harraſs him with ſlight ſkirmiſhes. He, however, proceeded with great expedition, and the king's forces abandoning their works at his approach, he entered Glouceſter in triumph, when the garriſon was reduced to the laſt extremity. After ſupplying the city with proviſions and ammunition, and reinforcing the garriſon, he marched to Tewkſbury, whence he made a ſudden motion to Cirenceſter, where he ſurprized two regiments of loyaliſts, and ſeized a large quantity of proviſions prepared for the king's army. He then took his route through the northern parts of Wiltſhire, and marched twenty miles before the king was informed of his motions. Prince Rupert was immediately detached after him in order to intercept his march, till the king ſhould come up with the reſt of the army. This general overtook the earl as he was marching over Aubourn-chaſe, with an intention of reaching Newbury. A ſharp ſkirmiſh enſued. Prince Rupert charged Eſſex with ſuch fury, that his army was put into great diſorder. The marquis de la Vieuville, a French officer, who ſerved as a volunteer, was killed in this action; and Eſſex took up his quarters at Hungerford.

He continued his march towards Newbury, but found the king had prevented him by two hours, and poſted himſelf near the town; where prince Rupert joined him the ſame day. In conſequence of the advantages enjoyed by Charles, he muſt, had he known how to preſerve them, have been victorious; but his officers had ſo great a contempt for the London apprentices, who compoſed the greater part of the parliament's army, that they abandoned all their advantages, and regarded nothing but how to bring the enemy to a battle. This was now indeed unavoidable, and Eſſex prepared for it, with great preſence of mind, and not without military conduct. On both ſides the battle was fought with deſperate valour, and ſteady bravery. Eſſex's horſe was ſeveral times broke by that of the king; but his infantry ſtood firm; and beſides a continued fire, they preſented an invincible rampart of pikes againſt the furious impulſe of prince Rupert, and thoſe gallant troops of gentry, of whom the royal cavalry was chiefly compoſed. The London militia, eſpecially, though before the battle deſpiſed by the king's officers, and totally unacquainted with action, yet being animated with unconquerable zeal for the cauſe they had undertaken to ſupport, equalled, on this occaſion, every thing that could be expected from the moſt veteran forces. Both armies continued cloſely engaged with the utmoſt ardour, till night put an end to the action, and left the event undecided. Next morning Eſſex proceeded on his march, and though his rear was once put into diſorder by an incurſion of the king's horſe, he reached London in ſafety, and received the applauſe his conduct and ſucceſs in the whole enterprize deſerved. The king followed him to Reading, where he eſtabliſhed a garriſon, which greatly ſtraitened the quarters of the parliament's army. This ſmall advantage over Eſſex was dearly purchaſed by the deaths of Ralph Dormer, earl of Caernarvon, Henry Spencer, earl of Sunderland, Lucius Carey, viſcount Falkland, ſecretary of ſtate, and twenty other officers of note. Falkland was beloved by every perſon of ingenuity and virtue in the kingdom. This nobleman ſtood foremoſt in the defence of public liberty, till the civil convulſions proceeded to extremity, when he joined the party who had embarked in the defence of thoſe limited powers which then remained to monarchy, and which he deemed neceſſary for ſupporting the Engliſh conſtitution. Still, however, anxious for his country, he ſeems to have dreaded the proſperous ſucceſs of his own party as much as of the enemy; and among his intimate friends, often after a deep ſilence, and frequent ſighs, he would, with a ſad accent reiterate the word peace. In excuſe for the too free expoſing his perſon, which ſeemed incompatible with the office of ſecretary of ſtate, he alledged, that it became him to be more active than other men in all hazardous enterprizes, leſt his impatience for peace might be ſtigmatized with the name of cowardice or puſillanimity. He fell a victim to the cauſe he had undertaken to defend in the thirty-fifth year of his age. The advanced ſeaſon of the year, added to the loſs ſuſtained by both parties in the battle of Newbury, induced them to put their troops into winter quarters.

The court of France, penetrated with the helpleſs ſituation of Charles, ſent the count d'Harcourt, a prince of the houſe of Lorraine, and one of the greateſt generals of the age, as ambaſſador to England, to offer the mediation of France, for compoſing the differences between the king and the parliament. He came firſt to London and addreſſed himſelf to both houſes for a ſafe conduct to the king, which was readily granted. On the eighteenth of October, they entered the city of Oxford, where the king then reſided, and three days after had a public audience in the great hall at Chriſt church, where the king and queen received him with great ſtate and magnificence. But finding himſelf unable to effect a reconciliation, he returned to France after ſtaying a few months in England.

The puritans, who had now acquired a majority in both houſes, entered into a league with Scotland, and ſigned the famous covenant of that people. By this covenant, the ſubſcribers bound themſelves to ſupport the reformed religion in the three kingdoms; to eſtabliſh an uniformity of doctrine and diſcipline; to extirpate popery and prelacy; to maintain the privileges of the parliament and people; to defend his majeſty's perſon and authority, in the preſervation and defence of the true religion and liberty of the kingdom; to diſcover and puniſh incendiaries and malignants; and to eſtabliſh a firm peace and union to all poſterity: to renounce neutrality and reſiſt temptation: to repent of their ſins, amend their lives, and to vie with each other in the great work of reformation. The covenant itſelf was read in St. Margaret's church at Weſtminſter, in preſence of both houſes, by whom it was ſubſcribed, and the commons ordered it ſhould be acknowledged by all perſons living under their juriſdiction. An hundred thouſand pounds was now borrowed of the city, and ſent to Edinburgh, according to an agreement made with the Scots, who after the firſt three months ſervice, were alſo to be allowed thirty thouſand pounds per month, while they were employed in the parliament's ſervice.

Theſe having been induced by their diſtreſſes to ſeek aſſiſtance from the preſbyterians of Scotland, Charles had recourſe to the papiſts in Ireland, where the rebellion ſtill continued. In many rencounters the Engliſh, under lord More, Sir William St. Leger, Sir Frederic Hamilton, and others, had routed the Iriſh, and returned in triumph to Dublin. The rebels raiſed the ſiege of Drogheda, after the garriſon had made an obſtinate defence. Ormond had obtained two complete victories at Kilruſh and Roſs, and had brought relief to all the forts that were beſieged in different parts of the kingdom. Yet the moſt common neceſſaries of life were wanted by the victorious army; for the Iriſh, in their rage againſt the Britiſh planters, had laid waſte the whole kingdom; and even moſt of the inhabitants of Dublin had come to England, to eſcape ſtarving there. By the intereſt and authority of Ormond, the juſtices and council of Ireland were fallen into an entire dependence on the king. Parſons, Temple, Loftus, and Meredith, who appeared to be of the oppoſite party, had been removed, and Charles had ſupplied their places by others better affected to his ſervice.' In obedience to orders tranſmitted from the king, a committee of the Engliſh houſe of commons, which had been ſent over to Ireland, in order to conduct the affairs of that kingdom, had been excluded the council. This, with the great difficulty under which the parliament themſelves laboured, rendered themſelves unwilling to ſend ſupplies to an army, which, though engaged in a cauſe much favoured by them, was commanded by their declared enemies. Charles, in order to obtain ſupplies of men from that kingdom, ſent orders to Ormond and the juſtices, to conclude, for a year, a ceſſation of hoſtilities with the council of Kilkenny, by whom the Iriſh papiſts were governed, and to leave both ſides in poſſeſſion of their preſent advantages. Thus the Iriſh rebels, who, on all ſides, had retreated before the Engliſh troops, obtained free liberty to enjoy, with impunity, the habitations and ſpoils of the exiled proteſtants, to ſtrengthen themſelves by confederacies abroad, and to increaſe their forces at home, while the proteſtant inhabitants were at full leiſure to repine at their fruitleſs victories. After the ceſſation of hoſtilities, there being little occaſion for the army in Ireland, the king ordered Ormond, who was entirely devoted to him, to ſend over conſiderable bodies of troops to England; but ſome of them having imbibed while in Ireland a reſentment againſt the catholics, ſoon after deſerted to the parliament. At the ſame time many Iriſh papiſts being alſo brought over, joined the royal army in England, where they continued to commit the ſame cruelties and diſorders to which they had been accuſtomed. This, ſome time after, induced the parliament to paſs a vote, that no quarter ſhould be given them in battle. But prince Rupert, by making ſome repriſals, ſoon put a ſtop to this. Charles, in order to prepare for the enſuing campaign, ſummoned all the members of each houſe, who adhered to his intereſt, and thus endeavoured to take advantage of the name of a parliament. His houſe of peers was pretty full, and contained twice as many members as voted at Weſtminſter: but his houſe of commons did not conſiſt of above one hundred and forty, which did not exceed half of the other houſe of commons. Among the other evils ariſing from theſe domeſtic wars, was the introduction of an exciſe. The parliament at Weſtminſter having voted an exciſe on wine, beer, and other commodities; that at Oxford followed their example, and conferred a like revenue on the king. The parliament at Weſtminſter paſſed an ordinance, commanding all the inhabitants of London, and its vicinity, to retrench a meal a week, and to pay the value of it for the ſupport of the public cauſe. On the other hand, the parliament at Oxford granted the king a hundred thouſand pounds, to be raiſed by loans from ſuch perſons as lived within his quarters. But to proceed with the war.

A. D. 1644. A letter ſubſcribed by the prince of Wales, the duke of York, and forty-three noblemen, was ſent to the earl of Eſſex; intreating him to uſe his endeavours for reſtoring peace to the kingdom, and to promote that happy end with thoſe by whom he was employed: Eſſex, though much diſſatisfied with the conduct of the parliament; though apprehenſive of the extremes to which they were labouring to extend their meaſures; though willing to agree to any reaſonable accommodation; was yet more anxious to diſcharge the truſt repoſed in him. He therefore replied, that as the paper ſent to him was neither addreſſed to the houſes of parliament, nor acknowledged the authority of that aſſembly, he could not, by any means, lay it before them. Like propoſals were repeated by the king during the ſeaſon of inaction; but always met with the ſame denial from Eſſex. In order to make another attempt towards a treaty, the king ſent a letter to the lords and commons of parliament convened at Weſtminſter; but as he alſo mentioned in it, the lords and commons convened at Oxford, and expreſſed his deſire, that all the members of both houſes might ſafely meet in a free and full aſſembly; the parliament, perceiving the concluſion he intended to draw from this diſtinction, refuſed to treat upon ſuch terms. While the king, who indeed deſpaired of all hopes of accommodation, would not acknowledge the two houſes as a free parliament. During theſe overtures for peace, the celebrated Pym paid the debt of nature. He was a perſon as much hated by one party, as reſpected by the other. He was conſidered at London, as a victim to national liberty; while at Oxford he was repreſented as the principal author of all the miſeries the nation had ſuffered from the civil war: it was added, that his death was a mark of the divine vengeance for his multiplied crimes. But however that be, he had made the improving his private fortune ſo little his care, that the parliament thought themſelves obliged by gratitude, to pay the debts he had contracted.

The Scots entered England on the nineteenth of January, with an army of eighteen thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, and between five and ſix hundred dragoons. On the twenty ſecond of February, they advanced to Newcaſtle, and having in vain ſummoned the town which was defended by a ſtrong garriſon, they croſſed the Tyne in order to force the camp of the earl of Newcaſtle, who lay at Durham, with an army of fourteen thouſand men. Newcaſtle fearing to be ſhut up between two armies, retired at their approach, and Leven, the Scotch general, joined his troops to thoſe of lord Fairfax. This junction being completed, they inveſted York, where the royal army had taken ſhelter. But the Scotiſh and parliamentary forces not being ſufficient to beſiege in form ſo large a city, divided by a river, they contented themſelves with forming a kind of blockade; and affairs remained for ſome time in a kind of ſuſpence between theſe oppoſite armies. Nor were the other parts of the kingdom free from the calamities of civil war; lord Hopton was defeated by general Waller, at Alresford, in Kent; and, on the other hand, prince Rupert gained a ſignal victory over the parliamentary forces who had formed the ſiege of Newark, under the command of lord Willoughby and Sir John Meldrum. By this victory the prince preſerved a free communication between the northern and ſouthern counties. After this the prince attacked Liverpool, and ſoon reduced the town. Here he received a letter from the king, preſſing him to relieve York, the ſiege of which was now began by the united forces of Leven, Fairfax, and Mancheſter. On the approach of prince Rupert the parliamentary generals raiſed the ſiege, and drew up their forces on Marſton-moor, reſolving to prevent the junction of the royaliſts. But prince Rupert approached the town, by marching on the other ſide of the Ouſe, and joined the troops under the command of the earl, now created marquis of Newcaſtle. Having completed this junction, the marquis endeavoured to perſuade him, that he ought to be ſatisfied with the preſent advantage, and leave the enemy, now greatly diminiſhed by their loſſes, and diſcouraged by their ill ſucceſs, to diſſolve by thoſe mutual diſſentions which had taken place among them. But the prince, whoſe martial diſpoſition was not ſufficiently tempered with prudence, nor ſoftened by politeneſs, pretending a poſitive order from the king, without deigning to conſult with Newcaſtle, whoſe great merit and ſervices deſerved much better treatment, gave immediate orders for a general battle, and drew out the army to Marſton-moor. The victory was obſtinately diſputed between the moſt numerous armies that were ever engaged during the whole courſe of theſe wars; nor were the forces greatly different in their numbers. Fifty thouſand Britiſh troops were led to mutual ſlaughter, and the battle was long carried on with the utmoſt fury. Rupert, who commanded the right wing of the royaliſts was oppoſed to Cromwell, who conducted the choice troops of the parliament, inured to danger under that determined leader, animated by zeal, and confirmed by the moſt rigid diſcipline. After an obſtinate conteſt the cavalry of the royaliſts gave way, and the infantry that ſtood next to them were borne down, and put to flight. Newcaſtle's regiment alone, reſolute to conquer or periſh, obſtinately kept their ground, and maintained, by the dead bodies of their fellow ſoldiers, the ſame order into which they had at firſt been ranged. In the other wing, Sir Thomas Fairfax and colonel Lambert, with ſome troops broke through the royaliſts, and tranſported by the fury of purſuit, ſoon reached their victorious friends, and alſo engaged in the purſuit of the enemy. But this furious attack being over, Lucas, who commanded the royaliſts in the ſame wing, reſtoring order to his broken forces, made a gallant attack on the parliament's cavalry, threw them into diſorder, puſhed them upon their own infantry, and routed the whole wing. But when ready to ſeize on their carriages and baggage he perceived Cromwell, who was now returned from the purſuit of the other wing. Both ſides were not a little ſurprized to find that they muſt again renew the combat for that victory, which each of them thought they had already obtained. The front of the battle was directly changed, each army occupying the very ground which had been poſſeſſed by the other at the beginning of the day. This ſecond onſet was equally deſperate and furious at the beginning; but after the utmoſt efforts of courage exerted by both parties, victory declared in favour of the parliament. The prince's train of artillery was taken, and his whole army drove off the field of battle. The royaliſts loſt ſix thouſand men, half of whom fell in the battle. But this was not the only misfortune. The marquis of Newcaſtle, ſtill reſenting the haughty behaviour of prince Rupert, took ſhipping at Scarborough and retired to the continent, where he continued till the reſtoration. Confounded at his late defeat, prince Rupert, with the remains of his army, retired into Lancaſhire, abandoning York to its fate, which was, a few days after, delivered up to the parliament's forces by Glenham the deputy governor. Fairfax immediately entered the place, ſupplied it with a ſtrong garriſon, and detached a thouſand horſe into Lancaſhire, to reinforce the parliament's army in that quarter, then watching the motions of prince Rupert. At the ſame time the Scotch army marched to the northward to meet the earl of Calender, then coming to join them with ten thouſand additional forces. As ſoon as this junction was finiſhed, they attacked the town of Newcaſtle, and took it by ſtorm.

But in the ſouth the king's affairs wore a different aſpect. The two armies under Eſſex and Waller being compleated, the generals were ordered to march with their combined forces towards Oxford, and if the king ſhould have taken refuge in that city, to inveſt it immediately, that they might finiſh the war at a ſingle blow. The king, apprized of his danger, left the place, paſſed the parliament's forces unnoticed, and directed his march towards Worceſter. The condition of Charles was now conſidered as deſperate, and would certainly have been ſo, had he not been preſerved by the differences, which, fortunately for him, ſubſiſted between Eſſex and Waller; the former taking upon himſelf the expedition into the weſt, which had been allotted to the latter. Waller complained loudly of Eſſex, for having thus uſurped his command, and produced his orders from the committee of the parliament. But Eſſex was abſolute, and even threatened to try Waller by a council of war, if he did not obey his orders, and purſue the king immediately. While this debate continued, Charles gained two days march, and reached Worceſter: but fearing to be ſhut up in that city by Waller, who was now advanced to Eveſham, he retreated with his army to Bewdly, under pretence of reaching Shrewſbury, where it was practicable for him to have joined prince Rupert. Waller, who expected a conſiderable reinforcement, moved towards Broomſgrove and Kidderminſter, extending his quarters to the eaſtward till he got between Charles and Shrewſbury. This was the very thing the king deſired; he immediately returned to Worceſter, and thence to Eveſham, breaking down all the bridges as he paſſed. By this means he left Waller two days march behind him, in a heavy country. Upon his coming to Eveſham, he puniſhed ſome of the magiſtrates for their ſo readily admitting Waller into that place; and marched the ſame day towards Cambden. From this town he wrote to his friends at Oxford, for a reinforcement, and immediately marched in queſt of Waller, hoping to be ſoon in a condition of meeting him in the open field; and was accordingly joined in a few hours, by his infantry and artillery from Oxford. June the twenty-ninth, the two armies approached each other at Cropedy-bridge, and were divided only by the narrow channel of the Charwell. The next day the king marched towards Daventry; and Waller ordered a large detachment to croſs the bridge, and attack the rear of the royaliſts; but they were repulſed, routed, and chaſed to a conſiderable diſtance. Diſcouraged by this blow, Waller's troops began to deſert in great numbers; and the king thought he might ſafely leave them, and march to the weſtward againſt Eſſex.

After the engagement at Cropedy-bridge, the king drew up a meſſage for peace, addreſſed to both houſes of parliament, and cauſed a copy of it to be ſent to the earl of Eſſex, by the marquis of Hertford, in order to be communicated to the parliament, with an intimation that the French agent had the original to deliver, if required. This meſſage, directed to the lords and Commons at Weſtminſter, contained a general offer to treat of peace, and if commiſſioners ſhould be appointed to repair to the king, he would ſend them a ſafe conduct. But the two houſes, ever jealous of the king, thought there was ſome artifice concealed in ſending them only a copy of his meſſage, and that his aim was to engage them to demand the original from the French agent. Nor did they conceive themſelves to be acknowledged by the meſſage, as the two houſes of parliament; and therefore imagined, that the king had reſerved to himſelf the power of declaring, he did not acknowledge them for the true parliament of England. Indeed he ought not to have made this acknowledgment, according to his principles declared in the proclamation he had publiſhed againſt it. They therefore reſolved not to take the leaſt notice of the meſſage, nor return any anſwer.

Eſſex having compelled prince Maurice, who commanded the royal army in the weſt, to raiſe the ſiege of Lime; he reduced Weymouth and Taunton, and proceeded ſtill in his conqueſts without meeting with any interruption. But hearing that the king was marching into the weſt againſt him, he retired into Cornwall, and ſent a meſſage to the parliament, deſiring them to diſpatch an army to attack the king in his rear. Accordingly general Middleton was ſent with a conſiderable body of troops for that purpoſe; but arrived too late to do any effectual ſervice. Charles entered Cornwall on the firſt of Auguſt, where he was joined by prince Maurice at the head of his army; and Eſſex had now the mortification to find himſelf cooped up in a narrow corner at Leſtwithiel. And being deſtitute of forage and proviſions, and deſpairing of all hopes of relief, he was ſoon reduced to the laſt extremity. The king preſſed him on one ſide, prince Maurice on another, and Sir Richard Grenville on a third. When expecting every moment to be attacked from all quarters, Eſſex, Roberts, and ſome others of the principal officers, found means to get on board a boat, and to reach Plymouth. Belfour, at the head of his cavalry, eſcaped the king's guard in a thick miſt, and reached the garriſons of their own party. But the infantry under the command of major-general Skipton, were obliged to ſurrender their arms, artillery, baggage, and ammunition; and being led to the parliamentary quarters, were ſet at liberty. By this time the earl, now created marquis of Montroſe, was very ſucceſsful for the king in Scotland; having obtained a remarkable victory over the covenanters at Newbiggen-moor; and taken Perth. About fourteen days after he gained another victory near Aberdeen, took that city, and marched directly into Argyle's country, which he waſted with fire and ſword. Beſides theſe he performed ſeveral other important ſervices, with a mere handful of men, and very little aſſiſtance from England. But the good fortune of the parliament in other parts, more than balanced this ſucceſs of the royal party.

Monmouth was taken by colonel Maſſey, and Liverpool was ſurrendered to Sir John Meldrum. The parliament having armed again the forces of Eſſex, ordered Mancheſter and Cromwell to march with their recruited forces from the eaſtern aſſociation; and after joining their armies to thoſe of Waller and Middleton, to offer the king battle. Accordingly, after joining theſe different corps, they vigorouſly attacked the king at Newbury, where Charles had poſted his forces; and by that means rendered Newbury a ſecond time the ſcene of the bloody animoſities of the Engliſh. Eſſex's ſoldiers, exhorting one another to repair their broken honour, and revenge their diſgrace at Leſtwithiel, made an impetuous aſſault upon the royaliſts; and having recovered ſome of their cannon loſt in Cornwall, he embraced them with tears of joy. Though the king's troops defended themſelves with great valour, they were overpowered; and the night came very ſeaſonably to their relief, and prevented a total overthrow. The king perceiving himſelf unable to renew the battle, left his cannon in Dennington caſtle, near Newbury, and retreated immediately to Wallingford, and from thence to Oxford. There prince Rupert, and the earl of Northampton, joined him with conſiderable bodies of cavalry. Strengthened by this reinforcement, he ventured to advance towards the enemy, now employed in the ſiege of Dennington caſtle. Eſſex, who had been detained by ſickneſs, had not joined the army ſince his misfortune in Cornwall. Mancheſter, who had now the command, though his forces were much ſuperior to thoſe of the king, declined an engagement, and rejected Cromwell's advice, who earneſtly preſſed him not to neglect ſo favourable an opportunity of finiſhing the war. The king's army therefore brought off their cannon from Dennington caſtle, in the face of the enemy; while Charles enjoyed the ſatisfaction of exciting between Mancheſter and Cromwell, the ſame animoſities which before exiſted between Eſſex and Waller.

About this time Laud, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was condemned and brought to the ſcaffold. The houſe of commons, engaged in enterprizes of greater importance, had for three years found no leiſure to finiſh his impeachment. He was accuſed of high treaſon in endeavouring to ſubvert the fundamental laws, and of other high crimes and miſdemeanors. Prynne, the lawyer, who had been proſecuted by Laud with ſuch tyranny and cruelty, was a member in this parliament, and carried on the proſecution with great animoſity and bitterneſs; and Laud now experienced from this exaſperated ſufferer, the ſame rigour with which he had treated others; the ſame unjuſt ſeizing of papers, not only to prove the facts of which he was already accuſed, but to frame others, and deprive him of the neceſſary materials of defence. His behaviour through his tedious trial, which laſted twenty days, did great honour to his temper, and his maſterly defence gave ſufficient proof of his great abilities. Laud in vain pleaded the king's pardon ſent from Oxford. Both houſes declared it of no effect. Being condemned to ſuffer as a common felon, he pleaded the ſanctity of his character, his former ſituation in life, the offices he had held, and hoped he ſhould not be ſubjected to the ignominious puniſhment denounced againſt him. But ſuch was the reſentment of the commons againſt his paſt conduct, that his petition was with great reluctance granted. He was ſentenced to ſuffer death on the tenth of January, 1644-5, without any other favour than to have one of his chaplains to attend him, in the company of two divines appointed by parliament, and to have his ſentence altered from hanging and quartering, into beheading. In his preparations for death he diſcovered great magnanimity; and on the ſcaffold made a long ſpeech, or rather ſermon, to vindicate the king and himſelf from intending to introduce popery, and to perſuade the people to ſubmit to the antient diſcipline of the church. He declared in the moſt ſolemn terms, that he had never been an enemy to the inſtitution of parliament, though he could by no means give his approbation to every meaſure they purſued. He fervently called upon heaven for forgiveneſs to his enemies, and then gave a ſignal to the executioner, who at one ſtroke ſevered his head from his body. Thus fell archbiſhop Laud, a prelate of ſound learning, and poſſeſſing ſome virtues, but who had unfortunately imbibed principles, by no means favourable to the liberty of his country. He ſhewed himſelf unacquainted with the ſimplicity, charity, and meekneſs of the Goſpel; nor had he any other rule to judge of mens deſerts, but as they were more or leſs attached to the power of the church. Upon the whole, his character ſerves, as an eminent example, to ſhew, that extenſive learning and abilities are not incompatible with a narrow judgement; and that in all the catalogue of human frailties, there are none which more corrupt the heart, or deprave the underſtanding, than the follies of mingled pride and ſuperſtition. This prelate is the only individual of that high office in the church, except Cranmer the martyr, who ever ſuffered death by the hands of the executioner. On the ſame day, when the lords concurred with the commons in the attainder of the archbiſhop, they paſſed an ordinance that the Common Prayer Book ſhould be laid aſide; and for eſtabliſhing a directory of worſhip, framed by the aſſembly of divines.

The city of London, which was divided into ſeveral factions, complained bitterly that the parliament had loaded the capital with the whole burden of the war, and at the ſame time greatly neglected the intereſt of the city. This circumſtance occaſioned warm debates in the houſe of commons; and Cromwell took the opportunity of expoſing, with great freedom, the licentiouſneſs and ill government of the army, the officers of which, he ſaid, could not eaſily be called to an account, as many of them were members of the houſe of commons. He then made a motion for taking into conſideration the new modelling the army; in which he was warmly ſeconded by Sir Harry Vane, Mr. Nathaniel Fiennes, and Oliver St. John, ſolicitor-general, all of them furious independents. In order to effect this ſcheme, it was propoſed, that the members of both houſes ſhould reſign all their employments, civil and military. The greater part of the places of profit were poſſeſſed by the members of one or the other houſe. The three generals of the parliament's army, the earls of Mancheſter and Eſſex, and lord Fairfax, were peers. The principal part of the colonels, majors, treaſurers, purveyors, and commiſſioners of all departments, were members of the lower houſe. How improbable then did it appear, that ſo many perſons in power could be prevailed upon by the ſoothings of a religious cant, to reſign at once their poſts, their power, and their income. This was, however, effected in a very ſhort ſpace of time. The commons, in particular, dazzled with the proſpect of gaining an aſcendancy over the minds of the people by this ſingular example of diſintereſtedneſs, paſſed the bill. The lords, indeed, at firſt refuſed to concur, but were ſoon overpowered by the commons: ſo that on the nineteenth of December, the famous act, called "The ſelf-denying ordinance," paſſed both houſes; whereby the members of parliament were excluded from all civil and military employment, a few officers excepted, which were ſpecified in the bill.

In conſequence of this act, Eſſex, Warwick, Mancheſter, Denbigh, Waller, Brereton, and ſeveral others, reſigned their commands, and received the thanks of the parliament for their good ſervices: a penſion of ten thouſand pounds a year was ſettled on Eſſex.

A. D. 1645. The calamities of the war being ſorely felt by both parties, it was mutually deemed neceſſary to make a treaty of peace. The deputies on both ſides accordingly met at Uxbridge. Charles's commiſſioners were the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earls of Southampton, Kingſton, and Chicheſter, and eleven commoners; among whom was Sir Edward Hyde, chancellor of the Exchequer, and afterwards earl of Clarendon. The parliament appointed twelve deputies, the principal of whom were the earls of Northumberland and Pembroke, Saliſbury and Denbigh; lord Louden, the marquis of Argyle, and others, being commiſſioned on part of the Scots. But however willing each party might be to obtain peace, nothing like it could be effected. The parliament, on their part, claimed a right, not only to inſpect all public affairs, but even of taking particular cognizance of all the king's private and domeſtic concerns, which was no ſooner propoſed than rejected. Charles's deputies made the following propoſitions: that every perſon ſhould enjoy liberty of conſcience; that no biſhop ſhould exerciſe any kind of juriſdiction; that the management of the militia ſhould be veſted in the hands of twenty commiſſioners, ten to be appointed by the king, and ten by parliament; but theſe propoſitions met with the diſapprobation of both parties, and thus ended the commiſſion. At this time two powerful parties began to break forth, the Preſbyterian and the Independent. The object of the Preſbyterians was the reſtriction of regal prerogative; the Independents aimed at the abolition of monarchy, and to introduce the democratic form of government. The former renounced hierarchy, and the latter rejected all forms of the church government, totally condemning epiſcopal ordination; granting to all perſons, without exemption, the liberty to teach, preach, and expound the ſcriptures, as directed by divine inſpiration. Cromwell, Vane, Tate, and Haſlerig, were at the head of the Independent party; who ſtooped to every art for the attainment of popular applauſe. Cromwell exhibited a complaint againſt the earl of Mancheſter, accuſing him of miſmanagement at the battle of Newbury. The earl retorted, by declaring, that Cromwell had, in a private conference, hinted to him, that if he would adhere to honeſt men, he might command an army that would give law to both the parliament and king. Aſtoniſhed at this declaration, both houſes debated on the propriety of putting Cromwell under an arreſt; but matters of great importance engaging their attention, a further diſcuſſion of this point was poſtponed.

The Preſbyterian party had ſingled Fairfax for their general; but it being diſcovered that he had all along diſſembled, and was in reality attached to the intereſt of Cromwell, they altered their intentions. The army belonging to the parliament was new modelled, agreeable to the plan deviſed by Cromwell; and all the members of parliament being excluded, and their adherents having thrown up their commiſſions, the vacant places were filled up with thoſe of Cromwell's party, who appeared in the double capacity of chaplains and military officers. The wildeſt enthuſiaſm was now to be ſeen in both officers and common men, who proceeded to battle chaunting divine hymns. Cromwell, who was at the head of this enthuſiaſtic army, and from whoſe example the contagion ſpread, marched with them to Windſor on the twenty fourth of April; and in the neighbourhood of Iſlip, beat and cut to pieces four regiments of the king's cavalry. Bletchington was ſurrendered to him on a ſingle ſummons by colonel Windebank, who was tried by a court-martial, and ſhot for cowardice. Having taken the town of Leiceſter by aſſault, Charles continued his march towards Wales, in expectation of receiving a reinforcement of three thouſand cavalry, under the command of Goring, and two thouſand recruits lately raiſed in Wales by colonel Gerard. A letter written by Goring from Taunton, to inform the king of the little difficulty that would occur in reducing that place, and to repreſent the expediency of his majeſty's acting upon the defenſive, falling into the hands of Fairfax, that general reſolved to hazard a battle before a junction could be effected. Fairfax followed the royaliſts; and Charles apprehending that he ſhould not be able to reach Leiceſter, without expoſing his rear to great danger, he reſolved to meet the enemy, and abide the iſſue of an engagement. The king leading his forces back, the contending armies came within ſight of each other near the ſmall village of Naſeby. Charles commanded a body of reſerve; the right wing was headed by prince Rupert; the left wing was under Sir Marmaduke Langdale; and the main body was commanded by lord Aſhley. The enemy were arranged in the order of battle on a hill of gentle aſſent, Skipton and Fairfax commanding the main body; Cromwell the right; and Ireton the left wing of the army. With his uſual intrepidity and ſucceſs, prince Rupert aſſaulted the left wing, whom he routed, and purſued to the village: but on his return, the prince waſted ſome time in unſucceſsful endeavours to poſſeſs himſelf of the enemy's artillery. In the interim, Cromwell engaged Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and after an obſtinate conteſt, threw his cavalry into diſorder; but the infantry on both ſides maintained the battle with aſtoniſhing vigour. At length, however, the battalions commanded by Fairfax and Skipton retreating, Cromwell returned, and ſo furiouſly charged the king's infantry in flank, that, unable to reſiſt ſo powerful an attack, they were thrown into confuſion, and in a ſhort time completely routed. Notwithſtanding the ſucceſs of prince Rupert in the firſt aſſault, his utmoſt endeavours were not ſufficient to animate them to a ſecond attack; ſo intimidated were they by the formidable appearance of the enemy, who were now marſhalled in ſuch exact order as to be equally prepared for attack or defence. The king was anxious to aſſail the enemy at the head of his reſerve; but he was prevented by the earl of Carnwath, who ſeizing the bridle of his majeſty's horſe, and turning the creature round, exclaimed, "Will you ruſh on certain deſtruction? This being obſerved by the royaliſts, they wheeled to the right, and were preſently in ſuch a ſtate of confuſion, that all efforts to rally them proved ineffectual. This afforded an advantage too favourable to be diſregarded by the parliamentarians, who exerted themſelves with ſuch vigour, that they took upwards of five thouſand priſoners, and all the ammunition and artillery belonging to the royal army.

The king and prince Rupert retreated with the cavalry to Aſhby de la Zouch; whence his majeſty purſued his rout towards Wales, with a view of raiſing an army in that country; and the prince directed his courſe towards Briſtol, in order to put that place in a ſtate of defence. Fairfax proceeded to Leiceſter, which town ſurrendered to him on capitulation; and he then ſubdued Bridgewater, Sherborn, and Bath. After theſe ſucceſſes, he vanquiſhed Lord Goring at Lamport, and proceeded to lay ſiege to Briſtol, which place was ſtrongly fortified and plentifully ſupplied with military ſtores and proviſions. It was univerſally imagined, that on this occaſion prince Rupert would diſplay his uſual proweſs, and defend ſo important a poſt as Briſtol even to the laſt extremity; but on the firſt ſummons of the enemy, he offered to ſurrender the place on terms of capitulation, to the extreme aſtoniſhment of the public. The king was ſo exaſperated againſt Rupert for his ſhameful ſurrender of Briſtol, that he diveſted that prince of his commiſſions, and commanded him to evacuate the kingdom. Having ſtationed a ſtrong garriſon in Briſtol, Fairfax marched into the weſtern counties, committing great depradations in his way. Having ſubdued the Devizes, and ſeveral other places, he made himſelf maſter of Tiverton, and blocked up the city of Exeter. Fairfax, upon gaining information that the prince of Wales, at the head of a powerful army, was marching from the county of Cornwall in order to give him battle, proceeded with all poſſible expedition to meet his royal highneſs; and he attacked a part of his cavalry by ſurprize, and ſo diſcomfitted them, that the prince was under the neceſſity of returning to Cornwall. Lord Goring having fled to France, the prince of Wales promoted Hopton to the command that nobleman had held in the army. Upon his march to the relief of Exeter, Hopton was attacked by the enemy and routed; and upon his troops being ſurrounded, he capitulated, on condition that his army ſhould be allowed to croſs the ſea, or return to their reſpective habitations. Their horſes and arms were ſurrendered to Fairfax, who granted paſſports to ſuch as expreſſed a deſire of abandoning the kingdom; but he previouſly bound them by oath never again to appear in arms, in oppoſition to the parliamentary intereſt. The treaty being concluded, the lords Hopton and Colepepper ſet out to join the prince of Wales, who, from an apprehenſion of falling into the power of Fairfax, had retired to the iſle of Scilly. By the month of April the city of Exeter had ſurrendered to Fairfax; and the king's troops had been ſo frequently routed, and were ſo diſpirited by a ſucceſſion of misfortunes, that his majeſty's ſituation appeared to be truly deſperate. Yet, notwithſtanding the great and repeated inſtances of ill ſucceſs he had experienced, the king's fortitude and courage ſuffered no relaxation. To ſo terrible a dilemma was he now reduced, that he reſolved to join Montroſe in Scotland, as the only probable means of retrieving his affairs. While in this diſpoſition of mind, his majeſty received information, that the enemy had ſtationed a ſtrong detachment of cavalry, under the command of Poyntz, between Hereford and Worceſter; and therefore he determined to go to Cheſter by the way of Wales, and to paſs through Lancaſhire and Cumberland to Scotland.

Finding that the enemy had attacked Cheſter by ſurprize, and that they had gained poſſeſſion of the outworks and ſuburbs of that city, he detached Sir Marmaduke Langdale over Holtbridge, with orders to make an aſſault upon the rear of the beſiegers, intending, in the interim, to attempt a forcible entry into the city: Poyntz, who had followed the king with great expedition, appeared the next day; but Sir Marmaduke Langdale compelled him to retire. The aſſailants now abandoned the ſuburbs, in order to join Poyntz, who being thus conſiderably reinforced, attacked the royaliſts, and drove them to the very gates of the city. The earl of Litchfield, and lord Gerard, who commanded the king's guards and cavalry, advanced to the charge, and compelled the enemy to retire; but their muſqueteers diſcharged ſuch repeated vollies upon the king's new raiſed forces, that they were thrown into diſorder, routed and diſperſed, many brave officers being among the number of the ſlain. His majeſty retreated to Denbigh caſtle, where he was preſently joined by prince Maurice, with eight hundred cavalry; and after being reinforced by ſeveral ſmaller parties, he croſſed the river Dee, and, gaining a march upon the enemy, arrived at Bridgnorth, where intelligence was communicated to him, that Berkeley caſtle and the Devizes had fallen into the power of the parliamentarians. Lord Digby was now appointed lieutenant-general of all the troops raiſed or to be raiſed on the other ſide the river Trent, for the ſervice of his majeſty; who ordered him, in conjunction with Sir Marmaduke Langdale, to haſten to Scotland with a body of fifteen hundred cavalry, to join Montroſe, whoſe army had lately been defeated by Leſley. The march was begun without delay; and this body of troops attacked and diſperſed a thouſand infantry raiſed in the neighbourhood of Doncaſter for the ſervice of parliament. They afterwards encountered a body at Sherborn, under the command of colonel Copley, who having completely routed them, they fled to join Skippon. This party then proceeded to Dumfries; but gaining no intelligence there relating to Montroſe, they, after being joined by ſeveral Scotiſh noblemen, embarked for Ireland. When Charles returned to Newark, prince Rupert ſolicited an audience, that he might vindicate his conduct with reſpect to the ſurrender of Briſtol. His requeſt was granted, and the king publicly declared himſelf perfectly ſatisfied, that the prince had in no inſtance been guilty of diſloyalty.

The king's ſituation now appeared to be truly deplorable: his moſt faithful friends and able counſellors had either ſacrificed their lives in his ſervice, or been compelled to fly their country; his queen had ſought a ſanctuary from the horrors of civil war in Holland; the prince of Wales was a wretched exile among the rocks of Scilly; and his other children were continually in the moſt imminent danger of falling into the power of his moſt inveterate enemies: his military ſtrength was exhauſted; his ungrateful nephews, whom he had reared with the utmoſt tenderneſs of paternal affection, had vilely deſerted his cauſe; and he was ſo embarraſſed by the contrivances of his enemies, that there appeared but little probability of his being able to elude the effects of their implacable reſentment: but though reduced to this deſperate and perplexing ſituation, he ſtill preſerved a calmneſs of mind, a clearneſs of recollection, a quickneſs of diſcernment, and an unremitting fortitude truly aſtoniſhing. Having diſpatched orders to the governor of Oxford, to ſtation the horſe of the garriſon at a ſtated time between Banbury and Daventry, he departed from Newark late in the evening, accompanied by three hundred horſe, and rode to Belvoir caſtle, at which place he arrived at three in the morning. Sir Gervas Lucas was there ready to attend him further on the way; towards the evening, the king, very much fatigued, retired to reſt at a village near Northampton. The next morning early he proceeded on his march, and arrived at Banbury about noon, from whence he was conducted with ſafety to Oxford, after having been greatly harraſſed, and eſcaped much danger in his march. Not thinking his ſituation ſecure, he held it expedient to treat again with his enemies; he therefore demanded of parliament a ſafe conduct for the duke of Richmond, the earl of Southampton, and others, whom he deſigned to charge with offers of accommodation. Having ſignified his intentions to grant the nonconformiſts liberty of conſcience, he propoſed, upon the diſmiſſion of the armies, to join the two houſes; to adopt meaſures for the ſettling the debts of the public, and to place the militia in a ſtate that ſhould prove to the ſatisfaction of all parties; he demanded a perſonal treaty, in which he manifeſted his ardent inclination to ſtop the progreſs of the deſtructive war. But parliament, having grown arrogant in conſequence of their ſucceſs and power, wanted to impoſe ſuch conditions, as would have been degrading in royalty to have accepted: they imputed to him the crime of having employed the forces of the nation in defence of arbitrary power, and with an intention to make peace with the revolted catholics of Ireland. While theſe important concerns agitated the mind of the unfortunate king, France ſent over Montreuil, apparently to mediate a peace between Charles and the parliament; but his real errand was to effect, if practicable, a ſecret accommodation between his majeſty and the Scotiſh army. The ambaſſadors met the Scotiſh commiſſioners in London, and found them diſpoſed to effect a compromiſe: but they inſiſting, as the moſt indiſpenſible condition of the treaty, that the epiſcopacy ſhould be aboliſhed, Charles declined the negotiation. While the French miniſter went to the Scotiſh army, to expoſtulate with them on the intemperance of their zeal, Fairfax led his troops towards Oxford, and the king was in great danger of being ſurrounded. Lord Aſhley, with about a thouſand men, marched to ſuccour his majeſty; but being apprized of this deſign, Fairfax attacked Aſhley's troops, who were greatly fatigued, completely routed them, and made priſoners Aſhley, Sir Charles Lucas, and many other officers of diſtinction. After this, Charles made no efforts to oppoſe his enemies by dint of arms; but he reſolved to put himſelf under the protection of the Scots, hoping, that the implacable enmity they entertained againſt the Independents, would urge them to exert their beſt endeavours for defending his perſon from danger.

A. D. 1646. With this intent the king departed from Oxford on the twenty-ſeventh of April under the conduct of Sir John Aſhburnham and Dr. Hudſon, who had undertaken to guide him to a retreat by unfrequented ways. On the king's diſcovering himſelf to the earl of Leven, that general expreſſed great aſtoniſhment, but treated him with the reſpect due to his exalted ſtation. The parliament had no ſooner gained information of the king's eſcape, than they publiſhed a proclamation, denouncing the ſentence of high treaſon againſt any perſons who ſhould ſhelter, or in any manner protect the ſovereign. They determined, that Fairfax ſhould abandon his enterprize againſt Oxford, and march to Newark, where the king had thrown himſelf under the protection of the Scotiſh army; but this reſolution was declined in conſequence of a declaration by the Scotch commiſſioners, that the king's arrival was entirely unexpected by the general. Being informed that Fairfax had received orders to direct his march northwards, the Scots retired with the king to Newcaſtle, where his majeſty was denied the liberty of holding any communication with Montreuil; and Aſhburnham, fearing he ſhould be taken into cuſtody, fled the kingdom. The Scotiſh preachers expreſſed themſelves in the pulpit in language groſsly affronting to his majeſty, who was treated with coolneſs, reſerve, and ſometimes with the moſt mortifying diſreſpect, by the officers of the Scotiſh army: he was adviſed to ſurrender all his garriſons to the parliament, and he complied, ſeemingly with great compoſure. Diſpatches were tranſmitted to Dublin, commanding Ormond to ſurrender that city, and the other forts of Ireland, to the officers appointed by parliament; and after laying down his arms at the command of the king, Montroſe retired to the continent. Charles now ſent a meſſage to the houſes of parliament, requeſting, that the religious controverſy might be ſubmitted to the arbitration of able divines: he ſignified in a letter to the city of London, an earneſt deſire to give the parliament every ſatisfaction they could reaſonably deſire; and in ſhort, manifeſted every poſſible proof of an earneſt wiſh to effect an accommodation with parliament. The Scots ſtill rigidly adhered to their covenant; proteſting that they abhorred all ſecret proceedings that might tend to create an animoſity between the two kingdoms. Their general aſſembly wrote to the parliament of England, the city of London, and the eccleſiaſtical aſſembly, entreating them to forward the work of reformation, according to the tenor of the covenant. The parliament now cauſed propoſals to be preſented to the king, wherein they arrogated to themſelves the whole powers of the adminiſtration of the government. To theſe the king replied, that though he could not diveſt himſelf of that which he inherited by birth, and the laws of the realm, yet, regardleſs of his own private intereſt, he would willingly comply with any meaſures that might tend to promote the general welfare of his ſubjects. It being ſtipulated, that the Scotiſh army ſhould be withdrawn immediately after the payment of their arrears, commiſſioners were nominated to inſpect the accounts of the deputies; who, after many warm debates, conſented to receive four hundred thouſand pounds in acquittal of all demands. In the beginning of September, the duke of Hamilton had been removed to St. Michael's Mount, in Cornwall; but upon the ſurrender of that place to the parliament, he recovered his liberty, and immediately repairing to the king at Newcaſtle, earneſtly intreated him to conſent to the propoſitions made by the two houſes. Deſirous of putting a period to the horrid devaſtations of civil war, Charles propoſed, that the hierarchy ſhould be limited to ſome particular dioceſe, and that preſbytery ſhould be eſtabliſhed in all other parts of the kingdom; obſerving, that the liberty of acting according to the dictates of conſcience, which he was willing to grant to others, he entertained the reaſonable hope would not be denied to himſelf.

About the middle of the ſame month the parliament nominated a committee, to hold a conference with the Scotiſh commiſſioners, as to the manner of diſpoſing of the perſon of the king. Equal pretenſions were ſet up by the Scots and the Engliſh; but the controverſy at length terminated in favour of the latter. Charles repeatedly ſolicited, that he might be allowed to treat with the parliament in perſon, reminding them that it was their lawful ſovereign who pleaded for this privilege; and intimating, that had he denied the meaneſt of his ſubjects, the right he then demanded in his own behalf, he ſhould have juſtly incurred the reproach of being unworthy to govern a free people. A vote was now paſſed in parliament, purporting, that his majeſty ſhould reſide at Holmby, in Northamptonſhire, and be treated with the reſpect and deference due to the ſovereign dignity. Parliament then appointed a committee to receive the king from the Scotiſh army, who ſurrendered his majeſty on the thirteenth of April, and the ſame day they marched on their return to Scotland. On his way to Holmby, the king was attended by an immenſe concourſe of people, whom curioſity had brought together to behold their ſovereign, reduced to a ſtate of the moſt abject humiliation; and theſe people expreſſed great concern for his unhappy fate, and fervently prayed to heaven for his ſafety.

A. D. 1647. Animoſities now aroſe between the independents and preſbyterians deſtructive of the union they had ſo long maintained. The operations of the independents were principally directed by Cromwell, a man of great courage, boundleſs ambition, and deeply verſed in the arts of diſſimulation. Having obtained an entire intereſt over general Fairfax, Cromwell procured appointments in the army for Rainſborough, Fleetwood, Lambert, Harriſon, and a vaſt number of his other dependents and creatures. Perceiving, that a majority of the perſons who compoſed the parliament, from an apprehenſion of the increaſing power of the general officers, were deſirous of diſbanding the army, Cromwell affected to approve the plan, profeſſed himſelf attached to the doctrine of preſbyterianiſm, frequently introduced quotations from ſcripture, and declared, that the glory of God, and the advancement of true religion, were the grand motives that influenced his conduct. But at the ſame time emiſſaries were employed by Cromwell to ſtir up a ſpirit of mutiny among the ſoldiery. The thought of returning to their former employments was exceedingly diſagreeable to the officers, who, from long uſe, had become enamoured of a military life: however, the commons voted that the army ſhould be diſbanded, each ſoldier to receive ſix weeks pay on his diſcharge: but the vote for ſuch a ſudden diſſolution, cauſed great murmurings among the troops. Directions were given to Cromwell, Ireton, Fleetwood, and Skippon, to acquaint the army, that the parliament intended to paſs votes in its favour; whereupon the private ſoldiers deputed perſons to deliberate on their concerns, and communicate their reſolution to a council of the principal officers. By theſe tools, whoſe recommendation conſiſted in their reputed ſanctity, and their talents in preaching and praying, Cromwell and his partizans effected their purpoſes. However the parliament continued its intentions of diſbanding all the troops except thoſe intended for Ireland, and deliberated on what ſteps ſhould be taken in the affair. A petition was now preſented to the general by the ſoldiers, ſtating the injuſtice of this deſign, and praying that the diviſions of the army might be aſſembled, to deliberate on the mode of redreſſing the grievance; and hinting that diſagreeable conſequences to parliament might enſue, if their petition was not attended to. Whereupon a council of war was ſummoned, in which it was reſolved to repreſent to parliament, that meaſures muſt be immediately taken to appeaſe the army, or the worſt conſequences might be expected. To avert the impending danger, the parliament reſolved, if poſſible, to divide the collective body of the troops; they made conceſſions to the army; but thoſe who had the direction of its operations, took effectual care that it ſhould not be diſbanded; and the army now ſomewhat reſembled a republic, in which the vote of a private man was as valid as that of an officer. Indeed, almoſt every one thought himſelf at liberty to carry his own ſchemes into execution. Some of the regiments of horſe having formed the reſolution of ſeizing the perſon of the king, one Joyce, a cornet, who had formerly been a taylor, was fixed on to carry their plan into execution. On the third of June at break of day, the cornet arrived at Holmby, with a detachment of fifty horſe; and he and three ſoldiers going up ſtairs, knocked at the door of the king's apartment. The door being opened, Joyce and the others advanced uncovered, but with piſtols in their hands, and told the king he muſt attend them to the army. Charles enquiring by what authority, Joyce pointed to his piſtol, and ſaid, "By this;" and deſired that he would be expeditious.

Charles now directed one of his attendants to call the committee of the two houſes, who had taken charge of his perſon; and theſe aſking Joyce, if the parliament had commiſſioned him to act as he was now doing, he owned they had not, at the ſame time holding up his piſtol. They then ſaid they would write, to demand the pleaſure of parliament: he ſaid they might do ſo, but the king muſt go with him inſtantly; and Charles was obliged to ſubmit, as his guards ſeemed unwilling to reſiſt, and he departed with Joyce, though under the apprehenſion of being aſſaſſinated on the road. The king lodged at colonel Montague's, near Cambridge; and on the following day reached Newmarket, where the officers of the army ſhewed him much reſpect. The regiments preſented a petition to the general, exhibiting complaints of the parliament; and then ſubſcribed a writing which they called "the engagement," by which they had conſented to be diſbanded, on the redreſs of ſuch of their grievances as ſhould be deemed worthy of redreſs by a council to be compoſed of the generals, two officers, and two ſoldiers of each regiment; and reſolved that they would adhere to the terms of this engagement. The army had now advanced to St. Alban's, when the general ſent a meſſage to both houſes, requeſting that the demands of the troops might be complied with.

The city of London was now empowered by parliament to raiſe a body of cavalry; and ten thouſand pounds were ordered to be paid to ſuch of the ſoldiers as ſhould quit the army, and engage in the expedition to Ireland. The army preſented a remonſtrance to both houſes, demanding the diſmiſſion of ſuch members as had been unduly elected, or had been guilty of corrupt practices; that the public accounts ſhould be ſettled; that juſtice ſhould be done on delinquents, and then an act of general amneſty ſhould be paſſed; they likewiſe impeached eleven members of the preſbyterian party, requiring that they ſhould be removed from the houſe, alledging that they had obſtructed the uſual courſe of juſtice. They then retreated from the metropolis to their head quarters at Reading, taking the king with them; and his majeſty was now treated with greater kindneſs than he had experienced at Holmby; his friends were permitted to viſit him, nor was he denied the liberty of correſponding with his queen; his children being no longer denied acceſs to him, they paſſed ſome days at Caverſham, where the king then reſided; his chaplains were reſtored, and he was allowed the uſe of the liturgy. Before they had obtained a complete victory over the parliament, Cromwell, Ireton, and other leading men of the independent party, continued to amuſe the king with vain hopes: but they afterwards treated him with the utmoſt harſhneſs and arrogance, abridging him of the liberty of holding any private converſation with either his friends or domeſtics, and ordering him to be ſtrictly guarded, and the moſt exact obſervation to be made upon the whole tenor of his conduct. This treatment convinced the king, that he had been made a dupe to the conſummate art of Cromwell; and he was alarmed by the ſuſpicion, that meaſures were concerting for depriving him of life. Theſe ſuſpicions were confirmed to him by major Huntington, whom Cromwell had employed in carrying private meſſages to the king; for he informed his majeſty, that if meaſures were not ſpeedily purſued for counteracting the machinations of Oliver, he would certainly ſucceed in the plot he had projected for depriving the king of his crown and life. Charles was now confined at Hampton-court, under a very ſtrong guard: but having formed a plan for effecting an eſcape from this place, he retired to his apartment at an early hour in the evening, under the pretence of indiſpoſition; and an hour after midnight, his majeſty, accompanied by Aſhburnham and Legge, two of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber, deſcended by the back ſtairs, and proceeded to the garden, at the gate whereof Sir John Berkeley was waiting with horſes. The king and his attendants directed their courſe towards Hampſhire, and riding all night through the foreſt, they, on the following day, arrived at Titchfield, the ſeat of the counteſs dowager of Southampton, where his majeſty took up his reſidence, being firmly perſuaded that he could ſafely rely on the fidelity of the counteſs. Before his arrival at the above place, the king had gone to the ſea-coaſt in ſearch of a veſſel which he expected to be waiting to receive him; but being diſappointed of the ſhip, his companions adviſed him to ſeek refuge in the Iſle of Wight, notwithſtanding that place was under the government of Hammond, a known creature of the aſpiring Cromwell. Accordingly Charles diſpatched Aſhburnham and Berkeley to the Iſle of Wight, under a ſtrict injunction not to reveal to Hammond the place of his retreat, till he ſhould have given a ſolemn promiſe that he would not betray his majeſty to his enemies; but Aſhburnham violated the confidence Charles had repoſed in him, and brought Hammond to Titchfield; in conſequence of which, the king was under the neceſſity of ſurrendering himſelf to the governor, and of accompanying him to Cariſbrook-caſtle in the Iſle of Wight. The king was at firſt inclined to ſuſpect the fidelity of Aſhburnham: but being convinced that raſhneſs and preſumption had led him to apprize Hammond of the place of his reſidence, he fully acquitted him of any treaſonable deſign, and reſtored him to favour. The king's perſon being ſecured, and the parliament entirely ſubjected to the will of Cromwell, that aſpiring adventurer privately ſummoned a meeting of ſome of the principal officers under government, to be held at Windſor, for the purpoſe of forming a reſolution as to the mode of ſettling the nation, and what meaſures ſhould be purſued with regard to the king.

When Charles retired from the camp, he intended to carry on, in ſome place of ſecurity, two oppoſite treaties, into which he had entered, the one with his Scotch ſubjects, and the other with the general officers of the army. In purſuance of this plan, letters were ſent by Sir John Berkeley to Fairfax, Cromwell, and Ireton. Hammond, who had treated his priſoner with the utmoſt courteſy and humanity, accompanied the king's diſpatches with others of his own, to Ireton and Cromwell, in which he uſed many arguments and entreaties to perſuade them to agree ſpeedily with the king. Berkeley, on his way to the camp, heard that the agitators had dropped ſomething concerning bringing the king to a trial. When he arrived at the general's quarters and had delivered his compliments and letters, he had the mortification to be told by Fairfax, with a ſtern look, in the midſt of a full aſſembly of officers, that the army was the parliament's, and therefore they muſt refer the king's motion for peace to their principals, to whom they would ſend the letters. Berkeley looked round for comfort on his old friends, Cromwell and Ireton, who not only treated him coldly, but appeared diſpleaſed at the letters delivered them from Hammond. Berkeley, filled with melancholy apprehenſions, retired to his lodging; and at twelve at night met, in an unſuſpected place, Watſon, the ſcout-maſter general, who told him, that the army had reſolved to bring the king to a trial; that the officers were obliged to ſubmit to the ſenſe of the mutineers; that Cromwell being fully informed that this was the reſolution of the majority, had laid aſide his former oppoſition; and acknowledged that his eyes had been ſo dazzled with the glories of the world, as not to ſee clearly the great works the Lord was doing; and declared his reſolution to humble himſelf, and to deſire the prayers of the ſaints, that God would be pleaſed to forgive him his ſelf-ſeeking; and that with theſe hypocritical arts, and the aſſiſtance of Hugh Peters, a famous independent miniſter, he had made a full peace with the party he had offended. Berkeley loſt no time in acquainting the king of his danger, and earneſtly intreated him to lay aſide all ſchemes, but that of his immediate eſcape: but Charles thinking the danger not ſo great as he repreſented it, renewed his offers to the two houſes for a perſonal treaty, and accompanied them with propoſals for a peace. Notwithſtanding the king's former denial, the parliament had, before his removal from the army, voted to addreſs him once more on this ſubject; and it was now reſolved to addreſs the king to a perſonal treaty, on condition of his giving his aſſent to four preliminary articles: firſt, that the parliament ſhould have the militia under their power during twenty years; the ſecond, that the king ſhould recal all his proclamations againſt his parliament; and acknowledge that they had taken arms for their juſt and neceſſary defence: the third, that he ſhould annul all the acts and patents of peerage, which had paſſed the great ſeal, ſince its being conveyed from London by chancellor Lyttleton; and the fourth, that he ſhould give the houſes power to adjourn when they thought fit. This reſolution of the parliament to renew their offers of agreement with the king, was diſagreeable to the majority of the republicans; both as it diſappointed their ſchemes, and as they juſtly concluded, that if Charles was reſtored to any part of his former power, it would enable him to recover the remainder, whereby he would be enabled to gratify his own party, and to take revenge on them. The Scotch commiſſioners, for different reaſons, proteſted againſt the four preliminary articles: but both houſes adhering to the reſolution, the Scotch commiſſioners attended the committee appointed to wait upon the king, and were ſo ſucceſsful in their private inſinuations and promiſes, that the unhappy Charles returned a refuſal to the offers of parliament; and thus rejected his laſt opportunity of providing for his ſafety and ſecurity. The king had been told by Sir John Berkeley, that his ſending an abſolute negative, would occaſion his being ſo ſtrictly confined, as to render it impoſſible for him to eſcape. To this Charles aſſented; yet depended on the ſucceſs of delivering his anſwer ſealed up to the parliament's commiſſioners. But they, on receiving it, refuſed to take it ſealed, and on their opening it, and peruſing the contents, abruptly departed. Hammond, who, till now, had indulged the king in riding about the iſland at his pleaſure, and had been ſo ſucceſsful in his expoſtulations to the parliament, as to procure him the attendance of his own ſervants, with the company of his friends, now perceiving that he had cloſed with the Scots, in oppoſition to the intereſts of England, doubled the guards round the caſtle, barred the gates, and ſending the king's attendants out of the iſland, prevented every poſſible means of eſcape.

A. D. 1648.

Both houſes on receiving the king's denial were put into a flame; and the republicans now advanced thoſe opinions which had hitherto only tranſpired in their private councils. Sir Thomas Wroth propoſed, that articles of impeachment ſhould be drawn up againſt him; that he ſhould be ſet aſide, and the kingdom ſettled without him. Commiſſary Ireton aſſerted, that the king, by rejecting the four bills, had denied ſafety and protection to his people. Subjection to a ſovereign, he obſerved, was but a return for protection;

tection; and that being denied by the king, ſubjection ought to be with-held. Cromwell, who ſpoke laſt in the debate, after declaiming ſome time on the valour, good affections and godlineſs of the army, ſaid, it was now expected, that the parliament ſhould govern and defend the kingdom by their own power, and not teach the people to expect ſafety and protection from a man whoſe heart God had hardened; obſerving, that thoſe who had defended them from ſo many dangers, at the expence of their blood, would defend them in this with fidelity and courage, againſt all oppoſition. On calling the queſtion, That the lords and commons declare, that they will make no farther application to the king, the vote paſſed in the affirmative, by an hundred and forty-one voices againſt ninety-two: and the parliament to refreſh the memory of the public, with reſpect to the provocations and reaſons which had excited them to make uſe of theſe ſeverities, publiſhed a long declaration, in which were enumerated all the errors of the king's adminiſtration.

At this time there were three political parties in Scotland. One party was diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the royaliſts; and theſe contended for a full re-eſtabliſhment of the king's authority, without regard to the opinions entertained by the different religious ſects; though he was abſent, Montroſe was conſidered as the head of this party. The rigid preſbyterians were reſolved to introduce an exact uniformity in religious worſhip, and were averſe to affording the king any kind of aſſiſtance till he ſhould ſubſcribe the covenant; and Argyle was the chief of this faction. The third party, under the direction of the two brothers Hamilton and Laneric, was compoſed of the moderate preſbyterians, and their view was to reconcile the contending intereſts of religion and the crown; and, with the followers of preſbyterianiſm in England, to obtain an aſcendancy over the independent army, and re-eſtabliſh both the king and parliament in their conſtitutional authority, privileges and freedom. Upon an enquiry into the ſtate of the nation, the committee appointed to conduct that buſineſs declared, that there was a neceſſity for levying an army of forty thouſand men, for the public defence. The duke of Hamilton was appointed general, but he was not able to raiſe fourteen thouſand recruits; and theſe, being wholly ignorant of military diſcipline, were not in a condition to march for England till the beginning of July. While theſe preparations were making in Scotland, Langhorne, Poyer, and Powell, officers who had ſerved in the parliamentary army, revolted to the royaliſts, ſecured the caſtle of Pembroke, and influenced a majority of the inhabitants of South Wales to declare in favour of the king. In the mean time young Hales, and the earl of Norwich, excited commotions in the county of Kent; Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Liſle, Sir Bernard Gaſcoyne, in conjunction with colonel Farr, who had been in the ſervice of parliament, collected an army of three thouſand men, and made themſelves maſters of Colcheſter; where they intended to remain till they ſhould have an opportunity of joining the Scotiſh army: but Fairfax inveſted the town, and deprived the inhabitants of all relief. And a fleet, under the command of the earl of Warwick, was ordered to oppoſe the ſeventeen ſhips that had revolted to the prince of Wales. The army being removed from the metropolis, the ſpirit and independency of parliament gradually revived; and, in a ſhort time, they ſent commiſſioners to the Iſle of Wight, to propoſe the terms of a treaty with the king. The appearance of his majeſty greatly affected the commiſſioners; ſo melancholy an alteration had been wrought in his figure, having been long excluded from ſocial intercourſe, he had entirely neglected his perſon; time, aſſiſted by a conſtant ſucceſſion of misfortunes, had changed his hair gray, and in a diſhevelled ſtate, it ſhaded his face, which was ſtrongly expreſſive of adverſity and deſpair. But, notwithſtanding this unfavourable change in the appearance of the king, his mental powers retained their former vigour. His diſpaſſionate and nervous arguments gave the earl of Saliſbury occaſion to obſerve, that "the king's faculties had greatly improved." Upon which Sir Philip Warwick replied, "No, he was always thus; but you are now convinced of the ſtrength of his majeſty's mind." Hereupon Sir Henry Vane obſerved, that ſince the king poſſeſſed ſuch ſtrong faculties, it became neceſſary to be more cautious and rigid in the terms of accommodation. Charles, now, without any appearance of reluctance, conſented that his proclamations againſt the parliament ſhould be reſcinded; and he agreed to relinquiſh in favour of the two houſes the power of regulating the militia during the ſpace of twenty years, or for a longer term, if that conceſſion ſhould be judged neceſſary for the welfare of the public. But he declared, that he could not, conſiſtently with the dictates of his conſcience, conſent to the abolition of the epiſcopacy; and with reſpect to the ſale of the church lands, his majeſty ſaid, he conceived that he could not give his ſanction to that meaſure without committing ſacrilege, and violating his coronation oath, by which he was ſolemnly bound to maintain the rights and privileges of the clergy; but to manifeſt the ſincerity of his deſires for terminating thoſe diſſatisfactions which had ſo fatally diſturbed the peace of his reign, he was willing that the epiſcopacy ſhould be reduced to its original eſtabliſhment; that archbiſhops, deans and chapters ſhould be aboliſhed; that the preſbyterian mode of worſhip ſhould be authorized for the ſpace of three years; in the courſe of which time the king and parliament, with the advice and concurrence of the eccleſiaſtical aſſembly, and other divines, nominated by his majeſty, ſhould adopt ſome ſalutary plan of church government. In ſhort, Charles made ſuch conceſſions, as, had they been accepted, would have proved ſubverſive of the conſtitution. Though the king thus far ſubmitted to the terms of parliament, both houſes, after deliberating on his propoſitions, rejected them as inſufficient and unſatisfactory, with reſpect to the epiſcopacy and the ſale of church lands.

Hamilton having made an incurſion into England at the head of a numerous but irregular body of forces, a junction was intended to be formed with the troops under the command of Langdale; but the duke was fearful of attempting to effect this, becauſe the Engliſh royaliſts declined a ſubſcription to the covenant, and the Scotiſh preſbyterians could not be prevailed on to incorporate with them on any other conditions. The two armies, amounting together to about twenty thouſand men, began their march at the ſame time, but they kept regularly a little ſpace apart. Cromwell's army was not half ſo numerous as that of the enemy; but notwithſtanding this diſadvantage, he boldly advanced to give them battle. He attacked Langdale by ſurprize, near Preſton in Lancaſhire, and put him to the rout with great ſlaughter, though the royaliſts fought with ſingular bravery. He then attacked Hamilton, and having defeated the troops under his command, and chaſed them to Utoxeter, he directed his march to Scotland, and being reinforced by Argyle, he ſubdued Laneric and Munro, and then returned to England. At the ſame time, after maintaining a vigorous defence, the garriſon of Colcheſter was reduced to the neceſſity of capitulating; and Fairfax, yielding to the perſuaſions of Ireton, reſolved to ſacrifice the lives of Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Liſle, whom he had made priſoners, to the reſentment of the army. The priſoners unanimouſly cenſured the determination with reſpect to Lucas and Liſle; and Lord Capel, regardleſs of his perſonal ſafety, ſeverely reproached Ireton, at the ſame time challenging him to inflict a ſimilar puniſhment upon all the priſoners. Sir Charles Lucas was firſt ſhot; and he gave the word "fire," with as firm a reſolution, as if he had been pronouncing the word of command at the head of his troops. Having embraced the body of his deceaſed friend, Sir George Liſle deſired the ſoldiers appointed to fire at him to approach nearer; upon which one of the men ſaid, "Doubt not, Sir, but our balls will ſtrike you;" to which Sir George, with a ſmile upon his countenance, replied, "I have been nearer you, my friends, when you have miſſed me." Immediately after pronouncing theſe words, he received their ſhot and fell breathleſs upon the earth. A remonſtrance was now drawn up by a general council of officers, and preſented to the parliament, wherein they condemned the treaty with the king, inſiſted on the neceſſity of ſubjecting him to exemplary puniſhment, on account of the great effuſion of blood during the war; demanding a diſſolution of the parliament; repreſenting, that though they were ſervants, they had a right to interfere in theſe important concerns, and to remonſtrate to their employers, who were no more than ſervants to the public. The military commanders led their forces to Windſor, whence they diſpatched colonel Ewer with orders to ſeize the king, and conduct him to Hurſt-caſtle. The commons voted that the king's removal had been effected without their conſent, and then came to a reſolution, that the conceſſions made by his majeſty were ſufficient to ſerve as the ground of an accommodation. On the following day, colonel Pride ſurrounded the houſe with two regiments, and with the aſſiſtance of lord Grey of Groby, arreſted forty-one of the members, as they were paſſing through the avenues, and put them into confinement in the neighbourhood. The moſt deſperate of the Independent party, amounting to near ſixty, were alone permitted to enter the houſe, about an hundred and ſixty members being excluded. This remnant of the commons paſſed a vote of thanks to Cromwell, for the great public ſervices he had performed. A committee was then appointed to draw up a charge againſt the king; and colonel Harriſon received orders from the houſe, to conduct Charles to London under a ſtrong guard. At Windſor, the duke of Hamilton, who had been ſome time a priſoner there, was admitted into the preſence of his majeſty; and falling upon his knees, he pathetically exclaimed, "My dear maſter!" and then grief choaked his voice. Hereupon the king tenderly embraced him, and while tears guſhed from his eyes, ſaid, "I have, indeed, been a dear maſter to you." His majeſty was then abruptly hurried away; and the duke, diſſolved in tears, predicted, that he ſhould never more behold his ſovereign. Soon after the king's arrival at Windſor, an order was iſſued from the council of war, that he ſhould no longer be conſidered in the character of a ſovereign; and in conſequence hereof, he was diveſted of the externals of royalty, and treated without the leaſt ceremony or reſpect.

A.D. 1648-9. During the whole courſe of the civil war, the lords had poſſeſſed very little authority or influence; ſince the king's impriſonment, the upper houſe had been wholly inſignificant, and moſt of the members, aſhamed of the public proceedings, declined giving their attendance. It however happened that day, to be more full than uſual, and they were aſſembled to the number of ſixteen, when the ordinance was preſented. They, without the leaſt heſitation, unanimouſly rejected the vote of the commons, and immediately adjourned themſelves for ten days; hoping, by this means, to reſtrain the furious proceedings of the commons. So ſmall an obſtacle was very inſufficient to divert the Independents from their purpoſe. They voted to proceed in trying the king, and eſtabliſhing all other meaſures, without the concurrence of the lords: and accordingly paſſed the following votes, which ſufficiently indicate the purpoſes they were calculated to ſerve.

"Reſolved, that the commons of England in parliament aſſembled, are, under God, the original of all juſt power.

"That the commons of England, in parliament aſſembled, being choſen by, and repreſenting the people, have the ſupreme power in this nation.

"That whatever is enacted or declared, for them by the commons, in parliament aſſembled, has the force of a law; and all the people of this nation, are included thereby, although the conſent or concurrence of the houſe of peers be not had thereunto."

They alſo voted, "That all members, and others, appointed to act in any ordinance with the peers, were empowered and enjoined to ſit, act, and execute, notwithſtanding the peers joined not therein."

The ordinance for the king's trial was now changed into an act of the commons, and ordered to be engroſſed. Two days after, proclamation was made in Weſtminſter-hall, Cheapſide, and the Old Exchange, for witneſſes to come in againſt him. At the ſame time commiſſioners were appointed for trying him.

This court conſiſted of one hundred and thirty-three perſons, as named by the commons, but there never met above ſeventy; ſo difficult was it found, notwithſtanding the blindneſs of prejudice, and the allurements of intereſt, to engage perſons of any name or character, in a meaſure ſo criminal and repugnant to all forms of law and juſtice. Cromwell, Ireton, Harriſon, and a few more of the principal officers of the army, moſt of them of very mean birth, were members, together with ſome of the lower houſe, and ſome citizens of London.

The twelve judges were among the parties inrolled to form the court; but upon their declaring the king could not, according to the laws and conſtitution of England, be tried for treaſon, as all proſecutions for offences of that nature muſt be conducted under the ſanction of the royal authority, their names were expunged. The court aſſembled in Weſtminſter-hall, Bradſhaw, a lawyer, being elected preſident; Coke acting in the capacity of ſolicitor-general, and Doriſlaus, Steele, and Aſke, attending as aſſiſtants in the proſecution. When, among the names of the perſons who were to compoſe the court, the crier pronounced that of lord Fairfax, a female voice was heard to exclaim from the gallery, "he has more wit than to be here." And upon theſe words of the impeachment being read, "In the name of all the good people of England," the ſame voice ſaid, "No, nor the twentieth part of them; where are all the people, or their repreſentatives? Oliver Cromwell is a villain and a traitor." One of the officers ordered a file of muſqueteers to fire towards that part from whence the voice proceeded; but it was preſently diſcovered, that the ſpeaker was the wife of Fairfax; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty, that the lady was prevailed upon to retire.

On the twentieth of January, the king was brought before this high-court of juſtice, having been guarded from St. James's thither by colonel Hacket, with thirty officers armed. The deportment of the king, though long uſed to be a priſoner, was before this court, very majeſtic. He looked undauntedly on the array of troops that attended him, and the pageantry of the court; and without moving his hat, or ſhewing the ſmalleſt mark of reverence, he ſeated himſelf in a chair of crimſon velvet, prepared for him within the bar.

The ſolicitor-general, in the name of the commons, opened the proſecution; repreſenting that Charles Stuart, admitted king of England, and intruſted with limited powers of ſovereignty, from the wicked deſign of introducing an arbitrary and tyrannical form of government, had traiterouſly and maliciouſly levied war upon the parliament and the people; and that he was therefore accuſed as a traitor, a tyrant, a murderer, and an enemy to the commonwealth. The impeachment being concluded, the preſident of the court informed the king, that it was expected that he would then declare what he had to offer in juſtification of his proceedings. Charles diſavowed the authority of the court, declaring that he would not ſubmit to their uſurped juriſdiction: and his whole deportment and behaviour on this ſolemn occaſion, were expreſſive of calmneſs of temper, ſtrong preſence of mind, fortitude, and dignity. The preſident aſſerted that the dignity of the court was ſuperior to that of the priſoner, as it derived its authority from that community of which even kings were no more than the ſervants; and therefore he inſiſted, that the priſoner was not juſtifiable in refuſing to acknowledge the authority of his judges. Charles objected, that both the king and houſe of lords, were neceſſary to conſtitute a parliament: that he had a truſt committed to him by God, by old and lawful deſcent; and that there was no juriſdiction on earth could try a king; the authority of obedience to kings being clearly and ſtrictly commanded in the Old and New Teſtament: this, if denied, he was ready inſtantly to prove; "where the word of a king is, there is power, and who may ſay unto him, What doſt thou?" He owned, that a ſacred truſt had been committed to him by God, the liberty of his people, which he would not betray, by acknowledging a power founded on violence and uſurpation. He had taken arms, and frequently expoſed his life in defence of public liberty, of the conſtitution, of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and was now willing to ſeal with his blood, thoſe precious rights for which he had ſo long, in vain, contended. To this the preſident anſwered, How great a friend, Sir, you have been to the laws and liberties of the people, let all England, and the world judge: your actions have ſufficiently declared it, and your meaning has been written in bloody characters throughout the kingdom. Charles returned, that the laws of England determine, that "The king can do no wrong;" he was however able, he added, to juſtify his conduct by the moſt ſatisfactory reaſons: but he muſt forego his reaſons, leſt, he ſhould ratify an authority, no better founded than that of pirates and robbers. Having been thrice called before the court, Charles perſiſted in denying their right of juriſdiction; but on his fourth appearance, finding it impoſſible to ſhake his conſtancy, the court, having conſtrued his ſilence into confeſſion, the preſident pronounced the following ſentence:

"That he Charles Stuart, king of England, having been convicted and attainted as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy, ſhould be put to death, by ſevering his head from his body." This ſentence was ſigned by the whole court, except nine members.

Upon his return to Whitehall, the king deſired that his children might be permitted to viſit him, and that he might be attended in his private devotions by Dr. Juxon, the late biſhop of London; and in theſe requeſts he was indulged.

The circumſtance of ſubjecting a king to trial, before a court of judicature conſtituted of his own ſubjects, inſpired the ſeveral European princes with aſtoniſhment and horror. The French and Dutch miniſters intereſted themſelves in the king's behalf; the Scots remonſtrated on the indignity and injuſtice offered to his majeſty, and the queen repeatedly wrote to the parliament, in the moſt pathetic ſtyle, in favour of her royal conſort. But the duke of Richmond, the earls of Hertford, Southampton, and Lindſay, voluntarily offered to yield their lives as a ſacrifice to his preſervation. Only three days were allowed this royal ſufferer between his ſentence and execution, during which the following authentic warrant was ſigned for the latter by parliamentary Independents, &c.

"At the high court of Juſtice for the tryinge and judginge of Charles Steuart, king of England, on January 29, Anno Dom. 1648-9.

"Whereas Charles Steuart, king of England, is, and ſtandeth convicted, attaynted, and condemned of high treaſon, and other high crimes: and ſentence, upon Saturday laſt, was pronounced againſt him by this court, to be put to death, by the ſeveringe of his head from his body; of which ſentence execution yet remaineth to be done: Theſe are therefore to will and require you to ſee the ſaid ſentence executed, in the open ſtreets, before Whitehall, upon the morrow, being the thirtieth day of this inſtante month of January, between the hours of tenn in the morninge, and five in the afternoone of the ſame day, with full effect: and for ſo doing this ſhall be your ſufficient warrant. And theſe are to require all officers, and ſoldiers, and other the good people of this nation of England, to be aſſiſtynge unto you in this ſervice. Given under our hands and ſeals.

"Directed to colonel Francis Hacket, &c."

The following are the names of thoſe who ſigned and ſealed the above-mentioned warrant:

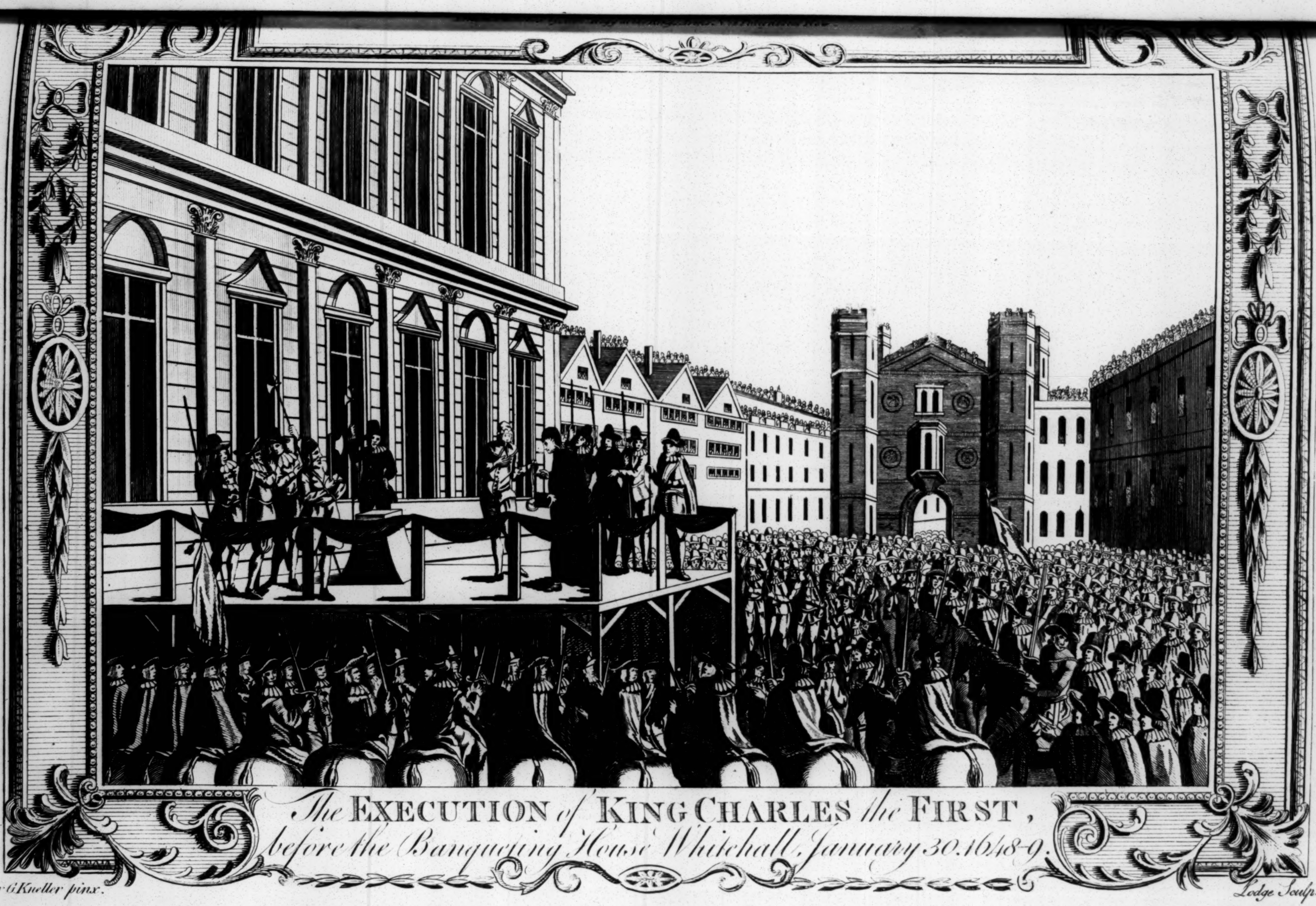
John Bradſhaw, preſident.
John Liſle.
William Say.
Oliver Cromwell.
Henry Ireton.
Sir Hardneſs Waller, Kt.
Sir John Bourchier, Kt.
William Heveningham.
Iſaac Pennington.
Henry Martin.
William Purefoy.
John Barkſtead.
Matthew Thomlinſon.
John Blackiſton.
Gilbert Millington.
Sir Wm. Conſtable, Bart.
Edmund Ludlow.
John Hutchinſon.
Sir Michael Liveſey, Bart.
Robert Tichbourne.
Owen Roe.
Robert Lilbourn.
Adrian Scroope.
Richard Dean.
John Okey.
John Hewſon.
William Goffe.
Cornelius Holland.
John Carew.
John Jones.
Miles Corbet.
Francis Allen.
Peregrine Pelham.
Daniel Blagrave.
Valentine Wauton.
Thomas Harriſon.
Edward Whalley.
Thomas Pride.
Iſaac Ewers.
Tho. lord Grey of Groby.
Sir John Danvers.
Sir Thomas Maltrever.
John Moore.
John Alvred.
Henry Smith.
Humphrey Edwards.
Gregory Clement.
Thomas Wogan.
Sir Gregory Norton.
Edmund Harvey.
John Venn.
Thomas Scot.
Thomas Andrews.
George Fleetwood.
Symon Mayne.
James Temple.
William Cawley.
Anthony Stapeley.
John Downs.
Thomas Horton.
Thomas Hammond.
Nicholas Love.
Vincent Potter.
Auguſtine Garland.
John Dixwell.
Peter Temple.
Thomas Waite.

This ſhort and awful interval between his ſentence and execution, the now depreſſed, humbled monarch paſſed chiefly in reading and devotion; and from the time when his intended fate was made known to him, to his laſt moment, he preſerved a perfect tranquillity and compoſure; nor can his bittereſt enemies deny, that he demeaned his character, either as a prince or as a man. Even under the dreadful apprehenſions of death, his ſoul, without effort or affectation, maintained a calm heroical frame, and ſeemed to look down with contempt on the triumph of his conquerors. All his family that remained in England were allowed acceſs to him. Theſe only conſiſted of the princeſs Elizabeth, and the duke of Glouceſter, who was little more than an infant. The princeſs Elizabeth, notwithſtanding her tender years, deeply felt the calamities of her family. The king, after giving her his advice and conſolation, charged her to tell the queen, that during the whole courſe of his life he had never once, even in thought, failed in his fidelity towards her. Then taking the young duke of Glouceſter on his knee, he ſaid, "Now they will cut off thy father's head." At this the child looked very ſtedfaſtly on him; and he added, "Mark, child, what I ſay, they will cut off my head, and perhaps make thee a king; but thou muſt not be a king as long as thy brothers Charles or James are alive. They will cut off thy brothers heads when they can catch them; and thy head they will cut off at laſt: and therefore I charge thee, do not be made a king by them!" The duke ſighing, replied, "I will be torn in pieces firſt." This anſwer, from one of ſuch tender years, is ſaid to have filled the king's eyes with tears of joy and admiration. Fairfax, overwhelmed with grief, uſed all the intereſt which he yet retained, to prevent the execution of the fatal ſentence; and even employed perſuaſion with his own regiment, though none elſe ſhould follow him, to reſcue the king. Cromwell and Ireton being informed of this intention, endeavoured to convince him, that God had rejected the king; and exhorted him to ſeek by prayer ſome direction from heaven on this important occaſion. Harriſon was appointed to join in prayer with the unſuſpecting general, who was ignorant that the death warrant had been ſigned: this man prolonged his ſpiritual exerciſes, till intelligence arrived, that the finiſhing period was put to the awful tragedy; then riſing from his knees, he told Fairfax, that this event was certainly a miraculous and providential anſwer, ſent by heaven to their devout ſupplications.

On the thirtieth of January, the day appointed in conſequence of the above warrant for his execution, the king roſe early in the morning, and calling Herbert, ordered him to employ more than uſual care in dreſſing him, for what he thought a joyful ſolemnity. He then received the ſacrament from the hands of biſhop Juxon, and continued in his devotions till noon, at which time he drank a glaſs of wine, and ate a bit of bread, when, having walked from St. James's, where he lay (therefore could not have had his reſt diſturbed by the noiſe of the workmen employed in erecting his ſcaffold, as ſome aſſert) acroſs the Park, he was carried from thence in a coach to the ſtreet before the Banqueting-houſe, Whitehall, the place deſtined for exhibiting this his laſt tragic ſcene. On his coming upon the ſcaffold, he found it ſurrounded with ſoldiers, ſo that he could not hope to be heard. He eyed the apparatus of death with great compoſure, and aſked if there was not a higher block; then addreſſing himſelf to the colonels Thomlinſon, Hacket, and ſome other perſons who were on the ſcaffold, he attempted to juſtify his innocence with reſpect to the civil war, and averred, that he had no other object in his military operations, than to preſerve entire that authority which had been tranſmitted to him by his anceſtors. He inſiſted on his perfect innocence towards his people, but acknowledged the equity of his execution in the eye of his Maker; obſerving, that the unjuſt ſentence now inflicted on him, was an equitable return for that which he had ſuffered to be inflicted on Strafford. He expreſſed his forgiveneſs of his enemies; and exhorted the people to return to the paths of obedience, by ſubmitting to the government of their lawful ſovereign, his ſon and ſucceſſor. He threw not the leaſt blame upon the parliament; but was more inclined to think, that ill inſtruments had interpoſed, and excited in them fears and jealouſies (we muſt confeſs too juſtly founded) with regard to his intentions. When he was preparing for the block, biſhop Juxon ſaid to him, "There is, Sir, but one ſtage more, which, though turbulent and troubleſome, is yet very ſhort. Conſider, it will ſoon carry you a great way; it will carry you from earth to heaven; and there you ſhall find, to your great joy, the prize to which you haſten, a crown of glory." "Yes," replied the king, "I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no diſturbance can have place." Then delivering his George to the prelate, he ſaid, "Remember;" and laying his head on the block, he ſtretched out his hands as a ſignal, when at one blow his head was ſevered from his body. A man in a vizor performed the office of executioner. Another, in like diſguiſe, held up the head, and cried aloud, "This is the head of a traitor." Thus fell, after an unhappy reign of twenty-three years, ten months, and three days, in the forty-ninth year of his age, Charles Stuart, king of England, on the thirtieth of January, 1649: a prince whoſe principles, conduct, and death, by working powerfully on oppoſite affections, according to their different intereſt and views, have given riſe to a bitter and irreconcilable conteſt. He was repreſented by a conſiderable party as a martyr to the church, a patron to the clergy, and the ſupport of nobility; and theſe have adorned his memory with a chaplet of panegyric. On the other hand, bigots of a different perſuaſion have applauded his fate, and held his memory in the higheſt deteſtation: but the liberal minded and humane, however zealous in the cauſe of freedom, both civil and religious, will equally condemn and pity him. Indeed, the melancholy tranſition from royal pomp to a priſon, from a life of eaſe and luxury, to a premature and violent death, are puniſhments ſo ſharp and affecting, that they naturally excite the tendereſt ſympathy for the ſuffering prince: we are apt to overlook the tyrant, to dwell on his hardſhips, and forget his crimes. Compaſſion is inherent in Engliſhmen; and the commiſeration of this king's unfortunate fate, but for the violence of his partizans, would have inclined ſuch to have thrown the mantle of oblivion over the dark parts of his character, and only to have remembered, that he bore his ſufferings in a manner which would have done honour to the beſt cauſe. But the impartiality required in hiſtory, renders it neceſſary to ſcrutinize with exactneſs, his principles, conduct, and character; ſince, from the falſe colourings which have been thrown on theſe, conſequences have been drawn deſtructive to liberty, and the welfare of ſociety.

After the king's death, the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earls of Southampton and Lindſey, were, at their expreſs deſire, permitted to pay their laſt duty to their maſter, who, by the appointment of parliament, was decently, but without pomp, interred at Windſor. His body was put into a coffin, covered with black velvet, and removed to an apartment in Whitehall, where it was embalmed, and then expoſed for ſeveral days at St. James's. But colonel Witchcot, governor of Windſor-caſtle, had the narrowneſs of ſpirit to deny the uſe of the burial ſervice, according to the uſage of the church of England.

Charles, by his queen Henrietta, had nine children; four ſons and five daughters; namely, Charles James, who died an infant; Charles, prince of Wales, who ſucceeded to the throne of England;



The EXECUTION of KING CHARLES the FIRST,
before the Banqueting House Whitehall, January 30.1648-9.

Sir G. Kneller pinx.

Lodge Sculp.

land; James, duke of York, who alſo aſcended the throne; and Henry, duke of Glouceſter, who died after the reſtoration. The princeſs Mary, who married William of Naſſau, prince of Orange; Elizabeth, who died in Cariſbrook caſtle; Anna and Catharine, who died in their infancy; and Henrietta Maria, married to Philip, duke of Anjou and Orleans.

Character of king Charles I.

Charles, as to his perſon, was of a middle ſtature, robuſt and well proportioned. His features were regular; his face handſome; but his countenance was naturally of a melancholic caſt, yet expreſſive of a benevolent mind. His intellectual powers were naturally good, and ſo improved by continual exerciſe, that though, in the beginning of his reign he ſpoke with heſitation, towards the cloſe of his life, he diſcovered in his diſcourſe elocution, and quickneſs of conception. He excelled in horſemanſhip; had a good taſte, particularly in painting, and was even ſkilled in ſeveral of the polite arts: but though a proficient in ſome branches of literature, he was far from encouraging uſeful learning, and patronized none but thoſe who endeavoured to prove the divine right of kings and biſhops. He was undeniably poſſeſſed, not only of good natural talents, but alſo of many excellent qualities, ſuch as temperance, fortitude, and perſonal bravery: but his diſſimulation, or want of integrity, is manifeſt in every part of his conduct; and his loſing him the faireſt opportunities of reinſtating him in the throne, appears to have been the principal vice for which he paid the tribute of his life. Yet, there have been thoſe who tell us, Charles was the worthieſt gentleman, the beſt friend, the beſt maſter, the beſt father, the beſt huſband, and the beſt Chriſtian of the age in which he lived. But theſe ſtrokes conſtitute no part of the outlines of the preſent ſubject, which we wiſh faithfully to pourtray. A prince may govern his own family well; he may have ſome perſonal excellencies; yet he may be poſſeſſed of neither abilities nor virtues ſufficient to govern a nation, and he may be the contrary. Oliver Cromwell was a conſummate ſtateſman; but, if we judge right, a very bad man: and the reverſe will hold good with reſpect to a king. We have had many examples, in the courſe of this hiſtory, of princes whoſe private virtues have been very ſplendid, but ſhaded with that ambition and thirſt of power, which have fixed an intolerable load of miſery on the people. To form a right judgment of the characters of princes, it will be abſolutely neceſſary to ſeparate, in our ideas, the king from the man. It is a difficult matter for ſubjects to gain a true knowledge of the private virtues of a prince; but his public actions ſpeak plainly to the underſtanding of every one: and people of the loweſt capacities can know, whether, under the reign of their ſovereign, they are well or ill governed; or, in other words, happy or miſerable: and happy had it been both for Charles and his people, had his public conduct deſerved as much commendation, as his private character. It has been a queſtion, productive of violent debates, whether the people have, in any caſe, a right to depoſe and puniſh kings. On the one ſide, the ſufferings of Charles, ſtiled the royal martyr, have been compared to thoſe of Chriſt; and the crucifiers of their God were, in the works and ſermons of ſeveral churchmen, regarded as leſs worthy of deteſtation, than the murderers of their king. Monarchy has been repreſented as a form of government of God's immediate appointment; kings, as his ſacred vicegerents, whom to reſiſt is impious, to depoſe damnable, and to puniſh atrociouſly criminal, beyond the hope of mercy. It has been alledged, that a parliament from which moſt of its members are detained by force, can perform no conſtitutional act; nor can even the joint powers of both houſes extend to the making war againſt, or dethroning their king, much leſs putting him to death. On the other hand, the partizans of liberty maintain, that kings are appointed for the good of the people; and when they degenerate into tyrants, forfeit their right to government; that oaths of allegiance are to be underſtood as conſtitutionally binding, according to the obſervance of the oaths kings make to their people: that to ſay a king is accountable to none but God, is neither founded on reaſon nor precept: that to ſay a king has as good a right to his crown, as another man has to his inheritance, is to make his ſubjects no better than ſlaves; and that weak and wicked princes may be reſiſted, depoſed, and ſlain. Theſe and many other arguments have been uſed both for and againſt this extraordinary tranſaction; but we will venture to affirm, moſt of them have very little to do with the preſent ſubject. To form juſt ſentiments of the real character of Charles, and the legality of the parliament's proceedings, we ought to go not one ſtep farther than the commencement of the civil war. What will it avail, ſaid Pompey, talking of laws to me, who have a ſword in my hand? And, when this is once drawn, law and conſtitution depend entirely on the will of the conqueror. The character of Charles is ſtrongly marked in the firſt part of his reign; and every impartial judge will allow, that aiming at more power than the conſtitution allowed, was the firſt cauſe of his miſfortunes. Paſſion for power, and a ſtrong attachment to his regal prerogative, were his governing principle. The prelates of the church paid him the groſſeſt flattery, inculcating a ſlaviſh dependence on his authority alone; and his ſuffering the cruel rigours of the ſtar-chamber ſhew, that neither clemency, humanity, nor equity, made any part of his public character. He ſubmitted to the guidance of counſellors, who were not only inferior to himſelf in experience and judgment, but, generally, proud, partial, and obſtinate: and from an exceſs of conjugal affection, he paid too much deference to the advice of his queen, who was ſuperſtitiouſly devoted to the Roman church, and importuned him inceſſantly in favour of its votaries. The exerciſe of arbitrary power, and the genius of an incenſed people, which ran ſtrongly in favour of liberty, were the prime cauſes which brought him to an unexampled end: yet, though dead, he ſtill may be ſaid to ſpeak to his ſucceſſors on a throne, warning them not to endeavour to ſubitute their own wills in the place of law, nor to act as if the people were only made to be ſubſervient to their caprice, humour, and perhaps, ungoverned paſſions: for they may be aſſured, when the cord of tyranny is ſtretched to its utmoſt length, a time will come, when the oppreſſed will reſiſt and try their ſtrength. Inſtances of this abound not only in free ſtates, but in the moſt arbitrary forms of government. In Aſia, the head of a grand viſier has often been ſtruck off to appeaſe a popular inſurrection; in Holland, a prime miniſter has been torn in pieces by an enraged multitude; and in England, a king has loſt his crown, and, in one melancholy inſtance, his life, for attempts to overturn the conſtitution. Indeed, when a king, by enlarging the limits of that power with which he is inveſted for the protection of the people, weakens the authority of laws, and, conſequently, the ſecurity of the people. When, by breach of truſt, he acts in oppoſition to the juſt ends for which government was inſtituted, his truſt and right to government from that period are forfeited; the tie of allegiance is diſſolved; and the law and conſtitution being rendered incapable of affording the ſubjects protection, they may juſtly, by the right of ſelf-preſervation, take every probable means to ſecure themſelves from the lawleſs power and enterprizes of a tyrant. On theſe grounds the parliament are to be defended in their proceedings againſt Charles; and on theſe grounds even the army, if we may credit their declarations, endeavoured to ſupport their pretenſions: till in the end, conſtitutional forms being laid aſide, the monarch fell a ſacrifice at the ſhrine of liberty, for the ſecurity of the contending parties. We ſhall conclude, with what ought and will be the wiſh of every honeſt, independent Engliſhman, may every king of England enjoy his prerogatives, and the people their legal rights.

CHAP. III.

OLIVER CROMWELL,

LORD PROTECTOR OF THE COMMON-WEALTH,

AND OF THE UNITED REALMS OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND.

AN INTER-REGNUM OF TEN YEARS.

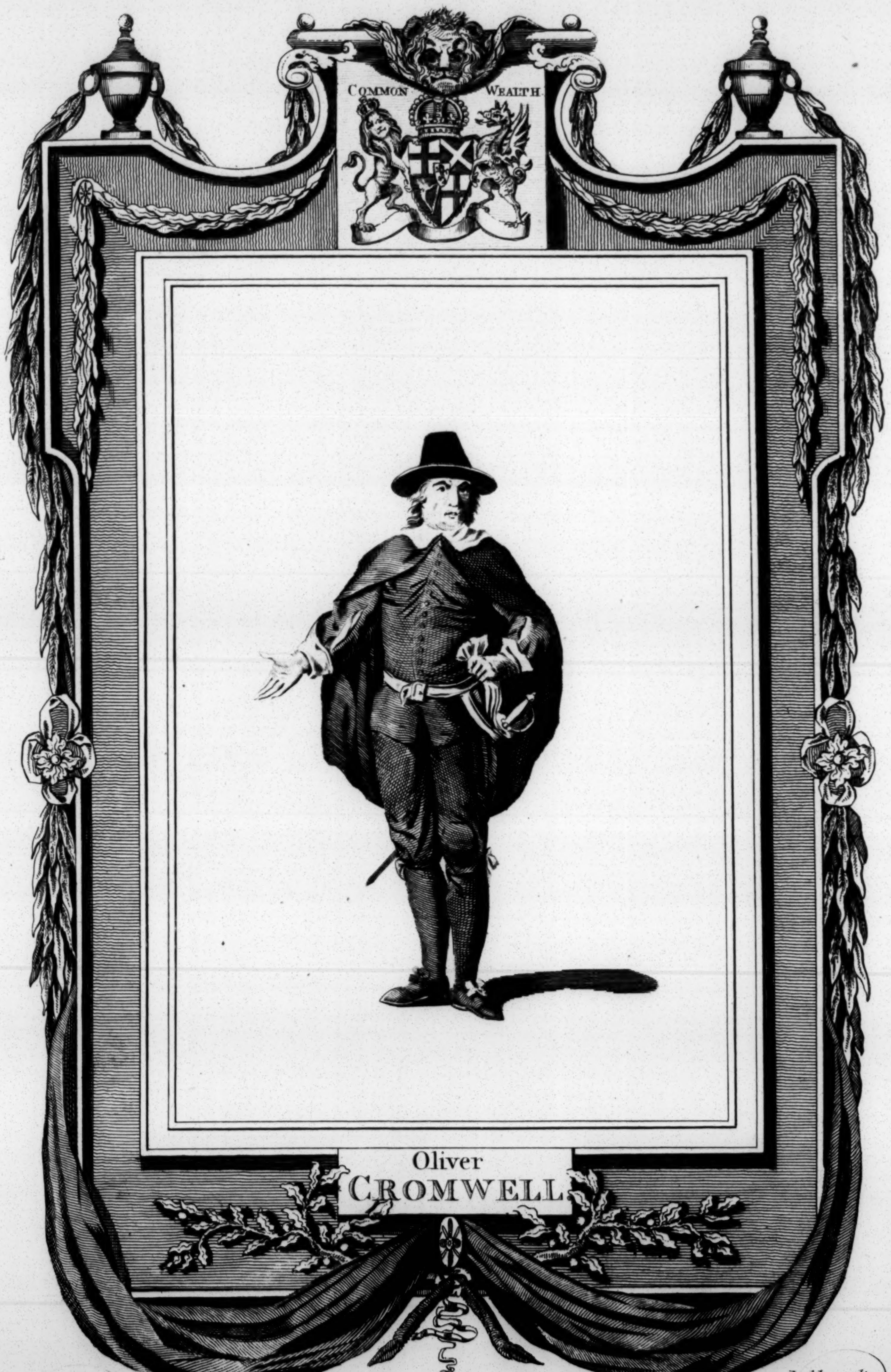
The conſtitution and government of England aboliſhed; and a common-wealth eſtabliſhed by the commons, under the title of the parliament—State of affairs in Ireland—Montroſe defeated, taken priſoner, and executed—Charles ſigns the terms preſented to him by the Scotiſh committee—Battle of Dunbar—Charles takes the covenant, and is crowned king of Scotland—Enters England with an army—The battle of Worceſter—Charles is compelled to fly, and eſcapes into France—Scotland reduced—A Dutch war—Cromwell is declared Lord Protector by the parliament, which diſſolves itſelf—A new parliament—A war with Spain—The crown offered to Cromwell, which he rejects—His death and character.

THE INTER-REGNUM CONTINUED UNDER HIS ELDEST SON

RICHARD.

The ſucceſſion of Richard recognized by the parliament—Proclaimed Protector in Scotland by Monk—The army and fleet acknowledge his title—He is depoſed, and the long parliament reſtored and expelled—A committee of ſafety—General Monk declares for the parliament, which is reſtored—Monk enters London, and will have a free parliament—The ſecluded members recover their ſeats—A new parliament—The reſtoration of Charles II.—Of commerce, arts, ſciences—Manners of the age—And a ſuccinct account of the ſect called Quakers.

THE throne by the death of Charles, being rendered vacant, the commons proceeded to ſettle the government; and, under the title of the parliament, iſſued a proclamation, forbidding all perſons, on pain of high treaſon, to acknowledge, or declare, Charles Stuart, commonly called prince of Wales, to be king of England. They afterwards decreed, that the nation ſhould be governed by the repreſentatives of the people ſitting in the houſe of commons, under the form of a republic. In conſequence of their proceedings, the royal titles were eraſed out of the public writings; the royal arms were taken down from all public offices and courts of juſtice; the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy were aboliſhed; and a new great ſeal was made, bearing this inſcription, The Great Seal of England. On one ſide were engraven the arms of England, and on the reverſe the houſe of commons, with theſe words, In the firſt year of Freedom, by God's bleſſing reſtored, 1648. The impreſſion of the national coin had, on one ſide, the Engliſh arms, with the inſcription, The Commonwealth of England; and on the reverſe, the croſs and harp, with this motto, God with us. That there might remain no objects to excite ambition, not only the crown and fee-farm rents were put up to ſale, but alſo the regalia, the rich furniture of the royal palaces, the jewels and paintings belonging to the late king, with all the expenſive magnificence of royalty. The houſe of peers was aboliſhed; and the commons taking both the legiſlative and the executive powers of government into their own hands, altered their ſtile from that of the houſe of commons, to the parliament of the common-wealth of England; and conferred the whole executive power of government on a council of ſtate, who were to act and proceed according to the inſtructions they ſhould, from time to time, give them. This council was compoſed of thirty-nine perſons; and the commons, who at firſt poſſeſſed the ſupreme authority of the nation, amounted only to ninety; but their number was ſoon after increaſed. Another high court of juſtice was now erected, to try ſome noblemen who remained in cuſtody, and Bradſhaw was again choſen preſident. The perſons whoſe fate was to be decided by this tribunal, were the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Holland, the lord Goring, lately created earl of Norwich, lord Capel, and Sir John Owen; all of them accuſed of having carried arms againſt the parliament. After a ſhort trial, they were all convicted and condemned to the block. The duke of Hamilton, on his trial, complained bitterly of the ſentence by which he ſuffered death, alledging, that he acted by virtue of a commiſſion from the parliament of his own country. The earl of Holland, being oppreſſed with age and infirmities, made little or no defence. Sir John Owen, on hearing the ſentence, thanked the court for adjudging him to ſo honourable a death; and ſwore he was afraid they would have cauſed him to be hanged as a felon. This gentleman, however, and the earl of Norwich, were reprieved; the other three were immediately executed. Lord Capel, in his laſt moments, behaved with great dignity and reſolution,


COMMON WEALTH
Oliver
CROMWELL

Wale delin   Noble sculp.

He was made Protector *Dec.r 12 1653 — & Died Sep.r 3. 1658.*

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reſolution, extolling the virtues of his late ſovereign, and exhorting the people to acknowledge his ſon, the prince of Wales. This nobleman died a ſhining example of magnanimity.

Charles, helpleſs and forlorn, living ſometimes in Holland, ſometimes in France, and ſometimes in Jerſey, conſoled himſelf, amidſt all his diſtreſſes, with the hopes of better fortune. The marquis of Ormond no ſooner heard of the tragical death of his ſovereign, than he inſtantly went over to Ireland, levied an army of ſixteen thouſand men, with which he retook from the parliament the towns of Dundalk, Newry, Trim, and Drogheda, and was reſolved to undertake the ſiege of Dublin. To this kingdom Charles determined to repair; but his deſign was ſuſpended in conſequence of the intelligence he received from Scotland. The parliament of that kingdom iſſued a proclamation, acknowledging Charles II. as their lawful and hereditary ſovereign, on the following conditions; that he ſhould give proper ſatisfaction to the kingdom touching the ſecurity of religion, the union between the two nations, and the peace of Scotland, according to the national and ſolemn league of the covenant. For this purpoſe deputies were ſent to the Hague, to ſignify their intentions to the young prince, who in a few days after their arrival was viſited by the marquis of Montroſe, and the earls of Lanerk and Lauderdale. Montroſe having laid down his arms at the command of the late king, had engaged in the ſervice of the emperor; but hearing of his maſter's death repaired to the Hague, and received from the young king a renewal of his commiſſion as captain-general of Scotland. Charles had no ſolid foundation of joy from his being proclaimed under ſuch reſtrictions. Remembering that the ruin of his father was in a great meaſure owing to the Scotiſh Preſbyterians, he was diffident of their power and unanimity, averſe to their auſterity, and therefore waved their invitation. Inſtead of ſubſcribing to their conditions, he perſiſted in his reſolution of viſiting Ireland; at the ſame time ordering Montroſe to make a deſcent upon Scotland. The king's friends in that kingdom, underſtanding that he was averſe to the conditions propoſed by the parliament, determined to excite an inſurrection, and if they ſucceeded, to receive him upon his own terms. About this time Charles ſent the lord Collington, and chancellor Hyde, his plenipotentiaries to the court of Madrid, to ſolicit ſuccours from his catholic majeſty. Such was the ſituation of affairs in Ireland, that the young prince could not go thither without expoſing himſelf to imminent danger; as the Engliſh parliament, alarmed at the union between the catholics and the royaliſts, had voted a ſtrong army for that ſervice, and appointed Cromwell lord lieutenant of that kingdom. Cromwell having defeated Ormond, and entirely ſubdued the ſpirit of the Iriſh, Charles had no hopes of reſource from that country; and was therefore under a neceſſity of liſtening to the Scotiſh treaty. Accordingly the parliament and general aſſembly of the kirk, who were influenced by the marquis of Argyle, prepared propoſitions, and appointed deputies, to open the conferences at Breda.

A. D. 1650. At the time and place appointed the deputies met Charles, and preſented him with four articles of peace, which he could not really approve; but not being in condition to ſhew his reſentment, he carefully diſſembled, offering to confirm the Preſbyterian diſcipline in Scotland, by act of parliament; but thought it unreaſonable to expect that he ſhould renounce the form of religion, in which he had been educated. He aſked them, if they had power to relax in any demand, or to treat about the aſſiſtance he might expect from the Scots towards reſtoring him to the crown of England; they anſwered him in the negative. Prince Charles, though highly diſpleaſed at their impoſition, found it neceſſary to temporize and protract the negotiation, until he ſhould receive ſome intelligence from Montroſe, on whoſe ſucceſs all his hopes were founded. That intrepid nobleman, having reinforced his handful of men with a few recruits which he raiſed in the Orkneys, paſſed over to Caithneſs, hoping the general affection to the royal cauſe, and the fame of his former atchievements, would allure the people to his ſtandard. But the nation was now fatigued with continual wars, many of his former adherents had been apprehended and puniſhed, and no hopes of ſucceſs remained againſt ſo great a force as was now deſtined to oppoſe him, Leſley and Holborne being ordered to advance againſt him with an army of four thouſand men. Strachan was ſent before with a body of cavalry, in order to check his progreſs. This general ſuddenly attacked Montroſe; the royaliſts were defeated; all of them either ſlain or taken priſoners; and Montroſe himſelf being ſoon after ſeized, was conducted to Edinburgh, where, notwithſtanding the king's commiſſion, he was condemned to death; which, after having been expoſed to the utmoſt ignominy, he ſuffered with the ſame intrepidity with which he had formerly braved it in the field. Charles, being deprived by this event of all hopes of prevailing by force, was under a neceſſity to ſign the terms which the Scotiſh committee had preſented to him. In conſequence of this agreement he immediately ſet ſail for Scotland, and arrived in the Frith of Cromarty. The parliament recalled Cromwell from Ireland, which by this time was almoſt reduced. That general, having conſtituted Ireton, his ſon-in-law, deputy-lieutenant, returned to England, according to the ſummons of the parliament. When returned to London, he took his ſeat in the houſe, and received the thanks of the commons for the ſignal ſervices he had done the commonwealth. They then deſired to know whether Fairfax would undertake the command of the troops deſtined for Scotland; and on his refuſal beſtowed it on Cromwell. Without delay he put his troops in motion, and entered Scotland with an army of ſixteen thouſand men. The command of the Scotiſh army was conferred on Leſley, an able officer, who laid a very proper plan for defence. He ſecured himſelf in a fortified camp between Edinburgh and Leith; and took care to remove from the ſouthern counties, whatever could tend to the ſupport of the Engliſh army.

Cromwell approached the Scotiſh camp, and attempted, by every expedient, to provoke Leſley to battle; but that general knew that the Engliſh army as much excelled the Scotch in diſcipline and experience, as it fell ſhort in point of numbers; and therefore prudently kept within his intrenchments. By ſkirmiſhes and petty rencounters he endeavoured to animate his ſoldiers, and was generally ſucceſsful in theſe enterprizes. His army became every day more numerous, and more dexterous, and expert in their exerciſe. Cromwell made another motion, in hopes of drawing the Scotiſh general from his entrenchments, but all his efforts proved ineffectual. After the two armies had remained ſeveral weeks in ſight of each other, Cromwell found himſelf obliged to retire, being quite deſtitute of proviſions. He therefore withdrew to Dunbar: Leſley followed him, and encamped on a hill oppoſite the town, aſſured himſelf of putting an end to the war, by the deſtruction of the whole Engliſh army. Cromwell was almoſt deprived of every reſource. He had even once entertained the thoughts of embarking all his foot and artillery, and of forcing his way at the head of his cavalry. But the folly of the Scotiſh clergy effectually ſaved him from that diſhonour. The diſputes which at that time agitated the two nations, being more of a religious than of a civil nature, the clergy in both kingdoms had acquired a conſiderable influence in all public deliberations; and the Scotiſh miniſters in great numbers now attended the camp. Theſe men relying ſo much on providence (which they firmly believed eſpouſed their cauſe,) wholly neglected human means, and inceſſantly importuned their unfortunate general to attack the Engliſh, aſſuring him, that they had received from heaven the cleareſt revelation, that the Lord had delivered their enemies into their hands. In vain did the general remonſtrate againſt the imprudence of ſuch a meaſure; the private men being entirely guided by the clergy; Leſley, therefore, after taking every precaution, though ſtrongly apprehenſive of the fatal conſequence, was at length obliged to deſcend into the plain, and come to an engagement with the Engliſh army. Cromwell too in his turn declared, that he had received from heaven a revelation, that the Lord had delivered his enemies into his hands, and indeed it ſoon appeared, that his revelation, though doubtleſs as ill founded as that of the Scots, was attended with much better ſucceſs. The latter being raw and undiſciplined, were not able to ſuſtain the ſhock of ſuch hardy and experienced veterans as the Engliſh. Though double in number to the enemy, they were inſtantly routed with great ſlaughter, and purſued to a conſiderable diſtance. Three thouſand were ſlain on the ſpot, and about nine thouſand taken priſoners. The Engliſh general then took poſſeſſion of Leith and Edinburgh, but the caſtle did not ſurrender till the latter end of December. Humbled by their late defeat, the Scotiſh parliament began to relax in their ſeverity towards the king, his friends were ſuffered to approach him, and his coronation was performed with great ſolemnity at Scone. His ſituation, however, though ſomewhat amended, was far from being eaſy or agreeable. Of a gay diſpoſition, he could but ill digeſt the rigid auſterities to which he was confined by the clergy, or the ſtill more ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion, in which he was held by Argyle and his party. Diſguſted at theſe and many other circumſtances, he determined to attempt the recovery of his liberty. General Middleton being proſcribed by the covenant, had retired with a party of royaliſts to the mountains, where he waited an opportunity of ſerving his maſter. This gentleman the king determined to join, and having found means to elope from Argyle, he fled directly towards the Highlands. Colonel Montgomery, with a troop of horſe, was ſent in purſuit of him. The king was not a little mortified at his diſappointment, in being obliged to return; but this attempt to eſcape had a good effect in his favour. The committee and Argyle were now alarmed with the apprehenſion, that the ſeverity with which they had treated him, might force him to join the cavaliers, and ſo involve the nation in a civil war. They therefore abated their rigour, and even admitted him to a ſmall ſhare in the adminiſtration. Charles finding that Argyle was an inſtrument indiſpenſibly requiſite for the attainment of his deſires, treated that nobleman with uncommon affability and eſteem, and even hinted a deſire of eſpouſing his daughter. Argyle, well acquainted with his majeſty's principles, kept at a diſtance; but his ſon, the lord Lorn, attached himſelf to the king, and faithfully executed his private commiſſions. Levies throughout the whole kingdom were now ſet on foot, and before the beginning of June an army of eighteen thouſand men was ready to take the field.

A. D. 1651.

The Scotiſh army, early in the ſpring, was aſſembled under Hamilton and David Leſley, and encamped at Torwood in the neighbourhood of Stirling. The king himſelf was preſent in the army, and his generals determined to act with prudence and caution. The town of Stirling lay at his back, and the northern counties ſupplied him with proviſions. His front was ſecured by ſtrong intrenchments; and it was in vain that Cromwell uſed every expedient to tempt him to an engagement. After conſuming much time, the Engliſh general ſent Lambert over the Frith into Fife, in order to intercept the proviſions of the army. He was oppoſed by Holborne and Brown, who commanded a party of the Scots; but theſe were defeated with great ſlaughter. Cromwell alſo paſſed over with his whole army, and placing himſelf in the rear of the king, rendered it impoſſible for him to remain any longer in his preſent ſituation. Thus reduced to extremity, he came to a reſolution, worthy a prince contending for empire. The way to England being perfectly clear, he determined immediately to repair thither; where he hoped that all his friends, and all thoſe who were diſſatisfied with the preſent form of adminiſtration, would flock to his ſtandard. He prevailed on the generals to agree to his propoſal; and with one conſent, the army, to the number of fourteen thouſand men, quitted their camp, and proceeded by long marches, towards England. This unexpected motion of the enemy alarmed Cromwell, who detached Lambert with a body of cavalry, to hang upon the rear of the royal army, and having left Monk with ſeven thouſand men to finiſh the reduction of Scotland, purſued the king with the utmoſt expedition. His army being greatly diminiſhed by deſertion and diſeaſe, his majeſty laid aſide his deſign of marching to London, and directed his rout to Worceſter, where he met with a kind reception from the magiſtrates, and the next day was ſolemenly proclaimed. In the mean time Cromwell, being reinforced, approached Worceſter with an army of forty thouſand men. This place he attacked with incredible fury, and meeting with little oppoſition, except from Hamilton and Middleton, broke in at once upon the royaliſts. The ſtreets of the city were covered with the carcaſes of the ſlain; Hamilton, a worthy nobleman, was mortally wounded, and the king compelled to flight. By the earl of Derby's advice, he repaired to Boſcobel, a lone ſeat on the borders of Staffordſhire, inhabited by one Panderell a farmer. This man poſſeſſed a greatneſs of ſoul in his humble ſtate, and though death was threatened againſt all who harboured the forlorne Charles, he retained the moſt unſhaken fidelity. He imparted the ſecret to his three brothers, actuated by the ſame noble ſentiments with himſelf; and having furniſhed the king with a peaſant's habit, they led him into a neighbouring wood, put an axe into his hand, and pretended to employ themſelves in cutting wood. During his ſtay at this poor cottage, he lived upon ſuch homely fare as the landlord could afford. One day, on the approach of a party of ſoldiers, he climbed up into an oak tree, where he ſheltered himſelf for the ſpace of twenty-four hours. This tree was afterwards called the Royal Oak, and for many years held by the royaliſts in great veneration. During this fugitive life, he was frequently expoſed to dangers no leſs imminent, and had recourſe to various methods of concealment, till at length, having aſſumed many diſguiſes, and paſſed through many difficulties, he embarked at Shoreham in Suſſex, and arrived ſafely at Feſcamp in Normandy.

Cromwell, who was as ambitious and aſpiring in his views, as bold and ſucceſsful in his actions, could no longer brook ſubjection to a republic depending

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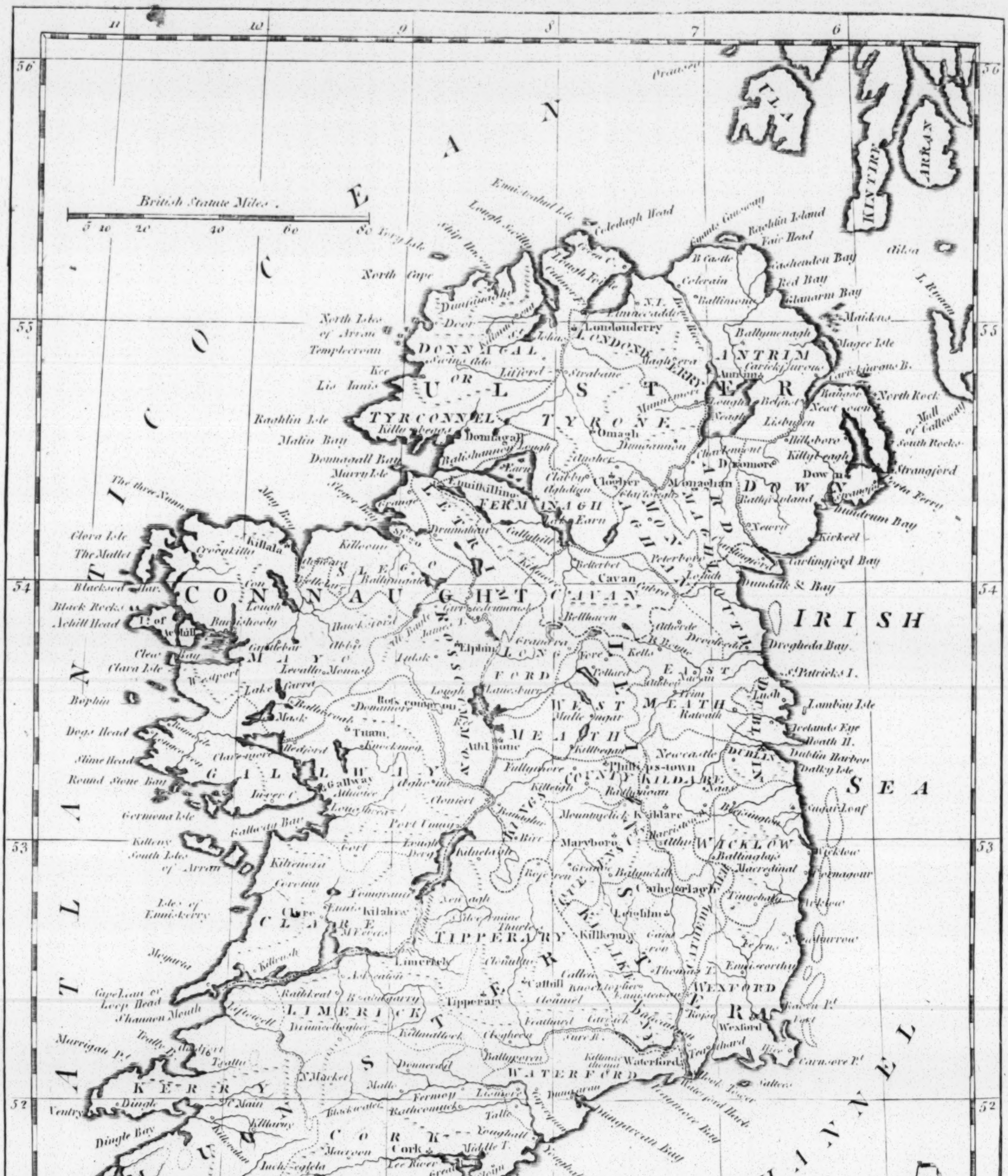
A NEW
and CORRECT MAP
of
IRELAND,
from the Latest
SURVEYS of
that KINGDOM.
British Statute Miles
5 10 20 40 60 80
West Longitude from London
11
10
9
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ATLANTIC OCEAN
IRISH SEA
St. GEORGE'S CHANNEL
ULSTER
CONNAUGHT
LEINSTER
MUNSTER
DONNEGAL OR TYRCONNEL
LONDONDERRY
TYRONE
ANTRIM
DOWN
ARMAGH
MONAGHAN
FERMANAGH
CAVAN
LEITRIM
SLIGO
MAYO
GALLWAY
ROSCOMMON
LONGFORD
WEST MEATH
EAST MEATH
LOWTH
DUBLIN
COUNTY KILDARE
KINGS COUNTY
QUEENS COUNTY
WICKLOW
CATHERLAGH
KILKENNY
WEXFORD
TIPPERARY
CLARE
LIMERICK
KERRY
CORK
WATERFORD
ILA
KINTIRE
ARRAN
Oransay
Rathlin Island
Fair Head
Cushenden Bay
Red Bay
Glanarm Bay
Maidens
Ailsa
L. Ryan
Mull of Galloway
North Rock
South Rocks
Strangford
Dundrum Bay
Carlingford Bay
Dundalk & Bay
Drogheda Bay
St. Patricks I.
Lambay Isle
Irelands Eye
Howth H.
Dublin Harbor
Dalkey Isle
Sugar Loaf
Wicklow
Arklow
Wexford
Carnsore Pt.
Saltees
Hook Tower
Waterford Hark.
Dungarvan Bay
Youghall Bay
Cork Harbour
Kinsale Harbour
Clogher Head
Mizen Head
3 Castle Head
Cape Clear Isle
Dursey I.
Bear Haven
Kilmare R.
Dingle Bay
Ventry
Shannon Mouth
Cape Lean or Loop Head
Arran Isles
South Isles of Arran
Galway Bay
Slime Head
Round Stone Bay
Dogs Head
Bophin
Clara Isle
Achill Head
Black Rocks
The Mallet
The three Sisters
Sligo
Donnagall Bay
Malin Bay
Rathlin Isle
Templecrean
North Isles of Arran
North Cape
Tory Isle
Lough Swilly
Inishowen
Londonderry
Colerain
Ballimony
Ballymenagh
Antrim
Carickfergus
Belfast
Lisburn
Hillsboro
Newry
Dromore
Armagh
Monaghan
Dungannon
Omagh
Strabane
Lifford
Enniskilling
Cavan
Belturbet
Kells
Trim
Navan
Drogheda
Dundalk
Dublin
Naas
Kildare
Athy
Carlow
Kilkenny
Thomas T.
Enniscorthy
Ross
Waterford
Clonmel
Cashel
Tipperary
Limerick
Ennis
Galway
Athlone
Tuam
Castlebar
Westport
Killala
Longford
Mullingar
Philips-town
Maryboro
Birr
Nenagh
Thurles
Fermoy
Mallo
Lismore
Youghall
Cork
Kinsale
Bandon
Macroom
Killarney
Tralee
Dingle
Listowell
Kinsale
Clonekilty
Ross
Baltimore

pending on his influence, and ſupported by his victories. Such was his reputation and intereſt, that all the reſolutions of the lower houſe, were directed by him as well as the army; and he was in effect chief of the republic. At this time the Engliſh parliament paſſed an act aboliſhing the royalty of Scotland, empowering it however to ſend a certain number of repreſentatives to the Britiſh parliament. All cauſes in both kingdoms were determined by a mixture of Engliſh and Scotiſh judges; juſtice was adminiſtered impartially, and peace and order were maintained by the prudence of general Monk, who commanded the forces in Scotland. The people being ſecured in their property, applied themſelves to the manual arts; and they enjoyed more plenty and ſatisfaction than ever was known to their anceſtors. Blake, a man of undaunted courage was appointed admiral; and though he had hitherto been accuſtomed only to land ſervice, he ſoon raiſed the naval glory of the nation, to a higher pitch than it had ever before attained. Prince Rupert being obliged to quit Kinſale with his fleet, ſteered to Portugal; thither he was purſued by Blake, who could hardly be prevented by the remonſtrances of his Portugueſe majeſty, from attacking him even in ſight of Liſbon. The prince eſcaping through favour of that monarch, directed his courſe to the Weſt Indies, where his brother prince Maurice was ſhipwrecked in a ſtorm. Rupert, after undergoing many hardſhips, and finding it impoſſible to do any effectual ſervice to the royal cauſe, returned to France, where he diſpoſed of the few ſhips which remained, together with all his prizes. All the ſettlements in America, except New England, which had been planted entirely by the Puritans, continued to acknowledge the royal authority, even after the eſtabliſhment of the commonwealth; and Sir George Ayſcue was diſpatched with a ſquadron in order to reduce them to ſubjection. Bermudas, Antigua, and Virginia, made little reſiſtance; Barbadoes, commanded by lord Willoughby of Parham, held out for a conſiderable time, but was at length obliged to follow the example of the other plantations. Jerſey, Guernſey, Scilly, and the Iſle of Man, were with equal eaſe, brought under obedience. Nor were the arms of the republic leſs ſucceſsful in Ireland and Scotland. Ireton, deputy lieutenant of the former kingdom, perſevered with great induſtry in ſubduing the revolted Iriſh, and defeated them in many engagements; which though in themſelves of little importance, entirely ruined their declining cauſe. All perſons who had any concern in the popiſh maſſacres were puniſhed without mercy; among whom was Sir Phelim O'Neal, who juſtly ſuffered on the gallows, for the many barbarities he had committed. After the reduction of Limeric, Ireton died in that city of the plague; at whoſe death Cromwell, and the reſt of the republicans, expreſſed great ſorrow.

A. D. 1652. The parliament having now leiſure to attend to their concerns in foreign countries, determined to chaſtiſe the Dutch. They paſſed an act of navigation, prohibiting all nations to import any merchandize into England, but what was the produce of the country to which the ſhips belonged. The ſtates general alarmed at theſe meaſures, ſent ambaſſadors to London, to ſolicit a repeal of the act of navigation; but the parliament, far from complying with their requeſt, demanded ſatisfaction for the maſſacre at Amboyna, the murder of Doriſlaus, the correſpondence, which during the civil war, the Dutch ambaſſadors had maintained with the late king: claiming alſo two millions of money for the loſſes they had ſuſtained by the Hollanders in the Eaſt Indies. The States foreſeeing the ſtorm, equipped a fleet of an hundred and fifty ſail; but were ſo imprudent as to command their miniſters at London, to acquaint the council with that armament. Van Tromp, a brave and experienced admiral, was diſpatched by the States with a fleet of forty-five ſail, in order to ſecure the Dutch navigation from the Engliſh corſairs. He no ſooner obſerved the Engliſh admiral, than he endeavoured to retire, without ſtriking as uſual. Blake fired a blank ſhot in order to remind him of that cuſtomary compliment. Tromp taking no notice of theſe warnings, Blake fired a ball, and Tromp returned it with a broadſide. Notwithſtanding the great diſparity of number, Blake maintained the fight, with undaunted reſolution, for five hours, ſunk one ſhip of the enemy, and took another. According to the Engliſh hiſtorians, none of Blake's ſhips received any damage; but the Dutch alledge that there were ſix ſunk. The populace of London were highly incenſed, and would have aſſaulted the Dutch ambaſſadors, had they not been furniſhed with a guard, for the ſafety of their perſons. Van Tromp then ſailed towards the Downs, in order to engage rear admiral Ayſcue, who lay at anchor with part of the Engliſh fleet; but on receiving intelligence of Blake's being ſailed to the northward with forty ſhips, to deſtroy the herring buſſes on the coaſt of Shetland, he followed him with a very numerous armament. The two fleets came in ſight of each other near Newcaſtle, but a violent ſtorm ariſing juſt as they were ready to engage, ſcattered the Dutch fleet in ſuch a manner, that not above thirty ſail returned to Holland; though in a few weeks the reſt arrived in the Texel. On the ſixteenth day of Auguſt admiral de Ruyter, with four and thirty ſhips of war, and a large fleet of merchant-men under his command, fell in with Sir George Ayſcue off Plymouth, who though inferior in number to the enemy, engaged them valiantly until night put an end to the action. Van Galen before this time had defeated commodore Badily in the Mediterranean, though the victor loſt his life in the battle. Tromp, ſoon after, aſſiſted by de Ruyter, met near the Goodwin with Blake, whoſe fleet was inferior to theirs, though he was nevertheleſs determined to come to action. In this battle the Dutch had the advantage; Blake himſelf was wounded; two ſhips were taken, two burned, and one ſunk. He retired to the Downs; and Tromp, elated with his victory, hoiſted a broom, at his main-top-maſt head, as a ſignal that he would ſweep the channel clear of the enemy.

To retrieve this misfortune, great preparations were made in England. A. D. 1653. A fleet of fourſcore ſail was equipped, under the command of Blake, aſſiſted by Deane, together with Monk, who had been recalled from Scotland for that purpoſe. While they lay off Portland, they eſpied the Dutch fleet of ſeventy-ſix ſail, having above three hundred merchant-men under their convoy. The Engliſh bore down to give battle. Three days was the engagement continued with the moſt invincible obſtinacy; and Blake, who was victor, gained not more honour than Van Tromp who was vanquiſhed. The Dutch admiral made an excellent retreat, and ſaved all the merchant-men except thirty. Eleven of his ſhips of war were taken or deſtroyed; two thouſand men were ſlain, and about fifteen hundred made priſoners. The Engliſh, though many of their ſhips were greatly damaged, had but one ſunk, but the number of their ſlain was nearly equal to that of the enemy.

The States had ſuffered ſo much by the war, that they now applied to the parliament of England to appoint a place in which to treat of peace; but before any thing could be done in this buſineſs, a circumſtance happened, as extraordinary as any recorded in the annals of this kingdom. The parliament not acting agreeable to the wiſhes of the people, Cromwell held a conference with ſome of his officers, who preſented a petition to the houſe, demanding

demanding payment of their arrears, when the parliament cenſured them for the freedom of their addreſs: Cromwell, now finding matters ripe for the accompliſhment of his views, aſſembled a council of officers, for the profeſſed purpoſe of deliberating reſpecting the ſettlement of the nation. While they were in conference, colonel Ingoldſby entered, and informed Cromwell, that "the parliament had met, and were come to a reſolution not to diſſolve themſelves, but to ſupply the vacancies by new elections." Hereupon Cromwell took with him three hundred ſoldiers, and haſtening to the houſe, and poſting them at the different avenues, he addreſſed himſelf to his friend St. John, and told him, "he was come to do that, which to his great grief, the Lord had impoſed on him." After liſtening a conſiderable time to the debates, he aroſe, and accuſed the members of tyranny, oppreſſion, and robbery of the public. Then ſtamping with his foot, which was the ſignal for the ſoldiers to enter, the place was ſoon crowded with them. He then addreſſed himſelf to the members, ſaying, "Get you gone: give place to honeſter men; you are no longer a parliament; I tell you, you are no longer a parliament, the Lord has done with you." Sir Harry Vane riſing to remonſtrate with him on this behaviour, Cromwell cried out with a loud voice, "O! Sir Harry Vane, Sir Harry Vane! the Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!" Then ſeizing Martin by the cloak, he ſaid, "Thou art a whoremaſter." Another he called a drunkard, a third an adulterer, and a fourth an extortioner. "It is you, ſaid he, that have driven me to this. I have ſought the Lord night and day, that he would rather ſlay me, than put me on this work." Pointing to the mace, he cried, "Take away that bauble." Then cauſing the ſoldiers to clear the hall, he ordered the door to be locked, and putting the key in his pocket, he retired to Whitehall. Thus, by a ſingle effort of daring reſolution, was the whole power, civil and military, veſted in Cromwell, who now received congratulations from the fleet, the army, and from different bodies of people: but this politic man was too cautious to be ſeduced by their praiſe, or driven on by their exhortations.

One diſtinguiſhed feature in his character, was the art of managing all parties. Though he had aſſumed the ſupreme authority, "he thought proper to amuſe them with the appearance of a commonwealth. He firſt juſtified his conduct in diſſolving the parliament, by a declaration ſubſcribed by all the principal officers of the fleet and army. He then propoſed a parliament, conſiſting of one hundred and forty-four perſons, in whom, with their conſent, he would veſt the ſupreme power." He choſe his members from among thoſe in the middling and lower ranks of life, as the moſt likely to reſign, without murmuring, that buſineſs they might find themſelves unable to conduct. Theſe agents "aboliſhed the clergy, the tythes, the univerſities, the court of chancery, and the common law, in the room of which they intended to ſubſtitute the Moſaical inſtitution."

Van Tromp with a hundred ſhips under his command, falling in with the Engliſh fleet, commanded by Monk, Dean, Penn, and Lawſon, on the third of June, a deſperate engagement enſued off the Flemiſh coaſt, which laſted till night obliged the parties to deſiſt. Admiral Dean was killed; but on the following day the Engliſh renewed the battle, and being joined by admiral Blake with eighteen ſhips, they obtained the victory, ſinking ſix of the enemy's beſt ſhips, blowing up two others, and taking eleven. A few days afterwards Van Tromp ſailed with a reſolution to revenge his late loſs, or loſe his life. Falling in with Monk a deſperate engagement enſued, in which a muſket ball pierced the Dutch admiral through the heart. This decided the fate of the day; and the Dutch fled to their harbours, after having ſuſtained conſiderable loſs. Heartily tired of the war, the ſtates of Holland now became earneſt in their ſolicitations for peace, which Cromwell at length granted, on the following conditions: "A defenſive league was concluded between the two republics: they engaged each of them to baniſh the enemies of the other: thoſe concerned in the maſſacre of Amboyna were to be ſeverely puniſhed: the honour of the flag was to be yielded to the Engliſh: eighty-five thouſand pounds were to be paid by the Dutch Eaſt India company, as an indemnification for the loſſes which the Engliſh company had ſuffered; and the iſland of Poleron in the Eaſt Indies, was to be ceded to the latter."

Cromwell's parliamentary power had by this time increaſed to ſuch a degree, that the members came to a reſolution to reſign that authority which they found it impoſſible to enforce; and therefore they repaired to Whitehall, where they delivered the inſtrument of government into the hands of Cromwell. In a council of field officers held at Whitehall, the writing of reſignation was produced, and another ſcheme of government propoſed by Lambert, for tempering the liberty of commonwealth by veſting the ſupreme power in one perſon, who ſhould be ſtiled protector; and communicated the contents of an inſtrument already prepared of ſuch a plan of government. Several objections were made, but it was immediately voted, that Cromwell ſhould be declared protector. He was to enjoy his office during life; and on his death his place was to be immediately ſupplied by the council.

Thus raiſed to ſupreme dignity by the moſt violent and irregular means, Cromwell was, on the ſixteenth of December, inaugurated into the office of lord protector of the united realms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with all the parade of royal pageantry. He ſet out from Whitehall to the court of chancery, preceded by the lords commiſſioners of the great ſeal of England, the judges and barons of the ſeveral benches in their robes, the council of the commonwealth, the lord-mayor and aldermen of London; the recorder, town-clerk, and ſword-bearer, with the cap of maintenance, and ſword, but not erected. Cromwell followed in his own coach, with his life-guard, attended by ſeveral gentlemen, bare-headed, and ſeveral of the chief officers of the army, with their hats on. In the court of chancery was placed a rich chair of ſtate, with carpets on the floor. The lords commiſſioners ranged themſelves on each ſide of the chair; round it ſat the judges and council of ſtate; the lord-mayor and aldermen on the right ſide of the court, and the chief officers of the army on the left, all bare headed. The company being properly ranged, major-general Lambert, after declaring the diſſolution of the parliament, and the exigences of the times, deſired the lord-general, in the name of the army and the three nations, to accept of the protectorſhip. Cromwell, with ſeeming reluctance, giving his conſent, the inſtrument of government was read aloud; after which the form of an oath was adminiſtered to the protector, to preſerve inviolate the articles contained in the inſtrument, and in all other reſpects to govern the nations according to their laws, cuſtoms and ſtatutes. During the reading of this oath, Cromwell lifted up his eyes to heaven, with the appearance of great ſolemnity and devotion, and then publicly ſubſcribed it. This ceremony over, Lambert preſented him, on his knees, with a ſword in a ſcabbard, repreſenting the civil ſword; this he accepted, and put off his own, to intimate that he was no longer ruled by the military one. He was then invited by the lords commiſſioners of the great ſeal, the judges, and the

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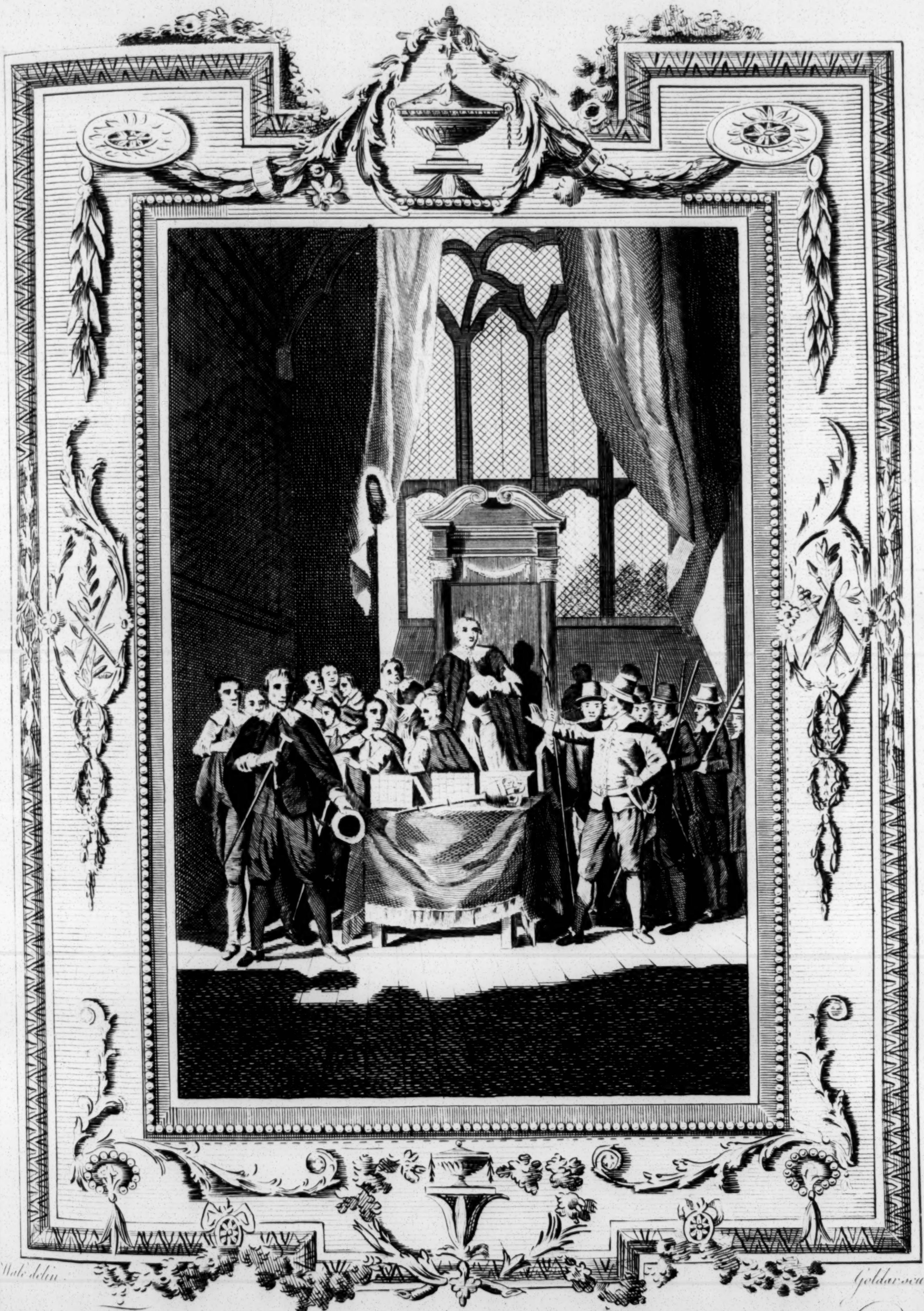


Wale delin. Goldar sculp.

The DISSOLUTION of the LONG PARLIAMENT, 1653,
by Oliver Cromwell, in order to introduce Triennial Elections.

BRITISH

officers of the army to take poſſeſſion of the chair of ſtate, as lord protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Upon which he ſat down in it, with his head covered, while the court continued bare. The lords commiſſioners then delivered up the purſe and ſeals; and the lord-mayor the ſword; and theſe being delivered back, the court broke up, and returned in the following order to Whitehall: firſt the aldermen and members of the council; after them the judges; then the commiſſioners of the great ſeal, who were followed by the life guards and four ſerjeants at arms, carrying the maces belonging to the court of chancery, the council, and parliament. The lord-mayor went immediately before the protector, with the ſword, and the officers of the army were about his perſon. At Weſtminſter-hall gate they took coach, when the lord-mayor rode bare headed. At the banqueting-houſe, Whitehall, Lochier, Cromwell's chaplain, made an exhortation to the company, which being ended, they were diſmiſſed by the ſoldiers firing three times.

A. D. 1654. The peace concluded with the Dutch, brought great credit to Cromwell's adminiſtration. Moſt of the powers in Europe ſent ambaſſadors to court his alliance; and an accident which happened about this time, gave a convincing proof of his firm reſolution to govern with ſpirit, and to maintain the dignity of the Engliſh nation. Don Pantaleon Sa, brother to the Portugueſe ambaſſador, and joined with him in the ſame commiſſion, reſented an affront which he imagined had been offered upon the New Exchange, by ordering his ſervants to his aſſiſtance, and after wounding ſeveral Engliſh gentlemen, he, by miſtake, fell upon a perſon named Greenaway, whom he took for the man that had given him the offence, and having butchered him with many wounds, he, and all his accomplices, took ſhelter in the houſe of the Portugueſe ambaſſador, which they threatened to defend againſt all attempts to take them. But finding that the houſe was beſet by colonel Whalley, and a party of horſe, the ambaſſador ordered his ſervants to arm, and ſent to complain to Cromwell of a breach of the law of nations. The lord protector ſent him for anſwer, that juſtice muſt be done, and that blood muſt be ſatisfied with blood. All the foreign ambaſſadors, then at London, intereſted themſelves in this affair, but every remonſtrance made to Cromwell was ineffectual, and Don Pantaleon, to the admiration of the world, was tried, condemned, and publicly executed on Tower-hill. The ſituation of Portugal at this time was ſuch, that they could not reſent this tranſaction; and the ambaſſador ſoon after ſigned with the protector a treaty of peace and alliance, which was very advantageous to the Engliſh commerce. The parliament met on the third of September, according to writs iſſued by Cromwell for that purpoſe. He went in great ſtate and opened it with a ſpeech, in which he informed them of the ſteps he had taken for modelling the new government; aſſuring them of his upright intentions; recapitulated what he had done for the nation, told them he had convoked a free parliament, and that he did not pretend to be their maſter, but their fellow labourer. The parliament, having with great attention liſtened to his ſpeech, which laſted near three hours, and, by Cromwell's recommendation, chuſing Lenthall for their ſpeaker, immediately entered into a diſcuſſion of the inſtrument of government, and of that authority which Cromwell, under the title of protector, had aſſumed over the nation. They arraigned his new dignity with the greateſt freedom, and even his perſonal character and conduct did not eſcape without cenſure. The protector, enraged at this refractory ſpirit in the parliament, ſent for them to the painted chamber, and with an air of great authority, inveighed againſt their proceedings, telling them, that nothing could be more abſurd than for them to diſpute his title; ſince the ſame inſtrument of government, which made them a parliament, had inveſted him with the protectorſhip; that ſome points in the new conſtitution were ſuppoſed to be fundamentals, and were not, on any pretence, to be altered or diſputed; that among theſe were the government of the nation by one perſon and a parliament, their joint authority over the army and militia, the ſucceſſion of new parliaments, and liberty of conſcience; and that with regard to theſe particulars, there was reſerved to him a negative voice, to which in the other circumſtances of government he confeſſed himſelf in no wiſe entitled. When the members returned to the houſe, they found a guard at the door, which would not ſuffer any one to enter till he had ſigned a recognition, by which he promiſed to be faithful to the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and that he would never conſent to a change in the government eſtabliſhed under a protector and parliament. Moſt of the members, after ſome heſitation, ſubmitted to this condition, but retained the ſame refractory ſpirit, which they had diſcovered in their firſt debates. The inſtrument of government, was examined one article after another, with the moſt ſcrupulous accuracy. Very free topics were advanced with the general approbation of the houſe; and during the whole courſe of their tranſactions, they neither ſent up one law to the protector, nor took any notice of him. Several members engaged in a conſpiracy, formed chiefly by the cavaliers, a name at this time given to the royal party, to take arms in different parts of the kingdom. But Cromwell having received intelligence of this ſcheme from his ſpies, haſtened to the diſſolution of ſo dangerous an aſſembly, eleven days before the expiration of the time fixed by the act of government; and he gave them to underſtand, at parting, that he knew ſeveral of them were engaged in a plot againſt him.

A. D. 1655. The cavaliers now concerted a plan for a general inſurrection in favour of Charles; but the protector's ſpies informing him what was in agitation, he cauſed ſome of the conſpirators to be thrown into priſon; the conſequence of which was, that moſt of the reſt remained quiet; but in the weſt of England, Penruddock, Grove, Jones, and other gentlemen, raiſed two hundred horſe, and entering Saliſbury during the aſſizes, took poſſeſſion of the gates and market-place, and proclaimed the king; but their friends not joining them, they left the city, and wandered through the country till their numbers were ſo leſſened, that they were ſuppreſſed by one troop of horſe. The leaders of the party being condemned and executed, and others tranſported, Cromwell began to attend to foreign affairs. The new republic was ſo much dreaded by the French king, that though his fleet ſailing to the relief of Dunkirk, had been attacked by the fleet of England, yet the French court, ſo far from reſenting the affront, ſent ambaſſadors to England, to ſolicit their friendſhip. Soon after Cromwell had entered on the protectorſhip, he diſpatched admiral Blake with a fleet to the Mediterranean, to chaſtize the inſolence of the Algerine corſairs, which had committed great depredations on the Engliſh trading veſſels: and admiral Penn ſailed to the Weſt Indies, with a fleet carrying five thouſand ſoldiers under the command of general Venables. The admiral, by his private orders, to be opened in a certain latitude, found that he was to attack St. Domingo, the capiaal of Hiſpaniola. On the approach of the Engliſh, the Spaniards fled to the woods; but when Venables had landed ſome of his forces, they returned, and made preparations to defend themſelves. The

Engliſh had been greatly fatigued by a forced march immediately after landing, and the heat of the climate had ſuch an effect on them, that the Spaniards, after killing ſix hundred of their men, compelled them to retire to their ſhips. This misfortune, ſo unfavourable in appearance, turned out highly advantageous to the Engliſh intereſt, and was productive of a very happy event; for our commanders ſailing immediately to Jamaica, that valuable iſland ſurrendered to them without the leaſt reſiſtance, on the ſeventeenth of May; and has been in our poſſeſſion from that period to the preſent time; yet "ſo little was thought of the importance of this conqueſt, that upon their return from the expedition, Penn and Venables were ſent to the Tower, for their failure in the principal object of their expedition." It appears, however, that they were ſoon releaſed.

A. D. 1656. Blake, now in the Mediterranean, being joined by Montague, they cruized off Cadiz, with the view to intercept the Spaniſh fleet from the Weſt Indies; but, being in want of water, they ſailed to the coaſt of Portugal for a ſupply. Captain Stayner, whom Blake had left on the ſtation, with ſeven ſhips, ſoon deſcried the galleons, and immediately gave chace. The Spaniſh admiral, and two of his captains, ran their veſſels aſhore; but two ſhips, richly laden, fell into the hands of the Engliſh, and two were ſet on fire. The treaſure was brought from Portſmouth in waggons, and carried in triumph through the city of London. A ſubſequent action with the Spaniards, was productive of great honour to this brave admiral and to his country. Having received intelligence, that ſixteen Spaniſh ſhips, under the command of Don Diego Diagues, were at the Canaries, he ſailed thither, and finding them in the bay of Santa Cruz, attacked them with ſuch impetuous fury, that the Spaniards quitted their ſhips, to which Blake immediately ſet fire, and deſtroyed them with all their valuable contents. Blake died on his return to England, after he was within ſight of his native country; and Cromwell, to ſhew his reſpect to the memory of ſo gallant a commander, cauſed him to be buried in great pomp, at his own expence, in the chapel of Henry VII. It is recorded of Blake, that though he fought under Oliver, whom he deemed an uſurper, he was a zealous republican in principle; and that he would ſay to his ſeamen, "It is our duty to fight for our country, into whatever hands the government may fall." The duke of Holſtein having preſented the protector with ſix beautiful Frieſland horſes, he attempted to amuſe himſelf with driving them in Hyde Park, his ſecretary Thurloe being in the coach: but the horſes taking fright, threw his highneſs out of the box, and in his fall one of his pocket piſtols went off; notwithſtanding which, he received neither wound nor broken bones. On the ſeventeenth of September, a parliament ſummoned by Cromwell, met, the members of which were to be approved by his highneſs's council, before they ſhould have leave to ſit: and by this means near a hundred were excluded, who publiſhed a ſevere remonſtrance againſt this violence: and now the ſitting members proceeded juſt as Oliver would have them.

A. D. 1657. Cromwell now endeavoured to engage the affections of the people by an impartial adminiſtration of juſtice. The benches were filled with judges of incorruptible integrity, who gave their deciſions without reſpect of perſons, and he laid aſide his major-generals, who by this time had incurred the hatred and reſentment of the whole nation. By ſuch means he flattered himſelf that he had eſtabliſhed his authority on a firm foundation, and that in order to make it as laſting as it was extenſive, it wanted nothing but the conſent of a national aſſembly; he therefore convoked a parliament; but as he had no great confidence in the good will of the people, he employed every art to influence the electors, and to fill the houſe with his own dependents, by which he ſecured an undiſputed majority, and fully imagined he ſhould now be able to accompliſh all his views. The parliament being aſſembled, they voted a renunciation of all title in Charles Stuart, or any of his family; and this was the firſt act, dignified with the appearance of national conſent, which ever had that tendency. An act was alſo paſſed for the ſecuring his highneſs the lord protector's perſon, and the continuance of the nation in ſecurity and peace. This act was occaſioned by the diſcovery of two plots, which had been entered into, ſome time before, to depoſe Cromwell. This parliament likewiſe approved of the war with Spain, and granted large ſums of money for carrying it on; and after they had ſat ſome months, a formal motion was made by Pack, one of the city members, for inveſting the protector with the dignity of king. This motion occaſioned great diſorders, and threw the houſe into parties. The chief oppoſition proceeded from the major-generals, and ſuch officers as were attached to their intereſt. But Lambert, a man of great intereſts in the army, had entertained the ambitious views of ſucceeding Cromwell in the protectorſhip, which he foreſaw would be impoſſible if the monarchy ſhould be reſtored, as hereditary right would then likewiſe be eſtabliſhed; he therefore, with Deſborough, and other officers openly declared, that if Cromwell accepted the crown, they would inſtantly reſign their commiſſions; yet notwithſtanding all their oppoſition, the motion was approved by a great majority; and a bill was brought in and paſſed for that purpoſe. But this refractory ſpirit in Lambert and the other officers, diſconcerted Cromwell extremely.

A committee of the houſe now waited on the protector, beſeeching him to accept the crown; when he returned them the following ambiguous anſwer, hardly reducible to the rules of plain Engliſh, or common ſenſe. "I confeſs, for it behoves me to deal plainly with you, I muſt confeſs, I would ſay I hope I may be underſtood in this; for indeed I muſt be tender what I would ſay to ſuch an audience as this; I ſay I would be underſtood, that, in this argument, I do not make a parallel between men of a different mind, and a parliament which ſhall have their deſires. I know there is no compariſon; nor can it be urged upon me that my words have the leaſt colour that way, becauſe the parliament ſeems to me to give liberty to me to ſay any thing to you. As that is a tender of my humble reaſons and judgment, and opinion to them, and if I think they are ſuch, and will be ſuch to them, and are faithful ſervants, and will be ſo to the ſupreme authority and the legiſlative, whereſoever it is. If I ſay I ſhould not tell you knowing their minds to be ſo, I ſhould not be faithful if I ſhould not tell you ſo, to the end that you may report it to parliament." Hereupon a ſecond committee was appointed to reaſon with the protector, and to overcome thoſe ſcruples which he pretended againſt accepting ſo liberal an offer. The conference laſted for ſeveral days; which, as there is no doubt but that Cromwell was deſirous of obtaining the crown, could only be done with a view of bringing the army to approve of the deſign, which being found impoſſible, on the eighth of May the protector, with great ſeeming humility, told the parliament, that he could not undertake the government with the title of king. Thus they found themſeves obliged to retain the name of a commonwealth; but inſtead of the inſtrument of government, which had been the work of the general officers alone, an humble petition and advice was framed, and offered to the protector by the parliament. This was repreſented as the great baſis of the republican eſtabliſhment; by it the authority of the protector was in ſome particulars enlarged, and in others conſiderably diminiſhed. Cromwell having obtained this ſanction of his authority, reſolved to conſecrate his title by a new inauguration, which was performed the twenty-ſixth of June in Weſtminſter-hall, with all the pomp and magnificence of a coronation; after which the parliament adjourned itſelf to the twentieth of January. Cromwell now deprived Lambert of all his commiſſions, in lieu of which, as a bribe for his future peaceable deportment, he allowed him a penſion of two thouſand pounds a year. He next turned his thoughts towards the eſtabliſhment of his family. He ſent for Richard his eldeſt ſon out of the country, where he led a private life, to bring him acquainted with a court, and to initiate him into the knowledge of public affairs. Soon after his arrival, he prevailed on the univerſity of Oxford to elect him their chancellor, in which honour he was ſolemnly inſtalled at Whitehall. His ſecond ſon Henry he made lord-lieutenant of Ireland: and having two daughters unmarried, he matched one of them to the lord Falconbridge, and the other to Mr. Rich, grandſon and heir to his great friend the earl of Warwick. France ſent this year to demand auxiliary forces from England, to aſſiſt it in its war with the Spaniards; which requeſt was readily granted by the protector, and ſix thouſand foot were accordingly ſent, under the command of Sir John Reynolds. The arrival of theſe forces enabled the French to make themſelves maſters of Montmedi and St. Venant, two very important places in the Spaniſh Netherlands; and ſoon after of the ſtrong fort of Mardyke, which opened them an eaſy paſſage to the conqueſt of Dunkirk, an event that ſoon after happened. Charles, in his turn, entered into a treaty with the court of Spain, by which he was allowed to reſide privately at Bruſſels, with a penſion of ſix thouſand livres a month, and half as much for his brother the duke of Glouceſter. They alſo engaged to furniſh him with ſix thouſand men, as ſoon as he ſhould be poſſeſſed of a good port in England. About this time there was a plot laid for an inſurrection in England in favour of the king, and the marquis of Ormond came over to London to forward the deſign; but the protector having notice of it, publiſhed a proclamation for apprehending the conſpirators before they could form a body. The marquis narrowly eſcaped. Dr. Hewet, Sir Henry Slingſby, Mr. Mordaunt, and ſeveral others concerned in the plot, were ſeized, and the two former being tried by a high court of juſtice, were condemned and executed.

A. D. 1658. The parliament, on the twentieth of January, was again aſſembled, conſiſting, as in the times of monarchy, of two houſes, the commons, and the other houſe. This parliament occaſioned Cromwell great uneaſineſs. In the firſt place, all the members who had been excluded the houſe of commons the laſt ſeſſions, were now admitted to their ſeats, in conſequence of a clauſe in the Humble Petition and Advice, “That the perſons who are legally choſen, by a free election of the people, to ſerve in parliament, may not be excluded from doing their duties, but by the conſent of the houſe whereof they are members.” The next thing which proved prejudicial to his views, was the erecting this new aſſembly, diſtinguiſhed by the title of the Other Houſe. It conſiſted of ſixty members, among whom were five or ſix antient peers, ſeveral gentlemen of fortune and diſtinction, and ſome officers, who had riſen from the meaneſt profeſſions. None of the antient peers, however, would deign to accept of a ſeat which they were to ſhare with ſuch companions as were aſſigned them. By bringing ſo great a number of his friends and adherents into the other houſe, Cromwell loſt his majority among the national repreſentatives, and Sir Arthur Hazelrig, and ſome others, whom the protector had created lords, choſe rather to take their ſeats with the commons, in order by their preſence to ſtrengthen their own party, by which means an unconteſtable majority appeared againſt Cromwell, and the commons refuſed to acknowledge the authority of his other houſe. Even the legality of the humble petition and advice was queſtioned, as being voted by a parliament which lay under force, and which was deprived by military violence of a conſiderable number of its members.

The protector, apprehenſive of combinations between the parliament, and the malcontents of the army, was reſolved to allow no time for forming a conſpiracy againſt him; and accordingly, without conſulting any one, on the fourth of February he went to the houſe, and ſent for the commons into the Painted Chamber, where, after reproaching them with their factious ſpirit, and charging them with being privy to conſpiracies againſt his authority, he ſaid, “Since ſuch are your proceedings, I think it high time to put an end to your ſitting. I therefore declare this parliament diſſolved: and God be judge between me and you.” “Amen,” replied the members, with as great vehemence as the protector. But theſe diſtractions at home were not able to take off Cromwell's attention from foreign affairs. On the third of June, marſhal Turenne, who commanded the French army, undertook the ſiege of Dunkirk, which was but very ill provided for a defence. Don John of Auſtria, governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands, drew together all his troops, and amongſt the reſt the Britiſh and Iriſh under the duke of York, to relieve it. After the ſiege had continued about twelve days, intelligence came that Don John and the Spaniſh generals were coming to its relief. It was reſolved to attack them, and the Spaniards were totally defeated. The valour of the Engliſh on this occaſion has been juſtly celebrated. On the twenty-fifth of June, Dunkirk ſurrendered, and was, by agreement, delivered to Cromwell. He committed the government of it to Lockart, a perſon of great abilities.

Cromwell, however, reaped little ſatisfaction from the ſucceſs of his arms abroad; the ſituation of his affairs at home, kept him in perpetual inquietude. His military enterprizes, and ſecret intelligence, had exhauſted his revenue, and involved him in a conſiderable debt. The royaliſts (as we have before hinted) having concerted meaſures for a general inſurrection, Ormond came over in order to carry it into execution. Lord Fairfax, Sir William Waller, and many of the heads of the Preſbyterians, had ſecretly entered into the engagement; and even the army was infected with a general ſpirit of diſcontent. The conſpiracy was cruſhed by Willis, who diſcovered the whole to the protector; upon which Ormond was obliged to fly, and thought himſelf happy in having eſcaped ſo vigilant an adminiſtration. Many of the conſpirators were thrown into priſon; and a high court of juſtice was erected for the trial of thoſe whoſe guilt was moſt apparent. Sir Henry Slingſby, and Dr. Hewet, were condemned and beheaded; Aſton, Storey, and Beſtley, were hanged in different ſtreets of the city; and Mordaunt, brother to the earl of Peterborough, narrowly eſcaped, the numbers for his condemnation and acquittal being equal. The republicans, though they regarded with horror the views and principles of the royaliſts, continually denounced vengeance againſt Cromwell, and entered into cabals to dethrone him. Sindercome had undertaken to murder him, and had often been prevented by the moſt unaccountable accidents, from executing his bloody purpoſe: but though his deſign was diſcovered, the protector could never find the bottom of his enterprize, nor detect any of his accomplices; and notwithſtanding the clear and full proof of his guilt, the jury was, with difficulty, brought to condemn him. When every thing was prepared for his execution, he was found dead in his bed from poiſon, which it is ſuppoſed he had taken. The protector might have better ſupported his fears and apprehenſions, had he enjoyed any domeſtic ſatisfaction; but Fleetwood, his ſon-in-law, offended at Cromwell's ambition, had eſtranged himſelf from him. Cromwell's eldeſt daughter, who was Fleetwood's wife, had adopted republican principles, and could not, with patience, behold power lodged in a ſingle perſon, though that perſon was even an indulgent father. His other daughters were as much prejudiced in favour of the royal cauſe. But above all, the ſickneſs of Mrs. Claypole, Cromwell's favourite daughter, a lady endowed with many virtues and amiable accompliſhments, depreſſed his mind. She had entertained a high regard for Dr. Hewet, lately executed; and being refuſed his pardon, had tenderly urged her father to repent of the crimes into which he had been betrayed by his fatal ambition; and her death, which followed ſoon after, gave a new edge to all her exhortations.

The protector now experienced that his high elevation and grandeur could not enſure him that tranquillity which virtue and moderation can alone beſtow. Overwhelmed with the load of public affairs, and ſeeing nothing around him but treacherous friends, and enraged enemies, he found his power to depend on ſo delicate a poize of factions and intereſt, as the ſmalleſt event was able to deſtroy. Though he had, with ſuch ſignal intrepidity, braved death in the field, it was now his utmoſt care to avoid receiving it from the poinards of aſſaſſins; he never moved a ſtep without his guards; he wore armour under his clothes, and always carried a ſword and piſtol. He ſeldom ſlept above three nights together in the ſame chamber; and never let it be known before hand, what chamber he intended to chuſe; nor truſted himſelf in any one which was not provided with back doors, at which centinels were carefully placed. While in this ſituation of mind, he was ſeized with a ſlow fever, which changed into a tertian ague; but in the intervals of his fits he was able to walk abroad. At length the fever increaſed, and he began to conſider the near approach of death. He aſked Dr. Goodwin, one of his preachers, if the doctrine were true, that the elect could never fall, or ſuffer a final reprobation. The miniſter anſwered, "Nothing is more certain." "Then," ſaid Cromwell, "I am ſafe; for I am ſure that I was once in a ſtate of grace." His chaplains, by their prayers and revelations ſo buoyed up his hopes, that he began to believe his life out of danger; and with confidence ſaid to his phyſicians, "I tell you I ſhall not die of this diſtemper; I am well aſſured of my recovery. It is promiſed by the Lord, not only to my ſupplications, but to thoſe of men who hold a ſtricter commerce, and more intimate correſpondence with him. Ye may have ſkill in your profeſſion; but nature can do more than all the phyſicians in the world, and God is far above nature."

In a ſhort time all the ſymptoms began to wear a more fatal aſpect; and the phyſicians declared, that he could not ſurvive the next fit. The council being alarmed, ſent a deputation to know his will, with regard to his ſucceſſor. They aſked him, whether he did not intend that Richard, his eldeſt ſon, ſhould ſucceed him in the protectorſhip; but his ſenſes being nearly gone, he could not expreſs his intentions. A ſimple affirmative only was, or ſeemed to be extorted from him. He died on the third of September, a day he had always regarded as auſpicious, and on which he had gained his two ſignal victories of Dunbar and Worceſter, aged fifty-nine years, and four months. His death was followed by a violent tempeſt of thunder and lightening; both his partizans and enemies weakly drew concluſions from this event, which they interpreted according to their different prejudices. His remains were apparently interred in Weſtminſter-abbey, with more than regal magnificence; but ſome writers aſſert, that the body was wrapped in lead, and thrown into the Thames below London-bridge; and others with as little reaſon affirm poſitively, that it was ſecretly depoſited in Naſeby-field. By Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Bouchier, he had two ſons and four daughters. Richard his ſucceſſor, married the eldeſt daughter of Richard Major, Eſq; and Henry married a daughter of Sir Francis Ruſſel, of Chippenham, in Cambridgeſhire. His daughters were Bridget, married to commiſſary-general Ireton, afterwards to lieutenant-general Fleetwood; Elizabeth, the wife of John Claypole, Eſq; Mary, married to lord viſcount Falconbridge; and Frances, wife to Mr. Rich, grandſon to the earl of Warwick; and afterwards to Sir John Ruſſel of Chippenham.

Character of Oliver Cromwell.

This great ſtateſman and brave general was born at Huntingdon, of Welſh extraction, and the family name was originally Williams: but one of his anceſtors having married a ſiſter of the renowned Thomas Cromwell, earl of Eſſex, in the reign of Henry VIII. a ſon by that marriage took that name, and tranſmitted it to poſterity. Oliver, being the ſon of a ſecond brother, inherited but a ſmall eſtate. His father died when he was young; but his mother, whoſe name was Stuart, and by ſome authors ſuppoſed to be remotely allied to the royal family, lived till after he was protector. In his perſon he was of a robuſt frame of body, and of a manly aſpect, ſtrongly marked with good ſenſe, but with ſtriking lines of ſeverity. He ſtudied for ſome time at Sidney college in the univerſity of Cambridge, where he was admitted a fellow-commoner, and in which library there is now his portrait, reckoned the moſt ſtriking likeneſs now exiſting. Though he diſſipated part of his patrimony in gaming and drinking in this ſeminary of learning, yet while in college, he was eſteemed a man of ſhining abilities. Being ſuddenly ſeized with a ſpirit of reformation, he married; behaved with great gravity; reſtored whatever ſums he had won by gaming; and entered with zeal into the principles and views of the puritanical party. His mother could never be perſuaded, that either his power or his perſon were in ſafety; and at every noiſe ſhe heard, exclaimed, that her ſon was murdered. By her frugality and induſtry ſhe raiſed and educated a numerous family upon a ſmall fortune. She had even been obliged to ſet up a brewery at Huntingdon: hence Cromwell has been ſtigmatized with the name of the Brewer; and Ludlow, by way of inſult, takes notice of the great acceſſion he would receive to his royal revenues upon his mother's death, who poſſeſſed a jointure of ſixty pounds a year upon his eſtate.

The character of Cromwell has been drawn in quite oppoſite features by different hiſtorians, according

cording to their various principles and prejudices. Cardinal Mazarine was wont to call him a fortunate madman; father Orleans ſtiles him a judicious villain; lord Clarendon, a brave, wicked man. Abuſive epithets, or terms of reproach, are beneath the gravity of a thinking hiſtorian; and, when uſed, deſtroy, in that inſtant, both his impartiality and credit. It is certain, the memory of this extraordinary genius has been celebrated by the fineſt pens of his age. The verſes of Mr. Waller, Dryden, and Sprat, afterwards biſhop of Rocheſter, are well known. Tuckney, maſter of St. John's college, Dr. Wichcot, Horton, Minſhul, Seaman, and others, alſo wrote poems in his praiſe. "What can be more extraordinary," ſays Cowley, "than that a perſon of private birth and education, no fortune, no eminent qualities of body, nor ſhining talents of mind, ſhould have the courage to attempt, and the abilities to execute ſo great a deſign, as the ſubverting one of the moſt antient and beſt eſtabliſhed monarchies in the world? that he ſhould have the boldneſs and power to put his prince and maſter to an open and infamous death? Should baniſh that numerous and ſtrongly allied family? Cover all theſe temerities under a ſeeming obedience to a parliament, in whoſe ſervice he pretended to be retained? Trample too upon that parliament, and ſcornfully expel them as ſoon as they gave him ground of diſſatisfaction? Overcome all his enemies by arms, and afterwards all his friends by artifice? Serve all parties patiently for a while, and command them victoriouſly at laſt? Be feared and courted by all foreign princes? Call together parliaments with a ſtroke of his pen, and ſcatter them again with a word of his mouth? Reduce to ſubjection a warlike and diſcontented nation, by means of a mutinous army? Command a mutinous army by ſeditious and factious officers? Be humbly and daily petitioned, that he would be pleaſed, at the rate of millions a year, to be hired as maſter of thoſe who had hired him before to be their ſervant? Have the eſtates and lives of three nations as much at his diſpoſal, as was once the little inheritance of his father, and be as liberal and noble in the ſpending of them? And laſtly (for there is no end of enumerating every particular of his glory) with one word, bequeath all this power and ſplendor to his poſterity? Die poſſeſſed of peace at home, and triumph abroad? Be buried among kings? And leave a name behind him not to be extinguiſhed but with the whole world, which as it was too little for his praiſe, ſo might it have been for his conqueſts, if the ſhort line of his mortal life could have ſtretched out to the extent of his immortal deſigns." Hyperbolical as this character may appear, it is, in a great meaſure, founded in truth. It is aſtoniſhing that a man of ſuperficial knowledge, by the ſtrength of natural talents, ſhould conceive the moſt daring projects which were ever formed by the human mind. That he ſhould be as artful in exploring the purpoſes of others, as he was ſagacious in diſſembling his own deſigns; that he ſhould be ſo verſed in the knowledge of mankind, as to be able by the ſingle principle of an hypocritical enthuſiaſm, to render all factions ſubſervient to his ambitious views. Such was his courage and reſolution, that in the accompliſhment of his deſigns he overlooked all danger, and ſaw no difficulty; and, on being raiſed from a very private ſtation, to the power of the greateſt monarh, it is really amazing, that he could behave with a dignity ſuitable to that power, and ſupport, with all ſtrangers, that high idea with which they had been impreſſed by his great exploits and uncommon policy; eſpecially if we conſider he made no figure in the awful tragedy, till the breaking out of the civil war; and he was not leſs than forty-three years of age, when he firſt embraced the military profeſſion. Notwithſtanding the gravity of his manners, and his religious cant, upon many occaſions he could relax himſelf in trifling, jeſting, and making verſes among his intimate friends, without lowering himſelf in their eſteem; whereby he took the opportunity of diving into their weakneſſes; and would ſometimes induce them by an indulgence in wine, to open to him the moſt ſecret receſſes of their hearts. However, great regularity of manners was always maintained in his court; and notwithſtanding his fondneſs for ſportive frolics in private, he took care to give no offence to the moſt rigid and devout. He upheld ſome ſtate, but with little expence, and without oſtentatious ſplendor. Every thing was managed with great frugality, yet he was generous to thoſe who ſerved him. He knew how to find out and engage in his intereſt, every man poſſeſſed of thoſe talents which every particular employment demanded; and all his generals, admirals, judges, and ambaſſadors, were perſons who, in their ſeveral ſpheres, contributed to the honour of the nation, and his own ſecurity. He ſought every where for men of abilities, in order properly to employ them. He favoured learning, and was munificent to ſuch as excelled in ſcience: nor did he fail, in ſeveral reſpects, to conciliate the affections of his enemies to his perſon and government. It muſt, indeed, be confeſſed, Cromwell knew as well how to play the tyrant, as to act the ſaint. His edict againſt the epiſcopal clergy was to the laſt degree unjuſt and cruel. The cavaliers had hard meaſure from him, as they were, almoſt without exception, rendered ſubject to heavy taxes, and other inconveniences, upon account of the raſhneſs and imprudence of ſome of their party. He alſo, on particular occaſions, made uſe of packed juries, and diſplaced judges for refuſing to follow his directions. He committed men illegally to priſon; cauſed them to be tried before new created tribunals; and adjudged to death without the verdict of a jury: if to this we add the violation of the privileges of parliament, we muſt acknowledge his actions were, in many inſtances, arbitrary, illegal, and tyrannical. On the other hand, his enemies allow, that in private life, as a ſon, a huſband, a father, and a friend, he deſerves applauſe; and his government, though arbitrary, and ſupported by military force, was, in many inſtances, worthy of praiſe. He gave great encouragement to trade and commerce, which flouriſhed ſurpriſingly under his auſpices: by means of his influence over cardinal Mazarine, he effectually interpoſed in favour of the proteſtants abroad: he preſerved untarniſhed the glory of the Britiſh flag: and he ſupported the honour of the nation, and maintained it in a degree of conſideration among European powers, that had not been known ſince the reign of Elizabeth. To conclude, this conſummate ſtateſman was a magnanimous governor: an aſtoniſhing compound of ambition and hypocriſy, adorned with a cluſter of many public and private virtues.

THE INTER-REGNUM CONTINUED UNDER RICHARD.

IMMEDIATELY on the death of Cromwell, Richard, his eldeſt ſon, was proclaimed protector in London by the council, and by Monk in Scotland; and Henry, Richard's brother, who governed Ireland with popularity, undertook for the obedience of that kingdom. Both the army and fleet acknowledged his title. Upwards of ninety addreſſes from the counties and moſt conſiderable corporations, congratulated Richard on his acceſſion, in terms of dutiful allegiance; and the foreign miniſters were particularly attentive in paying him the uſual compliments. Thus Richard, a young man of no experience, accuſtomed to a retired life in the country, unacquainted with the officers of the army, and recommended by no military exploits, was tempted to accept of ſo rich an inheritance, though his want of ambition would never have prompted him to contend for it.

A.D. 1659. The parliament was now aſſembled; like the former, it conſiſted of two houſes. There were a great many republicans in the houſe of commons, who held long debates about the other houſe, and likewiſe about the humble petition and advice; and after great oppoſition, and many vehement diſputes, it was at laſt, with much difficulty, carried by the court party to confirm it. Before the meeting of this aſſembly, ſeveral cabals had been ſet on foot by diſcontented perſons, againſt the government of the new protector. His uncle Deſborough was a republican, and Fleetwood, his brother-in-law, a violent fanatic, and of conſequence both averſe to the government of a ſingle perſon. Lambert and Ludlow, with many other officers whom Oliver had deprived of their commiſſions, now came forth from their retreats, and joined the council againſt Richard. Some of theſe, pretending great friendſhip for him, adviſed him to call up to London as many officers as could be ſpared from the regiments quartered in different parts of the country, for the better ſupporting him in his authority, if the parliament ſhould prove refractory.

Richard, who did not poſſeſs much penetration, fell into the ſnare, and when theſe officers repaired to London, they eſtabliſhed their meetings at Fleetwood's apartments, which being in Wallingford-houſe, the party were known by the name of the Wallingford cabal. They now aſſumed the title of the great council of the army, and preſented a petition to the protector, wherein they demanded, "That no member of the army ſhould be ſubject to the civil magiſtrate; and that the officers ſhould enjoy the privilege of chuſing their own general." Richard ſoon perceived that their deſign was to render themſelves independent of him, therefore, alarmed at their preſumption, he rejected their petition, and even threatened to diſmiſs them from his ſervice, ſhould they make ſuch extravagant propoſals for the future. But this ſeeming firmneſs in Richard had no effect on the Wallingford cabal, who now preſented a petition to the parliament, praying that Fleetwood might be appointed general of the army; but Richard gave an unfavourable anſwer, and commanded the officers immediately to return to their reſpective quarters. The council of officers now denied the authority of Richard, and came to the reſolution of eſtabliſhing a form of government in which he ſhould have no concern. They led their troops to Whitehall, and having ſtationed parties of men in all the avenues of that building, Deſborough, attended by a ſtrong guard, demanded an audience of the protector. In the name of all the officers, he inſiſted on an immediate diſſolution of the parliament. Richard refuſed to comply with their demands; but upon Deſborough threatening, that if entreaties were rejected, recourſe would be had to coercive means, the protector declared that the parliament ſhould be diſſolved. A diſſolution of parliament ſoon after taking place, it was generally conſidered that the protector was depoſed; and in a few days he formally reſigned his authority.

Intelligence was now received of ſeveral conſpiracies, which were forming by the royaliſts, in conjunction with the Preſbyterians, in ſeveral parts of the kingdom; and in many counties a reſolution was taken to riſe in arms. Lord Willoughby of Parham, and Sir Horatio Townſhend, undertook to ſecure Lynn; general Maſſey engaged to ſeize Glouceſter; lord Newport, Littleton, and other gentlemen, conſpired to take poſſeſſion of Shrewſbury; Sir George Booth of Cheſter; Sir Thomas Middleton of North Wales; and Arundel, Pollard, Granville, and Trelawney, of Plymouth and Exeter. A day was appointed for all theſe enterprizes; and the king, attended by his brother the duke of York, had arrived ſecretly at Calais, with a reſolution of putting himſelf at the head of his loyal ſubjects, as ſoon as a favourable opportunity offered. This combination was, however, diſconcerted by the treachery of Sir Richard Willis, who, being in great confidence with the king and his little court, was intruſted by them with all their cabinet ſecrets. This man had been bribed by Oliver, and from that time had continually betrayed all the reſolves of Charles and his friends, and now ſent intelligence of this conſpiracy to Thurloe, the ſecretary of ſtate. The parliament, alarmed at their danger, cauſed all the horſes in and about London to be ſeized; the avenues of the city to be guarded; and ſeveral detachments of horſe and foot to be placed in the roads from the weſt and north-weſt parts of the kingdom. They had many officers whoſe fidelity they could more depend upon than that of Lambert; but there was no one in whoſe vigilance and capacity they repoſed ſuch confidence; he was therefore ſent about the beginning of Auguſt againſt Booth and his party, whoſe intent of taking Cheſter was the only part of the conſpiracy which had ſucceeded. The earl of Derby, lord Herbert of Cherbury, Mr. Lee, and colonel Morgan, took part in this enterprize. He was alſo joined by Sir William Middleton with ſome troops from North Wales, by which means his party became ſtrong enough to ſubdue all in that neighbourhood who had courage enough to oppoſe them. When Lambert left London, his army did not conſiſt of above fifteen hundred men; but on his march he was joined by three regiments, which the parliament had ordered from Dunkirk, and by colonel Zauchy with his own regiment of horſe, and a regiment of foot, amounting in all to about five thouſand. Booth, whoſe party did not conſiſt of half that number, having intelligence of Lambert's approach, thought to have got a day's march before him into Lancaſhire, where he hoped to increaſe it; and to gain time, he ſent a trumpeter, with two miniſters, to ſhew the reaſon for their raiſing an army, and deſired a treaty, to ſave the effuſion of blood. This propoſal Lambert conſented to, if they would firſt lay down their arms, and ſurrender to him the garriſons in their power.

No anſwer being given, an engagement enſued, in which the royaliſts were defeated. Booth and Middleton made their eſcape, many were taken priſoners, and Booth himſelf was ſoon after ſeized and committed to the Tower. This ſucceſs haſtened the ruin of the parliament. Lambert, conſcious of his ſtrength, and of their extreme weakneſs, was no leſs dangerous to them than Booth. A thouſand pounds, which they voted him as a reward for his ſervice, he employed in bribing the officers under his command, who all ſwore to be true to him. At his inſtigation they drew up a petition to the parliament, demanding that they would comply with the addreſs formerly preſented by the council of Wallingford-houſe; that they would eſtabliſh Fleetwood in his command, appoint Lambert major-general, Deſborough lieutenant-general of the horſe, and Monk, major-general of the foot; and that no officer ſhould be diſmiſſed from his command but by a court-martial. This petition being preſented was taken into conſideration by the houſe, who at laſt voted, "that to have other officers than thoſe appointed by parliament, would be uſeleſs, chargeable and dangerous to the commonwealth." At the ſame time, alarmed at the danger, they caſhiered Lambert, Deſborough, Berry, Clarke, Barrow, Kelſey, and Cobbet; revoked Fleetwood's commiſſion, and appointed commiſſioners to govern the army for a limited time. The army paid no reſpect to their acts or reſolutions. Lambert drew ſome troops together, in order to decide the controverſy. Moſs and Morley brought their regiments into Palace-yard, reſolute to oppoſe the violence of Lambert: but he had no intention of giving them ſo much trouble; he had an eaſier method of ſubduing them. He placed his ſoldiers in ſuch a manner as to ſecure all the avenues to Weſtminſter-hall; and when the ſpeaker arrived in his coach, he ordered the horſes to be turned, and with great politeneſs conducted him home. The other members were by the ſame ſtratagem prevented from meeting, and the two regiments in Palace-yard finding themſelves expoſed to the deriſion of the people, departed quietly to their quarters. Thus, on the thirteenth of Auguſt, five months after it had been reſtored, was the rump parliament again depoſed by the army, and the officers found themſelves again inveſted with ſupreme authority. Out of their own body they appointed a council of ten perſons, who were to take upon them the management of ſuch affairs as were moſt preſſing. They then declared Fleetwood their general, Lambert their lieutenant-general, and Deſborough commiſſary-general of the horſe. At laſt they elected a committee of twenty-three perſons, of whom ſeven were officers. Theſe they pretended to inveſt with ſovereign authority; and called them a committee of ſafety.

All this time the conduct of Monk was ſo impenetrable, that it remained a doubt which party he would embrace. But he no ſooner heard of Lambert's proceedings in London, than he marched out of Scotland, with the beſt of his troops, firmly reſolved to reſtore the rump parliament. This meaſure rendered him ſuſpected of having formed ſome deep deſigns either in his own favour or that of the king; but his profound ſecrecy and diſſimulation prevented any thing certain from tranſpiring. He wrote letters to Fleetwood and Lambert, wherein he complained of their violation of faith to the parliament, and declared his reſolution of endeavouring to reſtore them to their power, againſt all oppoſition whatſoever. Fleetwood and Lambert were aſtoniſhed at this reſolution. They immediately ordered colonel Talbot and Clarges, brother-in-law to Monk, to go into Scotland, and, if poſſible, prevail with the general to enter into a treaty, which might prevent the effuſion of blood. But Monk was indefatigable in carrying his deſigns into execution. All the officers in his army, of whom he entertained the leaſt ſuſpicion, he caſhiered. He drew together the ſeveral ſcattered regiments. He ſummoned an aſſembly ſomewhat reſembling a convention of eſtates in Scotland, and having communicated his intention of marching into England, he received from them a ſmall but ſeaſonable ſupply of money. Clarges and Talbot being arrived in Scotland, were well received by Monk; who, by their advice, and in order to gain time, conſented to a negotiation, and ſent Wilkes, Cloberry, and Knight, three of his officers, to treat with the committee. They met Lambert at York, with a body of forces to oppoſe the progreſs of Monk. He told them he was ſufficiently authorized to treat with them; but upon their demanding the reſtoration of the parliament, he acknowledged he had no inſtructions on that head, and they proceeded to London, where the ſame demand being made to the committee, they immediately aſſented to it. And the treaty, by which both ſides engaged to act vigorouſly againſt Charles, was ſigned on the fifteenth of November.

The nation was now in a ſtate of perfect anarchy; and by refuſing the payment of all taxes, reduced the army to the greateſt extremity. While Lambert was collecting his forces at Newcaſtle, Haſelrig and Morley entered Portſmouth, and declared for the parliament. A party, ſent to quell the inſurrection, were induced by their commander, to embrace the ſame intereſt. The city apprentices roſe in a body, and inſiſted on a free parliament: and though they were ſuppreſſed by colonel Hewſon, a man who was once a cobler, but now enjoyed a conſiderable rank in the army, the city ſtill retained its oppoſition, and diſcovered marks of the higheſt diſſatisfaction. The magiſtrates even erected a kind of ſeparate government, and exerciſed the ſupreme authority within their walls. About the ſame time admiral Lawſon entered the river with his fleet, and declared for the parliament. Alarmed at theſe events, Haſelrig and Morley left Portſmouth, and haſtened towards London. The regiments quartered in the neighbourhood of that city, were perſuaded by their old officers, who had been diſmiſſed by the committee of ſafety, to eſpouſe, once more, the cauſe of the parliament. Deſborough's regiment, which had been ſent to Lambert, to aſſiſt his friends, no ſooner reached St. Albans, than that officer declared for the ſame aſſembly. Lenthall the ſpeaker, at the deſire of the officers, reſumed his former authority, and on the twenty-ſixth of December, aſſembled the parliament, which had, with ſo much contempt and ignominy, been twice expelled. On their meeting they annulled the act againſt the payment of the exciſe and cuſtoms; they next choſe commiſſioners for aſſigning quarters to the ſoldiers: and without taking the leaſt notice of Lambert, they enjoined the forces under his command, to repair directly to the garriſons allotted for them. The ſituation of this general was now deſperate; his army, now rendered entirely uſeleſs to him, and what was ſtill worſe, the few troops that remained with him, thinking to make their court to thoſe in power, or perhaps to gratify ſome pique of their own, put their general under an arreſt, and ſent him to London, where he was committed a priſoner to the Tower.

A. D. 1660.

Monk, having received a ſupply of thirty thouſand pounds from the Scots, and taken proper precautions for maintaining the peace of that kingdom, entered England on the ſecond of January. During his march he received information of the diſbanding of the army, and alſo that the lord Fairfax, with ſome of the principal gentry in Yorkſhire, were in arms, demanding a free parliament. This was going a ſtep farther than Monk had yet propoſed. He was, however, received with open arms by the lord Fairfax and all his friends, who had taken poſſeſſion of the city of York. The rump parliament now became greater objects of deteſtation than the army had been before; and every ſtep which Monk advanced towards the capital, occaſioned ſome freſh declarations or aſſociations of the counties for a free parliament. The rump now began to think they had made the breach between themſelves and the Wallingford officers, too irreconcileable. They began to apprehend that Monk had ſomething more in view than the reſtoring them, and would have been better pleaſed had he continued in Scotland. They, however, ſent him a letter, informing him, that they were re-aſſembled, and attributed the reſtitution of their authority wholly to his fidelity, care, and courage. This meſſage was ſo far from being pleaſing to the general, that he conſidered it as one of the moſt unfortunate events that could have attended him. He was under a thouſand perplexities how to act; for by the parliament's precipitate reſumption of their power, aſſiſted by a numerous army newly returned to their obedience, he deſpaired of being able to compaſs his deſigns, and thought it prudent not to continue any longer in arms, than a favourable opportunity ſhould offer for laying them down; for he had been perſuaded that they would not have thought themſelves ſafe till his arrival in London with his army, when he intended to reſtore all the other members with them, without paying the leaſt regard to their difference of opinions. He, however, continued his march, and in all the counties which he paſſed through, the chief people flocked to him with addreſſes, wherein they expreſſed their earneſt deſire, that he would do his utmoſt to reſtore the nation to peace and tranquillity, and to the enjoyment of thoſe liberties, of which they had been, for ſuch a number of years, ſo unhappily deprived. At Lancaſter he was met by a deputation from London, with an addreſs, praying the reſtoration of the members who had been excluded in 1648. The preſbyterians ſeem to have had the principal ſhare in all theſe addreſſes, for the ſecluded members were moſtly of that perſuaſion. The parliament perceiving it was not in their power to prevent the progreſs of Monk, thought it moſt prudent to conſent to it, and accordingly on the twelfth of January an act was voted to juſtify Monk's march into England; and on the ſixteenth they voted a thouſand pounds a year to be ſettled on him. Scot and Robinſon, two of their members, were ſent under pretence of complimenting him on the road, but in reality as ſpies on his conduct. The city diſpatched four of their chief perſons to perform like compliments; and at the ſame time to confirm the general in his inclination to a free parliament. When Monk came to St. Albans, he ſent a letter to the parliament, wherein he deſired they would remove from London thoſe regiments, who, though they now profeſſed to return to their duty, had ſo lately offered violence to that aſſembly. The parliament thought proper to comply with this requeſt. Lambert was now in the Tower, and Fleetwood, with the other ſuperior officers, tamely obeyed the orders they received for leaving London; but the common men were more refractory; about four thouſand of them mutinied; one regiment in particular, which was quartered in Somerſet-houſe, refuſed to yield their place to the northern army, but, for want of leaders, they were at laſt obliged quietly to ſubmit.

Monk entered London on the fourth of February. The next day he was introduced to the houſe, and thanks were given him, in the name of the members, by Lenthall their ſpeaker, for the eminent ſervices he had done his country. Monk returned an anſwer in ſuch ambiguous terms, as ſtill kept every one in ſuſpence. But it was impoſſible for the nation to remain long in this doubtful ſituation; and the people, as well as parliament, were deſirous of bringing matters to ſome determined iſſue. During the late diſtractions, the payment of taxes had been interrupted; and though the parliament, as ſoon as they were reſtored, had given orders for all collections and impoſitions, yet ſo little authority did they poſſeſs in the nation, that the people obeyed their commands very ſlowly and with great reluctance. The common council of London abſolutely refuſed to ſubmit to an aſſeſſment required of them; and declared, that till a free and lawful parliament impoſed taxes, they never ſhould think it their duty to make any payment. This peremptory denial gave the parliament a fair pretence of making a trial of their own power, and the general's fidelity. Accordingly on the ninth of February, Monk received orders to march into the city, to ſeize twelve perſons the moſt obnoxious to the parliament, to remove the poſts and chains from all the ſtreets, and to take down and deſtroy the portculliſes and gates of the city. Theſe orders Monk complied with in part only, and, after ſome ſecret conferences with the citizens, he began to throw off the maſk which he had ſo long worn. He ſent a letter to the parliament, acquainting them with what he had done, and begging they would mitigate the ſeverity of their order; which they refuſing to do, he made many public apologies to the city for his conduct in the affair, declaring it to have been entirely in compliance with the orders of the rump, whom he now found to be a ſet of mercileſs unrelenting tyrants. He then wrote a letter to the houſe, reproaching them with ſome new cabals they had formed with Vane and Lambert, and alſo with the encouragement given to a fanatical petition, preſented by Praiſe-god Barebone, wherein he deſired, that every individual of the kingdom ſhould be compelled to take the oath of abjuration. He then required them in the name of the citizens, ſoldiers, and whole commonwealth, to iſſue writs within a week for filling their houſe, and to fix the time for their own diſſolution and the aſſembling of a new parliament. He now declared his reſolution to the city, and deſired that they would join their endeavours with his for the happineſs and ſettlement of the commonwealth. The joy which this declaration occaſioned in the city, was teſtified by the ringing of bells, bonfires, and illuminations. The parliament foreſaw the approaching ſtorm, but reſolved to make one more effort for the recovery of their dominion. They diſpatched a committee to the general, to endeavour by every perſuaſion to bring him over to their intereſt; and even went ſo far, as to offer him the ſupreme authority. But Monk refuſed to hear them except in the preſence of ſome of the ſecluded members. He then marched into the city, where he formed a new militia; this done he returned with his army to Weſtminſter, and purſued every proper meaſure for the ſettlement of the nation, ſtill concealing his real deſigns under the appearance of republican principles. On the twenty-firſt of February the ſecluded members attended him in a body to Whitehall; from whence, after receiving their promiſe to call a free parliament, and then diſſolve themſelves, he gave them a guard to the parliament-houſe, where they took their ſeats. The leaders of the independent and republican party, amazed at the ſudden appearance of the excluded members among them, retired from the houſe. The reſtored members then repealed all the orders by which they had been excluded. They gave Sir George Booth and all his party their liberty and eſtates. They renewed and enlarged the general's commiſſion. They fixed an aſſeſſment for the ſupport of the fleet and army. And having paſſed theſe votes for the preſent compoſure of the kingdom, they on the ſixteenth of March, diſſolved themſelves, and gave orders for the immediate aſſembling of a new parliament. In the mean time a council of ſtate was eſtabliſhed, compoſed of men of dignity and moderation. The militia of the kingdom was intruſted in ſuch hands as would promote order and ſettlement. Theſe, when joined with Monk's army, were eſteemed a ſufficient check on the diſperſed army, which was more numerous, and of whoſe inclinations there was ſtill great reaſon to be diffident. But before the new parliament met, Lambert eſcaped out of the Tower. This accident alarmed Monk and the council of ſtate, who knew Lambert's great popularity in the army. Colonel Ingoldſby was immediably diſpatched after him, and overtook him at Daventry, while he had yet aſſembled but four troops of horſe; two of which deſerted him; and he, endeavouring to make his eſcape, was ſeized by Ingoldſby, and again committed to the Tower. Monk did not openly declare that he had adopted the king's intereſt; and Morrice, a near relation of his, was the only man with whom he intruſted the important ſecret. Sir John Grenville, being at this time ſent to Monk by Charles, applied to Morrice for admiſſion to the general, but received for anſwer, that the general deſired he would communicate his buſineſs to Morrice; this he refuſed to do, and Monk, pleaſed with his ſecrecy, admitted him to his preſence. After hearing what he had to ſay, he opened to him his whole intentions, and commiſſioned him to aſſure the king of his attachment to his intereſt; as a preſent proof of which, he deſired he would inſtantly leave Spain, and retire to Holland, as he had received ſecret information, that Spain intended to retain him as a pledge for the recovery of Dunkirk and Jamaica. This intelligence was communicated to Charles but juſt in time; for he very narrowly eſcaped to Breda; and had he delayed his journey, even for a few hours, he had certainly, under pretence of honour and reſpect, been arreſted by the Spaniards.

The parliament, on the twenty-fifth of April, aſſembled in two houſes, that of lords and that of commons. The commons choſe Sir Harbottle Grimſtone, for their ſpeaker. This gentleman, with many others, had gone great lengths in contributing to the ruin of the late king, but ſtopped when his death was under conſideration. On the firſt day of their meeting, the commons received a meſſage from the lords; and on the ſecond, Grimſtone, by order of the houſe, returned thanks to Monk for ſubduing all their, and the nations enemies without the effuſion of blood. They then adjourned till the firſt day of May. When the houſe re-aſſembled, the great dangers incurred during the former uſurpations, and the extreme caution of the general, kept every one in awe; and no one dared for ſome days to make any mention of the king. But Monk, finding by their bitter invectives againſt the memory of Cromwell, and execrations upon thoſe who had murdered their late ſovereign, that they were diſpoſed as he could wiſh, ordered Anneſly, preſident of the council to acquaint them, that one Sir John Grenville, a ſervant of the king's had been ſent to England by his majeſty, and was now at the door with a letter to the commons. He was immediately called in, and preſented the letter, together with a declaration, which he had received from the king. Without one moment's delay, or a contradictory vote, a committee was appoined to prepare an anſwer; and on the eighth of May both houſes attended, while the king was with great ſolemnity proclaimed in Palace-yard, at Whitehall, and at Temple-bar. As a convincing proof of their affection for his majeſty, the commons voted him a preſent of fifty thouſand pounds, ten thouſand pounds were at the ſame time given to the duke of York, and five thouſand to the duke of Glouceſter; and a committee of lords and commons was diſpatched to invite his majeſty to return and take poſſeſſion of his dominions. This ſubmiſſion of the king's ſubjects was ſoon ſucceeded by the reſpect of foreign powers. Spain invited him to return to the Low Countries and embark in ſome of their maritime towns, and France offered Calais for the ſame purpoſe. But Charles accepted a third invitation, which he received from the States-General, and going to Holland, where every mark of magnificent reſpect was ſhewn him, he embarked on board the Engliſh fleet which lay ready to receive him, under the command of admiral Montague. He made his public entry into London on the twenty-ninth of May, which was alſo his birth-day; and aſcended the throne of his anceſtors, without making any conditions with the people. It may be proper here to obſerve of the deſcendants and relations of the protector, that Richard Cromwell died at Cheſhunt in Hertfordſhire, July 13, 1712, aged eighty ſix. William Cromwell, Eſq; and great grandſon of the protector, died in Kirby-ſtreet, Hatton-garden, unmarried, on July 9, 1772, aged eighty-five. Mr. Thomas Cromwell, lately in the Eaſt Indies, and Mr. Thomas Cromwell, an attorney at Million Bank, now living in Budge-row, Watling-ſtreet, ſons of Mr. Thomas Cromwell, of Snow-hill, and the protector's great grandſons, are now the ſurvivors of his male line.

During the peaceable part of Charles the firſt's reign, the induſtry and commerce of England was extremely increaſed. The Engliſh poſſeſſed almoſt the ſole trade with Spain; twenty thouſand pieces of cloth were annually ſent to Turkey; and the trade to Guinea and the Eaſt Indies became conſiderable. Commerce received ſome interruption from the civil wars; but ſoon recovered after the eſtabliſhment of the commonwealth. The war with the Dutch greatly promoted the trade of England; but that with Spain was equally prejudicial. The prevalence of the principles of liberty, which brought mankind more upon a level, engaged the country gentlemen to bind their ſons apprentices to merchants, and commerce has been ever ſince more honourable in England, than in any other kingdom in Europe. The excluſive companies, by which trade had been confined by royal charters, were never, during the commonwealth, expreſsly aboliſhed by any ordinance of parliament: but no regard being paid to the prerogative whence thoſe charters were derived, theſe monopolies were gradually invaded: and commerce increaſed with the increaſe of liberty. Money became more plentiful; and in 1650, intereſt was reduced to ſix per cent. From 1619 to 1638, there had been coined ſix million nine hundred thouſand and forty-two pounds, and from 1638 to 1657, the coinage amounted to ſeven million ſeven hundred and thirty-three thouſand five hundred and twenty-one pounds.

In 1653, the Poſt-houſe was farmed at ten thouſand pounds a year, which was eſteemed a conſiderable ſum for the three kingdoms: but letters paid then only about half the preſent poſtage.

The firſt mention of chocolate, tea, and coffee, is about the year 1660; and about the ſame time aſparagus, cauliflowers, artichokes, and a variety of ſallads, were introduced into England.

The colony of New England was founded by the puritans, who fled thither from the rigorous perſecutions of Laud, in the reign of Charles I. For a like reaſon the catholics, who afterwards found themſelves expoſed to many hardſhips, went over in great numbers to America, and ſettled the colony of Maryland.

Learning and the fine arts were favoured at court, before the civil wars; and a good taſte began to prevail in the nation. Charles I. loved pictures; was a judge of painting, and ſometimes handled the pencil himſelf. The pieces of foreign maſters were bought up at a vaſt price; and from the emulation between Charles I. and Philip IV. of Spain, the value of pictures doubled in Europe. Many eminent maſters ſettled in England, and were encouraged at court. Architecture alſo flouriſhed; and Inigo Jones was maſter of the king's buildings. Notwithſtanding the narrow revenue of Charles I. he lived in ſuch magnificence, that he poſſeſſed twenty-four palaces, all of them elegantly and compleatly furniſhed. Charles was, however, far from encouraging literary merit.

As civil wars, founded on principles of liberty, preſent noble and intereſting objects to the mind, they amply compenſate for that tranquillity of which they bereave the muſes. Hence the ſpeeches of the parliamentary orators are much ſuperior to what any former age had produced in England; and the force and compaſs of the Engliſh language, was then firſt put to trial. And hence this period abounds with the moſt admirable authors.

John Milton, who was born on the ninth of December, 1608, was diſtinguiſhed by being the moſt ſublime poet who wrote either in our own, or in any other language, Homer and Taſſo not excepted. His Paradiſe Loſt not only ſurpaſſed all the performances of his contemporaries, though it was wrote during a ſtate of blindneſs, danger, and old age, but is ſtill admired as an inimitable effort of the human mind. His L'Allegro and Il Penſeroſo, and alſo his Comus, are extremely beautiful, and his other poems abound with beauties. Moſt of his proſe works are in Latin, and are diſtinguiſhed by the force and clearneſs of his reaſoning.

The ſame praiſes are not due to the other poets of that time; Waller, the firſt refiner of the Engliſh tongue, is, indeed, diſtinguiſhed by his gaiety, wit, and ingenuity; but his performances abound with many faults, and contain but feeble beauties.

Cowley, whoſe works were more praiſed and admired during his life time, and more celebrated after his death than thoſe of the great Milton, had little ear for harmony; and his verſes are only known to be ſuch by the rhyme which terminates them. His numbers are rugged and untuneable; however, great ingenuity and vigour of thought ſometimes break out.

Sir John Denham is chiefly diſtinguiſhed by his Cooper's hill, his principal performance, which has a loftineſs and vigour, ſuperior to that of any poet who wrote before him in rhyme: but he too is much inferior to the poets who ſucceeded him.

Among our proſe writers, none was more celebrated both abroad and at home than Hobbes. Clearneſs and propriety of ſtile are the chief excellencies of his writings; but being an enemy to religion, his ethics are only fitted to encourage licentiouſneſs, and his politics to promote tyranny.

Harvey, an admirable phyſician and anatomiſt, made a capital diſcovery in one of the moſt important branches of ſcience; and had the happineſs of eſtabliſhing his theory on the circulation of the blood, upon the moſt ſolid and convincing proofs.

In ſhort, the works of Nevil, Sydney, and Harrington, are performances which excel even the ancient claſſics on policy; and, in the character of Andrew Marvel, are allowed to be united, in an exalted degree, the wit, the patriot, and the legiſlator.

In the courſe of the reign of Charles I. and in the hiſtory of the commonwealth, we have ſpoke largely of the ſeveral religious ſects which at that time diſtinguiſhed themſelves; particularly the preſbyterians. About the beginning of this century, one Brown, a puritan miniſter, having had a quarrel with ſome of his brethren, left them, and the perſecution in England againſt theſe people being violent, Brown went over to Holland, where he formed a new ſect, ſince called independents, becauſe that each congregation refuſes to have any dependence either on biſhops or preſbyteries. But the quakers being enemies to war, made no figure in public tranſactions, and were therefore not mentioned: but being too conſiderable, and too ſingular a ſect to be omitted, we ſhall give an impartial account of them here, and ſhall be more particular as they have been miſrepreſented by every other hiſtorian.

This ſect was founded by George Fox, who in the reign of king Charles I. preached with ſuch fervour againſt the vices of the times, that his hearers frequently burſt into tears, and trembled, whence they in deriſion were called quakers, but they, as a term of mutual love, ſtiled themſelves Friends. As to their religious ſentiments, they ſay, that reaſon is the gift of God to man, as a light and direction to him in this world; that the Old and New Teſtament contain a revelation of the will of God to man, through the influence of the Spirit of truth, which directed the penmen in the writing of it, and that a ray of the ſame light or Spirit of truth, ſtill dwells within the true Chriſtian of every denomination, as a witneſs to his mind of theſe truths, and a guide into all eſſential truths; and that theſe three evidences of the ſupreme Being, right reaſon, eternal revelation, and the Spirit of truth, or the inward witneſs, cannot poſſibly, in the nature of things, be at all contradictory to each other, all ſpringing from one and the ſame unchangeable fountain, God himſelf.

The quakers do not deny the Trinity; but believe that the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, are truly and properly one: but they are very tender of quitting ſcripture terms for thoſe of the ſchoolmen, judging, that a curious enquiry into this ſubject tends little to godlineſs and leſs to peace.

They have no regular clergy, but permit ſuch as are approved of by the body for their piety, to adminiſter advice to the people without reſpect to ſex or circumſtances, whether acquainted with human literature or not, and that without any fee or reward whatſoever, but what ariſes from an honeſt conſcientious diſcharge of their duty: for they are perſuaded, that purity of heart, and humility of mind, are far more eſſential qualifications for that holy office, than the higheſt attainments in human literature, or the moſt extenſive acquaintance with arts and ſciences. As to women's preaching, they believe it to be the practice of the primitive times, from the advice of the apoſtle, 1 Cor. xi. 5. where he ſays, "Every woman that prayeth or propheſieth with her head uncovered, diſhonoureth her head." In which epiſtle alſo the apoſtle gives directions to the women how to behave when they propheſied; and what he means by propheſying, he himſelf explains in the ſame epiſtle, where he ſaith, "He that propheſieth, ſpeaketh unto men to edification, and exhortation and comfort, and he that propheſieth, edifieth the church."

Contrary to the general opinion of Chriſtians, they believe neither baptiſm nor the Lord's-ſupper, to be of perpetual obligation; but that they were intended only for the infancy of the church, when the myſteries of truth lay concealed in figures and ſhadows; and obſerve, that it is ſufficient to them with reſpect to water baptiſm, that Jeſus never uſed it, and that it was no part of St. Paul's commiſſion. Hence they alledge, that truly feeling in themſelves, the very thing ſignified by outward water, bread and wine, they leave them off, as fulfilled in Chriſt, who is in them the hope of their glory: and henceforth they have but one Lord, one faith, one baptiſm, one bread, and but one cup of bleſſings;

and that is the new wine of the kingdom of God, which is within.

They think thoſe words of Chriſt, "Swear not at all," amount to a prohibition of ſolemn, as well as profane ſwearing; and the government, accepting their ſolemn affirmation inſtead of an oath, they readily ſubmit to the ſame puniſhment in caſe of untruth, that is due by law to perjury.

They object to the paying of tithes, and church rates, which they conſider as unſcriptural, and inconſiſtent with the goſpel diſpenſation, though this frequently expoſes them to very vexatious and expenſive proſecutions. However, when the miniſter or others ſeize for theſe dues, they do not oppoſe them.

They are zealous advocates for liberty of conſcience in thoſe who differ ever ſo widely in opinion from themſelves, and are enemies to all perſecution for religion, agreeable to the fourteenth propoſition in Barclay's Apology, which affirms, that "the power of the civil magiſtrate doth not extend to matters purely religious, and pertaining to conſcience."

They diſapprove of war, as inconſiſtent with the nature and perfection of the Chriſtian religion, which moſt eminently conſiſts in peace, love, and the forgiveneſs of our enemies, believing that Chriſt, the bleſſed ſhepherd of his flock, will ever preſerve the faithful followers of his meekneſs, and the diſciples of his peaceable and forgiving doctrine.

As a preſervation againſt pride and extravagance, the quakers think it beſt to keep nearly to one plain, neat, and decent habit, in their apparel: thinking that a deſire after gaiety and new faſhions, leads to the neglect of what is more valuable, "the inward adorning of a meek and quiet ſpirit, which, in the ſight of God, is of great price." They alſo look upon mourning habits as no better than diſguiſed pride, frequently uſed where there is no real ſorrow: eſteeming the moſt certain token of reſpect towards their departed friends, is to love and cheriſh thoſe whom they loved, and by their whole deportment to demonſtrate, that they really revere their memory. For the like reaſons, they diſapprove of all coſtly furniture of houſes, luxurious tables, ſports, plays, and drinking healths; which laſt has an evident tendency to drunkenneſs and quarrels.

They believe magiſtracy to be an ordinance of God, and that he that ruleth well is worthy of double honour, and deſerves to be much valued and eſteemed; and though they do not pull off their hats, or uſe forms of ſalutation, they treat their ſuperiors with a modeſt and awful diſtance, and all men with ſeriouſneſs and gentleneſs. This, they ſay, is honouring of government and governors, and not empty titles, ſervile cringing and unmeaning forms of ſalutation.

To ſhew that they love order and good government, they carefully practice it amongſt themſelves. Their monthly meetings in the country are often compoſed of ſeveral ſingle congregations, called particular meetings: theſe particular meetings ſend repreſentatives to the monthly meeting, who are to report the ſtate and exigencies of their meetings, and bring back inſtructions to their next preparative meeting, as it is called, from their preparing, collecting, and putting the affairs of each particular meeting in fit order to be laid before the next monthly meeting. In every particular meeting, two or more of the moſt elderly, ſenſible, and exemplary men, are generally appointed to overſee the flock, to admoniſh and reprove, on occaſion, who are therefore called elders. Before they enter upon buſineſs at the monthly meetings, they commonly ſit ſome time in ſolemn meditation, and ſometimes one or more of their miniſters have a ſeaſonable word of exhortation to the congregation. When worſhip is concluded, after the minutes of the laſt monthly meeting are conſidered, every particular meeting is called upon, to declare their particular exigencies, which are alſo duly conſidered. The general heads of the buſineſs of monthly meetings, are the poor, orderly walking, integrity to their profeſſion, births, marriages, burials, certificates, ſufferings, &c.

Their quarterly meetings are generally held at the capital of the county. Theſe meetings conſiſt of the repreſentatives ſent from their ſeveral monthly meetings, who are to give an account of the ſtate of thoſe meetings; after which the exigencies of every monthly meeting are duly conſidered, and proper expedients provided. The yearly meeting is always held at London in Whitſun-week, for no other reaſon, than becauſe it is a well known and ſuitable time of the year for the brethren to come together from all parts. This meeting is compoſed of the country repreſentatives ſent from the quarterly meetings, city and country correſpondents and miniſters, with deputies from Ireland and Scotland. Here the reports of the repreſentatives ſhew the ſtate of the ſociety throughout the world, and proper meaſures are concerted for every emergency. This is eſteemed a moſt edifying time, becauſe it generally brings to the city their moſt eminent miniſters and elders from all parts. Their meeting is concluded with a printed epiſtle, ſetting forth the ſtate of the ſociety, with ſome ſeaſonable advice; the general paragraphs of which are, parents and maſters to excite their families to the diligent reading of the Holy ſcriptures; that they diligently attend the meetings for worſhip; that they wait upon the Lord in ſilence, in order to have a true reliſh and ſavour of the miniſtry of thoſe who are rightly concerned by the ſame ſpirit, to labour in word and doctrine amongſt them; that they maintain their Chriſtian teſtimony againſt tithes, and forced maintenance of miniſters; that they be careful not to defraud the king of his cuſtoms, duties, or exciſe, and to avoid dealing in goods ſuſpected to be run; that a ſpirit of love and humility may more and more diffuſe itſelf amongſt them, and influence the hearts of all; they are exhorted to peace, and mutual forgiveneſs, and right conduct towards others.

Diſorderly walkers and backſliders are dealt with according to the nature of the caſe. If neither private admonition, nor the admonition of the particular meeting, has the deſired effect, to reclaim the offender, he is complained of to the monthly meeting, where again he is intreated in love to mend his ways. But if no ſufficient tokens of amendment appear in ſome months after, or that the offence be groſs, the particular meeting he belongs to, is uſually directed to draw up a teſtimony of denial againſt him, and preſent it to the next monthly meeting; which, when approved of, is generally ſigned by the clerk in behalf of the meeting. Theſe papers of denial are to be read in the meeting the defaulter belongs to, at the concluſion of their worſhip; and copies thereof diſperſed, as the occaſion may require, that the public may be ſatisfied, that the ſociety by no means approves of the conduct of ſuch unworthy men. The following is a copy of one againſt a perſon for defrauding his creditors: "Since this moral precept of our Lord, to do by others as we would be done unto, is ſuch a main part of Chriſtianity, as without the due obſervation thereof, all the moſt ſpecious ſhews of religion will avail us nothing: it becomes the indiſpenſible duty of Chriſtians, in all ages, as much as in them lies, to ſee that their aſſemblies are compoſed of ſuch men, whoſe upright carriage, in their outward dealings, demonſtrates, that they are ſincere diſciples of Jeſus Chriſt. And inaſmuch as we find, on due enquiry and examination, that M. N. has been diſregardful of this plain and principal law of our divine lawgiver, by not delivering up his effects amongſt his creditors in due time, to their great injury, and very great diſcontent, as the waſte of his ſubſtance was entirely owing to careleſſneſs and extravagancy; which conduct he perfectly knew was alſo quite contrary to the good inſtructions and wholeſome diſcipline, ſo piouſly and wiſely recommended and ſettled by our worthy elders now at reſt. We, therefore, from a juſt abhorrence of ſuch unrighteouſneſs, hereby declare, that henceforth we do not account him a member of our Chriſtian church, until he ſhew ſuch tokens of repentance, as ſhall bear due proportion to his offence, which we ſincerely deſire."

There lies an appeal from the monthly meeting to the quarterly meeting, and from this to a yearly meeting; for if a man be denied by the monthly meeting, either for diſorderly walking, or on civil caſes, or not ſubmitting matters in difference with another to arbitration; but will, without conſent of the meeting, go to law, or, if an award be made, and one of the parties will not abide by it, in ſuch like caſes the perſon who thinks himſelf aggrieved by the judgment of the ſubordinate meetings, has a right to appeal to the yearly meeting at London, where the caſe comes before a committee of twelve, which is always a changeable committee, and in which all the counties take their turn; the repreſentatives of that county, againſt whom an appeal lies, being excluded. If either party intimate a diſſatisfaction with what the committee has done, the caſe is again conſidered either before a larger committee, or the whole meeting, whoſe judgment is final.

When two perſons declare their intentions of marriage before a monthly meeting, theſe queſtions are put: Are you clear of all others, and have you the conſent of your parents or friends concerned? To which, if they cannot anſwer in the affirmative, an entire ſtop is put to their proceedings. And, however full in the affirmative their anſwer may be, their parents muſt either perſonally, or by a duly witneſſed certificate, confirm their anſwer. And the meeting alſo frequently appoints two men and two women, to make due enquiry concerning their clearneſs from all others, and make report thereof to the next monthly meeting, when, if no ſufficient reaſon appears to the contrary, they have conſent to proceed, by appointing a meeting for the ſolemnization of their marriage when they pleaſe; and two perſons are nominated to attend it, to ſee that good order be kept, and make report thereof to the next monthly meeting.

When the day of marriage is come, they uſually ſit in the moſt conſpicuous place of the meeting, with their relations and friends about them. After ſome time for ſolemn meditation on the important contract they are going to enter into with each other, and, perhaps, after a ſeaſonable exhortation and prayer by one or more of their miniſters, they ſtand up, and taking each other by the hand, in a ſolemn manner the man audibly declares to this purpoſe: "Friend, in the fear of the Lord, and in the preſence of this aſſembly, whom I deſire to be my witneſſes, I take this my friend, M. N. to be my wife, promiſing, through divine aſſiſtance, to be unto her a loving and faithful huſband, till death ſeparate us." Then the woman makes the like declaration. After which one audibly reads a certificate, ſetting forth the aforeſaid orderly proceedings of this couple at the monthly meetings, and the ſolemn words of the marriage contract; to which the new married people ſet their hands firſt, and then (as witneſſes) their near relations and friends, with as many of the congregation as pleaſe. The original belongs to the bride and bridegroom; but a true copy is to be regiſtered in the monthly meeting books. Parents name their own children; and, at London, they have a printed certificate, ſetting forth the names of the parents and child, with the time of its birth, which is ſigned by the midwife, and ſome of the company preſent; which certificate is filled in the proper meeting, and alſo a fair copy entered in the book of births. Their burials are alſo regiſtered with like care.

In conducting a funeral, if it be not otherwiſe inconvenient, the body of the deceaſed is frequently carried to a meeting houſe, where probably ſome of their miniſters preach to the congregation. After which the corpſe, which is always laid in a plain coffin, is generally carried to the grave, by ſuch as come to pay their laſt office of love to their departed friend. At the ground, the corpſe being ſet down by the grave-ſide, in ſolemn ſilence they pauſe awhile before they inter it, that the minds of the ſpectators may be the more deeply touched with a ſenſe of their approaching exit, and their future ſtate: and ſometimes alſo here again a miniſter has a ſeaſonable word of exhortation to the auditory.

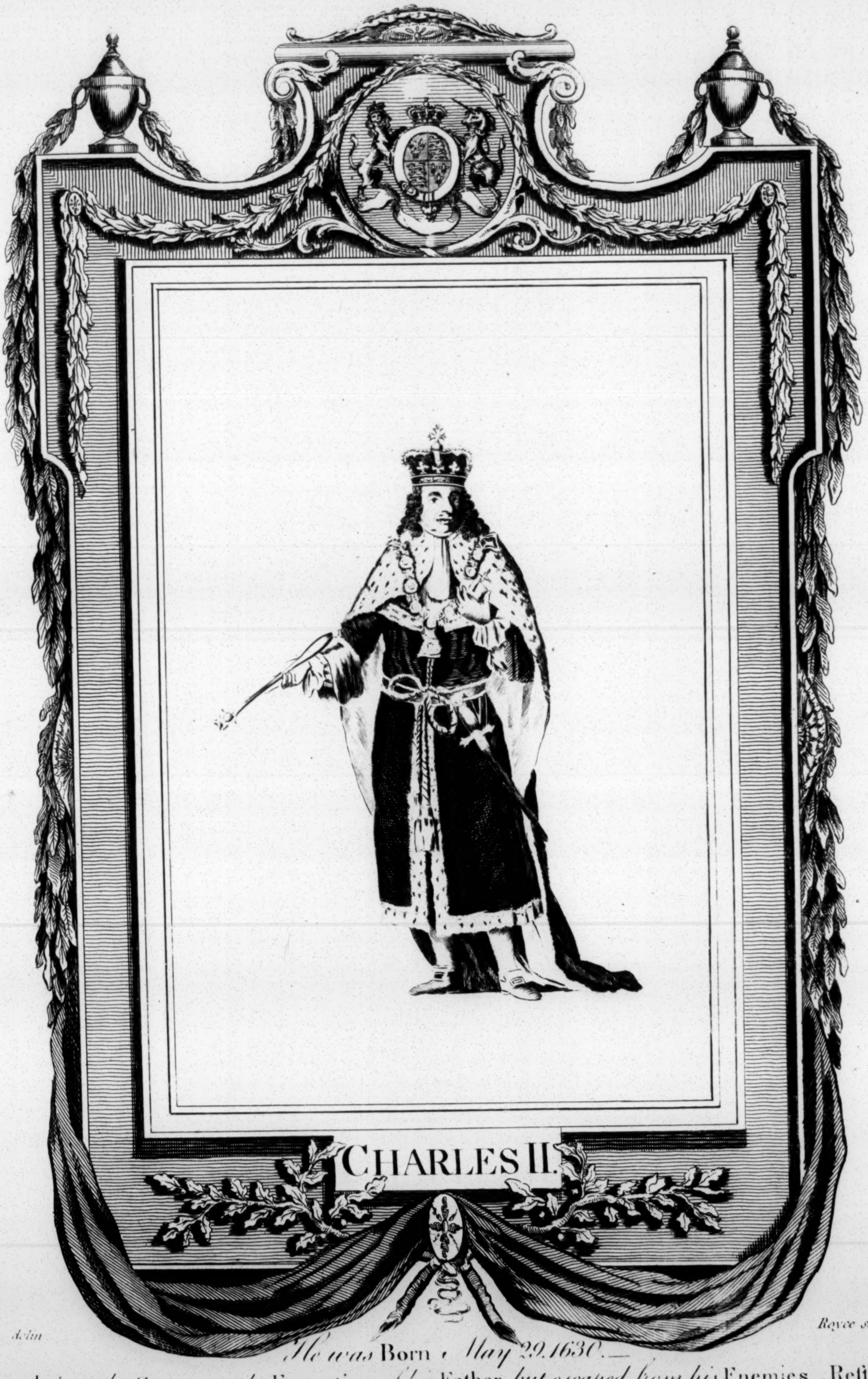
BOOK X.

From the reſtoration of Charles II. to the revolution under William III.

CHAP. I.

CHARLES II.

Aſcends the throne wihout any conditions with the people—His miniſtry—An act of indemnity—The government in church and ſtate reſtored—Proceedings againſt the Scots—The marquis of Argyle beheaded—The biſhops reſtored to their ſeats in parliament—An act of uniformity paſſed—Vane tried and executed—The diſſenting miniſters ejected—Dunkirk ſold—The triennial act repealed—A war with the Dutch—Five mile act—A great plague, ſucceeded by the fire of London—The peace of Breda—Clarendon's fall—The triple league—The cabal—Alliance with France againſt Holland—The coventry act—An account of Blood—The Exchequer ſhut—A ſecond Dutch war—The prince of Orange made Stadtholder—A peace with the Dutch—The dubious conduct of the king, and the parliament's diſtruſt of him—The marriage of the prince of Orange with the princeſs Mary—The peace of Nimeguen—The popiſh plot—The impeachment of Danby—Diſſolution of the long parliament—The bill of excluſion—Habeas corpus bill—The trial and execution of the five jeſuits, and of Langhorn—An inſurrection in Scotland,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CHARLES II.

He was Born *May 29.1630.*—
Succeeded *to the* Crown *on the* Execution *of his* Father, *but escaped from his* Enemies _ Reſtored *to* Throne. *May 29.1660* Crowned *April 13.1661* . *And* Died *of an* Apoplexy, *Feb.y 6.1685.*

BRITISH
25OC57
MUSEUM

Scotland, and the battle of Bothwell-bridge—The meal-tub plot—Trial and execution of Stafford—A new parliament at Oxford—Charles invades the charters—The Rye-houſe plot—Lord Ruſſel's trial and execution—Sidney's trial and execution—Great power of the king and duke—The death of Charles II. and his character.

A. D. 1660. CHARLES II. aſcended the throne on the tweny-ninth of May, in the thirtieth year of his age, amidſt an exceſs of joy that introduced an almoſt univerſal diſſoluteneſs of manners, which being encouraged by the example of the king and his courtiers, rapidly led from the fanaticiſm of former times, to the oppoſite extreme of licentiouſneſs and immorality. Being accuſtomed during his exile, to live among his courtiers rather like a companion than a ſovereign prince, he retained the ſame open affability while on the throne; and appearing totally void of reſentment, from the natural careleſſneſs of his temper, he ſeemed to enſure pardon to his bitter enemies; and to allow thoſe who had moſt violently oppoſed him, to hope for favour. His firſt care was to ſelect a council, partly from the leaders of the Preſbyterian party, and partly from among the royaliſts. The earl of Mancheſter was appointed lord chamberlain; lord Say had the privy-ſeal; Anneſley was created earl of Angleſea; Aſhley Cowper, and Denzil Hollis, were advanced to the dignity of barons; general Monk was created earl of Albemarle, and admiral Montague, earl of Sandwich. Theſe were deemed leaders of the Preſbyterian party, and of the royaliſts, Sir Edward Nicholas, and Sir William Maurice, were appointed ſecretaries of ſtate; and the office of chancellor was conferred on Sir Edward Hyde, who was advanced to the dignity of the earl of Clarendon.

The king had been reſtored by an aſſembly, which had been ſummoned by a writ, when the government was under the form of a commonwealth; and this ſummons ran in the name of the "Keepers of the liberties of England." After the arrival of Charles, it aſſumed the name of a convention; but the king going to the houſe, gave his aſſent to an act for changing the convention into a parliament. An act of indemnity and oblivion being depending, Charles went in perſon to the houſe of lords to haſten the paſſing it, agreeable to a declaration he had made at Breda. This bill received the royal aſſent on the twenty-ninth of Auguſt; but there were excepted out of it the judges of the late king, and others, who had been materially concerned in his death. Twenty-five of thoſe perſons were dead, whoſe eſtates were confiſcated; nineteen had made their eſcape (of whom Ludlow was one) who were afterwards attainted; ſeven were thought worthy of the king's mercy; and twenty-nine were tried in October, and condemned to die; but of theſe, nineteen, who had ſurrendered themſelves, were ſpared as to life, but reſerved for other puniſhments, as impriſonment, baniſhment, and confiſcation of eſtate; ſo that only ten were executed at this time, namely, major-general Harriſon Carew, Cook, Scot, Clement, Scrope, Jones, and Hugh Peters, at Charing-croſs, and Hacker and Axtel at Tyburn; all juſtifying what they had done to the laſt, and looking upon themſelves as martyrs. Some time after Corbet, Okey, and Barkſtead, who had made their eſcape, were brought from Holland to England and executed. Sir Henry Vane was likewiſe tried, condemned, and beheaded on Tower-hill; but Lambert, who was condemned at the ſame time, was impriſoned for life in the iſland of Guernſey. When the above act of indemnity was paſſed, the king gave the royal aſſent to an act for a perpetual anniverſary thankſgiving, on the twenty-ninth of May; and ſoon afterwards the commons voted one million two hundred thouſand pounds for the ordinary expences of government. At this time died of the ſmall-pox, Henry, duke of Glouceſter, a young prince, of whoſe abilities and virtues the higheſt expectations had been formed. Immediately after the adjournment of parliament, the king iſſued a proclamation, commiſſioning a number of learned divines to review and alter the liturgy; and by the ſame proclamation, the biſhops were directed to exerciſe their ſpiritual juriſdiction, in the ſame manner as formerly uſed in the church of England: nine biſhops who were ſtill living, were reſtored; and Reynolds, Calamy, Baxter, Manton, Bates, and Bowles, all Preſbyterian miniſters of eminence, were offered biſhoprics and deaneries: but they had all ſpirit enough to refuſe the temptation except Reynolds, who was made biſhop of Norwich. In October, the princeſs dowager of Orange came to England, to congratulate her brother on his reſtoration; and in the following month arrived the queen-mother, who brought with her the princeſs Henrietta, her youngeſt daughter, who was married to the duke of Orleans by the king's conſent. In December the parliament was diſſolved, when the king made very grateful acknowledgments for their affectionate regard to his intereſt; and the chancellor made a ſpeech, recommending the ſettlement of the militia; hinting that a conſpiracy had been formed for ſeizing Windſor, Whitehall, and the Tower of London; and he affirmed, that "Many diſbanded officers and republicans were concerned in this deſign; and that their intention was to raiſe an inſurrection in the weſt, under the command of general Ludlow."

A. D. 1661. An enthuſiaſt of the name of Thomas Venner, one of thoſe diſtinguiſhed by the name of fifth-monarchy-men, who expected the perſonal reign of Chriſt upon earth, being attended by about ſixty perſons of his own perſuaſion, they ruſhed into the ſtreet, and fought deſperately with the city trained-bands; nor did they yield, till a party of horſe and foot were ſent againſt them, and ſeveral had been killed on both ſides. Venner, and ſixteen of his aſſociates, were apprehended, tried, and executed; declaring that if they were deceived, the Lord was their deceiver.

The king now turned his attention towards the affairs of Scotland, and orders were given to diſband the troops, and demoliſh the forts in that kingdom. Epiſcopacy was likewiſe reſtored in that kingdom; and the Scots parliament being devoted to the intereſt of the court, "Abrogated the ſolemn league and covenant, that idol of the majority of the Scots nation, and made ſeveral other acts in favour of the king, and againſt the Preſbyterians." On the twenty-third of April his majeſty was crowned with great magnificence, and on the meeting of parliament, he recommended two bills for confirming the act of indemnity: he likewiſe acquainted the houſe with his intention of marrying the infanta of Portugal, the match having been already determined on by the advice of his council. Sir Edward Turner being choſen ſpeaker, the houſe paſſed an "Act for the ſecurity of the king's perſon and government;" by which it was conſtituted "High treaſon, to intend or deviſe his impriſonment or dethronement: to call him a papiſt, or to endeavour by ſpeech or writing, to deprive him of the affections of his ſubjects, was declared puniſhable, with excluſion from all offices, eccleſiaſtical, civil, or military."

This parliament annulled the act for excluding biſhops from ſitting in the houſe, and declared that the power of the militia was veſted in the king alone. They likewiſe empowered his majeſty to diſpoſe of all the land forces, and then both houſes were adjourned, after receiving the king's thanks for their zeal and loyalty. The cavaliers now made great complaints, that Charles had left them unprovided for, while the act of indemnity allowed the quiet poſſeſſion of all their wealth to thoſe who had proſecuted the royaliſts with the utmoſt rigour. To counteract the effects of theſe complaints, the miniſtry cauſed it to be reported, that plots and conſpiracies were formed againſt the king and government. This was done to inflame the public againſt the nonconformiſts, the alledged authors of the pretended conſpiracies. The king, the earl of Clarendon, and a majority of both houſes, were enemies to theſe diſſenters from the eſtabliſhed church, and deſirous to humble them by every means in their power. The parliament having aſſembled in November, petitioned the king to iſſue his proclamation, that all reduced officers and ſoldiers ſhould depart to the diſtance of twenty miles from London: and the prayer of this petition being complied with, a vote paſſed for granting twelve hundred thouſand pounds for the king's immediate uſe.

A. D. 1662. The king, on the firſt of March, ſent for the commons to attend him at Whitehall, where he charged them with having been neglectful in the adjuſtment of the revenue: he hinted, that a republican party ſtill ſubſiſted; declared his warm attachment to the church of England; and gave his aſſent to an "Act for eſtabliſhing uniformity in public worſhip, and in the adminiſtration of the ſacrament." The marriage of Charles with Catherine, Infanta of Portugal, was celebrated on the twenty-firſt of May, in a moſt ſplendid manner. This was generally conſidered as a mere match of convenience, for the lady had not any perſonal charms to attract the notice of Charles; but ſhe poſſeſſed what he deemed a full equivalent, a fortune of three hundred thouſand pounds, excluſive of the fortreſs of Tangier in Africa, and Bombay in the Eaſt Indies. About this time Vane was indicted for aſſiſting Cromwell in obtaining the protectorſhip, after the death of the late king. He made an admirable defence, pleading, that he had only acted in obedience to an eſtabliſhed authority; and that if he was guilty, the whole kingdom muſt be involved in his crime. He called to the recollection of the court, the violent perſecution he had ſuffered for his firſt oppoſition to Cromwell; and ſaid, that "Though it had been in his power to eſcape from his enemies at the reſtoration, he choſe rather to ſtay, and give teſtimony to the cauſe of liberty which he had eſpouſed." His oratory, however, had no effect; he was ſentenced to death, according to the ſtrict letter of the law. When conducted to the ſcaffold, he began to addreſs the ſurrounding multitude, but his voice was drowned by the clangor of drums and trumpets; and though he was by nature of a timid diſpoſition, yet he ſubmitted to his fate with a fortitude, that did honour to thoſe ſentiments of liberty by which he had been inſpired. Lambert alſo was condemned, but reprieved. He was ſentenced to ſpend the remainder of his days in the iſland of Guernſey, where he lived in a degree of content that did honour to his good ſenſe and philoſophy; "forgetting his former ſchemes of ambition, as well as forgotten by the world." He ſurvived his condemnation ſix and thirty years. The clergy being obliged, by the act of uniformity, to ſubſcribe to the articles of the church, or reſign their livings, on St. Bartholomew's day, no leſs than two thouſand miniſters, moſt of them of the Preſbyterian perſuaſion, ſacrificed their intereſt to their religious principles, and actually reſigned their livings.

A. D. 1663. They preſented a petition to the king in council, praying an exemption from the penalties inſerted in that act. The king complied with their requeſt, but at the ſame time granted a ſimilar indulgence to the Roman catholics. The earl of Briſtol, who, during his exile, had embraced the Roman catholic religion, became now the declared opponent of the earl of Clarendon, whom he ridiculed in the higheſt degree, and did every thing in his power to render that miniſter obnoxious to the king; and there were others equally ready to traduce the earl: among the reſt, the ducheſs of Cleveland, the king's favourite miſtreſs, exerted all her influence to ruin Clarendon in the king's opinion, becauſe the earl had refuſed to gratify her ambition, or to flatter her vanity. Secretary Nicholas, the warm friend of Clarendon, was diſplaced, and his office filled by Sir Henry Bennet, who was generally deemed a Roman catholic. It is a ſtain on the reputation of Charles, that he was remarkably ungrateful to thoſe who had been moſt zealous in the ſervice of his father and himſelf, many of whom had been reduced to beggary by their attachment to the royal cauſe: there are, however, ſome exceptions in his favour; for he granted a few penſions to the family of Penderell, to Mrs. Land, and others, who had aſſiſted in preſerving him after the battle of Worceſter; ſtill, however, the majority of the royaliſts were much diſtreſſed, while their wretched circumſtances were rendered more diſagreeable, by obſerving, that almoſt all places of power and profit were in poſſeſſion of the oppoſite party. The revenue of Charles was not very conſiderable, and his extravagance kept him always poor; for notwithſtanding the frequent ſupplies that were voted him, his treaſury was ſtill empty, and his debts were continually increaſing, ſo that Charles at length ſold Dunkirk to the French for five millions of livres; a circumſtance ſeverely reflected on at the time, and which has entailed diſhonour on his memory. The earl of Clarendon had, in a conſiderable degree, loſt his ſovereign's eſteem and confidence; but Charles, in gratitude for the ſervices he had received from that nobleman, continued him in the chancellorſhip, and conferred upon him ſome ſlight favours; in conſequence of which the papiſts became apprehenſive that he would be reſtored to that reputation and power, of which he had been ſo lately deprived through their contrivances and intrigues. The earl of Briſtol impeached the chancellor of high treaſon; and the ill-founded and inconſiſtent accuſation alledged againſt him ſpecified, that he had endeavoured to fix the imputation of popery upon the king; promiſed to exert his influence in aboliſhing the penal laws againſt papiſts; vilified the ſacred character of his majeſty; adviſed the ſale of Dunkirk; ſcandalized the parliament; and embezzled the public treaſure. This accuſation the lords treated with the contempt it merited; and lord Briſtol was ſo ſenſible of the iniquity of his conduct in this affair, that for ſome time he was aſhamed to appear in public.

A. D. 1664. The parliament was now prorogued to the ſixteenth of March. During the receſs, the king and queen made a tour through the weſtern counties, and they were entertained with great pomp and magnificence by the univerſity of Oxford. In the king's abſence, the miniſtry diſcovered, that another conſpiracy had been projected, and that it was intended to ſurprize ſeveral towns in the north, and foment an univerſal rebellion.

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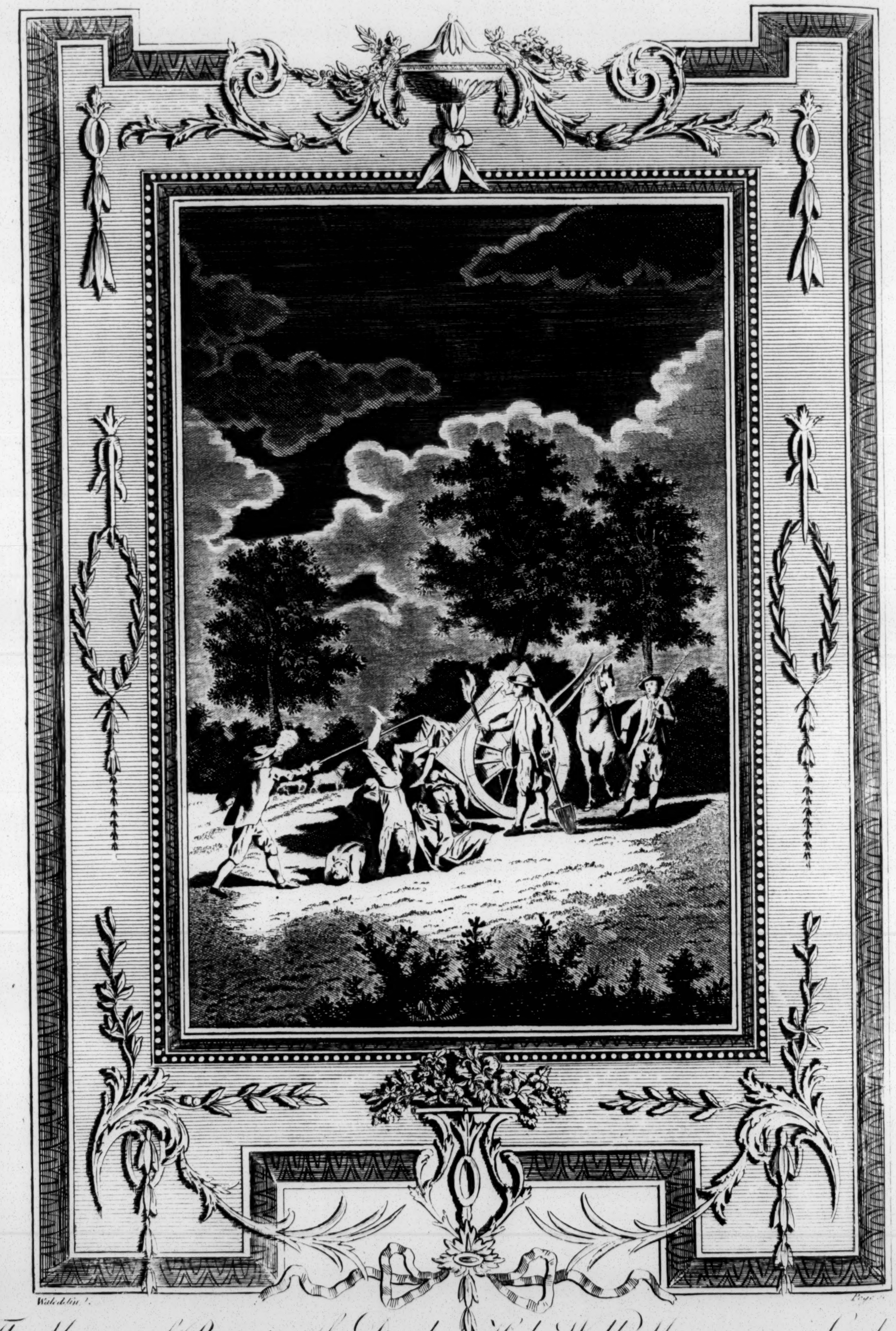

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The Manner of Burying the Dead at Holy Well Mount near London during the dreadful PLAGUE *in the reign of* CHARLES II. *1665. — By which upwards of One hundred Thousand Lives were swept away.*

ſion. This conſpiracy was ſet on foot by a number of obſcure fanatics and diſbanded ſoldiers, thirty of whom were condemned and executed. The idle project of theſe inſignificant people, furniſhed the king with a plea for demanding a repeal of the act for triennial parliaments. In a ſpeech to both houſes, his majeſty affirmed, that the government was expoſed to continual dangers, from the machinations of a number of diſaffected people; who claimed the right of aſſembling for the purpoſe of a new election, under the pretence that the parliament was diſſolved by virtue of the triennial act; and hence the houſes were induced to comply with the king's requiſition. They alſo paſſed a vote purporting, that the indignities offered to the Engliſh by the ſubjects of the United Provinces, had greatly interrupted the commerce of the kingdom, and an immediate war againſt the Dutch was now univerſally approved. Whereupon Downing, the Engliſh reſident in Holland, preſented a memorial to the States, particularizing the depredations the Hollanders had committed upon the Engliſh; and in the mean time Charles diſpatched a fleet of two and twenty ſail, under the command of Sir Robert Holmes, to the coaſt of Africa. The admiral compelled the Dutch, who had oppoſed the attempts of the African company to eſtabliſh ſettlements on the coaſt of Guinea, to evacuate Cape Corſe, and took poſſeſſion of Cape Verde, and the iſland of Goree, together with three veſſels trading on that coaſt. A remonſtrance being ſent from Holland, complaining of the hoſtilities committed by the Engliſh, Charles pretended to be entirely ignorant of Holmes's enterprize; and in order to amuſe the States, he committed the admiral to the Tower, but in a ſhort time he was reſtored to freedom. Judging that the Engliſh court was not diſpoſed to yield to their applications for redreſs, the States ſent private orders to de Ruyter, to ſail to the coaſt of Guinea, and make repriſals upon the Engliſh. De Ruyter recovered all the places that had been lately ſeized by the enemy, except Cape Corſe; and, after ſeizing ſeveral Engliſh ſhips, directed his courſe towards the Weſt Indies, in the hope of being able to ſubdue Barbadoes; but in this enterprize he did not ſucceed.

Having received no ſupplies from the parliament for proſecuting the war, the king by his own intereſt and credit, equipped a fleet; and by viſiting the dock-yards, and giving every poſſible encouragement to the workmen, the maritime power of England was ſoon in a very formidable ſtate. The city of London granted the king a loan of a hundred thouſand pounds, and the parliament, which aſſembled on the twenty-fourth of November, granted him a ſubſidy of two millions and a half, to be raiſed by quarterly payments. After this Charles publiſhed a declaration, enjoining his ſubjects to make repriſals upon all ſhips belonging to the States of Holland.

A. D. 1665. The Engliſh fleet was compoſed of one hundred and fourteen ſail, excluſive of fire-ſhips and bomb-ketches; of which the duke of York was admiral, and prince Rupert, and the gallant earl of Sandwich had commiſſions under him. The Dutch armament, which was nearly of equal force, was under the command of Opdam, who received expreſs orders to give battle to the enemy. In the heat of the action, while Opdam, and the duke of York were engaged, the ſhip of the former blew up, and he, with all his crew periſhed. This circumſtance decided the fortune of the day; for the Dutch, whoſe ſpirits were depreſſed by the loſs of their commander, broke the line, and ſteered toward their own coaſt: their retreat being favoured by Van Tromp, ſon of the admiral of that name, who for ſome time ſuſtained the fight alone. In this engagement the Engliſh loſt only one ſhip, but the Dutch had nineteen ſunk and taken. During the whole action, the duke of York behaved with ſingular bravery and ſkill. In the heat of the action, the earl of Falmouth, lord Muſkerry, and Mr. Boyle, were killed by one ball, while they were ſtanding by the ſide of the duke, who was beſmeared with the blood and brains of thoſe gallant officers; but, notwithſtanding this, he ſtill kept his ſtation, and delivered his orders with his uſual calmneſs. The duke now became the object of univerſal admiration and eſteem; and as it was not expected that Charles would have iſſue by his queen, towards whom he had for ſome time behaved with the moſt perfect indifference, he was conſidered as the preſumptive heir to the throne. It having been reſolved by the king and council, that the duke ſhould not expoſe himſelf to the danger of a ſecond engagement, the command of the navy was given to the earl of Sandwich. Upon receiving information that a fleet of Dutch merchantmen were laying at anchor at Berghen, the king commanded Sandwich to ſail thither; but he diſpatched a part of his fleet for that ſervice, under the command of Sir Thomas Tiddeman, who attacked the enemy with remarkable bravery; but he was ſo reſolutely oppoſed, that he was obliged to retreat, after ſuſtaining conſiderable damage. Incenſed againſt the earl for having neglected to conduct this unſucceſsful expedition in perſon, the king revoked his commiſſion, and ſent him to an embaſſy to the court of Spain. At this time the plague raged for ſeveral weeks with great violence in London, where upwards of one hundred thouſand perſons fell ſacrifices to that dreadful malady. To avoid the contagion, the king retired to Hampton-court, and proceeded from thence to Saliſbury; but finding that the infection had reached that city, he removed to Oxford.

Barnard Van Galen, biſhop of Munſter, fomented an inſurrection againſt the Sates of the United Provinces, in conſideration of a large ſubſidy from the Engliſh court. An army of twenty thouſand men being collected by this turbulent prelate, he made an incurſion into the province of Overyſſel, and reduced ſeveral places; but finding the ſubſidy from England was not regularly paid, and that the Dutch had received conſiderable reinforcements from the king of France, and the duke of Lunenburgh, he deemed it adviſeable to effect a compromiſe. The parliament which aſſembled at Oxford, allotted twelve hundred thouſand pounds to the ſupport of the war, and one hundred thouſand to the duke of York, as an acknowledgment for the eminent ſervices he had rendered the ſtate. A proclamation was now iſſued by his majeſty, commanding all nonjuring miniſters to remove, with their families, to the diſtance of twenty miles from their uſual places of reſidence. This command would have proved extremely afflicting to them, had not the munificence of their friends increaſed in proportion to the ſeverity of the government.

A. D. 1666. In the month of February, war was declared againſt France, in conſequence of that power having eſpouſed the cauſe of the Dutch. Prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle, commanded the Engliſh fleet, as did de Ruyter and Van Tromp that of Holland. Notwithſtanding they were greatly inferior in point of ſtrength, the Engliſh bore down to give battle to the enemy, who upon their approach, cut their cables and made preparations for engaging. The battle was maintained with aſtoniſhing fury on both ſides; and both de Ruyter and Van Tromp were under the neceſſity of hoiſting their flags on board other ſhips, their own having ſuſtained ſuch injury, that it was momentarily expected they would ſink. One of the Dutch ſhips was blown up, and admiral

Evertzen was killed by a cannon-ball. The van of the Engliſh, which was commanded by Sir William Berkeley, engaged the thickeſt of the enemy, and after an obſtinate reſiſtance, his ſhip was taken, and the gallant commander ſlain. Two of the Engliſh ſhips were loſt, notwithſtanding Albemarle exerted every poſſible endeavour to preſerve them; and, in ſhort, throughout the whole action, the duke diſplayed a degree of courage, perſeverance and activity, that were truly aſtoniſhing at his advanced period of life. Night coming on, the battle was ſuſpended, but on the following morning it was renewed with more impetuous fury. Tromp being in the moſt imminent danger, de Ruyter ſeaſonably came to his relief, and prevented his being taken by the enemy. During this action, the Dutch received a reinforcement of ſixteen ſhips; in conſequence of which Albemarle judged it prudent to retreat towards the coaſt of England, and he was followed by the triumphant enemy. On the third day, the duke ſent the diſabled ſhips a-head, remaining himſelf in the rear with eight and twenty ſhips, keeping ſuch a poſition as enabled him occaſionally to form a line a-ſtern, for the purpoſe of annoying the enemy. At two in the afternoon, Rupert's ſquadron coming within ſight of the duke, that commander, who was at that time within gun-ſhot of the enemy, bore up before the wind to form a junction with the reinforcement. In the morning of the fourth day the two fleets united, and bore down towards the enemy. A terrible battle enſued, which was maintained with aſtoniſhing vigour on both ſides, till the deciſion of victory was interrupted by a remarkable thick fog. The Engliſh firſt retreated into their harbours, and both parties erected a claim to conqueſt. Candour, however, muſt acknowledge, that the Dutch had a conſiderable advantage in this conteſt, though the Engliſh were not in any reſpect inferior to them either in point of bravery or ſkill. Ruyter having refitted his ſhips, that commander took his ſtation at the mouth of the Thames, in order that he might effect an eaſy junction with the French admiral, who was preparing to enter the channel. Albemarle and Rupert obſerving the motions of de Ruyter, they bore towards him, and an obſtinate battle enſued. Sir Thomas Allen, at the head of the white ſquadron, attacked the Dutch van, which he entirely defeated, after the three admirals who commanded it had been ſlain. Van Tromp and Sir Jeremy Smith, being engaged, the former in the greateſt heat of the action, was ſuddenly ſeparated from de Ruyter and the main body of the fleet; but by what means this happened cannot be aſcertained. However, de Ruyter continued with uncommon reſolution and dexterity to fight the main body of the Engliſh till night interrupted the conteſt. Perceiving on the following day that the fleet commanded by Van Tromp was diſperſed, de Ruyter judged it prudent to retreat. The Engliſh hung for ſeveral hours upon the rear of the Dutch fleet, which, however, reached the ports of Holland; and this was entirely owing to the courage and good conduct of the French admiral.

Having now obtained the abſolute ſovereignty of the ocean, the Engliſh braved the Dutch in their own harbours. The duke of Albemarle diſpatched Holmes, with orders to avail himſelf of every opportunity of committing depredations upon the enemy; and he accordingly burnt in the river Ulye a hundred merchantmen, with two large men of war, under the convoy of which they were to ſail. After this enterprize, Holmes made a deſcent upon the iſland of Schelling, and ſet fire to the town of Brandaris, which was ſoon reduced to aſhes. On the ſecond of September, a moſt dreadful fire broke out at a baker's near London-bridge, about one in the morning, and the flames continued to rage with mercileſs fury for the ſpace of three days and three nights. This terrible conflagration proceeded from the bridge along the river to the Temple-church, and from the north-eaſt gate as far as Holborn-bridge, and it conſumed eighty-nine churches, Guildhall, the city gates, a great number of other public ſtructures, and thirteen thouſand two hundred dwelling houſes, and covered a track of ground meaſuring four hundred and thirty-ſix acres. The ſeaſon was remarkably dry when the fire happened, and an eaſt-wind blew with great violence, ſo that the progreſs of the flames could not be interrupted but by means of blowing up ſeveral houſes. Few believed this dreadful fire to have happened accidentally; and many circumſtances concurred to ſupport a contrary opinion. Some were of opinion, that the republicans were the authors of this terrible calamity: but the moſt univerſal idea was, that the city was fired by the papiſts; and they were accuſed of the crime, in the inſcription upon the monument, which was erected near London-bridge, in commemoration of the fire. James II. cauſed the inſcription to be expunged, but after the revolution it was reſtored. The city was rebuilt with all poſſible expedition, the new ſtreets were made wider than thoſe deſtroyed, whereby the metropolis was rendered more healthy than before.

Not all the miſeries his ſubjects had experienced from this dreadful accident, and the preceding calamity of the plague, could make any impreſſion on the mind of Charles, or divert him from the proſecution of the ruinous war in which he had engaged the nation. Accordingly, when the parliament reaſſembled, the king, in his ſpeech to both houſes, magnified the happy ſucceſs of his arms as if he had always been victorious; and concluded with aſſuring the commons, that the money granted for carrying on the war had proved deficient, and ſolicited a farther ſupply. The commons, who ſtill retained their liberal diſpoſitions, readily voted him one million eight hundred thouſand pounds. But at the ſame time the lower houſe, miſtruſting that the king was not ſo firmly attached to the proteſtant religion as they could wiſh, preſented an addreſs, praying that the laws againſt jeſuits and popiſh prieſts might be carried into execution. Charles, in return for the liberal ſupplies they had granted him, publiſhed a proclamation for baniſhing all popiſh prieſts and jeſuits out of the kingdom. But this proclamation, like thoſe of his father and grandfather on the ſame ſubject, was ſhamefully eluded by the connivance of the king and his courtiers. This conduct convinced the people, that the king had ſome ſecret attachment to popery, which he was either aſhamed or afraid to own. Whether theſe ſuſpicions had leſſened the king's popularity, is uncertain; but the commons were very dilatory in paſſing the money bill, which did not receive the royal aſſent till the cloſe of the year; notwithſtanding the king ſent ſeveral meſſages to the commons, requeſting them to expedite that buſineſs.

A. D. 1667.

The Dutch, even without any aſſiſtance, had defended themſelves with great vigour, and were every day improving in their military ſkill and preparations. Though their trade had ſuffered extremely, yet their extenſive credit enabled them to levy prodigious ſums: and while the Engliſh ſeamen loudly complained for want of pay, the Dutch mariners were regularly ſupplied with every thing. As two powerful kings now ſupported them, every place, from the extremity of Norway to the coaſt of Bayonne, was become hoſtile to the Engliſh. And Charles, neither fond of action, nor animated by any violent ambition, gladly ſought for means of reſtoring tranquillity to his people, who were heartily

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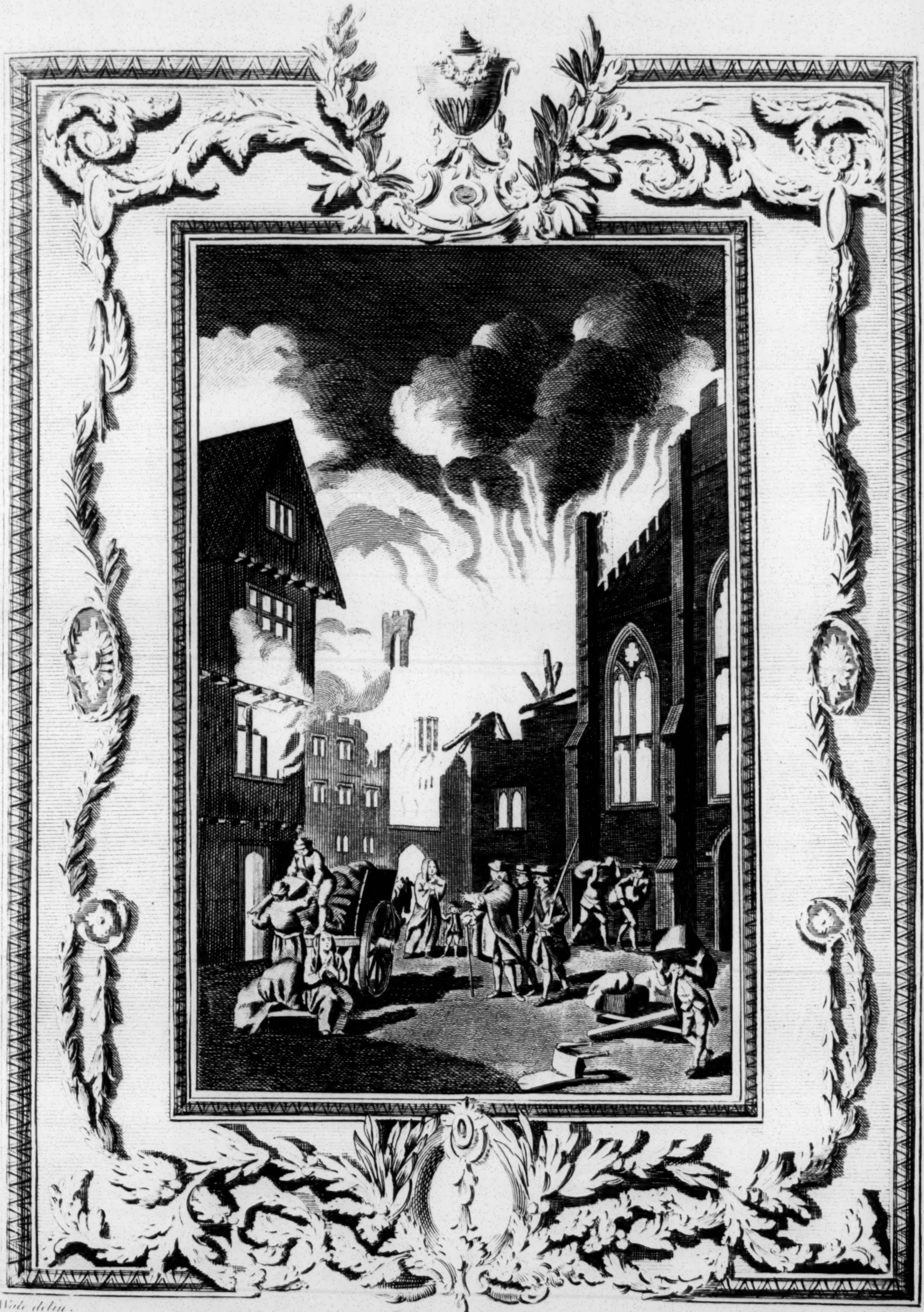

Wale delin.
Taylor sculp.

Part of LONDON, as it appeared during the DREADFUL FIRE,
in the Reign of CHARLES the IId 1666.

heartily diſguſted with a war, which, joined with the plague and fire, had proved at once ſo fruitleſs and deſtructive. Charles therefore intimated to the States, his deſire of peace upon reaſonable terms; and their anſwer was filled with the ſame amicable ſentiments. After ſome meſſages had paſſed between the belligerent powers, the conferences were opened at Breda, and the ſeveral parties concerned ſent thither their plenipotentiaries. The Engliſh propoſed that a ceſſation of hoſtilities ſhould immediately take place, and continue till the ſeveral points of diſpute ſhould be happily determined. But this offer was rejected by De Wit. That ſagacious and enterprizing miniſter had formed a deſign of ſtriking a blow, which he was perſuaded would have a greater effect in favour of his countrymen, than all the arguments that could be urged in the congreſs. De Wit, informed that Charles, depending on the ſucceſs of the conferences, and perſuaded that he had nothing to fear from the Dutch, had unmanned his fleet, and laid up all his large ſhips, ordered De Ruyter to ſail with a fleet of fifty men of war, in order to ſurprize the Engliſh while lulled in their dangerous ſecurity. De Ruyter executed his commiſſion with equal conduct and ſucceſs. On the eighth of June he entered the mouth of the Thames, and filled the capital with terror and confuſion. He then diſpatched his vice-admiral Van Ghent with ſome ſhips into the river Medway, who, by the favour of a freſh eaſterly wind, broke the chain which defended the entrance of that harbour, and burnt three large ſhips, called the Matthias, the Unity, and Charles the Fifth, all of them taken from the Dutch during the preſent war. He alſo ſeized the hull of the Royal Charles, and proceeding as far as Upnor caſtle, burnt the Royal Oak, the Loyal London, and the Great James, all capital ſhips. After this, falling down the Medway, he joined De Ruyter, who ſtill lay at the Nore. Nothing leſs was now expected in London, than that the enemy, in order to improve their ſucceſs, would ſail up the river Thames, and deſtroy all the merchant ſhips in that port, if not inſult the city itſelf. To prevent theſe miſfortunes, thirteen ſhips were immediately ſunk at Woolwich, and four at Blackwall. Platforms of cannon were raiſed on the banks of the river, and every poſſible precaution taken to prevent the threatened aſſault. But De Ruyter, not chuſing to run too great riſks, weighed anchor, and ſailing to the weſtward, attempted to deſtroy the ſhips in the harbours of Portſmouth and Plymouth; at both which places he was repulſed with conſiderable loſs. The wind now changing to the weſtward, the Dutch admiral returned, and again entering the Thames, advanced as high as Tilbury fort, but ſoon found the Engliſh were now too well prepared for him to hope for any ſucceſs. He therefore ſtood immediately to ſea; but kept the coaſts of England in perpetual alarms, till he received intelligence that the peace was concluded. By this treaty Acadia was ceded to the French king, who agreed to reſtore St. Chriſtopher's, and ſome other iſlands he had taken in the Weſt Indies; while the two principal contracting parties retained the acquiſitions they had made during the hoſtilities. The colony of New York was the only advantage the Engliſh acquired from a war, in which the national character of bravery had ſhone with the greateſt luſtre, but where the miſconduct of the government had been equally apparent.

Charles, as if born only for himſelf, being now freed from the troubles of the war, gave into every kind of licentiouſneſs, regardleſs of the ſufferings or cries of his people. His courtiers following his example, ſeemed to vie with each other in libertiniſm and debauchery. Irreligious wit, and obſcene raillery, triumphed in broad day; while decency, virtue, and morality, were obliged to hide their heads. One perſon only was left about the court, whoſe noble and virtuous qualities, added to his great authority, was ſtill a check upon the growing evil, and him they took care to remove. This was the great earl of Clarendon, lord high chancellor of England, the moſt diſcerning and upright magiſtrate; the moſt capable and faithful miniſter England had for a long time ſeen. The wide difference between the principles and practices of this great man, compared with thoſe of the ſovereign and his followers, ſoon brought him into diſgrace; but they did not dare to attack him openly, till they had poiſoned the minds of the people by baſe inſinuations againſt him; the ſale of Dunkirk; the bad payment of the ſeamen; even the diſgrace at Chatham, and the ſhameful concluſion of the war, were, by their emiſſaries, imputed to the chancellor. Buckingham, a man of profligate morals, happy in his talent of ridicule, but expoſed in his own conduct to all the ridicule he threw on others, ſtill made the chancellor the object of his raillery, and gradually leſſened in the king that regard which he bore to his miniſter. When any difficulties aroſe, either for want of power or money, the blame was always caſt on him, whom it was believed had, at the reſtoration, checked all laviſh conceſſions to the king. But what perhaps touched Charles ſtill more was, his finding that Clarendon was an obſtacle to his pleaſure, as well as his ambition. Diſguſted with the perſon of the queen, and deſirous of having children, Charles had liſtened to propoſals for obtaining a divorce, on pretence either of her being pre-engaged to another, or of her having made a vow of chaſtity before her marriage. At the ſame time he was ſtimulated by his paſſion for Mrs. Stuart, daughter to a Scotch gentleman, a lady of great beauty, and whoſe virtue he had hitherto found impregnable: but Clarendon, fearful of the conſequences attending a diſputed title, and perhaps anxious for the ſucceſſion of his grand children, engaged the duke of Richmond to marry Mrs. Stuart, and by that means put a final period to the king's hopes. Charles was ſo highly offended at this action, that it is ſaid he never forgave the chancellor. Every thing being now ready for attacking the miniſter, and the parliament meeting on the tenth of October, the commons ſent up an impeachment againſt him to the houſe of lords, in which almoſt the only article that could admit of proof, was that of adviſing the ſale of Dunkirk; and even that meaſure, though the moſt exceptionable of all his counſels, was rather owing to a miſtake in judgment, than to any malignity of intention. It is, therefore, no wonder, that the peers, when the charge was preſented them, refuſed to commit him to cuſtody. This highly exaſperated the commons, and ſeveral conferences were held between the two houſes: but the lords perſevered, and the commons voted their conduct an obſtruction to public juſtice, and a precedent of evil and dangerous conſequences. Clarendon, perceiving that the popular torrent, united to the violence of power, ran with great impetuoſity againſt him, thought proper to retire into Normandy. The French, more judicious and more humane than his own countrymen, knew the worth of the perſon, and received him with open arms, and every mark of reſpect. He ſurvived his exile ſomething more than ſix years, and employed his leiſure hours in reducing into order the hiſtory of the civil wars, for which he had before collected materials; a performance that has done the greateſt honour to his memory. He died at Rouen in Normandy, leaving behind him the character of a nobleman of unblemiſhed virtue, an incorruptible judge, and an able miniſter, equally valuable for his attachment and integrity.

When Clarendon withdrew, the ſeals were given to Orlando Bridgeman, created lord-keeper; and a bill paſſed both houſes for baniſhing the late chancellor. Southampton, lord-treaſurer, the only faithful counſellor now remaining, ſoon after paid the debt of nature. By the romoval of Clarendon, and the death of Southampton, every obſtacle to the torrent of lewdneſs which ſoon after deluged the court, was removed. Sir Richard Clifford was made one of the commiſſioners of the treaſury; and Sir Henry Bennet, created lord Arlington, made ſecretary of ſtate: the former was a profeſſed, and the latter a concealed papiſt. Buckingham, famous at once for his humour and abandoned courſe of life; and Wilmot, earl of Rocheſter, a ſhining wit, and the moſt lewd and licentious poet of his age, were the king's principal favourites, and the miniſters of his pleaſures. With theſe, and his miſtreſſes, Charles ſpent the greateſt part of his time; nor were there any perſons but papiſts, or men of no religion, that had any credit at court. At the ſame time the Engliſh monarch was thus purſuing pleaſures that diſgraced his exalted ſtation, Lewis the Fourteenth was aſſiduouſly purſuing the extenſive deſign he had formed. Philip the Fourth of Spain was lately dead: and Lewis, when he married the Infanta of Spain, daughter to the deceaſed monarch, renounced all title to the ſucceſſion of any part of the Spaniſh monarchy. But Philip was no ſooner dead than he retracted his renunciation, and made the neceſſary preparations for recovering, by force of arms, what he called his natural rights to the Spaniſh Netherlands, and the Franche Compté. Alarmed at the rapid progreſs of the French, the States-general endeavoured to form an alliance with England and Sweden, in order to check the ambitious deſigns of Lewis. The plan of this confederacy, afterwards ſo famous under the name of the triple alliance, was purſued with the utmoſt diligence and ſecrecy. Charles, in liſtening to theſe overtures, and afterwards agreeing to the propoſed union, performed a very meritorious action, as it was productive of the happineſs of Europe in general, and of his own kingdom in particular. By this treaty Franche Comté, Aire, Cambray, and St. Omers, were to be ceded to Lewis.

A. D. 1668. By this meaſure, not only bounds were ſet to his ambition, but a barrier was alſo raiſed which ſeemed for ever impregnable. And though his own offer was made the foundation of the treaty, he had preſcribed ſo ſhort a time for the acceptance of that offer, that he ſtill expected, from the delays and reluctance of Spain, to find ſome opportunity of eluding it. The court of Madrid ſhewed equal diſpleaſure. To be obliged to give up any part of the Spaniſh provinces; to ſatisfy claims ſo apparently unjuſt; and even theſe claims urged with ſuch violence and haughtineſs, inſpired the higheſt diſguſt. Often did the Spaniſh miniſters threaten to abandon the Low Countries, rather than ſubmit to ſo cruel a mortification; and endeavoured by theſe menaces, to terrify the mediating powers into more vigorous meaſures for their ſupport. But the Engliſh miniſter Sir William Temple, and De Wit, were better acquainted with the real views and intereſts of Spain. They knew that ſhe muſt ſtill retain the Low Countries, as a bond of connection with the other powers of Europe, by whom alone, if her young monarch ſhould die without iſſue, her independence againſt the pretenſion of France could be ſupported. They therefore ſtill urged the terms of the triple league, and even threatened Spain with a war in caſe of refuſal. The plenipotentiaries of all the powers met at Aix-la-Chapelle. Temple was miniſter for England; Van Beringhen for Holland; and d'Hona for Sweden. At laſt Spain, preſſed on all hands, accepted of the alternative offered. But even in her compliance, ſhe exhibited ſtrong ſymptoms of ill humour and diſcontent. It was apparent that the Hollanders, by entirely neglecting the honours of the Spaniſh monarchy, had been anxious only for their own ſecurity; and, provided they could remove the army of Lewis from their own frontiers, were very indifferent with regard to the progreſs he might make in other places. Convinced of this, the queen-regent of Spain reſolved ſtill to keep them in anxiety, which might, in time, prove the foundation of an union, than they were, at preſent, willing to enter into. Franche Comté, by a vigorous and well-concerted plan of the French king, had been conquered in fifteen days, during a rigorous ſeaſon, and in the depth of winter. The queen, therefore, determined to recover this province, and to abandon all the towns conquered in Flanders during the laſt campaign. By this means, Lewis was enabled to extend his garriſons into the heart of the Low Countries; ſo that only a very feeble barrier remained to the Spaniſh provinces. But notwithſtanding the advantages of his ſituation, the French monarch could entertain very little hopes of ever extending his conqueſt in that quarter, which lay the moſt expoſed to his ambition, and where his acquiſitions were of moſt importance. The triple league guaranteed the remaining provinces to Spain; and the emperor, together with other powers of Germany, whoſe intereſts ſeemed to be ſtrongly concerned, were invited to enter into the ſame confederacy. As Spain about this time, under the mediation of Charles, made peace, on equal terms, with Portugal, it might be expected ſhe would exert more vigour in oppoſition to her haughty and triumphant rival. The prodigious ſatisfaction expreſſed in England, on account of the meaſures now embraced by the court, promiſed a hearty concurrence in parliament of every ſcheme which could be propoſed in oppoſition to the grandeur of France; and thus all Europe ſeemed to repoſe with ſecurity, under the protection of that powerful confederacy, which had been ſo happily formed for her proſperity.

A. D. 1669. Charles was deſirous of gaining the preſbyterians, who were now extremely numerous, over to his intereſts; and at the ſame time to attach the papiſts more ſtrongly to him, by procuring a remiſſion of the ſevere reſtrictions they laboured under. To effect this, he propoſed to incorporate the preſbyterians with the church of England, and obtain a general toleration for all the other ſects of nonconformiſts. The lord-keeper was accordingly directed to procure a conference between ſome of the moſt eminent of the epiſcopalian and preſbyterian miniſters; and to make them propoſals for a comprehenſion of ſuch diſſenters, as could be brought into communion with the church of England; and for procuring a toleration for the independents and other religious ſects. The epiſcopal divines ſhewed great compliance on this occaſion, and even made large conceſſions; and nothing remained to put the finiſhing ſtroke to an accommodation, but the point of re-ordination of the preſbyterian miniſters, which was at laſt adjuſted by the conſent of both parties. Affairs being in this ſituation, the lord chief juſtice Hales undertook to draw up a bill of comprehenſion, which the lord-keeper engaged to ſupport in parliament with all his intereſt. But the archbiſhop of Canterbury reſolved to oppoſe theſe meaſures; and for this purpoſe he wrote a circular letter to all the ſuffragan biſhops, enjoining them to make exact enquiry into the conventicles held in their dioceſes. Being thus provided with the neceſſary informations, he went to the king, and obtained from him a proclamation to put the laws againſt conventicles into execution, and particularly the act for reſtraining the nonconformiſts from inhabiting in corporations. But the king rendered this proclamation of no effect; for about two months after, he gave orders that the nonconformiſt miniſters ſhould be told from him, that he was deſirous to make them eaſy; and if they thought proper to petition him, they would be favourably received. A petition was accordingly drawn up, and preſented to his majeſty, who received it very graciouſly; and in his anſwer aſſured them, "That he would do his utmoſt to get them comprehended with the public eſtabliſhment." This ſeſſion a violent diſpute happened between the two houſes. Skinner, a rich merchant in London, having met with ſome injuries from the Eaſt India company, laid the affair before the houſe of lords, by whom he was relieved in coſts and damages to the amount of five thouſand pounds. The commons voted, that the lords, in taking cognizance of this buſineſs, originally, without any appeal from inferior courts, had acted in a manner contrary to the laws of the land, and tending to deprive the ſubject of the advantages of thoſe laws; and that Skinner, in proſecuting the ſuit, had infringed the privileges of the commons; for which offence they ordered him to be taken into the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms. The lords, in the conferences which enſued between the houſes, were tenacious of their right of judicature; and affirmed, that the method in which they had exerciſed it, was quite regular. This exaſperated the commons, who immediately voted, that, "Whoever ſhould be aiding or aſſiſting in putting in execution the order or ſentence of the houſe of lords, in the caſe of Skinner againſt the Eaſt India company, ſhall be deemed a betrayer of the rights and liberties of the commons of England, and an infringer of the privileges of the houſe of commons."

The parliament, which had been prorogued to the nineteenth of October, met on that day, and voted an addreſs of thanks to the king for his proclamation againſt converticles. They then appointed a committee to make exact enquiries concerning the conduct of the nonconformiſts; and having received intelligence that ſeveral conventicles were held in the neighbourhood of the parliament, they publiſhed a declaration, importing, "That they would adhere to his majeſty for the ſupport of the government in church and ſtate, againſt all ſorts of adverſaries." The quarrel between the two houſes was now revived; and as the commons had voted only four hundred thouſand pounds, with which Charles was far from being ſatisfied, he thought proper, before they had carried their vote into a law, to prorogue them to the fourteenth of February. About this time died in France, queen Henrietta Maria, the king's mother; and in England, the famous George Monk, duke of Albemarle, the reſtorer of the royal family.

A. D. 1670.

On the fourteenth of February the two houſes met according to adjournment, reſumed the buſineſs of ſupply, and granted the king an additional duty, during eight years, of twelve pounds on each ton of Spaniſh wine, and eight on each ton of French. They alſo paſſed an act, authorizing his majeſty to diſpoſe of his quit-rents and fee-farms, by which expedient his preſent neceſſities were ſupplied; but himſelf and ſucceſſors left in a more dependent ſituation than before.

We now come to a period when the king's councils, which in many reſpects had hitherto been laudable, in moſt excuſable, became extremely wicked and pernicious, and were attended with ſuch conſequences, as had well nigh proved fatal both to prince and people. It was commonly obſerved, that a total alteration was made in the committee of the council appointed for foreign affairs, and that prince Rupert, the duke of Ormond, lord-keeper Bridgeman, and ſecretary Trevor, men of inviolable honour, were ſeldom at the council board; the king being wholly guided by the advice of Clifford, Aſhley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale, a junto diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of "The Cabal;" a word formed by the initial letters of their names. Their pernicious councils, though from the firſt they were ſtrongly ſuſpected, appeared not in their full light till ſome time after. Such were the notions which they inſuſed into the king and duke, and which theſe princes were but too apt to imbibe. They ſaid, that even this parliament, ſo remarkably attached to the crown, had already diſcovered ſymptoms of diſcontent; that they had been penurious in their temporary ſupplies, and kept the king's revenue in a very precarious ſituation; that his kinſman, the king of France, if properly applied to, would enter into ſuch engagements with him, as would raiſe him above all fear of a revolt; that a war with Holland, in conjunction with Lewis, would procure him every advantage that he could wiſh to enjoy, and furniſh him with a pretence for equipping a navy, and raiſing forces, with which he might retrieve the loſt power of the crown, and even extend his prerogative to abſolute monarchy. About this time arrived in England the ducheſs of Orleans, on a viſit to the king her brother. She landed at Dover in May; here being met by the king, ſhe was magnificently entertained for the ſpace of a fortnight. The ducheſs of Orleans was a lady of admirable addreſs, and had great influence over the mind of her brother. The French ambaſſador at London had already ſounded the king's inclinations, as well as thoſe of the cabal, and found them favourably diſpoſed towards forming an alliance with the king his maſter. The French king, knowing the diſpoſition of Charles, reſolved to bind him to his intereſt, by procuring him new pleaſures. For this purpoſe he had ſent over with the ducheſs of Orleans, Mademoiſelle de Querouailles, whom the king had no ſooner ſeen, than he was captivated with her charms. She accompanied him to London, where ſhe was created ducheſs of Portſmouth, and maintained her influence over him during the whole courſe of his life. The joy which Charles derived from his new alliance, was greatly damped by the death of his ſiſter, and ſtill more by thoſe unhappy circumſtances with which it was attended. After her return to Paris, ſhe was carried off by a ſudden illneſs, being ſeized with the diſtemper upon drinking a glaſs of ſuccory water. It was ſuppoſed that ſhe fell a ſacrifice to the jealouſy of her huſband, who was much chagrined at the gaiety of her diſpoſition, and the intimacy that ſubſiſted between her and Lewis XIV. Charles himſelf was fully perſuaded of his guilt; but as the misfortune was irreparable, he thought proper to admit the exculpations of the French king, who affirmed, that the phyſicians, on opening her body, could diſcover no ground for the general rumour. So far was Charles from breaking with France upon this incident, that he took occaſion from it to diſpatch the duke of Buckingham to Paris, under pretext of condoling with the duke of Orleans, but in reality to finiſh the ſecret alliance. On the twenty-fourth of October the parliament meeting, the king addreſſed them in a ſhort ſpeech, and left the buſineſs to be explained by the lord-keeper. That miniſter repreſented the preſent exigencies of the ſtate, and the abſolute neceſſity of an immediate ſupply; the augmentation of the naval power of France; the remarkable decay of the Engliſh navy; and the ſeveral engagements into which the king had entered with the different ſtates of Chriſtendom. The commons, dazzled by the great alliance Charles had made for the honour and advantage of the nation, began to prepare bills for raiſing two millions five hundred thouſand pounds to ſatisfy the king's demands; but before they could be paſſed, his majeſty adjourned the parliament. Sir William Temple, who reſided at the Hague as ambaſſador, was recalled to England, the king and cabal knowing he had too much integrity and love for his country, to be a tool to the miniſtry. In the winter, the prince of Orange arrived in England, and was received by the king his uncle with the greateſt demonſtration of love and affection.

A.D. 1671. The parliament paſſed a bill called the Coventry Act, by which the practice of maiming was conſidered as a capital crime. This law was occaſioned by an outrage committed upon a member of the lower houſe. A propoſal having been made for laying a tax upon the play-houſes, it was oppoſed by the courtiers, one of which obſerved, that the players were the king's ſervants, and contributed to his diverſion. Sir John Coventry then aſked, whether his majeſty's pleaſure lay among the male or female players? This ſarcaſm was evidently levelled at Charles, who then maintained as concubines two actreſſes, Davis, and Nell Gwin. The duke of Monmouth, incenſed at the familiarity with which Coventry had uſed his majeſty, reſolved to make him a public example. For this purpoſe he engaged Sands, Obrien, and ſeveral officers of the guards to ſet upon him, as he ſhould return to his lodgings in the evening. He made a brave and obſtinate reſiſtance; and after wounding ſeveral of the aſſailants, was with great difficulty overpowered. They ſlit his noſe with a knife, in order, as they ſaid, to teach him for the future, to treat his majeſty with greater reſpect. The commons, exaſperated at the aſſault, immediately enacted the law above-mentioned, and added a clauſe, importing, that thoſe who had attacked Sir John Coventry, ſhould not be intitled to a pardon from the crown. In the month of March the duke of York loſt his ducheſs, Anne Hyde, daughter of the earl of Clarendon, by whom he had Mary, afterwards princeſs of Orange, and Anne, who lived to ſway the ſcepter of England. The ducheſs, on her death-bed, openly profeſſed the Romiſh religion, and ended her life in that communion. Some have thought that ſhe had been perſuaded, contrary to her conſcience, to ſign a paper containing the grounds of her converſion. The death and converſion of his ducheſs, put an end to the diſguiſe which the duke of York had hitherto worn, and he now openly avowed his attachment to the church of Rome, which circumſtance tended ſtill farther to alarm and diſguſt the whole nation. The attention of the cabal was at this juncture employed in concerting meaſures for a war with Holland; and finding ſome pretence for commencing hoſtilities, they at laſt reſolved, that the captain of the veſſel employed in conveying lady Temple from Holland, ſhould demand an obedience to be paid to the Engliſh flag from the whole Dutch fleet, and on their refuſal, to fire upon them. This officer, after he had received lady Temple and her children on board his veſſel, ſailed through a ſquadron commanded by Van Ghent, and as they did not ſtrike their top-ſails, diſcharged a broad-ſide at them without heſitation. The Dutch admiral, aſtoniſhed at ſuch conduct, ſent an officer to remonſtrate with him concerning it. The captain replied, he had acted according to his orders. Van Ghent told him, that though the States-general had by treaty engaged to pay the compliment to the Britiſh flag, he could not expect that a large fleet, commanded by an admiral, would ſtrike their top-ſails to a ſingle veſſel, which was not even a ſhip of war, but a private boat for pleaſure or diſpatch. The captain departed without further diſpute, and no ſooner arrived in England than he was impriſoned, for not having ſufficiently aſſerted the honour of his ſovereign. At this time lived an infamous deſperado, named Blood, whoſe daring enterprizes have tranſmitted his name to poſterity. This man was a diſbanded officer of the protector's, and had been concerned in a plot for exciting a rebellion in Ireland; for which he himſelf was attainted, and ſome of his confederates capitally puniſhed. While the duke of Ormond was viceroy of that kingdom, he had undertaken to ſurprize the caſtle of Dublin; but failing in this enterprize, determined to attempt the life of the duke. For this purpoſe he followed him into England; and one night, accompanied by eight of his confederates, he aſſaulted his coach in St. James's-ſtreet, and made himſelf maſter of his perſon. He then ſet him on horſeback behind one of the gang, in order to convey him to Tyburn, and put him to an ignominious death. He himſelf rode on, and actually fixed a rope to the gallows. The other accomplices had got as far as Berkley, now Devonſhire houſe; when the duke endeavouring to diſengage himſelf fell from the horſe, together with the ruffian to whom he had been faſtened, and while they lay ſtruggling on the ground together, Ormond's ſervants came to his aſſiſtance. Blood by this time had returned; but finding it impoſſible to accompliſh his deſign, ordered his confederates to fire at the duke, which done, they eſcaped through favour of the night. This reſolute villain laid a ſcheme for carrying off the regalia from the Tower, and had well-nigh ſucceeded in the attempt. He had bound and wounded Edwards, the keeper of the jewel office, and got out of the Tower with his prey, but was apprehended in the ſtreets with ſome of his accomplices. One of them was known to have been concerned in the attempt upon the duke of Ormond, and Blood was ſuppoſed to be the ring-leader. When queſtioned on the ſubject, he boldly acknowledged the fact, but refuſed to diſcover his confederates, declaring, that "The fear of death ſhould never induce him either to deny a crime, or to betray a friend." The king, prompted by curioſity to ſee and converſe with this extraordinary perſon, Blood was introduced to his majeſty, and confeſſed his having once entertained a deſign on his life, on account of his ſeverity towards the godly; but his ſpirit was ſo damped by the ſight of his majeſty, that he relented, and his reſolution failed. He obſerved, that he was ſenſible of the danger, to which, by his confeſſion, he had expoſed himſelf; but at the ſame time warned the king of the conſequences that might attend his execution, aſſuring his majeſty that his aſſociates had bound themſelves by the ſtricteſt oaths, to revenge the death of any of the confederacy. Charles, ſtruck with admiration, or awed by fear, not only pardoned the malefactor, but gratified him with an eſtate of five hundred pounds a year in Ireland, and diſtinguiſhed him by many marks of perſonal regard. At this period the famous earl of Mancheſter, and lord Fairfax, who though they had been generals againſt the late king, were afterwards inſtrumental in his ſon's reſtoration.

A. D. 1672. The French king, the elector of Cologne, and the biſhop of Munſter, agreed to inveſt the territories of the States General, while the combined fleets of England and France ſhould fall upon their ſhipping and interrupt their commerce. Charles having by his profuſion laviſhed away two millions five hundred thouſand pounds, granted by parliament; beſides ſeven hundred thouſand livres received by ſtipulation from the king of France; ſtill found himſelf in great neceſſity. He therefore gave the miniſtry to underſtand, that it would be impoſſible to begin the war without a farther ſupply of five hundred thouſand pounds; but as he could not think of obtaining it from parliament, propoſed to confer the office of treaſurer on him who ſhould deviſe the means of furniſhing the preſent demand. Shaftſbury dropped a hint to Clifford, which the latter immediately communicated to the king, who beſtowed on him the promiſed reward, together with a peerage. This device was the ſhutting up the exchequer, and retaining all the ſums which ſhould be paid into it. Such a deſperate meaſure ſpread a conſternation through the city, and was attended with the ruin of many. The bankers ſtopped payment: the merchants could anſwer no bills; diffidence and jealouſy every where prevailed, together with an interruption of commerce, by which the trading part of the nation were reduced to extreme indigence, and men were univerſally exaſperated at thoſe myſterious councils, from which the parliament and all men of honour were excluded, and which began with the deſtruction of public credit, and open violation of the moſt ſacred engagements both foreign and domeſtic. The next meaſure of the court was ſtrongly expreſſive of thoſe arbitrary deſigns, which the king and his miniſtry had adopted. A proclamation was publiſhed, ſuſpending the penal laws, which had been made againſt nonconformiſts, and granting to proteſtant diſſenters the public exerciſe of their religion; and to catholicks, the exerciſe of it in their own houſes. About the ſame time the act of navigation was ſuſpended, and a proclamation iſſued for impreſſing ſailors, puniſhing all thoſe who ſhould dare to arraign his majeſty's meaſures; martial law was alſo eſtabliſhed for the regulation of the army. Lord-keeper Bridgman was deprived of the ſeals. for refuſing to impreſs the declaration for ſuſpending the penal laws, and the chancellorſhip was veſted in the hands of the earl of Shaftſbury. Thus another member of the cabal received the reward of his iniquity. The direction of foreign affairs was perfectly conſiſtent with theſe domeſtic tranſactions. A perfidious attempt was made upon the Dutch Smyrna fleet before the declaration of war. Sir Robert Holmes who was ſent on this expedition, fell in with a ſquadron from the Mediterranean, under the command of admiral Sprague, and if re-inforced by this officer, he would doubtleſs have ſucceeded in his deſign; but being deſirous of engroſſing the honour and profit of the enterprize to himſelf, he concealed his orders and permitted Sprague to continue his voyage. When Holmes approached, he aſſumed a friendly appearance, and invited the Dutch admiral, Van Neſs, who conducted the convoy to come on board; one of his chaplains ſent a like inſidious meſſage to the rear admiral. But theſe officers had been previouſly informed of the deſign of the Engliſh, and had already prepared for defence. Three times were they vigorouſly attacked by the Engliſh, and as often did they bravely repel the aſſailants. In the third, one of the Dutch ſhips was taken, together with three or four of their ſmalleſt merchantmen, but the reſt under favour of a thick fog, continued their courſe, and ſafely arrived in Holland. The States exclaimed againſt this piratical attempt with great virulence; the people of England condemned it as an infamous enterprize, and the king himſelf was aſhamed of having given his aſſent to the undertaking.

The States General ſeemed now to be devoted to utter deſtruction. Lewis, king of France, was at the head of an army conſiſting of one hundred and eighty thouſand men, commanded by the ableſt officers in Europe; his ſubjects were enriched by commerce, and his finances managed with the greateſt œconomy, while the Dutch were diſtracted between two powerful factions. In this ſituation of affairs, the States conſented to honour the Engliſh flag in whatſoever manner Charles ſhould think proper, and appointed his nephew the prince of Orange captain general and admiral, though he had not yet reached the twenty-third year of his age. De Wit, a conſummate ſtateſman, who preſided in the council of the United Provinces, had made the neceſſary preparations for the threatened invaſion, and now reſolved to make a powerful effort by ſea, while the prince of Orange was employed in levying troops, and re-eſtabliſhing the diſcipline of the army. De Ruyter was ſent to ſea with a fleet of ninety ſail, beſides forty-five ſhips; Cornelius de Wit, acting on board, as deputy from the States. De Ruyter's intention was to have prevented the junction of the French and Engliſh fleets, but they were already joined and lay at anchor at Solebay, to the number of one hundred and thirty ſhips of the line. The duke of York commanded in chief, and the earl of Sandwich acted as admiral of the blue; mareſchal d'Etrées commanded the French ſquadron. The Engliſh fleet rode at anchor in ſuch diſorder, that the earl of Sandwich, a brave and experienced officer, apprized the duke of the danger; but the anſwer given him ſeemed to imply a ſuſpicion of his courage. On the approach of the enemy, every one flew to his poſt with the utmoſt precipitation, and many ſhips were obliged to cut their cables in order to prepare for the action. Sandwich commanded in the van, and though reſolved to conquer or to die, he yet behaved with ſo much prudence, that to him the ſafety of the whole fleet was viſibly owing. He hurried out of the bay, and by this wiſe meaſure, afforded time to the duke of York, who conducted the main body, and to mareſchal d'Etrées, admiral of the rear, to get out to open ſea. The earl ſuſtained a moſt furious attack from the enemy: he repulſed the ſhip of Van Ghent, after that admiral had been killed in the engagement; he ſunk another ſhip which attempted to board him, together with three fire ſhips which came full againſt him; and though his ſhip was ſhattered, and ſix hundred of his men ſlain, he continued to ply his artillery without intermiſſion, until another fire ſhip grappled him on the quarter. He might have eſcaped the danger; but he diſdained to ſurvive the diſgrace, which the duke's injurious expreſſion he imagined had caſt upon him; ſo that himſelf, and all his crew that remained were buried in the general ruin; and thus was deſtroyed one of the moſt gallant officers that ever England produced, by the inſolent reflection of a young admiral, who preſuming on his elevated ſtation, had treated him with indignity. Meanwhile de Ruyter was engaged in cloſe combat with the duke of York; and the fight was maintained for two hours, with great obſtinacy on both ſides. The duke was obliged to ſhift his flag to another ſhip, and his own diviſion was in danger of being overpowered, when Sir Joſeph Jordan, who ſucceeded Sandwich, came to his aſſiſtance. The battle continued till night, when the Dutch ſheered off, but were not purſued by the enemy. It was generally ſuppoſed that mareſchal d'Etrées had received private orders to keep aloof, that the two maritime powers might deſtroy each other, as he entered not into any part of the action.

Lewis had invaded the territories of the States General, on the ſide of Germany, taking and deſtroying every thing before him, almoſt without oppoſition. In theſe circumſtances, the magiſtrates of Amſterdam obliged the burgeſſes to keep watch and ward; the other towns followed their example, and having opened all the ſluices, the whole province of Holland was laid under water. The French monarch perceiving a ſtop put to his conqueſts by the inundation of Holland, left the command of the army to the duke of Luxemburgh at Utrecht, and marched into Flanders, from whence he went to Paris, which he entered amidſt the acclamations of the populace. The paſſage of the Rhine, which he effected with much eaſe and expedition, was celebrated by the bards of France, as an exploit equal to that of Alexander in paſſing the Granicus, and the ſurname of "Great" beſtowed on him by his flattering ſubjects. Theſe alarming ſucceſſes induced the emperor and ſeveral other German princes to aſſiſt the Dutch, who were in imminent danger of being utterly deſtroyed. Of all their allies, there was none on whom they ſo much depended, as the Engliſh parliament; which the king's neceſſities at laſt obliged him to aſſemble.

A. D. 1673. On the fourth of February Charles ventured to ſummon a parliament; and to this parliament, Britain, perhaps, owes the liberty it now enjoys. Charles opened the ſeſſion, by obſerving, in high terms, that he would not be contradicted in his reſolutions to maintain his grant of indulgence; and that inſtead of diminiſhing, he intended increaſing his army: a declaration which diſcovered, that he thought he had a right to make the laws depend upon his will, and to obtain his will by an army, to whoſe eſtabliſhment parliament had not conſented. But the houſe of commons, with a true Engliſh ſpirit remonſtrated, in an addreſs, that the diſpenſing power he had aſſerted in his declaration, did not belong to the crown. Charles gave an ambiguous anſwer, and in a ſecond addreſs, they inſiſted on one more explicit. In another, they preſſed him to diſmiſs the popiſh officers in his army; and in a fourth, to diſband the army itſelf, as ſoon as the peace ſhould be concluded. They paſſed the teſt act againſt popery, which ſtruck the ſtaff of lord high treaſuerer from the hand of lord Clifford, and that of lord high admiral from the hand of the king's brother. Charles, now declining a conteſt with his parliament, relinquiſhed his pretenſions to a diſpenſing power, breaking with his own hands the ſeal affixed to the declaration of indulgence; and declared his inclination to give ſatisfaction to his people, and leave his new miniſters to their vengeance. To eſcape that vengeance, the cabal made the ſame ſudden turn with their maſter. Shafteſbury, the chancellor, ſaying aloud, "that the prince who forſook himſelf, deſerved to be forſaken." Then putting himſelf at the head of the oppoſition, he urged the revoking thoſe conſtitutional meaſures, which he himſelf had adviſed; and Buckingham prepared to follow his example. Arlington, who had been diſobliged, by Clifford's being appointed treaſurer, and who was married to a Dutch woman, privately paid his court to the prince of Orange, and joined the popular party in parliament. The furious Clifford, filled with indignation, retired into the country; and Lauderdale alone adhering to Charles, preſſed him, in vain, to march the Scotch army into England: but not being able to prevail, joined in the national complaints againſt the duke. The commons, however, to recompence the king for his conceſſions, granted him a ſupply, and paſſed an act of general pardon and indemnity, which ſcreened the above miniſters from all farther enquiry. Charles ſtill reſolved to perſevere in his alliance with France, and in the Dutch war, and the money granted him by parliament enabled him to equip a fleet, the command of which he gave to prince Rupert, under whom commanded the earl of Oſſory, and Sir Edward Sprague, who being joined by a French fleet, commanded by d'Etrées, they ſet ſail towards the coaſt of Holland, and came to an engagement with the Dutch; in which the loſs fell chiefly on the French, whom the Engliſh, diffident of their intentions, took care to expoſe to all the fire of the enemy: but the event was not deciſive, and both ſides claimed the victory. In a week the Dutch were refitted, and again preſented themſelves to the combined fleets; upon which a new action enſued not more deciſive than the former. It was ſufficient glory to de Ruyter, that with a fleet much inferior, he could fight them without any great loſs, and prevent their making a deſcent on Zealand, which, had it taken place, would at this time have endangered the exiſtence of the Dutch commonwealth. A few weeks after prince Rupert was again refitted; and putting to ſea, the hoſtile fleets met at the mouth of the Texel, and fought the laſt battle, ſince which, during the courſe of a century, theſe neighbouring powers, (though now unhappily at variance) have not ſo far forgot their mutual intereſts, as to contend with each other. In this action, as in the former, de Ruyter, and under him Tromp, commanded the Dutch. De Ruyter was oppoſed to prince Rupert, Tromp to Sprague, and Brankert to d'Etrées. This laſt admiral, with all the French fleet, except rear admiral Martel, kept at a diſtance; and Brankert, inſtead of attacking them, bore down to the aſſiſtance of de Ruyter, who was engaged in a furious combat with Rupert. This prince diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his bravery; and having diſengaged himſelf from the numerous enemies with which his ſquadron was ſurrounded, and joining Sir John Chicheley, his rear admiral, who had been ſeparated from him, haſted to the relief of Sprague, who was hard preſſed by Tromp. The Royal Prince, in which Sprague firſt engaged, being diſabled, he hoiſted his flag on board the St. George; while Tromp was obliged to quit the Golden Lion, and go on board the Comet. The fight was then renewed with the utmoſt fury, by theſe brave rivals, and by the rear admirals their ſeconds. Oſſory, Sprague's rear admiral, was preparing to board Tromp, when he ſaw the St. George terribly ſhattered and diſabled. Sprague left her, in order to hoiſt his flag on board a third ſhip, and return to the charge: when a ſhot, which had paſſed through the St. George, ſunk the boat in which he was, and that brave admiral was drowned, to the great regret even of Tromp himſelf, who generouſly beſtowed on him the praiſes due to his great merit. Prince Rupert found moſt of the ſhips in Sprague's ſquadron diſabled; yet renewing the engagement, it became very cloſe and bloody. He threw the enemy into diſorder; and to increaſe it, he ſent among them two fire ſhips; making a ſignal at the ſame time to the French to bear down; but ſeeing they neglected his ſignal, and that moſt of his ſhips were in no condition to keep at ſea, he provided for their ſafety, by making eaſy ſail towards the coaſt of England. In this battle, the victory was as doubtful as in all the other engagements. In the mean time, the prince of Orange, who was joined by the forces of the emperor, under Monteculi, had greater ſucceſs by land; took ſeveral places; and having cut off the communication between France and the United Provinces, obliged Lewis to recall his forces, and to abandon his conqueſts. The taking of Maeſtricht was the only advantage he obtained during this campaign. The Engliſh parliament, near the end of October, met at Weſtminſter, where the debates were carried on with great violence during nine days, when they were again prorogued: but before the uſher of the black rod could enter the houſe, the door was ſhut, and the following reſolutions were paſſed: that the alliance with France is a grievance: that the evil counſellors about the king are a grievance: that the duke of Lauderdale is a grievance, and not fit to be employed.

A. D. 1674. But the king's neceſſities obliged him to aſſemble them again on the ſeventh of February; when they proceeded with ſtill greater ſpirit. They began with addreſſing the king for a general faſt, by which they ſufficiently intimated that the nation was in a very deplorable condition: and the commons paſſed a reſolution to grant no more ſupplies till the grievances they enumerated were actually redreſſed; and their liberties, properties, and religion fully ſecured. They took ſome ſteps towards eſtabliſhing a new and more rigorous teſt againſt popery; and, what chiefly alarmed the court, they made an attack on the members of the cabal, to whoſe pernicious counſels they juſtly imputed all the preſent grievances. Both houſes voted, by a great majority, to addreſs the king for the removal of the duke of Lauderdale from all his employments, and from his majeſty's preſence and councils for ever. Clifford was dead; Shaftſbury, as we have before obſerved, had made his peace with the country party, and was become their leader: Buckingham was endeavouring to imitate Shaftſbury, but very few were as yet acquainted with his intentions; and a motion was accordingly made for his impeachment. He deſired to be heard at the bar, but expreſſed himſelf in ſo confuſed and ambiguous a manner, that he gave very little ſatisfaction. He was therefore requeſted to anſwer preciſely to certain queries, which they propoſed to him. In theſe queries the following is remarkable: by whoſe advice was the army brought up to over-awe the debates of the houſe of commons? From this queſtion it is apparent that the lower houſe had carried their ſuſpicions to a very great length. As Buckingham's anſwers gave no ſatisfaction to the houſe, they voted an addreſs for his removal. Arlington was next examined; but he found means to clear up his conduct in ſo ſatisfactory a manner, that though an impeachment had been prepared againſt him, they thought proper to drop the proſecution. Charles finding it would be impoſſible to continue a war ſo diſagreeable to the parliament, and the nation in general, without the ſupplies which the former refuſed, began to liſten to terms propoſed by the States General for a ſeparate peace. In vain did the marquis de Rouvigny, the French ambaſſador, make him the moſt tempting offers to keep him firm to his engagements; in vain did he threaten him with the ſtoppage of the yearly ſtipend of one hundred thouſand pounds, which Lewis had been polite enough to give, and Charles mean enough to receive, for aſſiſting that ambitious prince in his projects for univerſal power. Promiſes and threats were equally unavailing: Charles choſe rather to reconcile himſelf to his parliament and his people, by agreeing to a peace they ſo greatly deſired, than to truſt to the ſupport of France. Six commiſſioners, of which the earl of Arlington was one, were appointed to confer with an equal number ſent by the States of Holland, and in fifteen days the treaty was concluded. It was a renewal of the treaty of Breda, with the following additions; that the Dutch ſhould pay the compliment of ſtriking their flag to that of the Engliſh, whether in large fleets or in a ſingle veſſel; and pay about three hundred thouſand pounds, towards defraying the expence of the king's armament. A regulation of trade was agreed to; all poſſeſſions were reſtored to the ſame condition as before the war; and the Engliſh planters in Surinam were allowed to remove at pleaſure. This peace, which was proclaimed on the fourth of February, was near bringing on an alliance offenſive and defenſive, between the States General and the Engliſh court, againſt the king of France. It was warmly ſolicited by moſt of the European powers. The two houſes of parliament ſupported theſe remonſtrances with all their power. Their hatred towards the French was ſo great, that they would gladly have relinquiſhed the enjoyments of the new peace for a time, to ſee their king armed againſt the common diſturber of the tranquillity of Europe; nor would they have thought any ſupplies too great, that tended to promote the welfare and happineſs of their country. Charles, however, diſregarded their remonſtrances; prompted equally by his hatred to the Dutch, and the hopes of ſtill receiving a powerful aſſiſtance from France, he refuſed to ſacrifice his ally to the reſentment of his enemies. In a word, he ſtill remained the friend of Lewis, while his ſubjects more and more eſpouſed the intereſt of the ſtadtholder: an attachment which ſeems to have paved the way for that prince's afterwards mounting the Engliſh throne.

The parliament ſtill continued to examine grievances, and in the courſe of their enquiries they attacked the court with ſo much vigour, that Charles, apprehenſive of their going dangerous lengths, rendered their meaſures ineffectual by an immediate prorogation. And having thus freed himſelf from all foreign and domeſtic diſputes, he reſumed his former courſe of indolence and debauchery. In the courſe of this year, two famous men paid the debt of nature; John Milton, one of the greateſt poets the world ever ſaw, and the earl of Clarendon, who died at Rouen in Normandy, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age.

A. D. 1675. Though Charles was obliged to make a ſeparate peace, he ſtill kept up his connections with the French king; apologized for deſerting him, by repreſenting the difficulties under which he laboured: and Lewis, with great complaiſance, admitted the validity of his excuſes. As Charles was now at peace with all the world, and almoſt the only prince in Europe in that agreeable ſituation, he offered his mediation to the contending powers, but without effect; and in the mean time the war was carried on in Flanders and Alſace by the prince of Orange, aſſiſted by the emperor, againſt the forces of France, commanded by the prince of Condé and Turenne. About this time conſiderable alterations were made in the Engliſh miniſtry. Sir Joſeph Williamſon who had been plenipotentiary at the court of Cologne, was appointed ſecretary of ſtate in the room of the earl of Arlington, who became lord high chamberlain. Soon after which the moſt rancorous animoſity broke out between the chamberlain and the treaſurer Danby, each exerting his utmoſt power to accompliſh the ruin of the other. The duke of Buckingham loſt the dignity of chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge, and was ſucceeded in that honourable ſtation by the duke of Monmouth, who had ſignalized himſelf in France, and who was now become the idol of the people. Lauderdale ſtill kept his poſts, by the moſt aſſiduous application to the king's paſſions, and devoted ſubſerviency to all his extravagant deſigns. He was, however, ſo greatly intimidated by the vote that had been paſſed againſt him in the houſe of commons, that he affected openly to renounce all the meaſures of the cabal. He profeſſed an uncommon zeal for the proteſtant religion; appeared conſtantly at church, was punctual in receiving the ſacrament, and adviſed the king to put the laws ſtrictly in execution againſt the catholics.

Theſe arts were far from being ſufficient to appeaſe the reſentment of the commons, for at their meeting on the thirteenth of April, after a receſs of fourteen months, the firſt buſineſs they reſumed, was a bill to prevent the growth of popery; wherein it was declared, that the ſaying maſs ſhould be a ſufficient evidence to convict a perſon of being a popiſh prieſt, and puniſhments were ordered to be inflicted on all who attended the popiſh ſervice. This bill being finiſhed, they drew up an addreſs againſt the duke of Lauderdale, whoſe private converſation had been betrayed to them by doctor Burnet, once a creature of that nobleman. In this addreſs they charged the duke with having adviſed his majeſty to deprive his ſubjects of their rights and liberties; for ſaying in council, that his majeſty's edicts were equal to the laws: and with having procured acts of parliament in Scotland for eſtabliſhing a militia in that kingdom of twenty thouſand men, who were obliged to march into England and perform there any ſervices his majeſty ſhould think fit to command, and to obey ſuch orders as they ſhould from time to time receive from the privy council: by theſe general words they conceived this realm was liable to be invaded, on any pretence whatever; and therefore they begged his majeſty to remove the ſaid duke from his employments and preſence, as a perſon dangerous to the government. But Charles did not think proper to grant this requeſt, and gave ſome reaſons for his refuſal. Theſe not being ſatisfactory to the commons, they now reſolved to prepare a remonſtrance againſt the duke. In the mean time they ordered an enquiry to be made into the conduct of the lord treaſurer, the earl of Danby: but finding themſelves deficient in proofs againſt that miniſter, they thought proper to drop the proſecution. They, however, determined to intimate to the king, how little they depended upon his royal word; and in order to this, they drew up an addreſs, beſeeching his majeſty to recall the Engliſh forces in the French ſervice, and forbidding all the king's ſubjects, from engaging in the army of Lewis for the future. The king anſwered, he would take care to prevent any more of his ſubjects from engaging in the French troops; but that he could not recall thoſe already engaged without prejudice to his honour, and the peace of the kingdom. The commons finding nothing was to be expected from addreſſes, framed a bill, declaring it treaſon to levy money without the conſent of parliament; another for vacating the ſeats of thoſe, who had accepted of poſts or employments; and another for ſecuring the liberty of the ſubjects, and prevent their being tranſported to diſtant iſlands. Theſe and other bills were rendered abortive, by a diſpute which happened between the two houſes of parliament. Doctor Shirley being caſt in a law ſuit, before the chancellor by Sir John Fagg, a member of the houſe of commons, preferred a petition of appeal before the houſe of peers. The lords received the appeal, and cited Fagg to appear before them. He complained to the lower houſe, who eſpouſed his cauſe; they not only maintained that no member of their houſe could be ſummoned before the peers, and for this claim they could plead precedent; but alſo aſſerted, that the upper houſe could receive no appeals from courts of equity; a pretenſion which greatly abridged the juriſdiction of the peers, and which was contrary to the practice which had prevailed during the preſent century. The commons ſent Shirley to priſon; the lords aſſerted their power; conferences were tried; but no accommodation enſued. Four lawyers were ſent to the Tower for tranſgreſſing the orders of the houſe, and pleading in this cauſe before the peers. The lords voted this arbitrary commitment, a breach of the great charter, and ſent orders to the lieutenant of the Tower to releaſe the priſoners. The lieutenant refuſed obedience. The lords applied to the king, deſiring him to puniſh the lieutenant for his contempt. Alarmed at theſe diſputes, and dreading the conſequences they might occaſion, the king came to the houſe of peers, and ſending for the commons, he reproached both houſes for carrying their differences to ſuch an indecent length, told them, he found there was no method of preſerving the peace of the kingdom, but by putting an end to the ſeſſion, and accordingly prorogued the parliament to the month of October. On the thirteenth, the king opened the fifteenth ſeſſion of this parliament, with a very ſhort ſpeech, in which, after recommending union and harmony to both houſes, and the intereſt of the church of England, he demanded a ſupply ſufficient for building a number of new ſhips, and liquidating the anticipation of his revenue. The commons abſolutely refuſed to grant any money for paying off the debts of the crown; but voted three hundred thouſand pounds for defraying the expence of building twenty ſhips of war; and appropriating the tonnage and poundage to the ſupport of the navy. Theſe votes being paſſed, they took into conſideration, the diſadvantages the nation lay under with regard to the trade with France; and it appeared that the ſilk and linen manufactures only, annually imported from France, amounted to above eight hundred thouſand pounds: and that the manufactures of wool and ſilk exported to France, did not amount to eighty-five thouſand pounds; while all the other commodities of the manufacture of England, exported to France, did not amount to ninety thouſand pounds. Whereas, the wines, brandies, and other commodities of the produce and manufacture of France imported hither, amounted to above three hundred thouſand pounds, excluſive of an incredible ſum paid for toys, point lace, &c. So that our imports exceeded our exports thither, at leaſt a million ſterling annually. The commons now thought it neceſſary to ſet a diſtinguiſhing mark on all ſuch of their members, who, preferring their own private intereſt to the public, had ſold themſelves as penſioners to the court; and were ready on any occaſion, to throw their votes into the ſcale of miniſterial influence. With this view, the houſe prepared a declaration or teſt for every member to take, by which they proteſted before God and that aſſembly, that they had not, either directly or indirectly, received any ſum, gratuity, place, or penſion; or the promiſe of any, from the court or any foreign miniſter, ſince the firſt of January, 1672, except what they then delivered in writing to the houſe; nor did they know of any ſuit, gift, grant or promiſe, but what they had declared in writing; nor given a vote in parliament for any reward or promiſe whatſoever. At the ſame time the duke of Buckingham propoſed, in the houſe of peers, a bill for the eaſe of the proteſtant diſſenters: but this, and all the other bills were ſuſpended, by a revival of the diſpute between the two houſes with regard to the caſe of Shirley and Fagg. The commons were as reſolute as ever in ſupporting their prejudices. The earl of Shaftſbury, who ever ſince his defection from the court had acted the part of an incendiary between the king and the parliament, endeavoured to ſpirit up the houſe of peers, by a violent ſpeech, which had ſuch an effect on his auditors, that it was moved to addreſs his majeſty, to diſſolve the preſent parliament. The motion was, however, carried in the negative, though by only a majority of two votes. The king, perceiving that no buſineſs could be done while the diviſions ſubſiſted between the two houſes, prorogued the parliament for fifteen months.

A. D. 1676.

The ſucceſſes of the allies had been conſiderable during the laſt campaign, yet the Spaniards and Imperialiſts well knew that France was not ſufficiently humbled, nor willing to ſubmit to the terms they were deſirous of impoſing upon her. Accordingly no progreſs was made in the conferences at Nimeguen. The Spaniſh towns, ill fortified and ſtill worſe defended, made but very feeble oppoſition to Lewis, who, by laying up magazines during the winter, was enabled to take the field early in the ſpring, before the neceſſary quantity of forage could be found in the open country. In the month of April he laid ſiege to Condé, and, after four days, took it by ſtorm. Having ſent the duke of Orleans to beſiege Bouchaine, a ſmall but important fortreſs, he poſted himſelf ſo advantageouſly with his main army, as to hinder the confederates from relieving the place, except by fighting with the greateſt diſadvantage. In ſpite of all the difficulties of the ſeaſon, and the want of proviſions, the prince of Orange came in ſight of the French army; but his induſtry ſerved no other purpoſe than to render him a ſpectator of the ſurrender of Bouchaine. Both armies ſtood in awe of each other, and were equally unwilling to hazard an action which might be attended with the moſt important conſequences. Lewis, though not deficient in perſonal courage, was very little enterprizing in the field; and being reſolved to reſt contented with the advantages he had acquired, he left the command of his army to marſhal Schomberg, and retired himſelf to Verſailles. He was no ſooner departed than the prince of Orange laid ſiege to Maeſtricht; but meeting with an obſtinate reſiſtance, he was obliged, on the approach of Schomberg, to raiſe the ſiege. Though the prince was incapable of yielding to adverſity, or bending under misfortunes, yet he began to foreſee, that by the negligence and errors of his allies, the war in Flanders muſt neceſſarily have a very unfortunate iſſue. On the Upper Rhine, Phillipſburgh was taken by the Imperialiſts: in Pomerania, the Swedes were ſo unſucceſsful againſt the Danes and Brandenburgers, that they ſeemed to be loſing apace all thoſe poſſeſſions, which, by valour and good fortune, they had acquired in Germany. Near the end of the campaign, the congreſs at Nimeguen was pretty full, and the plenipotentiaries of the emperor and Spain, at laſt appeared. The dutch had threatened, if they delayed any longer, they would proceed to a ſeparate treaty with France. In the conferences and negotiations, the diſpoſitions of the different parties became every day more apparent. The States-general, loaded with debts, and harraſſed with taxes, were deſirous of putting a period to a war, in which, beſides the inconveniencies attending all leagues, the weakneſs of the Spaniards, the diviſions and delays of the Germans, prognoſticated nothing but diſgrace and misfortunes. Commerce languiſhed; and, what gave them ſtill greater anxiety, the trade of England, by reaſon of her neutrality, flouriſhed extremely, and they were apprehenſive, that advantages once loſt, would never be thoroughly regained. They had themſelves no farther motives for continuing the war, than to procure a good frontier to Flanders. Gratitude to their allies, however, ſtill induced them to try, whether another campaign might procure a peace, which muſt give general ſatisfaction. The prince of Orange, urged by motives of honour, ambition, and animoſity againſt France, endeavoured to keep the States ſteady to this reſolution. The Spaniards were diſtracted between the parties of the queen-regent and Don John, natural brother to their young ſovereign. Though unable of themſelves to defend Flanders, they were determined not to conclude a peace which would leave that country expoſed to every aſſault or inroad; and while they made the moſt magnificent promiſes to the States, their real truſt was in the protection of England. They ſaw that if England was once ſubdued by France, the Hollanders, expoſed to ſo terrible a power, muſt fall into dependence, and endeavour, by ſubmiſſion, to ward off that deſtruction, to which a war, in the very heart of the ſtate, muſt neceſſarily expoſe them. They were perſuaded that Lewis, ſenſible how much greater advantages he might reap from the alliance, than from the ſubjection of the republic, which muſt ſcatter the people, and depreſs, if not annihilate its commerce, would be contented with very moderate conditions, and turn his arms againſt his other neighbours. They therefore thought it impoſſible but the Engliſh parliament, foreſeeing theſe obvious conſequences, muſt, at laſt, force the king to take part in the affairs of the continent, in which their intereſts were ſo deeply concerned; they even truſted that Charles himſelf, from the approach of ſo great a danger, muſt open his eyes, and ſacrifice the favour of France, to the ſafety of his own kingdoms. Charles, however, found himſelf ſo entangled in ſuch oppoſite motives and engagements, that he was totally embarraſſed; he wanted patience to weigh and unravel the former, and reſolution to break the latter. On one hand, he always regarded his alliance with France as a ſure reſource in caſe of any commotions among his own ſubjects; and whatever ſchemes he had formed for enlarging his authority, or altering the religion, it was from that nation alone he could expect aſſiſtance. He dreaded leſt the parliament ſhould treat him as they had formerly done his father; and after they had engaged him in a war on the continent, ſhould take advantage of his neceſſities, and make him purchaſe his ſupplies by ſacrificing his prerogatives, and abandoning his miniſters. On the other hand, the cries of his people and parliament, ſeconded by Danby, Arlington, and moſt of his miniſters, incited him to take part with the allies, and correct the unequal balance of power in Europe.

A. D. 1677.

On the meeting of parliament the fifteenth of February, the king profeſſed his readineſs to give all poſſible ſecurity and ſupport to the proteſtant religion, and the liberties and properties of his ſubjects. He made the cuſtomary declaration of his neceſſities; and begged, and was granted, a ſupply for the navy. Their proceedings ſeemed likely to be interrupted by a declaration againſt the legality of their meeting. By a ſtatute of Edward III. it was enacted, that parliaments ſhould be ſummoned once a year, or oftener, as occaſion ſhould require. The laſt prorogation had been more than a year; and being therefore conſidered as illegal, it was ſuppoſed to be equal to a diſſolution. This objection had ſo much weight, that Shafteſbury, Wharton, Buckingham, and Saliſbury, zealouſly contended in the houſe of peers that the parliament was illegal, and that of conſequence there could be no validity in its proceedings. In conſequence of this refractory behaviour, they were committed to the Tower during the pleaſure of the king. Buckingham, Saliſbury, and Wharton, making ſome conceſſions, they were reſtored to liberty; but Shafteſbury, being ambitious of popularity, had recourſe to the law for redreſs. Being condemned by the judges, he ſaw no probability of obtaining his freedom, but by making proper conceſſions; to which he at length ſubmitted, after being a year impriſoned. The commons were careful that the ſum of five hundred and eighty thouſand pounds, which they had lately granted, ſhould be applied to its proper purpoſe. In order to gratify the king, they voted a continuation of the additional exciſe for the ſpace of three years; and there was now every appearance of a perfect unanimity between the king and the parliament. In the ſpring, the king of France inveſted Valenciennes, which, in a few days, he ſubdued by aſſault. He then inveſted Cambray and St. Omers. The prince of Orange collected an army, and marched to the relief of the latter place; and the duke of Orleans and marſhal Luxemburgh were detached to oppoſe him. By an artful manœuvre of the marſhal, the prince was ſurprized and defeated; and both Cambray and St. Omers were in a ſhort time conquered. Theſe important events engroſſed the attention of parliament, who, alarmed at the rapid progreſs of the arms of France, preſented an addreſs to the king, repreſenting the danger that threatened the kingdom, and ſoliciting that he would purſue meaſures for the ſecurity of his own dominions, and the Spaniſh Netherlands. In his reply to this addreſs, Charles complained of their having infringed upon his prerogative, by inſiſting on his engaging in alliance with any power whatever; and he prorogued the parliament to the 10th of July.

The earl of Danby was prevailed upon by Sir William Temple, to propoſe a matrimonial alliance between the prince of Orange and the princeſs Mary, eldeſt daughter to the duke of York. By the expreſs order of the king, Mary and her ſiſter Anne, had been educated according to the principles of the proteſtant religion; and the proſpect of the match appeared to be perfectly agreeable to the princeſs. Upon the concluſion of the campaign, the prince obtained permiſſion to depart for England, and on his arrival he demanded Mary in marriage: but the duke of York, who was averſe to the propoſed alliance, treated him with great diſreſpect. But the king expreſſed himſelf deſirous of concluding terms of pacification previous to his conſenting to the marriage. The prince objected to this, declaring that he would not treat of peace till after the ſolemnization of the nuptials. The king finding him reſolute in his purpoſe, acceded thereto; and the marriage articles were immediately drawn, according to which it was ſtipulated, that the portion of the princeſs ſhould be forty thouſand pounds. The marriage was ſolemnized on the fourth of November; and on this occaſion there were great rejoicings among all ranks of people. Both Charles and the prince now directed their attention to the accompliſhment of the propoſed plan of pacification. It was agreed, that the king of France ſhould reſtore all he had obtained from the emperor and the duke of Lorraine; that there ſhould be a mutual reſtitution between France and Holland; and that Spain ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion of the Netherlands, formerly annexed to the ſovereignty of that kingdom. Charles undertook to prevail upon the French monarch to agree to theſe conditions; and the prince engaged to obtain the concurrence of the States-general. Having received the ſtrongeſt aſſurances from Charles that he would not abandon this plan, the prince, accompanied by his bride, embarked for Holland. M. de Duras, afterwards earl of Feverſham, made a notification of the above agreement to the king of France; who, though averſe to the terms of accommodation, received the intelligence with apparent indifference. He obſerved, however, that England had power to command a peace; but that he conſidered it extremely ſevere upon him to be compelled to ſurrender thoſe poſſeſſions in Flanders, in fortifying which he had expended large ſums; he hoped, therefore, that a few towns would not create a diſagreement between the king of England and himſelf; and he concluded with ſaying, he would inſtruct his ambaſſadors at London to treat on the ſubject. The king now ſet on foot a negotiation of a very different nature, in which, notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances of parliament, he engaged not to declare in favour of the allies. Two hundred thouſand pounds a year, during the continuance of the war, were demanded by the Engliſh ambaſſadors at Paris; but, in lieu thereof, Charles, at the inſtance of the French miniſter at London, conſented to accept of two millions of livres.

A. D. 1678.

The parliament meeting in January, the king informed them that he had concluded an alliance with the Dutch; and at the ſame time obſerved, that unleſs an army of thirty thouſand men was maintained, and ninety ſhips of war were kept in commiſſion, the nation could not be deemed to be in a ſtate of ſecurity. After mentioning the marriage of his niece with the prince of Orange, he requeſted a ſupply proportioned to the exigencies of government. But the parliament, not ſatisfied with the conduct of Charles, petitioned, that he would not engage in any treaty with France, till that kingdom ſhould be reduced to a ſituation equal to that in which ſhe was when the peace of the Pyrenees was concluded; informing him, that when he ſhould be pleaſed to communicate to them the nature of his alliances, they would enable him to ſupport hoſtilities with vigour, or to conclude peace on honourable and advantageous terms. In the interim, the king of France reduced Ghent and Ypres, which ſo alarmed the ſtates of Holland, that they determined to conclude a ſeparate peace. Availing himſelf of the advantages he had gained over England, Lewis inſiſted upon terms very different from thoſe which he had before accepted as the ground of a pacification.

Charles ſent his chancellor to requeſt the advice of the two houſes of parliament, as to the meaſures that would he moſt eligible for him to purſue. The commons ſtrongly recommended him to declare war againſt France, and voted that the alliance with Holland had no conſiderable tendency towards the national ſafety. They afterwards requeſted, that he would pay more than his cuſtomary attention to their addreſſes, and that he would remove the duke of Lauderdale from his councils. The king pretended to be aſtoniſhed at this procedure of parliament, and refuſed at that time to give any anſwer to their requeſt. At the ſame time, orders were iſſued for collecting an army of thirty thouſand men; and the recruiters were ſo ſucceſsful, that the troops were raiſed in ſix weeks. The duke of Monmouth, with an army of three thouſand men, was ſent to Oſtend; ſome regiments in the ſervice of France were recalled; a powerful fleet was equipped with all poſſible expedition; and every neceſſary meaſure was taken for commencing hoſtilities againſt France. Through the agency of their ambaſſadors at the court of England, the States-general averred, that if Charles would immediately declare war againſt France, they would violate their treaty with, and act vigorouſly againſt that power. Charles replied, that ſince the States had declared themſelves ready to comply with the conditions preſcribed by the court of France, and Lewis had propoſed to purchaſe a peace, he conceived that he ſhould be juſtifiable in accepting the gratuity. He even requeſted Sir William Temple to treat with the French ambaſſador on this ſubject; but he declined taking any part in a negotiation of ſo ſcandalous a nature. Other perſons, however, were ſoon found, who engaged in this buſineſs without reluctance, and the ſum was agreed on. After this, the French miniſter informed his majeſty, the money would not be paid but on the condition of his binding himſelf in a ſecret article, that the forces in his three kingdoms ſhould not exceed eight thouſand men. Hereupon the king exclaimed, "Cod's fiſh! does my brother of France think to ſerve me thus? Are all his promiſes to make me abſolute maſter of my ſubjects come to this? Or does he think it a thing to be done with eight thouſand men?" Charles had it at this time in his power to have been the umpire of the kings of Europe, if he had poſſeſſed the ambition of being ſo, or had entertained any idea of carrying plans of importance into execution.

The parliament met in May, and Charles acquainted the houſes, that the French king had offered a truce till the twenty-ſecond of July, and ſaid it would be highly imprudent to diſband the troops till after the expiration of that term; but the commons voted, that all the troops levied ſince September ſhould be diſcharged. In June the king told his parliament, that France, Spain, and Holland, were on the point of concluding a peace, and therefore it would be neceſſary to keep a powerful fleet at ſea. He begged an augmentation of three hundred thouſand pounds to his revenue, fifty thouſand pounds of which to be annually appropriated to the ſupport of the fleet and artillery: he likewiſe deſired the houſe to conſider, that his honour was engaged for the payment of the fortune of the princeſs of Orange, the half of which was due, and had been demanded by the prince. The commons refuſed to comply with the king's requeſt for the increaſe of his revenue, but granted ſix thouſand pounds for paying what was due to the army, that it might be diſbanded, as there was no proſpect of its being advantageouſly employed againſt France. On the fifteenth of July an act was paſſed, decreeing, that in future the dead ſhould be buried in woollen; a law wiſely intended for the benefit of that manufacture. This being done, the parliament was prorogued. By this time all differences were accommodated between France and Spain, and an almoſt general peace reigned through Europe.

A very extraordinary affair at this time engaged the attention of the whole kingdom. One Kirby, at the inſtigation of Dr. Iſrael Tongue, a clergyman of London, on the twelfth of Auguſt, approaching his majeſty in St. James's-park, ſaid to him, "Sir, keep within your company; your enemies have a deſign upon your life." The king deſired Kirby to bring Tongue to him at eight o'clock that evening. He was accordingly introduced to his majeſty, with a bundle of papers relating to this conſpiracy, and referred to lord-treaſurer Danby. He ſaid, that the papers were thruſt under his door without his knowledge: but imagined, that it was done by a perſon who had often entertained him with ſtories of the like nature. The improbability of the ſtory induced his majeſty to look upon the whole as a fiction, and he requeſted that it might be kept a ſecret, in fear of the conſequences it might produce among his ſubjects. In order to clear the jeſuits from all ſuſpicion of being concerned in this affair, the duke of York inſiſted on a proper enquiry being made before the privy-counſel. Kirby and Tongue were now ſent for, the latter of whom declared, that he received his intelligence from one Titus Oates, who had been bred a clergyman of the church of England, had afterwards embraced the catholic religion, lived ſome time in the Engliſh ſeminary at St. Omers, had been ſent from thence on an errand to Spain, had finally abjured the Romiſh faith, and lately arrived in his native country. The ſubſtance of Oates's evidence, as delivered before the council, was, "That he had been employed by ſeveral jeſuits to carry letters to father Suima, an Iriſh jeſuit at Madrid; that in the courſe of his journey thither, he had broke open letters, and diſcovered a deſign of exciting a rebellion in Scotland; that he ſaw ſeveral Engliſh ſtudents at Valladolid, who were obliged by the Jeſuits of the college to renounce their allegiance to the king of Great-Britain; that one of them, in a ſermon to the ſtudents, preſumed to affirm, that Charles Stuart was not a lawful king, nor the ſon of Charles the Firſt, but of a black Scotchman; that upon his return to England, where he made farther diſcoveries, he was ſent to St. Omers; with other letters to the ſame purport as the former; that in April he came over from St. Omers with ſeveral Jeſuits, to aſſiſt at the grand conſult which was held by about fifty jeſuits at the White-horſe tavern in the Strand, where they ſigned an agreement to kill the king; that in June following he became privy to the treaty with Wakeman, the queen's phyſician, to poiſon, and Grove and Pickering to ſhoot his majeſty; that he heard a Jeſuit aſſert in a ſermon, "that proteſtant and other heretical princes were, *ipſo facto*, depoſed; and that it was as lawful to deſtroy them as Oliver Cromwell, or any other uſurper." This affair appeared of ſuch importance to the council, that they re-examined Tongue and Oates, and employed the latter to ſeize the perſons and papers of the ſuppoſed conſpirators; the council likewiſe ſat twice a week to obtain all the evidence poſſible. In conſequence of Oates's depoſition, Sir George Wakeman, Edward Coleman, ſecretary to the duke of York, with eight prieſts and Juſuits, were taken into cuſtody, which induced the public in general to believe, that the catholics were the contrivers of the plot; and in this belief they were confirmed by a circumſtance that happened but a few days afterwards, and which is very curious in all its particulars. Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, a Juſtice of the peace, who had taken Oates's depoſition, having been miſſing for a few days, was found murdered in a ditch between Pancras and Hampſtead. The coroner's jury ſat on the body, and gave in a verdict of "Wilful murder by perſons unknown." The king immediately offered a reward of five hundred pounds, with a free pardon, to any one who would diſcover the murderers. In the mean time the houſe of peers informed the commons of what they had learnt reſpecting the plot, and both houſes ſat till night on ſeveral days to examine evidence. Oates they recommended to the king; aſſigned him a guard for the protection of his perſon; and accommodated him with a penſion of twelve hundred pounds. Immediately a bill was brought into the houſe of commons, to expel all popiſh recuſants from the kingdom; and after Oates had been examined ſeveral hours before both houſes, they voted, "That the lords and commons are of opinion that there hath been, and ſtill is, a damnable and helliſh plot, contrived and carried on by popiſh recuſants, for aſſaſſinating and murdering the king, for ſubverting the government, and rooting out and deſtroying the proteſtant religion." Many perſons againſt whom Oates had ſworn, were now apprehended by order of the houſe of commons; and among the reſt, the lords Powis, Stafford, Arundel of Wardour, Petre, and Bellaſis, were committed to the Tower, on a charge of high treaſon. William Bedloe being examined to prove the exiſtence of the plot, ſwore, that two Jeſuits, named Walſh and le Phaire, who, he ſaid, were concerned in the murder of Godfrey, had told him the names of the noblemen who had taken up arms, and of preparations that were making in Flanders and Spain. He averred, that all the catholics of diſtinction were apprized of the plot, and ready to concur in carrying it into execution; and that "himſelf being well acquainted with all the public and private roads in England and Wales, was appointed to carry inſtructions and intelligence from one army to the other."

The depoſitions of Oates being in ſome degree confirmed, the public diſſatisfaction aroſe to ſuch a height, that the king was under a neceſſity of iſſuing a proclamation, directing that popiſh recuſants ſhould not go to a greater diſtance than five miles from their own houſes: at the ſame time another proclamation was publiſhed, "Offering a reward to any one who ſhould diſcover or apprehend a Romiſh prieſt or jeſuit;" and the king gave his aſſent to the bill for diſqualifying papiſts from ſitting in parliament. Coleman, the duke of York's ſecretary, having been executed on the evidence of Oates and Bedloe, the other parties were ſoon afterwards brought to trial. In December, two prieſts, named Ireland and Pickering, with Grove, a lay-brother, Whitebread, provincial of the jeſuits, with Fenwick, a member of the ſame ſociety, were brought to trial at the Old Bailey, when the two latter were diſmiſſed for the preſent in defect of evidence, and the others tried, convicted, hanged, drawn and quartered.

A. D. 1679. A catholic, named Miles Prance, having been taken into cuſtody on ſuſpicion of having been concerned in the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, was carried before the committee of the houſe of lords, to whom he made the moſt ſolemn declaration of his innocence; but Bedloe affirming that he was one of the men he ſaw in Somerſet-gardens with the the dead body, he was immediately conveyed to Newgate, and confined in the condemned hole. Being carried before the earl of Shafteſbury, he diſcovered ſome particulars, and promiſed to make a more full confeſſion, if he could be aſſured of obtaining a free pardon. What he aſked being promiſed to him, he was examined before the king and council, and acknowledged that Godfrey was murdered in Somerſet-houſe by the procurement of two Iriſh prieſts, named Gerard and Kelly, Robert Green, cuſhion-keeper to the queen's chapel, and other perſons. The following confeſſion was afterwards made by Prance to Dr. Lloyd, reſpecting the manner in which the murder was committed. He ſaid that Hill, Gerard, Kelly, himſelf, and ſome others, reſolved to murder Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, as a bitter perſecutor of the catholics, and an enemy to the queen's ſervants. That on the 12th of October, about nine in the evening, as he was returning home by the water-gate of Somerſet-houſe, Kelly and Berry, another of the accomplices, feigned a quarrel; and Hill, after much importunity, prevailed on Godfrey, as being a juſtice of the peace, to interpoſe his authority; but he no ſooner entered the gate, than Gerard, throwing a handkerchief about his neck, twiſted it tight, and with the aſſiſtance of the other parties, immediately ſtrangled him. He farther affirmed, that they conveyed the body to the houſe of Dr. Godden, where it lay two nights, and was then removed to another apartment, where it was ſeen by Bedloe. At length they determined to convey it into the fields, with the rings on the fingers, and the money in the pockets, and to thruſt the ſword through it, that it might be ſuppoſed he had murdered himſelf. They accordingly carried the body in a ſedan towards Soho-fields, where Hill waited with a horſe, upon which it was mounted before him, and that they left it in a ditch near Primroſe-hill. A trial followed this depoſition, and Green, Hill, and Berry, were convicted, though ſeveral of the witneſſes materially contradicted each other; and it remains to this day a doubt, whether the parties were guilty of the crime for which they ſuffered. The duke of York now retired to Bruſſels with the princeſs, in conſequence of a written order which the king ſent him.

On the meeting of parliament, the king was earneſtly deſirous that Sir Thomas Meers might be elected ſpeaker; but the houſe re-choſe Seymour, whom the king refuſed to approve, and commanded that the commons ſhould make a new choice. This produced a violent conteſt; the commons inſiſting that the king's approbation was matter of mere form; and the king maintaining, that, as he had the power of rejecting, he was not obliged to aſſign any reaſon for ſo doing. At length the affair was compromiſed by the election of Mr. Gregory, a gentleman of the law, to whom the king made no objection. Articles of impeachment were now prepared againſt lord Danby; and Tongue, Oates, Bedloe, and Everard (a new witneſs) were ſummoned to the bar of the houſe, to give evidence reſpecting the plot. A vote paſſed, "That an horrible conſpiracy had been contrived and carried on for aſſaſſinating the king, deſtroying the proteſtant religion, and ſubverting the government." In this vote the peers concurred with the commons, and a day was appointed for public faſting and humiliation. Charles was urgent with the houſe of lords in favour of the earl of Danby, who, he alledged, had voted in obedience to the orders he had received; but he promiſed that he would remove him from his preſence, and deprive him of all his employments, in order to give their lordſhips ſatisfaction: but the oppoſition againſt Danby was very violent, notwithſtanding the royal interpoſition in his favour. Lord Shafteſbury reviled the adminiſtration in the moſt pointed terms, affirming, among other things, that, "In England popery would firſt enter, to pave the way for ſlavery; but in Scotland ſlavery had entered, and popery would follow." After much debate a bill was paſſed, to oblige Danby to ſurrender within a certain day, on pain of being proceeded againſt by an act of attainder. The earl was committed priſoner to the Tower, on his ſurrender to the uſher of the black-rod. Affairs being thus critically ſituated, the king aſked the opinion of Sir William Temple, who adviſed him to admit into his council the leading men in the oppoſition: whereupon the earl of Eſſex was created lord-treaſurer in the room of Danby; lord Sunderland was made ſecretary of ſtate; lord Halifax was ſworn of the privy-council; and theſe noblemen, with Sir William Temple, were conſulted on all buſineſs of importance. Shafteſbury, though preſident of the council, adhered to what was called the country party, as the king did not honour him with his confidence. The people in general were greatly elevated, in the hope and expectation that this change of men would naturally induce a change of meaſures; but the commons did not ſee things in ſo flattering a light; and notwithſtanding the late alteration in the miniſtry, they paſſed an unanimous vote, that "The duke of York, being a catholic, and the preſumptive heir to the crown, was the chief encouragement to the deſigns and plots of the papiſts againſt the king, and the proteſtant religion."

An opinion now prevailed, that a bill would be framed for excluding the duke of York from the ſucceſſion; and the king, in order to prevent ſuch a meaſure, made ſome propoſitions to parliament, importing, that "The death of a king, if his ſucceſſor was a catholic, ſhould not diſſolve the parliament; that during the whole courſe of his reign, he ſhould not be allowed to confer eccleſiaſtical benefices, or ſpiritual offices, upon any but pious and learned proteſtants; that no members of the privy-council, or judges, ſhould be appointed or diſplaced, but by the authority of parliament; that all juſtices of the peace ſhould be proteſtants; and that with regard to the militia, no lieutenant of a county ſhould be deprived of his office, but by order of parliament." The commons, diſſatiſfied with this offer, proceeded with a bill to prevent the danger that might ariſe from popery, as well in the reign of Charles, as of his ſucceſſor. They likewiſe ordered in a bill, for vacating the ſeats of ſuch members as ſhould accept of any employment under the crown. Another bill was introduced, importing, that "James, duke of York, Albany, and Ulſter, ſhould be incapable of inheriting the crowns of England, Scotland, and Ireland: that upon the death or reſignation of the king, the ſovereignty of theſe kingdoms ſhould devolve to the perſon next in ſucceſſion to the duke; that all acts of royalty exerciſed by him ſhould be not only void, but deemed treaſonable; that if he entered any of theſe dominions, he ſhould be deemed guilty of high treaſon; and that all who ſupported his title, ſhould be puniſhed as rebels and traitors." A majority of ſeventy-nine voices was in favour of this important bill, which immediately paſſed the houſe of commons. The houſe then proceeded to an enquiry as to the members who received penſions from the court, eighteen of whom were diſcovered. The ſtanding army and the guards were voted to be illegal; and that great bulwark of Engliſh freedom, the Habeas Corpus Act, was now brought in, whereby it was enacted, that the judges, under ſevere penalties, ſhould grant writs, at the requiſition of priſoners, authorizing the gaolers to produce them in court, and certify the cauſe of their impriſonment. The king, learning that the commons intended to draw up a remonſtrance reſpecting the redreſs of grievances, he prorogued the parliament from the twenty-ſeventh of May to the fourteenth of Auguſt. Without the advice of council, this parliament was afterwards diſſolved, and writs were iſſued for the election of new members.

By the evidence of Oates, Dugdale, Prance, and Bedloe, the jeſuits, Whitebread, the provincial, Harcourt, Gavan, and Turner, were convicted; but ſentence was poſtponed till after the trial of Langhorn the lawyer, whom the ſame witneſſes had accuſed as a principal agent in the conſpiracy. Langhorn repreſented them as miſcreant informers, who had received pardon and gratuities for betraying their fellow-ſubjects; urging, therefore, that no credit ought to be given to their teſtimony. However, ſentence of death was pronounced againſt Langhorn, as well as the abovementioned jeſuits; and to the laſt moment of their lives, they all ſolemnly declared themſelves to be innocent of the charges alledged againſt them. Whitebread in particular, renounced the maxim believed by many of the jeſuits, that it was lawful to depoſe and aſſaſſinate princes. On the eighteenth of June, Sir George Wakeman, the queen's phyſician, was brought for trial before chief juſtice Scroggs. On his firſt examination, Oates had declared that he knew nothing but from common report againſt Sir George; but he now depoſed that he had ſeen a letter written by him to Aſhby the jeſuit, adviſing him to uſe a milk diet and the waters at Bath, and intimating his approbation of the conſpiracy againſt the king and government. In his defence, Wakeman remarked on the inconſiſtency of the informer's allegations; and by the evidence of one of his own domeſtics, and an apothecary at Bath, he proved that he did not write, but dictate the letter to Aſhby, and pointed out the abſurdity of preſcribing together a milk diet and the uſe of the Bath waters: the evidence of Bedloe alſo being delivered with prevarication and inconſiſtency, Wakeman was acquitted, as were two Benedictine monks tried at the ſame time on ſimilar accuſations. On the trial of the above perſons, the chief juſtice conducted himſelf with a degree of moderation that reflected great honour upon his character; but the witneſſes, finding their credit entirely ruined, accuſed him of partiality.

Near the latter end of Auguſt, Charles was attacked by an intermitting fever, and fell ſick at Windſor. His life being thought in danger, all ranks of men were ſeized with amazement, which was encreaſed by the apprehenſions they entertained of his ſucceſſor. It was feared, that the malcontents would immediately kindle a civil war; and either their ſucceſs, their failure, or even the balance and conteſt of parties, ſeemed events equally fatal. Eſſex, Halifax, and Sunderland perſuaded the ducheſs of Portſmouth to propoſe to the king to ſend for his brother. The duke haſtened over; but finding the king out of danger, offered inſtantly to return. The duke of Monmouth, in an unguarded tranſport, reproached the king with concealing from him the invitation he had given. Charles ordered him into baniſhment. Monmouth, in haughty terms, refuſed obedience. But the next day the two dukes agreed, that in order to prevent civil diſcord, both ſhould retire abroad. Monmouth fixed his reſidence in Holland, where he profeſſed his attachment to the prince of Orange. The duke of York returned to Bruſſels; and in a few months after came to England, and then moved his court into Scotland. At this time what has been called the Meal-Tub-Plot, was contrived between one Dangerfield, and a woman named Collier. Dangerfield intimated, that a plan was in agitation to depoſe the king, and introduce a new form of government; and upon this information he was ſupplied with money, in order to encourage him to detect the conſpirators. Having concealed ſome papers of a ſeditious nature in the houſe of colonel Manſell, he conducted ſome officers of the cuſtoms to the dwelling, where he pretended that they would diſcover a large quantity of ſmuggled goods. Upon the houſe being ſearched, the ſeditious papers treacherouſly concealed there were found; and upon the matter being inveſtigated in the council it was concluded, that they were forged by Dangerfield, who was ordered into cuſtody; and the houſe of his female accomplice, who practiſed midwifery for a livelihood, being ſearched, the written particulars of the whole conſpiracy were found concealed in a meal-tub. Upon his examination, Dangerfield acknowledged the forgery, aſſerting, at the ſame time, that the plot was contrived by the earl of Caſtlemain, the counteſs of Powis, and the five lords confined in the Tower. The earl and the counteſs were committed to the Tower. The information and the confeſſion were utterly diſbelieved by the people in general: but the king countenanced the impoſture. He was now repeatedly urged by the earls of Halifax and Eſſex, to aſſemble the parliament; but as he refuſed to yield to their ſolicitations, Eſſex reſigned his treaſurer's ſtaff, which was given to Laurence Hyde, who, with Sunderland and Godolphin, obtained a diſtinguiſhed place in the king's favour. Lord Ruſſel relinquiſhed his place at the council-board; Sir William Temple retired into the country; and ſome expreſſions uſed by Shafteſbury being interpreted as inſults to the king, he was diſmiſſed the council, where he was ſucceeded by the earl of Radnor. Shafteſbury, exaſperated by his removal, prevailed upon the duke of Monmouth to return to England without the king's permiſſion; and accompanying him on a tour through many parts of the kingdom, procured addreſſes from his friends and dependants, demanding a parliament to be immediately convened; and ſuch a ſpirit of diſcontent did he excite againſt the government, that an inſurrection was apprehended.

A. D. 1680.

The ſeſſion of the new parliament opened in January; when the king, repreſenting to them that the ſtate of national affairs indiſpenſibly required an intermiſſion, prorogued them to the fifteenth of April. His majeſty then informed the council, that he had commanded the duke of York to return to court; obſerving, that he conceived his preſence to be neceſſary at a jucture when matters were under conſideration, in which his intereſt was materially concerned. In February the prince arrived in England, and the king received him in the moſt affectionate manner. The court-party now retorted upon their antagoniſts, by preſenting addreſſes to the king, wherein they expreſſed their abhorrence of the licentious proceedings of thoſe perſons who had preſumed to demand a parliament. Shafteſbury, who was conſidered as the leader of the country-party, determined to exert his utmoſt endeavours to effect the deſtruction of the duke of York, and for this purpoſe he ſtrenuouſly ſupported the pretenſions of the duke of Monmouth. He purſued every poſſible meaſure to acquire popularity, and cauſed a report to be circulated, purporting, that a marriage had been actually ſolemnized between the king and Mrs. Waters, the duke of Monmouth's mother. Hereupon the king diſavowed in council, his having been either married or contracted to any but queen Catharine. The earl of Caſtlemain and Collier the midwife, were put on their trial, on the charge of having been concerned in the meal-tub plot; but there being no evidence adduced to criminate them, they were acquitted; and the grand jury rejected the bill of indictment againſt the counteſs of Powis. Bedloe, the informer, died in Auguſt; but a ſhort time previous to his deceaſe, he declared, that the queen and the duke of York were the principals in the deſign of introducing the popiſh religion, and that the evidence he had advanced againſt the jeſuits, was, in every particular, ſtrictly authentic. The oppoſition exerted every effort to increaſe their popularity; and in this they were ſo daring, that the king, alarmed at their preſumption, inſiſted, that his brother ſhould retire to Scotland, and there remain till the popular tumults ſhould ſubſide. His majeſty having aſſured the duke, that he would never abandon his intereſts, he, though reluctantly, acquieſced in the royal command. When the parliament met, Charles informed them, that he had concluded an alliance with the court of Spain; and pledged his word, that he was heartily inclined to co-operate with them in all reaſonable meaſures for ſecuring the proteſtant religion againſt the innovations of popery; he exhorted them to purſue the enquiry into the conſpiracy; requeſted a ſubſidy for the ſupport of Tangier; and repreſented a ſtrict union between the parliament and himſelf, as the moſt certain means of promoting the public welfare. The commons now preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, requeſting him to remove Sir George Jefferies, recorder of London, and firſt judge of Cheſter, from all public employments. The lords Ruſſel and Capel enumerated the grievances of the nation, and were ſeconded by a great number of members, ſome of whom ſpoke of the duke of York in terms of great ſeverity. The houſe at length renewed the votes paſſed againſt him in a former parliament; and lord Ruſſel moved for the appointment of a committee, to prepare a bill for excluding the duke of York from the ſucceſſion. This bill produced violent debates among the commons. Thoſe who ſpoke in favour of it were lord Ruſſel, Sir William Jones, Sir Francis Winnington, Sir Henry Capel, Sir William Poulteney, colonel Titus, Treby, Hampden, and Montague; and it was oppoſed by Sir Leoline Jenkins, ſecretary of ſtate; Sir John Erneley, chancellor of the exchequer; Sir William Temple, Hyde, and Seymour. It was contended by the former party, that the king, lords, and commons, were inveſted with power to introduce alterations in any part of the Engliſh conſtitution; that the lineal ſucceſſion of the throne had been legally ſet aſide; that the expedient had been adopted when it had become indiſpenſibly neceſſary, in conſequence of the duke's zealous attachment to the popiſh religion, the intimacy of his connections with catholic princes, and his arbitrary diſpoſition, whereby the revival of popery, the perſecution of the proteſtants, and numberleſs other dreadful calamities were to be apprehended. It was argued by the other party, that the right of ſucceſſion had never been aboliſhed but by abſolute tyranny, or ſucceſsful uſurpation; that unleſs the nation unanimouſly concurred in deſiring a change, violent convulſions in the ſtate muſt enſue; that a legiſlature which deviates from the fundamental rules of the conſtitution, ſubverts the principles of authority on which even itſelf is founded; and that ſince it was known, that the king would not tamely relinquiſh his right of ſucceſſion, it would be impolitic and dangerous to drive him to extremity. The bill, however, paſſed the commons by a conſiderable majority: but it had a very different reception in the upper houſe, where the whole bench of biſhops, except three, declared againſt it as a dangerous innovation; and, after a warm debate, which was continued till eleven o'clock at night, it was rejected by a majority of thirty-three. This ſpirited conduct of the lords, increaſed the diſguſt of the commons, who, when the king ſent them a meſſage, requeſting that they would uſe diſpatch in the enquiry relating to the conſpiracy, and proceed to the trial of the lords confined in the Tower, replied, that the delay was wholly occaſioned by the pernicious councils of thoſe perſons, who had perſuaded his majeſty to diſſolve the late, and prorogue the preſent parliament. After this they preſented a remonſtrance to the king, mentioning the danger to which his majeſty's partiality to the papiſts expoſed the nation; and inſinuating, that he was himſelf concerned in the conſpiracy for ruining the cauſe of the proteſtants.

The impeachment of the catholic lords in the Tower was now revived; and it was determined to make lord viſcount Stafford the firſt victim. The clamour and outrage of the populace during the trial were very violent. The priſoner, antient, infirm, and of a narrow capacity, made a better defence than was expected either by his friends or his enemies. He repreſented that during a courſe of forty years, from the very commencement of the civil wars, he had maintained his loyalty. With a ſimplicity more perſuaſive than the greateſt oratory, he made proteſtations of his innocence, and frequently expreſſed his ſurpriſe at the abſurdities, contradictions, and audacity of his accuſers; yet, notwithſtanding the ſtrength of the evidence produced in his defence, he was convicted of treaſon, upon the depoſitions of thoſe hirelings of a deſperate party, Dugdale, Oates, and Tuberville. Hearing the verdict pronounced, he exclaimed, "God's holy name be praiſed." Being brought to the ſcaffold on the twenty-ninth of December, in the moſt ſolemn manner he declared himſelf to be entirely innocent; and there was ſomething ſo pathetic in the reſignation of this unfortunate nobleman, that the populace exclaimed, "We believe you, my lord! God bleſs you, my lord!" Even the executioner was not proof againſt a ſympathizing ſorrow: he performed his office with manifeſt heſitation and reluctance; and he was obſerved to tremble when he held up the head, crying, "This is the head of a traitor." Not a ſign of aſſent was expreſſed among the numerous ſpectators. Thus died the earl of Stafford, on the twenty-ninth of December; and this was the laſt blood ſhed on account of a popiſh plot, which, whether founded in reality, or imagination, cannot be decided.

A.D. 1681. The king, averſe to the bill of excluſion, requeſted of the commons that they would take under ſerious conſideration, more eligible methods for the ſecurity of the proteſtant religion, and alſo the ſtate of the nation. Previous to this a bill had paſſed both houſes, for exempting proteſtant nonconformiſts from the penalties impoſed by an act in the reign of queen Elizabeth: but when the king came to the houſe of lords to give the royal aſſent, the bill had been concealed by the clerk of the crown, in conſequence of his majeſty's orders. The commons now reſolved that the act of excluſion was the only ſufficient ſecurity for the king's life, the proteſtant religion, and the ſafety of the government; that till the act was paſſed, they could not, without endangering the king's life, and the eſtabliſhed religion, grant any further ſupplies; which meaſure, under the preſent circumſtances, would be to betray the confidence repoſed in them by their conſtituents; that all thoſe who had adviſed his majeſty to reſiſt the bill of excluſion, had given pernicious council, and were enemies to their king and country. A vote was alſo paſſed, purporting, that whoever ſhould lend money, or promote loans to his majeſty, upon the cuſtoms, exciſe, or any other taxes, or accept or purchaſe tallies, or anticipations upon any of his majeſty's revenues, ſhould be liable to proſecution, as an enemy to parliament. Having heard that the king had determined, rather than his brother ſhould ſuſtain any injury, to prorogue the parliament, the houſe of commons voted, that whoever ſhould adviſe his majeſty to prorogue the parliament, ſhould be deemed a traitor to the crown of England, and a dependent upon, and a promoter of the intereſts of the court of France. Exaſperated by theſe proceedings, Charles diſſolved the aſſembly, and at the ſame time convoked a new parliament to meet at Oxford on the twenty-firſt of March. On the meeting of the parliament at Oxford, the members appeared in arms, and were attended by their friends and partizans, as if an immediate rupture had been expected. A number of horſemen ſurrounded the repreſentatives for London, wearing ribbons inſcribed, "No popery, no ſlavery!" Charles complained of the proceedings of the laſt houſe of commons, and ſaid, that as he did not mean to "exerciſe arbitrary power over others, ſo he would not ſuffer it to be exerciſed over himſelf." He expreſſed his wiſhes, that moderation would be ſubſtituted in the room of thoſe animoſities which had formerly prevailed, and that the coolneſs of deliberation would mark their conduct. He ſaid, he was anxious, that all reaſonable fears reſpecting the poſſibility of a papiſt ſucceeding to the throne might be obviated, and declared his readineſs to agree to any ſcheme for veſting in proteſtant hands, the power of governing, during the life of any king profeſſing popery. The commons having re-elected their former ſpeaker, gave orders that their votes ſhould be daily printed, that the public might be informed of their proceedings; after which they took the king's ſpeech into conſideration, and deliberated on the expedients which his majeſty had offered in lieu of the bill of excluſion. It was propoſed, that the duke ſhould be baniſhed during life, to the diſtance of five hundred miles from any part of the Britiſh dominions; that the government ſhould be veſted in a regent; that this office ſhould be conferred upon the princeſs of Orange; and in caſe of her death, devolve to her ſiſter Anne; that ſhould the duke of York have a ſon, educated in the proteſtant religion, the ſaid regent ſhould act during his minority: that though the kingdom ſhould be governed in the name of James II. no man ſhould take arms for him, or by virtue of his commiſſion, on pain of capital puniſhment; and that thoſe ſhould incur the ſame penalty, who ſhould affirm that the ſimple title of king takes away all defects mentioned in this act, or in any degree eludes the obligation of it: that all officers civil and military, ſhould bind themſelves by oath to the obſervance of this ſtatute: that acts of the ſame nature ſhould paſs in the parliaments of Scotland and Ireland; that if the duke of York ſhould enter either of the three kingdoms, he ſhould be excluded, *ipſo facto*, and the ſovereignty devolve on the regent; that all papiſts of any conſideration ſhould be baniſhed by name, and their children educated in the proteſtant religion. Theſe propoſals were rejected by the commons, by whom the bill of excluſion was reſumed; and an order had been made for its being read a ſecond time, when the king unexpectedly diſſolved the parliament, and went to Windſor, whence he haſtened to London, where he publiſhed a proclamation, containing his reaſons for diſſolving the laſt parliament, and that immediately preceding.

Charles received addreſſes from every part of the kingdom, expreſſive of loyalty, and applauſive of his conduct in diſſolving the parliament. Thus flattered, the king became more arbitrary in his proceedings. He looked on the earl of Shafteſbury as his greateſt enemy, and cauſed him to be ſent to the Tower on a charge of high treaſon: ſeveral other perſons who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves againſt the meaſures of the court, were likewiſe impriſoned. Titus Oates was diſcharged from his lodgings at Whitehall, by an order of council, and endeavours were uſed to make the whole popiſh plot a matter of ridicule. A bill of indictment againſt Shafteſbury was preferred to the grand jury of London, but it was thrown out, as the witneſſes examined were perſons of the moſt infamous characters, and ſwore to circumſtances altogether improbable. A draught of an aſſociation was found among the earl's papers, but it was not of his writing; nor could it be proved that he had communicated it to any perſon, or even ſignified his approbation of it. On the bill being thrown out by the grand jury, bonfires were made, and there were the greateſt rejoicings throughout the city. The court-party obtained a conſiderable ſhare of influence in Scotland. In July, the duke of York, as king's commiſſioner, aſſembled the parliament of that kingdom; and an act was paſſed, purporting, that the crown of Scotland had, according to the fundamental laws of the monarchy, regularly deſcended to the heir of blood, and that the eſtabliſhed mode of ſucceſſion could not admit of any alteration whatever. An act was alſo paſſed for impoſing a teſt-oath upon all perſons holding public employments, whereby they were to acknowledge the ſupremacy of the king, renounce the covenant, and eſpouſe the doctrine of paſſive obedience. The oath being tendered to the earl of Argyle, he ſaid he would adhere to it as far as it was conſiſtent with itſelf, and the ſafety of the proteſtant religion; declaring at the ſame time, that he did not mean to bind himſelf up from endeavouring, by ſuch means as were conſiſtent with his loyalty, and the dictates of his conſcience, to effect ſuch alterations as ſhould promiſe to be advantageous to the church or ſtate. In conſequence of this declaration, he was committed to priſon, and being brought to trial, was convicted of perjury, and ſentenced to ſuffer death. An order being given for execution to be ſuſpended till the king's further pleaſure ſhould be known, the earl effected an eſcape, and took refuge under the protection of the States General. The adherents of the duke pretended, that he entertained no deſign againſt the life of Argyle, but was only deſirous of ſuppreſſing that extenſive hereditary juriſdiction by which he maintained a dangerous authority in the Highlands. The king having conquered all oppoſition, the duke repaired to London, and obtained ſo great an influence over his brother, that the government of England, Scotland, and Ireland, was in effect, under his direction.

A. D. 1682. In the beginning of the year the duke made another voyage to Scotland, and the veſſel in which he embarked, ſtriking on a ſand bank in the paſſage was loſt. The duke ſaved himſelf in the long boat, with a few perſons, whom he named for admittance. On this occaſion it is recorded to his eternal infamy, that he ſaved ſome obſcure prieſts, and a number of favourite dogs, while many perſons of diſtinction were left to periſh. Diſguſted by the teſt-oath, the impoſition of which was the cauſe of very ſevere oppreſſion, the people of Scotland reſolved to retire to ſome other country, where they might enjoy that liberty of conſcience which was denied them at home. In purſuance of this deſign, they diſpatched agents to London to treat with the proprietor of Carolina, on the ſubject of their ſettling in that colony. The duke being apprized of their intention, found means to conciliate the affections of the nobility and clergy; and the latter wrote to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, highly extolling the equity and mildneſs of the duke's adminiſtration in general, and in particular commending the pious zeal with which he endeavoured to promote the intereſt of the church. The king having eſtabliſhed himſelf in the poſſeſſion of abſolute power, reſolved to humble the preſbyterians, and had recourſe to the moſt unjuſtifiable meaſures for the accompliſhment of his deſign. The animoſity that had long prevailed between the two parties, was increaſed to a violent and rancorous hatred, the king declared himſelf the head of a faction. The independency of the city of London was ſtill preſerved; and the ſheriff had ſufficient influence over the grand jury, to protect the preſbyterians reſident in the metropolis from oppreſſion. Charles contrived to attach to his intereſt Sir John Moor, the lord mayor of London; and nominated two perſons for ſheriffs, who, he was conſcious, would prove ſubſervient to the meaſures of adminiſtration; and a citizen of equal pliancy was found to ſucceed Moor, upon the expiration of his mayoralty. So alarmed was the earl of Shateſbury by theſe circumſtances, that in order to provide for his perſonal ſafety, he precipitately retreated to Holland, and after his arrival in the dominions of the States General, he ſurvived only a few days.

A.D. 1683. Charles apprehended a formidable oppoſition at the approaching election, and that his meaſures would be annually conteſted in London, and all the other corporations under the influence of the preſbytery; he therefore ſuggeſted means for eſtabliſhing deſpotic ſway over all the corporations of the kingdom. The firſt meaſure he adopted for this purpoſe, was the iſſuing a writ of *Quo warranto* againſt the city of London, which preſcribed an enquiry into the validity of the city charter, which he pretended had, in two inſtances, been forfeited. The firſt was, their having impoſed a toll for defraying the expence of rebuilding their markets; the other, their having in a late addreſs, reflected on the king and government. The cauſe being brought to trial in the court of King's Bench, the council in behalf of the city proved, that all corporations were inveſted with the privilege of eſtabliſhing bye-laws; that the people had an unalienable right to petition the ſovereign; that the addreſs contained no reflection upon the king, though it conveyed a cenſure againſt thoſe evil counſellors who had adviſed him to prorogue the parliament: and likewiſe inſiſted, that if the magiſtrates were guilty of the facts alledged againſt them, they were liable to puniſhment as individuals, but that their delinquency could not be underſtood by the court, as a ground for annihilating the corporation. Cogent as theſe arguments were in favour of the city, the judges who were entirely under the influence of the miniſtry, decreed, that the privileges of the city were forfeited, and that the charter was now entirely at the diſpoſal of the king: but it was determined, that this judgment ſhould not be entered upon record, till his majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be known. A common council being ſummoned, the majority agreed quietly to ſubmit to the ſentence, before it ſhould be recorded; and an addreſs being preſented expreſſive of their acquieſcence, his majeſty propoſed to reſtore the charter on the following conditions: That no mayor, or other officer of the corporation, ſhould exerciſe his authority, until his election ſhould be confirmed under the king's ſign manual; that if his majeſty ſhould not approve of their choice of a mayor and ſheriffs, a new election ſhould take place; and provided the ſecond choice ſhould prove diſagreeable to the king, he ſhould have the power of appointing perſons to ſupply the vacant places; that the mayor and court of aldermen ſhould be empowered to diſplace any alderman, with the approbation of the king; that ſhould any alderman be deemed unqualified by the court of aldermen, the ward ſhould proceed to elect another officer in his room; and in caſe of the ſecond not meeting the approbation of the court, a third ſhould be choſen by the court itſelf; and that the juſtices of the peace in London, ſhould act by virtue only of the king's commiſſion. Theſe rigorous terms being reported to the common council, they were accepted, there being a majority of eighteen voices in their favour. The fate of the city of London proved exceedingly alarming to many other corporations, who, ſurrendering up their charters to the king, were under the neceſſity of paying large ſums for their redemption.

The earl of Shafteſbury, previous to his departure for Holland, had engaged the duke of Monmouth, and the lords Ruſſel and Grey, to take up arms in order to oppoſe the ſucceſſion of the duke of York, upon the demiſe of king Charles, and with theſe noblemen the earls of Eſſex and Saliſbury afterwards aſſociated themſelves. The remaining leaders of the conſpirators were, the duke of Monmouth, the earl of Eſſex, the lords Ruſſel and Howard, Algernon Sidney, and John Hampden, grandſon to the patriot of that name. Theſe perſons held a correſpondence with Argyle and the mal-contents in Scotland, and perſevered in the reſolution of fomenting an inſurrection; but it ſhould be obſerved, that though engaged in one cauſe, they were actuated by different motives. Sidney entertained republican principles; the view of Howard was to gratify his own ambition: Eſſex was deſirous of introducing a republican government; Ruſſel and Hampden were for excluding the duke of York, and redreſſing all public grievances; and the duke of Monmouth aſpired to the poſſeſſion of the ſceptre of England. A ſecond ſubordinate conſpiracy was formed by colonel Rumſey, lieutenant colonel Walcot, and others, who propoſed to aſſaſſinate the king on his return from Newmarket. A farm on the Newmarket road, called the Rye-houſe, was in the poſſeſſion of one of the conſpirators named Rumbald; and hence the conſpiracy was denominated the "Rye-houſe plot." It was agreed, that by overturning a cart in the highway, adjacent to Rumbald's farm, the king's coach would be ſtopped, and that his majeſty ſhould be ſhot by ſome of the conſpirators concealed behind the hedges; and it was further reſolved, that while Rumſey ſhould be employed in making preparations for the murder, the king's

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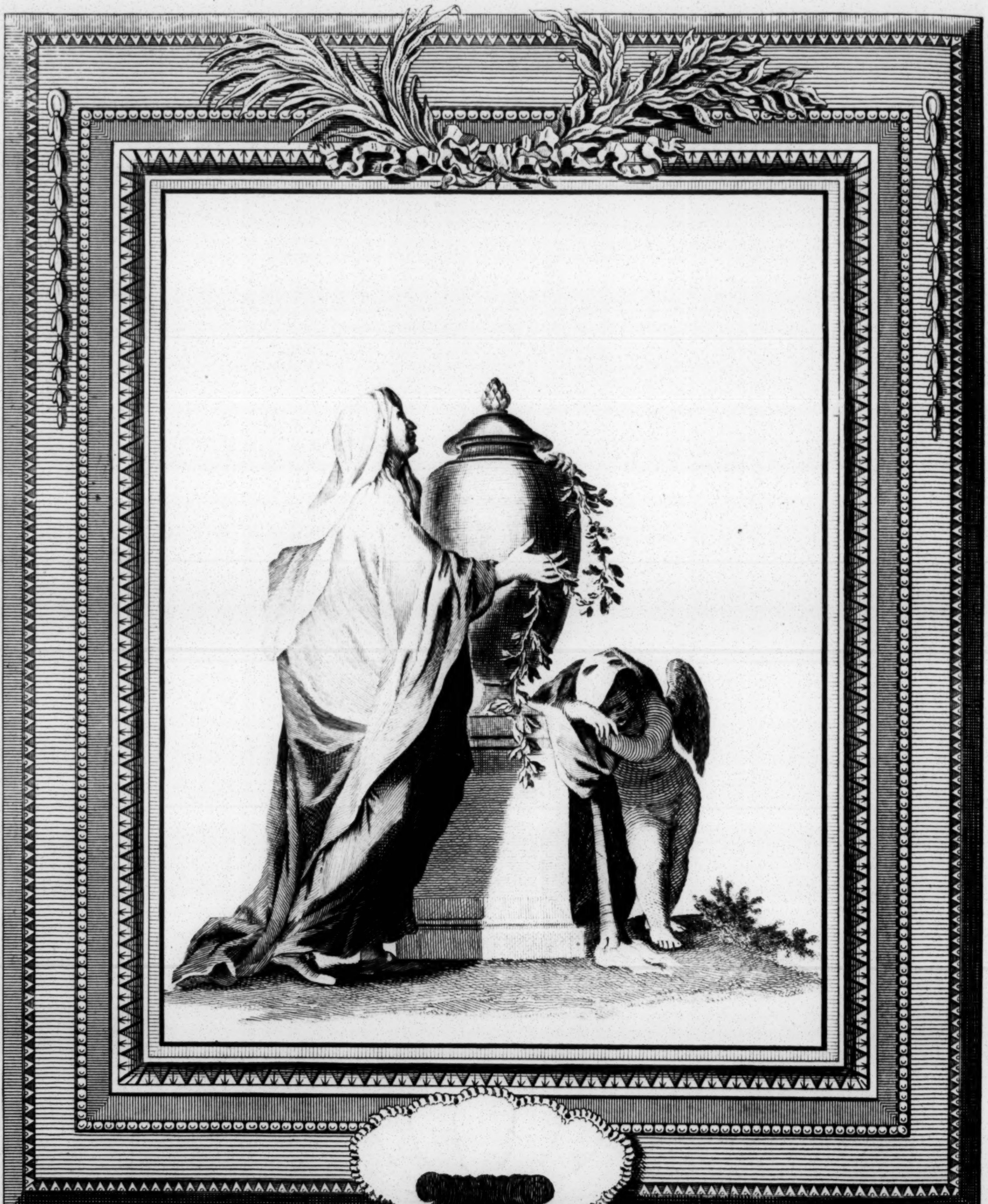

G.B.Cipriani inv.t F.Bartolozzi sculp.t

An Emblematical Plate.

guards ſhould be attacked by a company of forty horſemen, under the command of Walcot. While the conſpirators were engaged in the above deliberations, the palace in which the king reſided at Newmarket took fire; in conſequence of which, his majeſty ſet out for London before the time appointed for his departure; and by that means, the plan conſtructed for his deſtruction was entirely fruſtrated. Keiling, who had been engaged in the conſpiracy, apprehending a proſecution, on account of his having arreſted the lord mayor, diſcovered the particulars of the plot to the miniſtry, under the expectation of obtaining a pardon. Upon learning that Keiling had betrayed them, colonel Rumſey, and Weſt, a lawyer, ſurrendered themſelves as evidences for the crown, in the hope of preſerving their own lives. Warrants being iſſued for apprehending the conſpirators, the duke of Monmouth abſconded; Grey was arreſted, but he eſcaped from the meſſenger, who had him in cuſtody; Ruſſel was taken and committed to priſon, and many others were alſo ſecured; but Howard obtained a pardon by infamouſly betraying his friends, the earl of Eſſex, Sidney, and Hampden, who were apprehended in conſequence of his information. By the evidence of Rumſey and Weſt, Walcot, Hone and Rouſe, were tried and convicted. They met their fate with compoſure and reſignation, acknowledging the juſtice of their ſentence. The ſame evidences were produced againſt lord Ruſſel, whom, however, it was evident, that they accuſed with great reluctance. Lord Howard depoſed, that Ruſſel was concerned in the deſign of creating an inſurrection; but all the witneſſes concurred in giving teſtimony, that he was in no manner engaged in, or privy to, the plan concerted for deſtroying the king. Lord Ruſſel was highly eſteemed by the people in general, and his virtues and many amiable qualities, extorted veneration even from his enemies. He had a ſpirit too high, to permit him to diſavow having been concerned in the conſpiracy: but the laws againſt treaſon were ſtrained to produce his conviction. After ſentence had been pronounced upon him, very powerful intereſt was made in his behalf. His antient father, the earl of Bedford, offered the ducheſs of Portſmoth an hundred thouſand pounds, on condition of her procuring a pardon. The unhappy culprit's wife, daughter of the earl of Southampton, threw herſelf at the feet of the king, and in the moſt pathetic manner, pleaded in behalf of her huſband, urging the merits of her father in behalf of her condemned conſort. But Charles dreaded the popularity Ruſſel had acquired, and the independent principles he entertained. He had refuſed to acknowledge that they had authority to remit the barbarous part of the ſentence pronounced againſt lord Stafford, and oppoſed him ſo vigorouſly in the late parliament, as to exaſperate him to a degree of the moſt implacable enmity.

Sentence was therefore pronounced againſt Ruſſel, he was to ſuffer on the gallows; but the king commanded that he ſhould be beheaded, ſaying, "My lord Ruſſel ſhall find that I am poſſeſſed of that prerogative which he thought fit to deny me in the caſe of lord Stafford." Lord Cavendiſh, who had long lived in terms of the moſt intimate friendſhip with Ruſſel, propoſed to favour his eſcape, by changing apparel with him, and ſubmitting to all the conſequences of remaining in priſon in his room; and the duke of Monmouth ſent him a meſſage, declaring, that he would willingly ſurrender himſelf, if there was the leaſt reaſon to imagine that meaſure would operate towards ſaving his life. Theſe generous propoſals Ruſſel nobly declined, obſerving with the fortitude that peculiarly marked his character, that he foreſaw, and was fully prepared to meet his fate. At his laſt interview with his lady, ſo careful was ſhe not to interrupt the tranquillity he maintained, though the period of his diſſolution was ſo nearly approaching, that ſhe reſolutely contended with the keen anguiſh that wrung her heart, and ſo far ſucceeded, as not to ſhed a tear. Having parted with his lady, he exclaimed, "Now the bitterneſs of death is paſſed;" and from that moment he betrayed no ſymptom of diſcompoſure. Immediately before being conducted to the place of execution, he wound up his watch; ſaying, while his countenance indicated the moſt perfect tranquillity of mind, "I have now done with time, and muſt henceforth think only of eternity." In order to render the triumph of the court more conſpicuous, the noble priſoner was conveyed through the city, and the ſcaffold erected in Lincoln's-inn-fields. He was brought from the Tower to the place of execution in a coach, being attended by Tillotſon and Burnet, with whom he joined in fervent prayer. As he paſſed through the ſtreets, the populace lamented the fate of a man, for whoſe virtues they entertained the higheſt veneration. Having aſcended the ſcaffold, he preſented to the ſheriffs a paper, expreſſive of his abhorrence of popery, and aſſerting, that he was entirely innocent of any deſign againſt the life of the king. Having fervently prayed, that the Almighty would preſerve his majeſty and the proteſtant religion, he laid his neck upon the block, and ſubmitted to the fatal ſtroke with unſhaken fortitude.

The trial of Algernon Sidney, was followed by that of Ruſſel. The only evidence who appeared in ſupport of the proſecution was lord Howard; but ſome manuſcripts on the ſubject of government, found among his papers, were produced in court, and theſe were affirmed to be as ſubſtantial evidence as that of living witneſſes. The papers were written in defence of liberty, maintaining the original contract upon which government was founded, and from which all power was derived; the lawfulneſs of reſiſting all tyrannical and oppreſſive meaſures; and the maxim of preferring a republican to a monarchical government. No proof was adduced of the papers having been actually written by the priſoner, or that he had expoſed them to any perſon whatever; nor did they contain a ſingle circumſtance of a treaſonable nature. Lord Ruſſel's fate had been determined in two days, but Sidney prolonged his trial three weeks. When Withers, one of the judges, gave him the lie, he diſregarded it as an injury done only to himſelf; but Jeffries interrupting him, while he was urging a plea, he cried out, "Then I appeal to God and the world; I am not heard;" and refuſed to defend himſelf any longer. When ſentence was paſſed he made this pathetic exclamation: "Then, O God! O God! I beſeech thee ſanctify theſe ſufferings to me, and impute not my blood to my country, nor to this city, through which I am to be carried to death. Let no inquiſition be made for it: but if any ſhall be made, and the ſhedding of innocent blood muſt be revenged, let the weight of it fall on thoſe who maliciouſly perſecute me for righteouſneſs ſake." Jeffries, ſtarting from his ſeat, exclaimed, that the priſoner's reaſon was effected; but Sidney calmly ſtretched out his arm, and deſired him to feel if his pulſe did not beat at its ordinary rate. This great man went to his death on the ſeventeenth of December. He walked with a firm ſtep; aſked no friend to attend him; and only borrowed two of his brother's footmen to walk behind him. When he had aſcended the ſcaffold, being aſked, if he had any thing to ſay to the people, he cried, "I have made my peace with God, and have nothing to ſay to man." Then after a moment's pauſe added, "I am ready to die, and will give you no farther trouble." Theſe were the only words he uttered in public: but he left his laſt thoughts behind him, in writing, with his friends; wherein were laid down thoſe great and generous principles of political ſociety, which were afterwards made the foundation of the revolution.

Hampden's life was probably ſaved by the unpopularity which Sidney's trial brought upon government. Howard being the only witneſs againſt him, he was tried for a miſdemeanor; but was fined in the exorbitant ſum of forty thouſand pounds. Sir Thomas Armſtrong, who had made his eſcape, had been out-lawed, but was ſeized abroad, and brought to England before the expiration allowed by law for a ſurrender. Jeffries refuſed a trial to Armſtrong. He deſired that his counſel might be heard upon the plea of his right to a trial. This requeſt was refuſed; and on his ſaying, that he only aſked the common benefit of the law, he was anſwered by Jeffries, "You ſhall have that indeed; for by the Grace of God, you ſhall be executed on Friday next: you ſhall have the full benefit of the law."

A correſpondence was maintained between the duke of Monmouth and Argyle, through whoſe means the duke hoped to be joined by the covenanters in Scotland. Argyle who was then reſident in Holland, engaged to ſupply the covenanters with arms, provided that Monmouth would furniſh him with eight thouſand pounds. Bailie, of Jerviſwood, to whoſe management this buſineſs was in a great meaſure intruſted, being apprehended among ſeveral perſons concerned in the late conſpiracy, the miniſtry, as they could not find evidence ſufficient to convict him, inſiſted that he ſhould exculpate himſelf upon oath, of all ſuſpicion of having been engaged in the Rye-houſe plot. He remonſtrated againſt this procedure as tyrannical and inhuman, and refuſed to anſwer interrogatories upon oath; in conſequence of which he was committed to priſon, and fined in a penalty of ſix thouſand pounds. Thinking the puniſhment inflicted on Bailie not ſufficiently ſevere, the duke of York directed the miniſtry to ſearch for effectual evidence againſt him; and they had recourſe to the moſt iniquitous means for gratifying the enmity of the duke. The earl of Tarras, who had himſelf been impriſoned on account of the conſpiracy, and Murray, of Philiphaugh, were prevailed upon by threats and promiſes, to depoſe upon oath, that Bailie had tampered with them, evidently with a deſign of exciting an inſurrection. On the falſe evidence of theſe proſtitute witneſſes, the unhappy man was convicted of treaſon. Being already reduced to the brink of the grave by illneſs, which was increaſed by ſevere treatment, the inhuman judge, apprehending that death would diſappoint the duke of his revenge, ordered Bailie to be executed immediately after ſentence had been pronounced againſt him; and in his laſt moments, he denied having harboured any deſign injurious to the king's ſafety. The king now exerted every effort in his power to ingratiate the eſteem of his ſubjects; and conſcious that the ſuſpicion of his attachment to the popiſh religion was the principal cauſe of his unpopularity, he formed the reſolution of propoſing a matrimonial alliance between his niece, the princeſs Anne, and prince George, ſon of the king of Denmark.

The duke of York had ſo greatly increaſed his power and reputation, that he was now become terrible even to the miniſtry: and the earl of Halifax determined to leſſen his influence, by oppoſing to it that of the duke of Monmouth. Having diſcovered the retreat where Monmouth had taken refuge, he prevailed upon him to write twice to the king in a ſtyle of humiliation; and theſe addreſſes having revived his majeſty's paternal affection, he permitted Monmouth to return to court, and endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between him and the duke of York. The king alſo convened an extraordinary council, purpoſely to acquaint the members of Monmouth's ſincere repentance; and a paper declaratory of the reconciliation was printed in the London Gazette. But finding that he had incurred diſgrace by his confeſſion, Monmouth, immediately after he had obtained a pardon, under the uſual formalities, denied that he had made any conceſſions whatever. This duplicity of conduct ſo incenſed the king, that he baniſhed the duke from court, and ſoon after commanded him to leave the kingdom. Retiring to Holland, Monmouth experienced a cordial reception from the prince of Orange, and he ſometime afterwards held a correſpondence by letter with the king his father: but this circumſtance was kept profoundly ſecret from the duke of York.

A. D. 1684.

Happy as the king ſeemed to be in appearance, he was far from being ſo in reality. Whether he found himſelf ſtraitened for want of money, or dreaded the conſequences of his preſent unpopular meaſures, it is hard to determine.

A. D. 1685.

Whatever was the cauſe of the king's uneaſineſs, it is affirmed by ſome writers, that he was meditating a change of government, and had reſolved to ſend the duke of York beyond ſea; to recall Monmouth; to convoke a parliament; to diſcard his unpopular miniſters, and to throw himſelf entirely on the good will and affection of his ſubjects. If he really entertained this laudable deſign, death anticipated it's execution; he was ſeized with a ſudden fit, which reſembled an apoplexy, after which he languiſhed a few days, and he expired on the ſixth day of February, in the fifty-fifth year of his age and twenty-fifth of his reign. During his illneſs, he received the ſacrament according to the rites of the Romiſh church, and died in that communion. Two papers written with his own hand, in defence of the catholic religion, were found in his cloſet, and the duke imprudently cauſed them to be publiſhed; which tended to ſtigmatize the memory of his brother, and to convince the world of his own bigotry and ſuperſtition.

Charles had no legitimate offspring, but he had a great many children by ſeveral of his concubines. By Mrs. Lucy Walters, he had James, duke of Monmouth; by Mrs. Killigrew, created viſcounteſs Shannon, Charlotte-Jemima-Henrietta-Maria; by Mrs. Catherine Peg, Charles Fitz-Charles, earl of Plymouth; by Mrs. Barbara Villiers, created lady Nonſuch, counteſs of Southampton, and ducheſs of Cleveland, Charles Fitz-Roy, duke of Southampton, Henry Fitz-Roy, duke of Grafton, George Fitz-Roy, duke of Northumberland, and three daughters; by Mrs. Eleanor Gwyn, Charles Beauclerk, duke of St. Albans, and James Beauclerk, by Louiſa de Querouaille (a native of France) ducheſs of Portſmouth, Charles Lenox, duke of Richmond; by Mrs. Mary Davis, Mary Tudor, married to Francis lord Radcliffe, earl of Derwentwater.

Trade and manufactures flouriſhed more in this reign, than in any other period of the Engliſh monarchy: the arts and ſciences were cultivated with good ſucceſs. In the firſt year, a few philoſophers procured a patent; and having enlarged their number, were called the Royal Society. This inſtitution began to ſoften the manners, by improving the underſtandings of men, though without receiving any bounty from the ſovereign. There aroſe alſo ſome individuals of ſuperior genius, who drew on themſelves, and on their native country, the attention of all Europe. Beſides Wilkins, Wren, Wallis, Barrow, and Ward, all eminent mathematicians; Hook, an accurate obſerver by microſcopes; and Sydenham, the reſtorer of the true practice of phyſic, there flouriſhed. During this period, a Boyle and a Newton, men, who had with cautious, and therefore the moſt ſecure ſteps, purſued the only path that leads to true philoſophy.

The air-pump, invented by Otto Guerick, was improved by Boyle, who made many new and curious experiments on the air, as well as on other bodies. His chemiſtry is much admired by all who are acquainted with that art; and his hydroſtatics contain a mixture of reaſoning and invention, with many important experiments.

In Newton this iſland may boaſt of having produced the moſt penetrating genius that ever aroſe for the ornament and inſtruction of mankind. Cautious of admitting no principles but ſuch as were founded on experiments; but reſolute to adopt every principle of that kind, however new or unuſual; from modeſty, ignorant of his ſuperiority above the reſt of mankind; and thence leſs careful of adapting his reaſons to common apprehenſions; more anxious to merit than acquire fame, he was for theſe cauſes long unknown to the world: but his reputation at laſt broke out with a luſtre, which ſcarce any writer, during his own life time, had ever before attained.

Tillotſon, Stillingfleet, Tenniſon, Patrick, and Lloyd, were ſhining lights in divinity. The Belles Lettres were making daily advances to perfection. Dryden filled the chief ſeat in poetry; but his writings are juſtly cenſurable for that vein of licentiouſneſs which runs through the whole. The depravity of the public taſte, and the preſſing neceſſities of the writer, may indeed be pleaded in excuſe for theſe faults. His Ode on St. Cecilia's day, ſtands unrivalled in the Engliſh language. Wicherly in his comedies, and Otway in his tragedies, have both great merit. The latter, however, received ſo little encouragement, that he died almoſt in want of the common neceſſaries of life. The love of literature in this period inſpired the breaſts even of the higheſt perſonages. The court itſelf became emulous of the bays. The duke of Buckingham's rehearſal ſtill ſtands diſtinguiſhed in the rank of comic ſatire. The earl of Rocheſter, vicious as his ideas were, poſſeſſed ſo ſtrange a power of pleaſing, that while we condemn his morals, we cannot help being delighted with the muſic of his numbers. The earls of Dorſet, Roſcommon, and Mulgrave, wrote with eaſe and ſpirit, and with that pleaſing negligence peculiar to the gentleman. The marquis of Halifax is juſtly diſtinguiſhed for his refined genius, and had he not been a principal perſon in the ſtate, he would have claimed the firſt rank in literature; but his aſſiduous application to buſineſs ſpoiled the writer.

Sir William Temple is almoſt the only author who kept himſelf unpolluted by that inundation of vice and licentiouſneſs which deluged the nation. The ſtile of this writer, though extremely negligent, and even mixed with foreign idioms, is very agreeable and intereſting. That mixture of vanity which appears in his works, is rather an advantage than a fault: for by that means we enter into the character of the author, full of honour and humanity, and believe ourſelves engaged in converſation with a companion, rather than in the peruſal of a book.

Butler's Hudibras abounds with more ſtrokes of genuine wit, than any other compoſition; and it is ſurpriſing how much erudition Butler has introduced with ſo good a grace, into a work of pleaſantry and humour. The advantage which the royal cauſe received from this poem was prodigious. The king was highly pleaſed with its merit, carried it frequently in his pocket, and could even repeat a great part of it; yet he ſuffered the ingenious author, who was alſo a man of probity and virtue, to live in obſcurity and die in want. Fie! Fie! But it is well known the Stuart family were never remarkable for either liberality or gratitude.

Character of Charles II.

This has been elaborately delineated by four cotemporary writers, the duke of Buckingham, the marquis of Halifax, biſhop Burnet, and Dr. Wellwood, by each of whom he is drawn in colours moſt expreſſive of their particular principles and prejudices. The duke has certainly diſcovered want of candour, in comparing Charles, with reſpect to his deceit and cruelty, to the Roman emperor Tiberius; and the other three are partial in the oppoſite extreme, by palliating his vices, exaggerating his good qualities, and aſcribing to him virtues that he did not poſſeſs.

Charles was, in his perſon, tall and ſwarthy, having a countenance marked with ſtrong, harſh lineaments; and, in his manners, gay, ſprightly, polite, and affable. He was eaſy of acceſs, and an agreeable companion. His love of raillery, which was always tempered with good breeding, was never offenſive; and his propenſity to ſatire was ſo checked by diſcretion, that his friends were under no apprehenſion of becoming the objects of it. He was fond of laying aſide the formalities of ſtate, and of playing the merry, and, at times, the profligate debauchee; or, as Churchill with juſt poignancy obſerves,

> Another Charles ſucceeded; in the ſchool
> Of Trowel he had learn'd to play the fool;
> And like pert pupils with dull tutors ſent,
> To ſhame their country on the continent;
> From love of England by long abſence wean'd,
> From every court he every folly glean'd;
> And was, ſo cloſe do evil habits cling,
> 'Till crown'd a beggar, and when crown'd no king.

Conſidered as a king, Charles had not a ſingle quality worthy of imitation. Ambitious of power, yet deſtitute of reſolution and perſeverance; deſirous of popularity, yet without the addreſs neceſſary to conciliate the affections of his ſubjects; ſufficiently penetrating, yet diſqualified, by an exceſſive love of eaſe and luxurious pleaſure, his ruling paſſions, from elaborate diſquiſitions of government, and a ſerious inveſtigation of the maxims of policy. Wholly addicted to ſenſual gratifications, or unprofitable diverſions, he would ſacrifice to them the intereſt and glory of his kingdoms, which might ſink or ſwim, ſo that he could but gratify his darling inclinations. Hence, in his public meaſures, he acted either from the influence of caprice, the impulſe of neceſſity, or the ſuggeſtions of mercenary and wicked miniſters. Though he embraced the popiſh religion abroad, in hopes of having the aid of the catholic princes towards his reſtoration, yet he was quite indifferent to all religions; and it was equal to him whether popery or proteſtantiſm were the eſtabliſhed religion, ſo that he might have an indulgence for his beloved pleaſures. Though he had himſelf made a trifling progreſs in mechanics and chemiſtry, yet he was ſo beſet by miſtreſſes and craving courtiers, that he had neither money nor attention for literary merit. He brought with him to England the eaſy manners of the French, with the faſhions of that court, without its politeneſs; inſtead of which reigned wanton revelry, riot, and profaneneſs. He was a cold and uncomplaiſant huſband, but had no real regard for any one beſides his children, his brother and his miſtreſſes. Indeed, he was incapable of friendſhip; and never attached himſelf to any of his courtiers, miniſters, or companions with a ſincere affection. He judged of them, and of all his ſubjects, from his own heart; and believed all mankind falſe, perfidious, and intereſted. Hence, when his ſervants and moſt intimate friends were attacked by the popular party, he made no difficulty of giving them up, and of ſigning the warrant for their execution. With all his appearance of good nature, he was often cruel, frequently unjuſt; and when compliant, not from principle, but becauſe his attention was diverted from examining into the merit of cauſes. The treatment of the duke of Argyle, the proſecution and execution of many innocent ſufferers, particularly of the great Ruſſel, and of the noble patriot Sidney, who ſaved his life; his ordering Gordon of Earlſtone to be put to the torture when under ſentence of death, evince that he had no regard to juſtice, nor any of the generous, tender feelings of humanity. His treatment of the Scots, though he had ſworn to obſerve the covenant, and of the nonconformiſts in England, notwithſtanding his declaration at Breda, ſhew that he was deſtitute of all ſenſe of honour. He was not only negligent of the intereſt of the nation, careleſs of its glory, laviſh of its treaſures, and jealous of its liberties, but a gay and polite tyrant, who, while he ſeemed in ſport, deprived his ſubjects of their moſt invaluable privileges, and endeavoured to render them a nation of ſlaves. Placed as he was in the higheſt ſphere of life, for which he was altogether unqualified, he drew upon himſelf the contempt, not only of neighbouring potentates, but alſo of his own ſubjects. The author of Privilege, a poem, ſurveyed this monarch in the ſame light we have done, wherein he has thus juſtly portrayed him.

> To realms long panting for the ſweets of reſt
> The ſun invited flew: the changing realm
> Caught at a ſtroke the vices of the helm;
> In pleaſures round the giddy ſubjects rove,
> A land of licence, ridicule, and love;
> A dupe to folly, and to whims a ſlave,
> Calm he receiv'd the joke he freely gave.
> His ſcoff religion, glory was his hate,
> Careleſs of right, and thoughtleſs of the ſtate.
> Foes were regarded, but his friends unknown,
> Thoſe very friends who rais'd him to the throne.

CHAP. II.

JAMES II.

The contradiction between his public declarations and public conduct—Argyle and Monmouth, their defeat and execution—Kirk and Jefferies, their horrid cruelties in the Weſt—High court of eccleſiaſtical commiſſion—An embaſſy to Rome—The pope's nuncio arrives in England—Impriſonment, trial, and acquittal of the biſhops—Birth of a prince of Wales, ſtiled afterwards the Pretender—The prince of Orange, his declaration—Sails for England, but is driven back by a ſtorm—Lands in England at Torbay, on the fifth of November—Is joined by many of both parties, particularly by prince George and the princeſs Anne—The king flies—Is ſeized at Feverſham—And afterwards retires into France—Inter-regnum—Prince and princeſs of Orange proclaimed king and queen of England—Character of James II.

A. D. 1685. JAMES II. aſcended the throne of England without the leaſt oppoſition from the people. In order to allay all ferments in the minds of his ſubjects, he thought it moſt prudent to aſſemble the privy council, and to harangue them with a flattering ſpeech, filled with promiſes which he never intended to perform. Accordingly when the council aſſembled, he told them, after beſtowing ſome praiſes on the memory of his predeceſſor, that it was his determined reſolution to maintain the eſtabliſhed government both in church and ſtate: that, though he had been reported to have imbibed very arbitrary principles, he well knew that the laws of England were abundantly ſufficient to render him as great a monarch as he could wiſh; and he was determined never to depart from them. He added, that as he had many times ventured his life in the defence of the nation, he would ſtill go as far as any man in ſupport of its juſt rights and privileges; and that he would exert his utmoſt power and abilities to maintain the balance of power in Europe, and to free the nation from that ſtate of dependence, or rather vaſſalage, in which it had for ſome time been held by its ambitious neighbours. A ſpeech, filled with ſuch noble ſentiments, was received with general applauſe both of the privy-council and the nation in general. Addreſſes come from all quarters, full of duty, and many of them conceived in terms of the moſt ſervile adulation. Every one haſtened to pay his duty to the new monarch; and James had reaſon to think, that, notwithſtanding the violent efforts made by the country party for his excluſion, no monarch in Europe ſat firmer on his throne than himſelf. But the thinking part of the nation were not to be impoſed upon by ſpecious aſſurances. It was indeed a kind of infatuation to ſuppoſe, that he really entertained the ſentiments he profeſſed. They had known him, while duke of York, to be a bigot to the Romiſh religion, and a zealous oppoſer of the reformation: they had been often witneſſes that his diſpoſition was mercileſs and cruel; and that he totally diſregarded the liberties of the people, and the eſtabliſhed form of government. They knew he was the principal adviſer and promoter of all the unpopular and arbitrary meaſures purſued by his brother during the latter part of his reign, and that he himſelf was the ſworn friend of Lewis the Fourteenth, whoſe ambition all Europe dreaded; and, like that monarch, a ſworn enemy to all whom the Romiſh church ſtiled heretics. It was not therefore reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that he would entirely alter his ſentiments when he came to the throne. James was ſenſible, penetrating and enterprizing; but he was alſo headſtrong, violent and arbitrary, and his judgment by no means clear.

Theſe ſuſpicions were too ſoon verified: for the very firſt Sunday after his acceſſion, he went publicly to hear maſs, with all the enſigns of royalty, which the laws of the kingdom had declared to be criminal. The duke of Norfolk, who carried the ſword of ſtate, ſtopped at the door of the chapel: the king paſſing him, ſaid, "My lord, your father would have gone farther." The duke anſwered, "Your majeſty's father would not have gone ſo far." About the ſame time, James ſent Caryl to Rome, in order to make ſubmiſſions to the pope, and to pave the way for a re-admiſſion of

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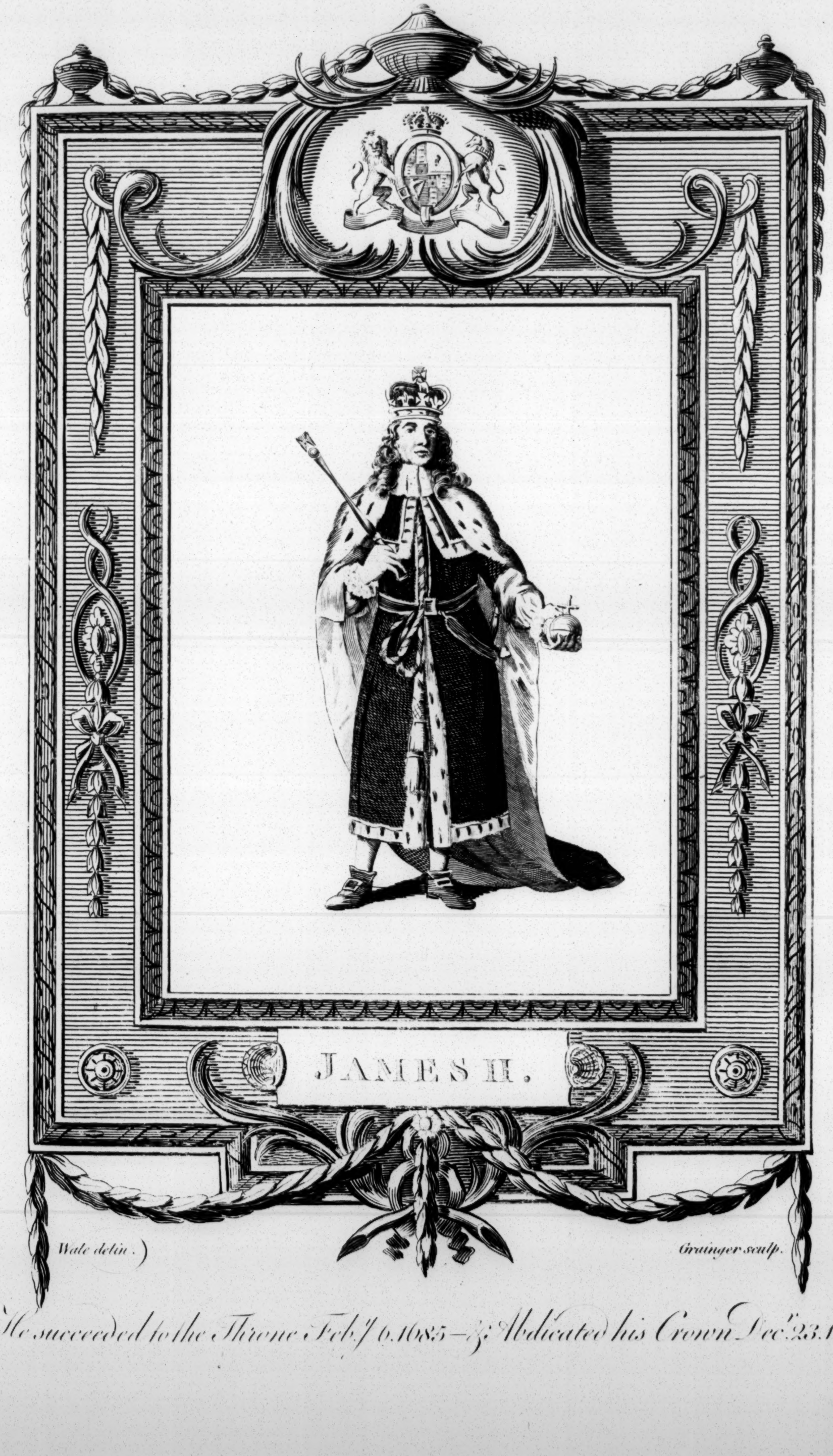

JAMES II.

Wale delin.

Grainger sculp.

He succeeded to the Throne Feb.y 6.1685 — & Abdicated his Crown Dec.r 23.1688.

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of England into the boſom of the catholic church. Innocent the Eleventh, who then filled the papal chair, very prudently adviſed the king not to be too precipitate in his meaſures, nor raſhly attempt what repeated experience might convince him was abſolutely impracticable. The Spaniſh ambaſſador Ronquillo, knowing the tranquillity of England abſolutely neceſſary for the ſupport of Spain, uſed the freedom of making the ſame remonſtrances. He obſerved how buſy the prieſts appeared at court, and adviſed the king not to liſten with too great facility to their dangerous councils. Is it not cuſtomary in Spain," replied James, "For the king to conſult his confeſſor?" "Yes," returned the ambaſſador, "And it is for that reaſon our affairs ſucceed ſo ill." However, notwithſtanding the king's prejudices, the principal offices of the crown ſtill continued in the poſſeſſion of proteſtants; nor did he as yet think proper to ſhew much partiality to thoſe of his own communion: but his reſentment againſt the witneſſes for the popiſh plot, he did not think proper to conceal. Titus Oates was tried for perjury on two indictments; one for ſwearing that he was preſent at a conſultation of jeſuits in London, on the twenty-fourth of April, 1679; another for ſwearing that father Ireland was in London between the eighth of Auguſt and the beginning of September in the ſame year. Being fully convicted, he was ſentenced to be fined a thouſand marks on each indictment; to be whipped on two different days from Aldgate to Newgate, and from Newgate to Tyburn; to be impriſoned during life, and to ſtand on the pillory five times every year. He made ſolemn appeals to heaven, and the ſtrongeſt proteſtations of the veracity of his teſtimony: though the whipping was ſo cruel, that he ſwooned away ſeveral times, and it was evidently the deſign of the court to put him to death by that puniſhment, he was, however, enabled, by the care of his friends, to recover; and he lived till William mounted the Engliſh throne, when he was releaſed from his confinement, and a penſion of one hundred pounds a year ſettled on him.

The coronation of James was performed on the thenty-third of April; when the crown, not being properly fitted to his head, tottered. Henry Sidney, keeper of the robes, kept it from falling off, ſaying with pleaſantry, "This is not the firſt time our family has ſupported the crown." This circumſtance was remarked and much talked of. James, whatever diſlike he had to an Engliſh parliament, found it neceſſary to ſummon one. On the nineteenth of May the king opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which, after ſolemnly repeating the promiſe he had made before the privy-council of governing according to the laws, and of preſerving the proteſtant religion, he plainly told them, he expected they would ſettle his revenue during his life, as they had done that of his brother. "I might," ſaid he, "uſe many arguments to inforce this demand; the benefit of trade; the ſupport of the navy; the neceſſities of the crown; and the well-being of the government itſelf, which I muſt not ſuffer to be precarious. But I am confident that your own conſideration, and your ſenſe of what is juſt and reaſonable, will ſufficiently ſuggeſt to you whatever on this occaſion, might be enlarged upon. There is, indeed, one popular argument, which may be urged againſt complying with my demand. Men may think, that by feeding me from time to time with ſupplies, as they ſee convenient, they will better ſecure frequent meetings of parliament: but as this is the firſt time I have ſpoken to you from the throne, I muſt plainly tell you, that ſuch an expedient would be very improper to employ with me: and that the beſt way to engage you to meet me often, is always to uſe me well."

The meaning of this ſpeech was very evident; and had the country party formed the majority in the lower houſe, his demands would certainly have been rejected. But they were now too weak to ſtem the torrent of power; they wiſely therefore ſubmitted to the times, and voted the king all he deſired. This gave James the higheſt ſatisfaction, and he began to hope for a peaceful and happy reign. But this interval of tranquillity did not laſt long: the earl of Argyle, who had been obliged to fly from Scotland during the late reign, on an accuſation of his having been concerned in a ſcheme formed by the duke of Monmouth for exciting a rebellion in that kingdom, flattered himſelf that the time was now come, when he might ſucceſsfully ſtir up his countrymen againſt James, whom he conſidered as the ſole author of his diſgrace and misfortunes. He imparted his deſign to Monmouth, who was then an exile alſo in Holland; and that prince immediately conſented to the project. They hired a few ſhips of the Dutch, and got together about two or three hundred of the Engliſh exiles in Flanders, men of deſperate fortunes, and who had no means of retrieving their affairs but by a change of government at home. This was the whole force the duke and earl had to depend upon, except their hopes of being joined by a formidable number of the whig party, in caſe they could effect a ſucceſsful landing either in England or Scotland. The earl of Argyle, at the head of a ſmall company, but with arms ſufficient for five thouſand men, ſailed from Holland in the beginning of May, and made a deſcent on the coaſt of Scotland. But he ſoon found himſelf deceived in the hopes he had entertained of being joined by a great number of his friends. He was, indeed, fortunate enough to collect about two thouſand men, chiefly belonging to his own clan in the Highlands. But the government having received advice of his intended enterprize, were prepared for his reception. A conſiderable body of troops were ſent againſt him ſoon after his landing; while he, by the help of his ſhips, tranſported his men from place to place, till two or three of the king's ſhips arrived in thoſe parts, when he was compelled to quit the ſea-coaſts and march into the country, where he was inceſſantly purſued by the royal army. His followers, perceiving that oppoſition was in vain, abandoned their maſter, and he himſelf was ſoon after ſeized and conveyed to Edinburgh, where he was publicly executed. Rumbald, the contriver of the Rye-houſe plot, and ſome others who had fled from juſtice, and returned with Argyle, were alſo taken and executed. The earl's father had ſuffered the like fate on a ſimilar occaſion.

Monmouth was not more fortunate in his attempt. He ſailed from the Texel on the twenty-fourth of May; and after being detained for nineteen days by contrary winds, landed at Lime in Dorſetſhire, with about eighty followers, but with arms for a much greater number. Some of his officers diſperſed themſelves about the country in order to prevail on the people to join them; in which they ſo far ſucceeded, that the duke's little party was increaſed to two thouſand men, moſtly from the adjacent countries. On his firſt landing he publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he explained the cauſe of his landing in England, the recovery of his natural rights, aſſerting the validity of the late king's marriage with his mother, and to free the nation from the deſpotiſm of the duke of York, whom he accuſed as the author of the dreadful conflagration, by which the greater part of the city of London was laid in aſhes; of the late popiſh plot for taking away the life of the king; for ſubverting

verting the proteſtant religion; of the murder of the earl of Eſſex in the Tower, and of having poiſoned the king his brother. At the ſame time he repreſented that his very religion incapacitated him from ſwaying the ſceptre of England, which could never hope for peace or ſafety while a papiſt and a tyrant ſat upon the throne. This declaration produced very little effect in the duke's favour: few perſons of any diſtinction joined his ſtandard, ſo that his army conſiſted chiefly of a rude and undiſciplined rabble. With theſe, however, he marched from Lyme to Taunton, where he took upon him the title of king. Here he met with ſome reinforcements, by which means his army amounted to about ſix thouſand men: but inſtead of marching directly to Briſtol, the taking of which place would have been of infinite ſervice to his cauſe, he waſted his time in the ridiculous pageantry of his proclamation; while the king employed himſelf in making preparations to oppoſe him. Six regiments of Britiſh troops were called over from Holland: the army was conſiderably augmented; and regular forces, to the number of three thouſand men, were diſpatched under the command of Feverſham and Churchill, in order to check the progreſs of the rebels. Monmouth now perceived, that he muſt either conquer or periſh. He therefore ſet forward to meet the king's forces, and hoped to find them unprepared for an attack. But when he came within ſight of the royaliſts, he found them drawn up in excellent order at Sedgley-moor, near Bridgewater. The battle began early the next morning, when Monmouth's horſe fled at the firſt charge, which circumſtance was imputed either to the inexperience, cowardice, or treachery of their commander, lord Gray. The foot was not ſo eaſily ſubdued: they maintained their ground with amazing courage for ſome time; but being expoſed to a moſt terrible fire from the enemy's artillery, they at length gave way, after which a moſt dreadful ſlaughter enſued among them; three hundred were killed on the ſpot, one thouſand in the purſuit, and as many made priſoners. Monmouth had fled about twenty miles from the field of battle, when his horſe ſunk under him. He was then obliged to purſue his way on foot. Coming to a little cottage, he changed cloaths with the peaſant who occupied it. In this diſguiſe he continued his flight, till unable to walk any farther, he laid himſelf down in a ditch thick covered with fern. But a party of the king's forces paſſing by the cottage the next day, knew the duke's cloaths which the countryman had on. They immediately obliged the poor man to tell them which road the duke had taken; and after a ſtrict ſearch they found him in his hiding place, from whence they conducted him to London, where he was lodged in the Tower. He now wrote to the king, humbly imploring his pardon, and giving him the moſt ſolemn aſſurances, if he would graciouſly pleaſe to overlook his former errors, that he would endeavour by his future conduct to render himſelf worthy of ſo great a favour. James, finding ſuch ſymptoms of depreſſion and deſpondency in the unhappy priſoner, admitted him to his preſence, in hopes of extorting a diſcovery of his accomplices: but Monmouth would not purchaſe life at the price of ſo much infamy. He, therefore, reſigned himſelf to his fate with a ſpirit becoming his rank and character. On the fifteenth of July he was brought to the ſcaffold, attended by the tears of the multitude. He warned the executioner not to fall into the error which he had committed in beheading Ruſſel, where he was obliged to redouble the blow. But this precaution had not the deſired effect, for it ſo intimidated the man, that he could ſtrike only a feeble blow on the neck of Monmouth, who raiſed his head from the block, and looked him in the face, as if reproaching him for his failure, he again laid down his head, and the executioner ſtruck him twice but without effect. Throwing away the axe, he declared himſelf incapable of finiſhing the bloody office. The ſheriff, however, obliged him to renew the attempt, and at two blows more the head was ſevered from the body. Thus fell James, duke of Monmouth, whoſe character in many reſpects, was truly amiable; he was brave, generous, and ſincere; but too open to flattery, and too warmly addicted to pleaſure; he was the darling of the people, the conſequence of which, added to the allurements of ambition, had engaged him in an enterprize for which he was, of all men, the leaſt qualified: and which, in the end, coſt him his life.

This victory obtained over Monmouth was proſecuted with the moſt unrelenting cruelty. Feverſham hanged above twenty priſoners; and Jefferies, the lord chief juſtice, was ſent into the weſt, to try the unhappy perſons, who had been concerned in the late raſh, and ill-concerted rebellion. Colonel Kirke, a ſoldier of fortune, who had long ſerved at Tangiers, and, from his intercourſe with the Moors, had contracted a diſpoſition more inhuman than any known in Europe, attended him with a body of troops to keep the people in awe. The bare recital of the barbarities committed by theſe two fiends, in human ſhape, muſt fill every reader with horror. They hanged up numbers of perſons in the moſt inſulting manner, and many without any form of trial. Kirke cauſed thirty of theſe poor wretches to be executed at one time, in the ſight of himſelf and his officers, while they ſat at dinner. By way of experiment, he ordered one man to be hung up three ſeveral times, queſtioning him at every interval, whether he repented of his crime; but the man obſtinately aſſerting, that notwithſtanding all that had paſſed, he would willingly engage in the ſame cauſe, Kirke ordered him to be hung in chains. One ſtory told of him is memorable for the treachery, as well as the barbarity which attended it. A young maid pleaded ſo ſtrongly for the life of her brother, or, as ſome ſay, her father, and flung herſelf at Kirk's feet, armed with all the charms which beauty and innocence, bathed in tears, could beſtow upon her, that the tyrant was inflamed with deſire, though not ſoftened into either love or clemency. He promiſed to grant her requeſt, provided ſhe, in return, would be equally compliant to him. The maid yielded to the conditions; but after paſſing the night with him, the wanton ſavage ſhewed her next morning, from the window, her brother, the darling object for whom ſhe had ſacrificed her virtue, hung on a gibbet, which he had ſecretly ordered to be there erected for his execution. Rage, deſpair, and indignation took at once poſſeſſion of her mind, and deprived her for ever of her ſenſes. All the inhabitants of the country, innocent as well as guilty, were expoſed to the ravages of this barbarian. The ſoldiers were ſuffered to live at free quarters; and his own regiment, inſtructed by his example, and encouraged by his exhortations, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a more particular manner, by their outrages. By way of pleaſantry, he uſed to call them his “lambs,” an appellation long remembered in the weſt of England with horror. The unjuſt judge Jefferies, who had already given ſpecimens of his character, in many trials where he had preſided, now ſet out with the moſt ſavage joy, to a whole harveſt of death and deſtruction. He began at Dorcheſter; where thirty rebels being arraigned, he exhorted them to ſave him, by a free confeſſion, the trouble of trying them; and when twenty were found guilty, he ordered them, as an additional puniſhment for their diſobedience, to be led immediately to execution. Terrified by this example, moſt of the other priſoners pleaded guilty; and no leſs than two hundred and ninety-two received ſentence of death at Dorcheſter, and eighty of them were executed. The next ſtage of his inhuman cruelty was Exeter. Two hundred and forty-three were there tried, and many of them condemned and put to death. From Exeter he paſſed to Taunton and Wells, carrying terror and aſtoniſhment with him. The juries were ſo intimidated with his menaces, that they gave their verdicts with ſo much precipitation, that many innocent perſons were involved with the guilty. So that upon the whole, beſides thoſe butchered by the military commanders, two hundred and fifty-one were computed to have fallen by the hand of proſtituted juſtice. The whole country was ſtrewed with the heads and limbs of the ſufferers. Almoſt every village beheld the carcaſe of ſome wretched inhabitant; and all the rigours of cruelty were fully diſplayed without the leaſt mixture of clemency. The moſt remarkable trial was that of the lady Liſle, widow of one of the regicides, but herſelf a royaliſt, and now very old. She was indicted for harbouring a preſbyterian miniſter, one of Monmouth's party; though not one of the parties mentioned in the proclamation. The jury thrice refuſed to find a verdict againſt her, and were as often ſent back with reproaches by the inhuman Jefferies; ſo that they were at laſt obliged to bring her in guilty. Theſe inſtances of ſeverity ſo recommended the lord chief juſtice, that he was ſoon after rewarded with the office of lord high chancellor. Beſides theſe inſtances of ſavage cruelty inflicted on the weſtern rebels, a great many more were exerciſed in London, and different parts of the kingdom, on the proteſtant party; under pretence, either of their having been concerned in the Rye-houſe plot, or of favouring Monmouth's attempt. Theſe meaſures were equally influenced by revenge, and the favourite deſign of eſtabliſhing popery in theſe kingdoms. This ſcheme had been long ſince formed by James while duke of York; but never openly attempted till now, when being freed from Monmouth's rebellion, the king thought himſelf capable of carrying it ſpeedily into execution. He accordingly began in Ireland, where he diſſolved the privy-council, appointed a new one, and took care that the majority of the members ſhould be papiſts. The proteſtants in that kingdom were every where diſarmed, while means were found to keep on foot a ſtanding army of catholics. Colonel Talbot, afterwards earl of Tyrconnel, by caſhiering ſuch officers and ſoldiers as he thought proper, and filling their places with others, ſoon modelled the army to the purpoſes it was intended to ſerve. Paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance were inculcated as articles in the Engliſh creed; while the foreign ſtates were vying with each other in courting the favour of a monarch, who confeſſedly held in his hands the balance of Europe.

Perſuaded he had no longer any occaſion for diſguiſing his ſentiments or ſuffering any reſtraint in his actions, James began to diſcover his deſigns in a manner too plain to be miſtaken. He opened the ſeſſion of parliament on the ninth of November, with a ſpeech, in which, after congratulating them on the happy ſuppreſſion of the late rebellion, he obſerved, that the great reinforcements the rebels had received before they were quelled, had been entirely owing to the want of a regular force to diſperſe them at the firſt breaking out of the inſurrection. He added, that the houſe muſt be very ſenſible, that the militia was very inſufficient for the defence of the kingdom in ſuch exigencies, and therefore plainly told them, that he was determined to ſupport the regular troops he had raiſed, amounting to fifteen thouſand men, and demanded a ſupply for their maintenance. At the ſame time, he deſired the parliament not to take exception at his having admitted ſome catholic officers into the army, and diſpenſed with the teſt act in their favour. "They are, continued he, well known, and have ſerved me faithfully during the late commotions: and I will deal plainly with you, that having received the benefit of their ſervices at a time of ſo much danger, I will neither expoſe them to diſgrace, nor myſelf to the want of them." This complaiſant, this ſubmiſſive parliament, ſtill remembered, that there was ſuch a thing as liberty entailed on the people of this happy land; and that they were the ſworn conſervators of that ineſtimable treaſure in the behalf of the people. They would have gone any decent lengths rather than come to a rupture with the king, or incur his diſpleaſure: but this open declaration on his part to govern without the laws, and even to act repugnant to them, rouſed them from their lethargy; and ſome who had been the warmeſt oppoſers of the excluſion bill, began to be alarmed at the large ſtrides the king had made towards eſtabliſhing arbitrary power. The motion for an addreſs of thanks to the king for his ſpeech, met with great oppoſition in the houſe of lords; and though it paſſed by a ſmall majority, the houſe reſolved to take the ſpeech into farther conſideration. But it was different in the houſe of commons; for when lord Middleton, ſecretary of ſtate, made a motion for thanking the king for his ſpeech from the throne, ſeveral of the members refuſed it; and a motion being made for an addreſs to the king againſt employing popiſh officers in the army, contrary to the known laws of the land, it was carried in the affirmative, and the addreſs was accordingly preſented; at which his majeſty was highly offended. But before the addreſs was preſented, the commons voted him a ſupply of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds. James, however, ſent them a ſharp reprimand, for the liberty they had taken in their addreſs; and abſolutely told them that he was fixed in his reſolution both with regard to keeping up a ſtanding army and employing catholic officers. Terrified by this haughty meſſage, the commons conſented to indemnify the officers already employed; and to paſs a new act for qualifying a certain number whom the king ſhould name. But ſo imperious was the king's temper; ſo lofty the idea he had entertained of his own authority, ſo violent the ſchemes ſuggeſted by his own bigotry and that of his prieſts, that without any delay or waiting for any farther provocation, he immediately prorogued the parliament, by which he loſt the ſupplies voted by the commons. He continued the parliament, by four more prorogations, a year and a half longer; but having, in vain, tried every experiment, to break the obſtinacy of the leading members, he diſſolved that aſſembly.

A. D. 1686.

By this time almoſt all places, civil and military, were in poſſeſſion of the catholics; ſo that the proteſtants had little to hope, and almoſt every thing to fear; they even dreaded a renewal of the antient maſſacres, and many perſons came to England, where they inſpired their fellow-ſubjects with dreadful ideas of the expected outrages. James, impetuous and haſty, in violation of a ſtatute, erected a new eccleſiaſtical commiſſion court, compoſed of ſeven members, ſecular as well as clerical; among the former were lord chancellor Jefferies, and the earls of Rocheſter and Sunderland. Upon which he directed a circular letter to be ſent to the biſhops, to enjoin them to direct the inferior clergy not to preach on controverted points; but this order was little regarded; the divines of the church of England continued to exert their talents to the utmoſt advantage; and Tillotſon, Stillingfleet, Tenniſon, Patrick, Sharp, and others, were greatly diſtinguiſhed by their zealous defence of the proteſtant cauſe. The diſguſt of the public was increaſed by the king's encamping an army of fifteen thouſand men, under the command of the earl of Feverſham, on Hounſlow-heath; and a chapel was erected in the camp, where maſs was publickly ſaid daily; a plain indication of the king's intention of making converts to his faith. Sunderland ſacrificed his religion to his intereſt, though he would not publickly abjure the doctrine of popery. The earl of Rocheſter agreed to hold a conference with ſome of the Romiſh clergy, but he declared himſelf diſſatisfied with their arguments, and refuſed to change his religion. He was deprived of the office of treaſurer, which was put in commiſſion; but he was gratified with a conſiderable penſion. The privy-ſeal was now taken from Clarendon, and delivered to lord Arundel. At this time the king meanly condeſcended to aſk Kirke to become a papiſt, when the latter told him he was pre-engaged, having promiſed the emperor of Morocco, that "if ever he changed his religion, he would turn Muſſalman."

A. D. 1687. James now pretended to become the friend of toleration, and the determined enemy of all kind of perſecution, though there is not the leaſt doubt but that his view was to eſtabliſh popery on the ruins of the proteſtant religion. He aſſumed the power of publiſhing a declaration of general indulgence, and of ſuſpending all thoſe penal ſtatutes, which required conformity in public worſhip. This afforded a temporary ſatisfaction to the diſſenters, who thought themſelves happy in an opportunity of worſhipping God according to the dictates of their own hearts, though they had diſcernment enough to ſee that this happineſs would be but of ſhort continuance. James to make himſelf appear as ridiculous abroad as he already did at home, ſent the earl of Caſtlemain to Rome, as his ambaſſador extraordinary, "to make his ſubmiſſion to the pope, and to reconcile his three kingdoms to the holy ſee, from which they had unhappily fallen by hereſy." But the pope, who had more ſenſe than James, ſeeing the impracticability of his undertaking, and having alſo a quarrel with the French king, who was in cloſe friendſhip with the king of England, received the ambaſſador with the moſt mortifying indifference. Whenever he was to have an audience, the pope was ſeized with a fit of coughing, ſo that the earl's ſpeech was interrupted, and he was obliged to retire; and this happened ſo frequently, that Caſtlemain ſaw the contempt with which he was treated, and threatened to return; in anſwer to which the pope only ſent him word, that "ſince he was diſpoſed to go, he would adviſe him to ſet out early in the morning, and reſt at noon, becauſe it was dangerous travelling in that country in the heat of the day." The only proof of complaiſance from his holineſs the king received, was that of ſending a nuncio into England, in return for the embaſſy; to whom the king, ſo little regard did he pay to the laws, gave a ſolemn and public reception at Windſor. The nuncio reſided publicly in London, during the remainder of this reign; and the popiſh clergy appeared at court in the habits of their reſpective orders.

The king having granted the Roman catholics a large ſhare in the adminiſtration of civil affairs, now formed a deſign of introducing them into the church. A Benedictine monk, named Allen Francis, was recommended, by the royal mandate, to the univerſity of Cambridge, to be admitted to the degree of maſter of arts, without taking the oaths: but the univerſity refuſing to admit him, the vice-chancellor was deprived of his office, by the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners: but this had not the deſired effect; for the univerſity choſe a perſon to the office, of principles totally different from the party nominated by the king. This attempt to impoſe a papiſt on the people of Cambridge failing, the next was made on Oxford, where the preſidentſhip of Magdalen-college being vacant, the king ſent his mandate to the vice-preſident and fellows, in favour of Anthony Farmer, a man of ill fame, who had promiſed to declare himſelf a catholic. The fellows of the college petitioned the king to revoke the mandate; but before an anſwer was received, the day arrived on which, by their ſtatutes, they were bound to proceed to election; whereupon they made choice of Dr. Hough, a man of great learning and unblemiſhed integrity. The king was incenſed by the above inſtance of diſobedience to his command, and the vice-preſident and fellows of the college were ſummoned to appear in the eccleſiaſtical court; but they proved, by the moſt inconteſtible evidence, that Farmer was in no reſpect qualified to ſupply the vacant office.

A mandate was therefore iſſued in favour of Parker, lately advanced to the ſee of Oxford, who was of a character not leſs abandoned than the other: but the fellows of the college abſolutely refuſed to comply with this injunction. Exaſperated by their refractory behaviour, the king repaired to Oxford, and ſummoned the fellows to appear in his preſence, he reproached them with great virulence for their preſumption and arrogance, and inſiſted that they ſhould elect the biſhop of Oxford, threatening them that they ſhould feel the effects of his moſt violent diſpleaſure, in caſe of their perſevering to oppoſe his command. His menaces and requiſitions being equally diſregarded by the collegians, the king returned to London, heartily aſhamed of having engaged in an expedition which had been productive only of contempt to himſelf. In revenge the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners expelled the preſident, and all the fellows of the college, except two, who complied with his majeſty's demand. Parker was eſtabliſhed in poſſeſſion of the office, and papiſts only were admitted into the college. This illegal and outrageous meaſure was alone ſufficient to convince the people of the arbitrary views of the ſovereign.

A. D. 1688. James employed one Stuart, who was the intimate friend of the penſionary Fagel, to write to that counſellor, repreſenting that the mutual intereſt of England and the prince of Orange rendered an abolition of the teſt and penal laws neceſſary. By the direction of the prince, Fagel wrote in reply, ſignifying that the prince and princeſs would readily agree to indulge the catholics with liberty of conſcience; that they ardently wiſhed the proteſtant diſſenters to be allowed the free exerciſe of their religion; but that they could not ſuppoſe themſelves juſtifiable in conſenting to the abolition of the teſt and penal laws, which had been enacted expreſsly for the purpoſe of protecting the proteſtant religion from innovation, by diſqualifying catholics from ſitting in parliament, and holding offices of public truſt.

A proclamation, announcing the pregnancy of the queen, and appointing a day of ſolemn thankſgiving on the occaſion, diſſipated the concern experienced by the Roman catholics in conſequence of Fagel's reply. The miniſterial emiſſaries employed themſelves ſo induſtriouſly, that congratulatory addreſſes were preſented to James from all parts of the kingdom, on occaſion of the pregnancy of his conſort. The king appeared to be greatly elated by the hope of having male iſſue: and ſetting the prince of Orange at defiance, he diſclaimed the correſpondence between Fagel and Stuart: permitting the Algerine pirates to make captures of the ſhipping belonging to Holland, recalled the ſix regiments in the ſervice of the States General, augmented his naval force, and from his whole conduct ſeemed deſirous of engaging in a war with Holland. And to manifeſt his contempt for the mal-contents, the king publiſhed a declaration, granting liberty of conſcience to his ſubjects; and to this was ſubjoined an order, that the biſhops ſhould cauſe it to be read in all the churches within their reſpective dioceſes. Hereupon the prelates repaired to the palace at Lambeth, to conſult the primate on the ſubject of the king's command. The matter having been ſeriouſly deliberated, it was unanimouſly reſolved, that the clergy could not, conſiſtent with their duty towards God and their country, and the dictates of their conſciences, comply with the king's order reſpecting the declaration. They, in conſequence, in a petition to his majeſty, repreſented, that though they were extremely deſirous of affording every legal ſatisfaction to the proteſtant deſſenters, yet, as the declaration of indulgence was founded on an authority formerly pronounced illegal by parliament, they could not, without a breach of prudence, and a violation of honour and conſcience, conſent to become acceſſaries in diſtributing it through the kingdom; and therefore they implored his majeſty, to relieve them from the neceſſity of publickly reading the declaration. Hereupon the biſhops were ſummoned before the council, who reſolved to proceed againſt them with the utmoſt rigour. Being aſked, if they acknowledged the petition, the archbiſhop of Canterbury ſaid, it was written with his own hand; and the other prelates confeſſed that they had ſigned it. The chancellor aſking them if they would give bail to appear in the court of King's Bench, to anſwer ſuch accuſations as might be exhibited againſt them, they refuſed, urging, that their quality, as peers of the realm, the intereſts of the church, and the oath by which they were bound, to oppoſe all innovations upon the eſtabliſhed religion, ſecured them from the neceſſity of compliance. Hereupon the chancellor ſaid, that unleſs they would retract their aſſertions, and withdraw their petition, he would commit them to the Tower. They declared, in reply, that they were ready to go wherever his majeſty ſhould pleaſe; but that ſince they had acted in ſtrict obedience to the laws of the land, they were not to be terrified by threats, which could affect only the guilty. Upon this James ordered the attorney-general to proſecute the biſhops, for writing and publiſhing a ſeditious libel againſt the government; and an order was made for their commitment to the Tower, whither it was determined that they ſhould be conveyed by water, on account of the alarm and tumult that prevailed in the city. Being informed of the deſtination of the reverend prelates, immenſe multitudes of the people repaired to the banks of the Thames, and as the venerable men paſſed, the populace fell on their knees, and many of them even ran into the water, fervently praying heaven to protect them from injury, and exhorting them to ſuffer nobly in defence of their religion. The pious and ſubmiſſive deportment of the biſhops, increaſed the veneration of the people, whom they conjured to fear God, and honour the king.

On the tenth of June the birth of a prince was announced, to the extreme joy of the papiſts; but the proteſtants did not believe the child, who received the name of James, to be the iſſue of the queen. The matter has been the ſubject of much controverſy; but the queſtion ſtill remains involved in uncertainty, which indeed is not much to be regretted, ſince it is but a matter of mere curioſity; for admitting the legitimacy of the child, it muſt be acknowledged, that a prince educated in, and profeſſing the Roman catholic religion, could not be eligible to the ſovereignty of this country. The ſeven biſhops, who had been diſcharged from the Tower on their own recognizances, were tried at the bar of the King's Bench, for a libel againſt the king, as their petition was denominated. Wright and Allibone, two of the judges, delivered their opinion that it was a libel; while Holloway and Powel, the other two, declared that it was not. The jury were ſeveral hours in deliberating on the verdict, but at length they acquitted them. The verdict of “not guilty,” was no ſooner heard, than Weſtminſter-hall reſounded with the loudeſt acclamations, and a general joy ſpread throughout the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and thence through every part of the kingdom, at this defeat of the machinations of a tyrant. When the news reached the camp at Hounſlow-heath, the ſoldiers made loud rejoicings even in the hearing of the king, who was at dinner in lord Feverſham's tent. James inſtantly ſent an officer to enquire the cauſe of the exultation, who on his return told him, that it was nothing but the ſoldiers rejoicing on the acquittal of the biſhops; to which the king ſaid, “Call you that nothing! but ſo much the worſe for them.” This, added to ſome other mortifications, induced the king to doubt the fidelity of his ſoldiers, which he determined to put to the proof, and this proof was productive of ſtill greater mortification. “Beginning with lord Litchfield's regiment, he ordered them to take their arms; and commanded ſuch officers and ſoldiers as would not contribute to the repeal of the penal laws and teſt, to lay them down; which they all did, except two captains, and a few popiſh ſoldiers; at which he was ſo aſtoniſhed, that he ſtood ſpeechleſs for a while, and then bade them take up their arms again, adding, with a ſullen air, that he would not hereafter do them the honour to aſk their advice.” This only ſerved to increaſe that contempt which the army had already conceived for the king; nor was the fleet better diſpoſed to ſecond James's views than the army. Vice admiral Strickland attempting to have maſs ſaid on board his ſhip, it occaſioned ſuch diſturbance among the ſailors, that they were with difficulty reſtrained from throwing the prieſts overboard.

Such a ſeries of arbitrary and violent meaſures, convinced the nation, that the king was fully determined to ſubvert the conſtitution both in church and ſtate; and all perſons, whether whigs or tories ſeemed in earneſt to think of ſome method of preſerving their religion and liberties from utter deſtruction; for the birth of the prince of Wales, (whether real or pretended) threatened a continuation of popery and arbitrary power, even after the death of the king. The eyes of the public, therefore, were naturally turned towards Holland, and meaſures were taken, both by the clergy and laity, for inviting over the prince of Orange, to head the majority of the nation againſt the king. Admiral Hubert, who was beloved by the ſeamen, reſigned his commiſſion, and retired to the Hague, where he aſſured the prince of a general diſſaffection in the navy. This was confirmed by admiral Ruſſel, who paſſed frequently between England and Holland, and ſerved to keep up a conſtant correſpondence between the prince and the Engliſh proteſtants. Henry Sidney, brother to Algernon, went over to the Hague, under pretext of going to Spa for his health, and had frequent conferences with the ſtadtholder. Zuyleſtien, who had been ſent over to congratulate the king on the birth of his ſon, brought back to the prince a formal invitation from moſt of the great men in England. The biſhop of London, the duke of Norfolk, the marquis of Halifax, the earls of Dorſet, Devonſhire, Nottingham, and Danby; the lords Lovelace, Delamere, Paulet, Eland, with many gentlemen of great intereſt, and a great number of ſubſtantial citizens, joined in an application to the prince, engaging with their lives and fortunes, to ſupport him in his endeavours to recover their civil and religious liberties. Lord Mordaunt, who lived at the Hague, did every thing in his power to advance this great deſign. Lord Wharton, who was an old man, forgetting his age and infirmities, paid a viſit to the prince on this occaſion; and the earl of Shrewſbury, who was a man of great popularity, gave up the command of his regiment, and mortgaged his eſtate for forty thouſand pounds, which he offered to the prince of Orange, with the additional tender of his perſonal ſervices.

Being thus encouraged and ſupported, the prince could not heſitate how to proceed. He began his operations when the people were ſo much incenſed by the impriſonment of the biſhops; and he ſhewed equal prudence and policy in conducting his preparations: under various pretences he took care to fit out a large fleet, and to levy a number of additional troops. But ſuch preparations could not be long kept ſecret; the French ambaſſador acquainted his maſter on what was paſſing, and he gave James timely notice of his danger, and, as it is aſſerted, offered him thirty thouſand men, which he was weak enough to refuſe. In the interim James commiſſioned his ambaſſador in Holland, to preſent a memorial to the States, to demand the deſtination of the extraordinary armament they had lately fitted out. The anſwer was, "that they only imitated the king of England, who had lately equipped a powerful fleet, and aſſembled a numerous army, without explaining his intentions;" and they deſired to know the nature of the alliance which had been formed with France by the king of England. In conſequence of this anſwer James ordered his fleet to be manned and prepared for ſea; gave directions for raiſing recruits for the army, and ordered ſeveral regiments from Ireland. He likewiſe appointed lord Feverſham general of the land forces, and entruſted the command of the navy to the earl of Dartmouth. Having received intelligence from the Hague, that there were great numbers of Engliſh ſubjects at that place, waiting to embark in the expedition with the prince of Orange, James and his council were ſo alarmed with the news, that the king immediately demanded the advice and aſſiſtance of the biſhops of Wincheſter, Chicheſter, Rocheſter, Peterborough, Ely, Bath and Wells. The prelates having conferred with the archbiſhop of Canterbury, they all waited on the king, and delivered the reſult of their deliberations in ten articles of advice, to the following purport: "They counſelled his majeſty to put the government of the different counties into the hands of perſons diſtinguiſhed by their birth, and qualified by the laws of the land; to aboliſh the eccleſiaſtical court; to recall all the diſpenſations, by virtue of which diſqualified perſons had been admitted into civil and eccleſiaſtical employment; to revoke all the licences, by which catholics were permitted to open public ſchools; to deſiſt from all pretenſions to a diſpenſing power; or refer it entirely to the deciſion of parliament; to forbid the four apoſtolic vicars to continue invading the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, which belonged to the Engliſh church; to fill up the vacant biſhoprics with men of learning and piety; to reſtore the charters which had been taken from corporations; to aſſemble a free parliament; and conſent that the biſhops ſhould offer ſuch reaſons as might reconcile his majeſty to the church of England."

Terrified by his ſituation, the king gave his aſſent to all theſe propoſals, and appeared thankful for the advice given him; ſo that all his ſchemes for the eſtabliſhment of popery, ſeemed to be at once fruſtrated. In dread of the fury of the people, orders were given for ſhutting up the popiſh chapels, and many prieſts began to conſult their own ſafety, by quitting the kingdom.

During theſe tranſactions, the prince of Orange applied himſelf, with the greateſt aſſiduity, to complete his armament, and as ſoon as every thing was finiſhed, he publiſhed a manifeſto, explaining the true motives for his expedition. Copies of this declaration were ſent over to England, and carefully diſperſed through every part of the nation. He ſolemnly diſclaimed all thoughts of conqueſt, or of giving his father-in-law any diſturbance in the enjoyment of his ſovereignty; declaring that his ſole intention was nothing more than that of maintaining the proteſtant religion, the laws and liberties of theſe kingdoms; which had been ſo openly violated; and the procuring a free and general parliament, which might at once ſettle all the rights of the ſubject, and the prerogatives of the crown, on a firm and a permanent baſis. He added, that he had undertaken this neceſſary and difficult taſk at the invitation of many lords both eccleſiaſtical and civil, and by numbers of gentlemen and other ſubjects of all ranks. The prince's meaſures were ſo well concerted, that in three days, above four hundred tranſports were hired, with artillery, arms, ſtores, horſes, and above fourteen thouſand land forces. The Engliſh nobility and gentry in Holland embarked with William, together with count Naſſau, the count de Solmes, M. Bentinck, and other perſons of rank. The van was led by admiral Hubert, and the rear conducted by Evertſen. The prince commanded in the center, carrying a flag with Engliſh colours, and the arms of the republic of Holland, ſurrounded with this motto, "The proteſtant religion, and the liberties of England; and under it, *Je maintien drai*: that is, "I will maintain." Before the fleet had ſailed many leagues, the wind ſhifted to the weſt, and blew a hurricane, which continued two days and nights, and diſperſed the ſhips, ſo that it was a week before they could meet at their appointed rendezvous. They had ſuſtained very little damage; but with a view to lull James to ſecurity, orders were given to fill the Dutch Gazettes with exaggerated accounts of their loſs, and declarations that the expedition muſt be poſtponed till the ſpring." In the mean time the damage ſuſtained by the ſcattered fleet was ſo inconſiderable, that the prince, putting to ſea on the firſt of November, entered the channel on the third, the Engliſh fleet under lord Dartmouth lying ſtill, and letting the Dutch fleet paſs by. The prince landed with his whole army on the fifth, at Torbay, without oppoſition; and the troops were diſembarked at the village of Broxholme. The Dutch army marched immediately to Exeter, and there the prince's declaration was publiſhed. But the whole country had been ſo terrified at the dreadful executions which followed Monmouth's rebellion, that no perſons of any conſequence for ſeveral days joined the prince. The biſhop of Exeter fled with the utmoſt precipitation to London, and carried to court the firſt intelligence of this invaſion. The king was ſo pleaſed with this inſtance of zeal, that he rewarded the prelate with the archbiſhopric of York, which had been long kept vacant, with an intention of beſtowing it on ſome catholic. The firſt perſon who joined the prince was major Barrington, who was ſoon followed by the gentry of the counties of Devon and Somerſet. Sir Edward Seymore made propoſals for an aſſociation, which every one ſigned. By degrees, the earl of Abingdon, Mr. Ruſſel, ſon to the earl of Bedford, Meſſrs. Wharton, Godfrey, and Howe, came to Exeter: the whole kingdom was in commotion. Lord Delamere took arms in Cheſhire: the earl of Danby ſeized York; the earl of Bath, governor of Plymouth, declared for the prince: and the earl of Devonſhire made a like declaration in Derby. The nobility and gentry of Nottingham embraced the ſame cauſe; and every day diſcovered ſome effect of that univerſal combination, into which the kingdom had entered againſt the meaſures of James. Even thoſe who did not take the field againſt him, were able to embarras and confound his councils. A petition for a free parliament was ſigned by twenty-four biſhops and peers of the greateſt diſtinction, and preſented to the king; who returned for anſwer, that there was nothing he more earneſtly deſired than a free parliament, and that the moment the prince of Orange had quitted the kingdom, he would grant their requeſt with the greateſt diſpatch; but could not think of ſummoning that aſſembly, while an enemy continued in the heart of the kingdom, and could command ſo many members to be returned. But the moſt alarming ſymptom was, the diſſaffection which, from the general ſpirit of the people, not from any particular reaſon, had crept into the army. The officers all ſeemed to prefer the intereſt of their country and of their religion, before thoſe principles which are eſteemed the moſt ſacred ties by men of that profeſſion. Lord Colcheſter, ſon to the earl of Rivers, was the firſt officer who deſerted to the prince; but he was followed only by a few of his troops. Lord Loveleſs made a like effort, but was intercepted by the militia under the duke of Beaufort, and taken priſoner. Lord Cornbury, ſon to the earl of Clarendon, was more ſucceſsful: he attempted to carry over three regiments of cavalry, and actually brought a very conſiderable part of them to the prince's quarters. Several officers of diſtinction informed Feverſham their general, that they could not, in conſcience, fight againſt the prince of Orange. Lord Churchill, afterwards the famous duke of Marlborough, carried with him the duke of Grafton, natural ſon to the late king, colonel Berkley, and ſome troops of dragoons. This conduct was a ſignal ſacrifice of every duty in private life to the happineſs of his country.

James received this fatal news on his arrival at Saliſbury, the head-quarters of his army. There remained none about his perſon in whom he could confide. The whole army had diſcovered ſymptoms of diſcontent, whence he concluded it to be full of treachery; and being deſerted by thoſe whom he had moſt favoured and obliged, he no longer expected that others would hazard their lives in his ſervice. Diſtracted and perplexed at theſe alarming circumſtances, he ſuddenly took the reſolution of returning to London; a meaſure which could have no other tendency than that of betraying his fears, and provoking farther treachery.

Andover was the firſt ſtage of his majeſty's retreat towards London; and there prince George, together with the young duke of Ormond; Sir George Huet, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, deſerted him in the night, and retired to the camp of the prince of Orange. As ſoon as this news reached London, the princeſs of Denmark, pretending to dread the king's diſpleaſure, withdrew herſelf, in company with the biſhop of London and lady Churchill. She fled to Nottingham, where the earl of Dorſet received her with the greateſt reſpect; and the gentry of the county ſoon formed a troop for her protection.

The wretched king was no ways prepared for this aſtoniſhing event. He burſt into tears, when the firſt intelligence was conveyed to him. In this incident, he doubtleſs foreſaw the total expiration of his royal authority. But the nearer and more intimate concern of a parent ſeized his heart, when he found himſelf utterly abandoned by a virtuous child, whom he had always regarded with the moſt tender affection. "God help me," cried he, in the extremity of his agony, "my own children have forſaken me!" But ſo great were the prejudices which then prevailed, that this wretched father, who had been deſerted by his favourite child, was believed, on her diſappearance, to have put her to death; a rumour that might have produced the moſt fatal conſequences, had not the truth been immediately diſcovered: for the populace, and even the king's guards themſelves, ſeemed determined to revenge the death of the princeſs, by a general maſſacre of the prieſts and catholics. The prince of Orange advanced with his army to Sherborn, and thence to Saliſbury, which he entered in triumph, the king's forces having ſome days before retired to Reading. Surrounded with diſtreſs, and having no truſty friend, the king aſſembled all the proteſtant peers in town, and deſired their advice. He particularly addreſſed himſelf to the earl of Bedford in the following manner: "My lord, you are a good man; have great influence; and can do me ſignal ſervice." "Alas!" replied the earl, "I am a feeble old man, very incapable of performing any conſiderable ſervice; but I had a ſon," added he, with a ſigh, "who, if now alive, could ſerve your majeſty in a more effectual manner;" alluding to the lord Ruſſel, who, towards the end of the late reign, had fallen a ſacrifice to the vengeancce of the king, then duke of York. James was ſo thunderſtruck with this anſwer, that he remained, for ſome time, ſpeechleſs; but having recovered his ſpirits, it was propoſed to call a free parliament, and to ſend commiſſioners to treat with the prince. This the king readily complied with, and the lord chancellor was directed to iſſue the neceſſary writs for that purpoſe. The catholics were removed from the poſts and offices they held about the court; Sir Edward Hales, a perſon of that communion, and conſtable of the Tower, was removed from his poſt, and ſucceeded by Sir Bevel Skelton. Father Peters, the king's confeſſor, ſeeing the ſtorm riſe to ſuch an alarming height, wiſely conſulted his own ſafety by eſcaping into France. The marquis of Halifax, the earl of Northampton, and the lord Godolphin, were ſent to treat with the prince, who delivered to them a paper containing certain propoſals. The chief articles were, that a free parliament ſhould be called; that all papiſts ſhould be diſarmed, and deprived of all the offices they enjoyed; that all proclamations againſt himſelf ſhould be recalled; that the command of the Tower ſhould be put into the hands of the lord mayor; that if the king ſhould think proper to reſide in London during the ſeſſion of parliament, the prince ſhould alſo reſide near the ſame place, with an equal number of guards; or, that the king and himſelf ſhould reſide at an equal diſtance from London; that both armies ſhould be removed thirty miles from the city; that no new forces ſhould be brought into the kingdom; that Tilbury-fort ſhould be put into the hands of the city magiſtrates; that till the parliament met, part of the revenue ſhould be appropriated to the maintenance of the prince's army; and, in order to prevent an invaſion from abroad, Portſmouth ſhould be committed to the care of ſome perſon, equally agreeable to the king and the prince. When theſe propoſals were preſented to James, he affected to think them as moderate, or even more ſo, than he could have expected in the preſent poſture of affairs; but, in all probability, his real ſentiments were otherwiſe. Finding himſelf attacked and purſued by one of his ſons-in-law, abandoned by the other, deſerted by his own daughters and boſom friends, and hated by his ſubjects, he conſidered his fortune as deſperate. The queen, obſerving the fury of the people, and knowing how much ſhe was the object of general abhorrence, was ſtruck with the deepeſt terror, and began to apprehend a parliamentary impeachment, from which, ſhe was told, the queens of England were not exempted. The popiſh courtiers, and particularly the prieſts, were deſirous of carrying the king with them, whoſe preſence they knew would be ſome reſource and protection to them in a foreign country, and whoſe reſtoration, if it ever happened, would again reinſtate them in power and authority. The general defection of the proteſtants, induced the king to conſider the catholics as the only ſubjects on whoſe counſel he could rely; while the fatal cataſtrophe of his father afforded them a plauſible reaſon for making him apprehenſive of a ſimilar fate. Prudence gave way to danger, and ſelf-preſervation became the principal object of regard. In the mean time the news which arrived from all quarters helped to continue the panic into which the king was fallen, and which his enemies endeavoured to improve to their own advantage. Colonel Capel, deputy-governor of Hull, made himſelf maſter of that important fortreſs, and threw lord Langdale the governor, into priſon, together with Lord Montgomery, both of them catholics. The town of Newcaſtle received the lord Lumley, and declared for a free parliament. The duke of Norfolk, lord-lieutenant of the county of that name, engaged the ſhire in the ſame meaſures. The prince's declaration was read at Oxford by the duke of Ormond, and was received with great applauſe by that loyal univerſity, who, at the ſame time, made an offer of their plate to the prince. Every day ſome perſon of quality or diſtinction, and, among the reſt, the duke of Somerſet, went over to the enemy. A very violent declaration was diſperſed in the prince's name, but not with his participation; in which every one was commanded to ſeize and puniſh all papiſts, who, contrary to law, pretended to carry arms, or exerciſe any acts of authority.

While the prince was marching leiſurely to London, the king, on the twelfth of December diſappeared in the night-time, accompanied by Sir Edward Hales, a new convert, and haſtened to a ſhip which waited for him at the mouth of the river. The king's diſappearance was productive of conſternation and confuſion, as all government ſeemed to be ſuſpended. The citizens of London, however, reſolved to adhere to the prince of Orange, and ſent a deputation to him, with an addreſs craving his protection, and intreating him to honour the city with his preſence.

By this temporary diſſolution of government, the populace were abſolute maſters, and plundered, burned, and demoliſhed all the Romiſh chapels. Jefferies the chancellor, who had diſguiſed himſelf in order to facilitate his eſcape, was ſeized by the mob, and treated with ſuch ſeverity that he died in a little time afterwards. While every one imagined that the king had actually fled to the continent, news arrived that he had been ſeized by the populace at Feverſham, while he was making his eſcape in diſguiſe; that he had been very ill treated till he was known; but the gentry had then interpoſed and ſecured him from inſult, though they would by no means conſent to his leaving the kingdom. This intelligence threw all parties into confuſion. The prince ſent orders to the king, commanding him to approach no nearer than Rocheſter; but the meſſage arrived too late. He had already returned to London, where the populace, touched with compaſſion for his unhappy fate, and influenced by their own levity, had received him with acclamations of joy. But while James reſided at Whitehall, little regard was ſhewed him by the nobility or any perſon of diſtinction. He himſelf diſcovered not the leaſt ſign of ſpirit, nor any intention of reſuming the reins of government, which he had relinquiſhed. Nothing therefore remained for the ruling powers, but to conſult the moſt proper means of diſpoſing of his perſon; and after ſome deliberation it was reſolved to puſh him into that meaſure, which of himſelf he ſeemed willing to embrace. The king having ſent lord Feverſham on a meſſage to the prince, deſiring a conference for ſettling the affairs of the nation, that nobleman was arreſted under pretext of his wanting a paſſort; the Dutch guards were ordered to take poſſeſſion of Whitehall, where the king then reſided, and to turn out the Engliſh; and Halifax, Shrewſbury, and Delamere, were ſent by the prince at midnight to acquaint the king, that it would be proper for him to retire to Ham-houſe near Richmond. He begged permiſſion, which he eaſily obtained, to withdraw to Rocheſter, a town near the ſea-coaſt. Accordingly the next day he ſet out for that place, accompanied by the earls of Ayleſbury, Litchfield, Arran, and Dumbarton, and attended by a detachment of Dutch guards. He lingered a few days at Rocheſter, and ſeemed to wiſh that he might be invited to keep poſſeſſion of the throne; but finding that the whole nation concurred in abandoning him to his own councils, he yielded to his melancholy fate; and being preſſed by private letters from his queen, privately embarked in a frigate he had beſpoke, and arrived at Ambleteuſe in Picardy, from whence he repaired to St. Germains.

INTER-REGNUM.

JAMES, when he abdicated the throne by quitting his kingdom, left a paper behind him, containing his reaſons for withdrawing a ſecond time; wherein he obſerved, that it would be ſtrange if the world ſhould blame his conduct, after the prince of Orange had made the earl of Feverſham priſoner, whom he had ſent to procure a friendly conference, and commanding his own guards to take poſſeſſion of Whitehall after eleven at night, without acquainting him with it, and even ſending him an order, after he was in bed, commanding him to leave the palace. After ſuch conduct, he had very little to hope from a perſon who had invaded his kingdom, and called the legitimacy of his ſon in queſtion. At the ſame time he appealed to all that knew him, and even to the prince himſelf, if they could believe him guilty of ſo unnatural a villainy. He added, that being born free, he was deſirous of preſerving his independence, and for that reaſon had again withdrawn himſelf, though not for ever; for whenever the nation ſhould be convinced that they had been abuſed and impoſed upon by the ſpecious pretences of religion and property, he would be ready to aſſiſt them, and break the chains forged by ambitious men. In the mean time the prince of Orange had arrived at Windſor, to ſettle the affairs of the nation with the lords, by whom he was expected.

A. D. 1689.

Notwithſtanding the prince of Orange had expelled from his throne and kingdom a powerful prince, once ſupported by a formidable fleet, and a numerous army; ſtill the more difficult taſk remained, that of obtaining for himſelf the crown, which his father-in-law had abdicated. To this end he reſolved to leave the lords, who had aſſumed the powers of government, to their own guidance and direction. About ninety peers and biſhops drew up an addreſs, wherein they deſired the prince that he would be pleaſed to take the adminiſtration into his hands;

manage the revenue; ſettle the affairs of Ireland; and purſue ſuch other meaſures as ſhould appear expedient for the public weal, till the eſtates of the kingdom ſhould be convened. In a ſecond addreſs, they ſolicited the prince to iſſue letters to the cities, counties, and boroughs, directing to elect members to repreſent them in parliament, within the ſpace of ten days from the date of thoſe letters. The lords alſo publiſhed an order, commanding all papiſts to depart ten miles from the city of London, and to remove above five miles from their places of reſidence in the country. In conſequence of a ſummons to meet the prince of Orange at St. James's, the members who had ſerved in parliament in the reign of Charles II. the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, aſſembled there on the twenty-ſixth of September, and adjourning to the houſe of commons, they, after the example of the lords, addreſſed prince William, requeſting that he would appoint the convention to be held on the twenty-ſecond day of January, and in the mean time take upon himſelf the adminiſtration of government. Thus was the prince ſupported by all the legal authority which could poſſibly be obtained at this juncture. The fleet obeyed his commands. The army allowed him to new model them, without murmur or oppoſition. The city ſupplied him with a loan of two hundred thouſand pounds: in a word, his adminiſtration was ſubmitted to, as if he had ſucceeded in the moſt regular manner to the vacant throne; and a profound tranquillity prevailed throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland.

On the twenty-ſecond of January, when the convention was aſſembled, the lords choſe the marquis of Halifax their ſpeaker, and the commons Mr. Powle. A letter from the prince, addreſſed to both houſes, was read, purporting, that now he had complied with their deſires in re-eſtabliſhing the peace and public ſafety of the nation, it became their duty to exert their utmoſt efforts to ſecure their religion, laws, and liberties, upon a firm baſis; that the ſtate of affairs in Ireland required their immediate attention, as a delay might prove injurious to their foreign connections; and that he was perſuaded they were heartily diſpoſed to aſſiſt the Dutch, who had expreſſed ſuch ardour for the preſervation of the conſtitution of England. Hereupon they jointly preſented an addreſs to the prince, acknowledging, that, under the Almighty, the nation was indebted to him for deliverance; and that they entirely approved of his adminiſtration, which they requeſted he would continue. They then appointed a day of general thankſgiving for their late happy deliverance, and ordered that a prayer ſhould be read for the prince of Orange in particular. After this, the following memorable vote paſſed in the houſe of commons, “That king James II. having endeavoured to ſubvert the conſtitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between king and people; and by the advice of the jeſuits and other wicked perſons, having violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himſelf out of the kingdom, hath abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby become vacant.” But this vote was warmly oppoſed by the lords, among whom was a ſtrong party in favour of a regency, at the head of which was the earl of Nottingham. After a very ſpirited debate, the queſtion was carried for inſerting the word deſerted in the room of abdicated, and to expunge the clauſe reſpecting the throne having become vacant. But at a conference held between the two houſes, the lords relinquiſhed their amendments, and concurred in the vote of the commons.

In the whole courſe of theſe tranſactions, the behaviour of prince William was highly meritorious, and diſcovered great moderation and magnanimity. He entered into no intrigues with the leaders of parties, but kept a profound ſilence. At length he thought proper to expreſs, though in a private manner, his ſentiments. He called together Halifax, Danby, Shrewſbury, and ſome others; when he obſerved, that having been invited over to reſtore their liberty, he had engaged in this enterprize, and, at laſt, effected his purpoſe: that it belonged to the parliament, now choſen with freedom, to concert meaſures for the public ſettlement, and he pretended not to interpoſe in their determinations; that he had heard of ſeveral ſchemes propoſed for eſtabliſhing the government, ſome having inſiſted on a regent; others were for beſtowing the crown on the princeſs. It was their concern alone to chuſe that plan of adminiſtration, which was moſt agreeable or advantageous; that if they reſolved in favour of a regent, he had no objection; he only thought it incumbent on him to inform them, that he was determined not to be that regent, nor even engage in any ſcheme which he well knew would be attended with inſuperable difficulties: that no man could have a deeper and juſter ſenſe of the merits of the princeſs than himſelf; but he would rather remain a private perſon, than enjoy a crown, which muſt depend on the will or the life of another; and that they muſt remember, if they were inclined to purſue either of theſe plans of ſettlement, that it would be totally out of his power to aſſiſt them in carrying it into execution. The princeſs Mary ſeconded theſe reaſons and views of her huſband, who, among the many virtues ſhe poſſeſſed, was a very ſenſible and obedient wife. All conſiderations, therefore, were neglected, when ſhe conceived they came in competition with what ſhe thought her duty to the prince. When Danby and other friends wrote her an account of their proceedings, ſhe expreſſed the greateſt diſpleaſure; and tranſmitted their letters to her huſband, as a ſacrifice to conjugal fidelity. The princeſs Anne alſo concurred with her in ſentiment; and being promiſed an ample revenue, was contented to be poſtponed in her ſucceſſion to the crown. This unanimity and acquieſcence with the determination of the prince, put an end to the ſchemes formed by different parties; and the convention paſſed a bill, by which they ſettled the crown on the prince and princeſs of Orange; the ſole adminiſtration to remain in the prince. The princeſs of Denmark was to ſucceed to the prince and princeſs of Orange; her poſterity to that of the princeſs Mary; but before thoſe of the prince by any other wife.

Of fourteen children whom James II. had by his two wives, Anne Hyde, daughter to the earl of Clarendon, and Maria d'Eſte, daughter to the duke of Modena, three only ſurvived him; namely, Mary, his eldeſt daughter, born the thirtieth of April, 1662, and married to William Henry of Naſſau, prince of Orange, afterwards king of England; Anne, his ſecond daughter (both by his firſt wife) born the ſixth of February 1664, and married to George, prince of Denmark, afterwards queen of England. James Francis Edward, commonly known by the name of the Chevalier de St. George, who reſided at Rome, where he died in the year 1766, aged ſeventy eight. This ſon was by his ſecond wife.

We have already noticed moſt of the great luminaries which ſhone forth in the orbit of literature, even amidſt the bigotry and licentiouſneſs which ſeemed to threaten the nation with inevitable deſtruction: but it might be thought a capital overſight, were we to omit the name of Locke, who inveſtigated the human mind, improved the powers of reaſoning, by diſtinguiſhing truth from error, removed the clouds of ſophiſtry, and the idle diſtinctions in logic and metaphyſics. He explained alſo the nature and foundation of government by unanſwerable arguments; and in a ſmall treatiſe on toleration, this great Chriſtian-philoſopher vindicated the rights of religious liberty with greater clearneſs and preciſion, than ever was done by any author in this or any other country.

The ordinary revenue of Charles II. was about one million two hundred thouſand pounds a year. That of James II. was raiſed by the parliament to about one million eight hundred and fifty thouſand pounds; and his income of duke of York being added, made the whole amount to two millions a year. The national debt at the revolution amounted to one million fifty-four thouſand, nine hundred and twenty-five pounds. The encreaſe of coinage during theſe two reigns was ten millions two hundred and ſixty-one thouſand pounds ſterling.

The recovery or conqueſt of New York and the Jerſeys, was a conſiderable acceſſion to the ſtrength and ſecurity of the Engliſh colonies; and the ſettlement of Penſylvania and Carolina, during the reign of Charles II. without any aſſiſtance from the crown, extended the Engliſh empire in America. The proſecution of the diſſenters peopled the colonies. According to Dr. Davenant, the ſhipping encreaſed more than double during the two preceding reigns.

Several manufactures were in this period eſtabliſhed in iron, braſs, paper, ſilk, and hats. The duke of Buckingham introduced from Venice the manufacture of glaſs and cryſtal; and prince Rupert, an encourager of uſeful arts, is ſaid to have been the inventor of etching. One Brewer brought from the Low Countries the art of dying woollen cloth. In 1677, the old law for burning heretics was repealed, on account of the continual dread the nation was under of the return of popery.

Character of James II.

This prince was of an active, violent, and vindictive temper. Obſtinacy and bigotry were the ruling motives of his actions; nay, ſuch a thorough bigot to popery was James, that he would ſtick at nothing to have it eſtabliſhed; to which end he laboured to extend the regal prerogative, and to eſtabliſh a deſpotic government. Some good qualities, it muſt be acknowledged, he poſſeſſed; being remarkable for his frugality of public money, his induſtry, his application to naval affairs, and his encouragement of trade; but we cannot ſay much in praiſe of, or join in ſentiment with thoſe who have extolled his ſincerity; for his whole reign was a continued violation of his reiterated promiſes of preſerving inviolate the liberties and religion of his people. Theſe, in his lofty idea of regal authority, had no right to liberty, but what might be dependent on his ſovereign will and pleaſure. Upon this fallacious prejudice he acted, in defiance of the fundamental laws and conſtitution of the realm; burſt in ſunder all thoſe ties which unite ſubjects to their ſovereign. He confined all power, encouragement, and favour to the catholics; and ſacrificed every conſideration of juſtice and prudence to a falſe zeal. This hurried him into meaſures which rendered his government intolerable to a free and generous people; and made it neceſſary for them not to ſubmit any longer to the yoke of an arbitrary tyrant, guided ſolely by the violent councils of a popiſh jeſuitical faction, and blindly adopting their ſlaviſh ſuperſtition. He alſo proſecuted his deſign with ſuch vehemence, as excited the fears of his free-born ſubjects, and made them unite in defence of every thing moſt dear and valuable. The reſult was to them a glorious revolution; to him diſgrace and juſt depoſition. We ſay a juſt and legal depoſition. If, indeed, the people were created only for the advantage and the pleaſure of kings; if they have a divine right to be tyrants, and ſubjects are appointed by heaven to be ſlaves, James had reaſon to complain; and we may add, his people had reaſon to rejoice, that a favourable opportunity occurred for ſtripping him of the power of rendering millions unhappy at his pleaſure. But, on the other hand, if people have a right to the poſſeſſion of their own property, till they part with it by their own conſent, or by that of their repreſentatives; if they have a right to the bleſſings of civil and religious liberty, and kings were only appointed for the purpoſe of defending them; the people of England had a right from nature, from reaſon, and the calls of duty, to expel a weak, obſtinate prince, who made it his buſineſs to deſtroy what he was bound to defend. By ſuch conduct he was rendered wholly incapable of diſcharging the important truſt of government; and hence a free people may learn, how dangerous it is to allow any prince infected with the Romiſh ſuperſtition to fill the throne of theſe kingdoms.

BOOK XI.

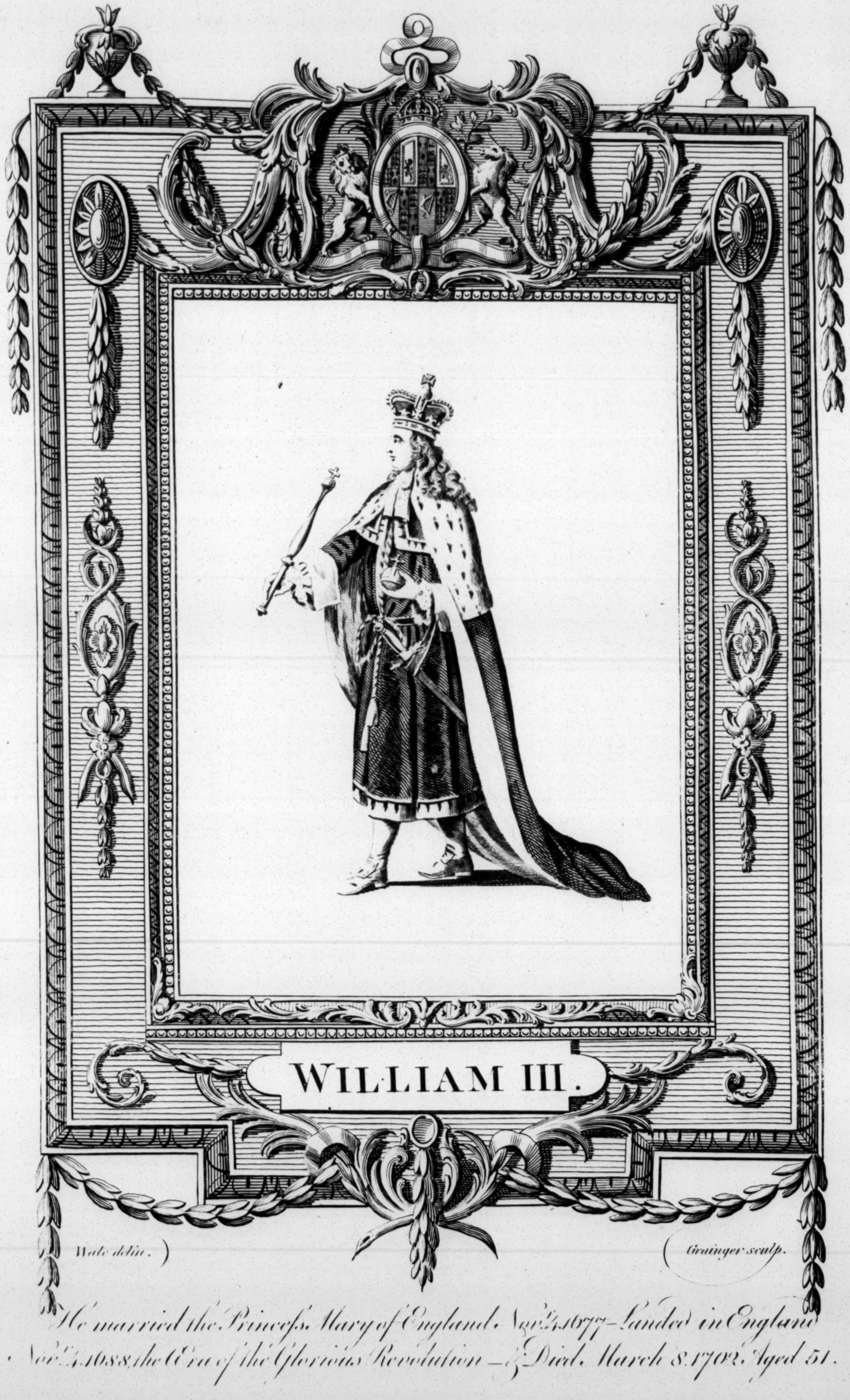
From the revolution under William III. to the acceſſion of the houſe of Hanover.

CHAP. I.

WILLIAM III. AND MARY II.

The convention changed into a free parliament—William and Mary proclaimed king and queen of England—The bill of rights—His attempts in favour of liberty—Procures for proteſtant diſſenters an act of toleration—The ſiege of Londonderry—Naval fight of Bantry bay—Battle of Killicranky in Scotland—Many of the clergy refuſe to take the oaths of allegiance, hence called Nonjurors—The king diſappointed in his deſign of procuring an union between the church of England and the diſſenters—He ſails with an army to Ireland—The Engliſh and Dutch defeated—Battle of the Boyne—The earl of Marlborough's expedition—Battle of Aghrim—Limerick taken—Maſſacre of Glenco—The victory of La Hogue—Battle of Stenkirk—Bembow bombards St. Maloes—Death of queen Mary—A plot to aſſaſſinate king William—Death of the duke of Glouceſter—Succeeded by that of the king—Character of king William III. and of his queen, Mary II.

A. D. 1689. WILLIAM III. aſcended the throne in conſequence of an expreſs capitulation with the people. All eyes were intent upon the choice he would make of his miniſtry; and for that reaſon he was embarraſſed. To mix whigs and tories together, even ſuſpected


WILLIAM III.

Wale delin.

Grainger sculp.

He married the Princeſs Mary of England Novr. 4. 1677 — Landed in England Novr. 4. 1688, the Era of the Glorious Revolution — & Died March 8. 1702. Aged 51.

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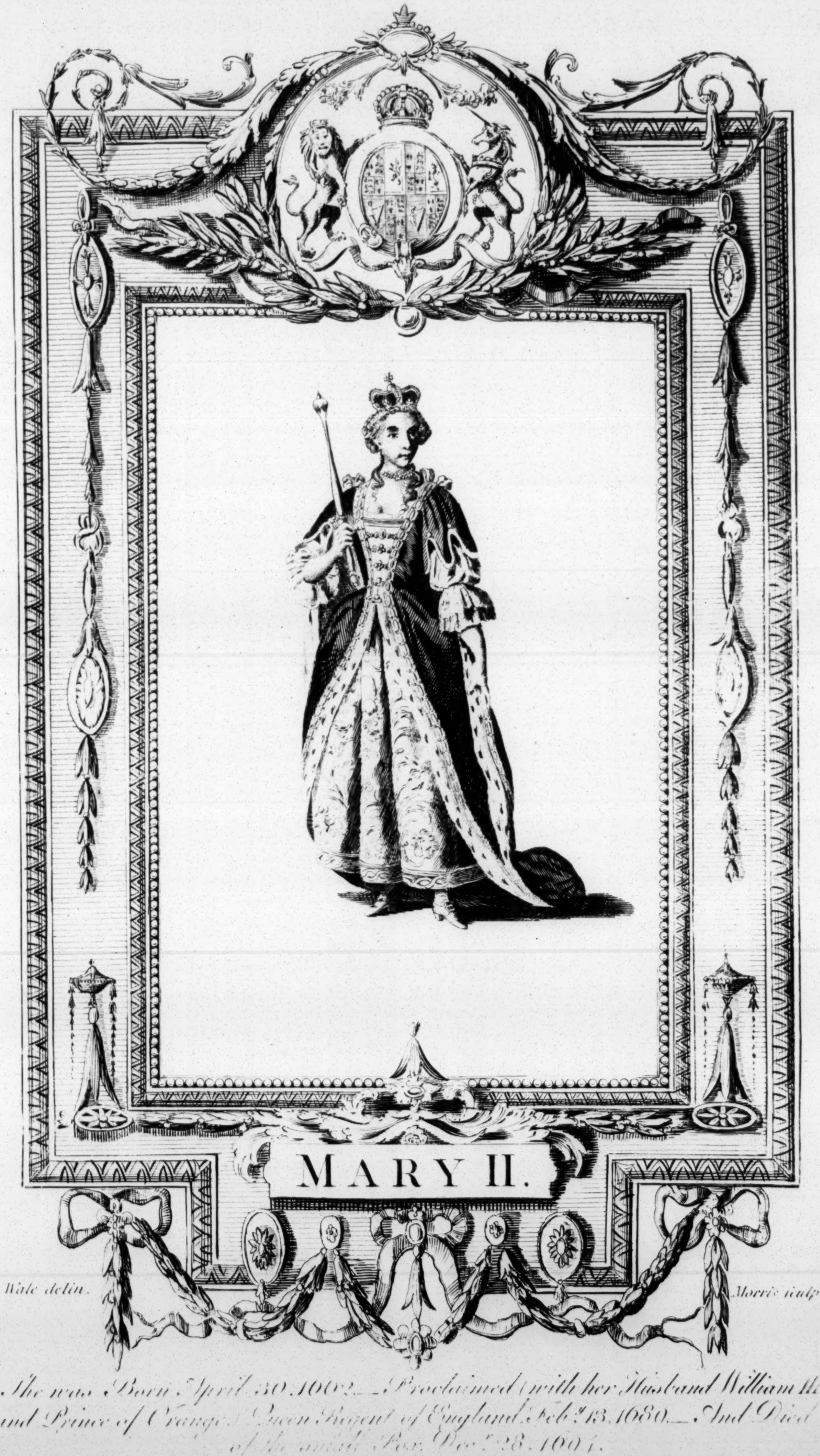

MARY II.

Wale delin. Morris sculp.

She was Born April 30. 1662._ Proclaimed (with her Husband William III. and Prince of Orange) Queen Regent of England Febʸ. 13. 1689._ And Died of the small Pox Decʳ. 28. 1694.

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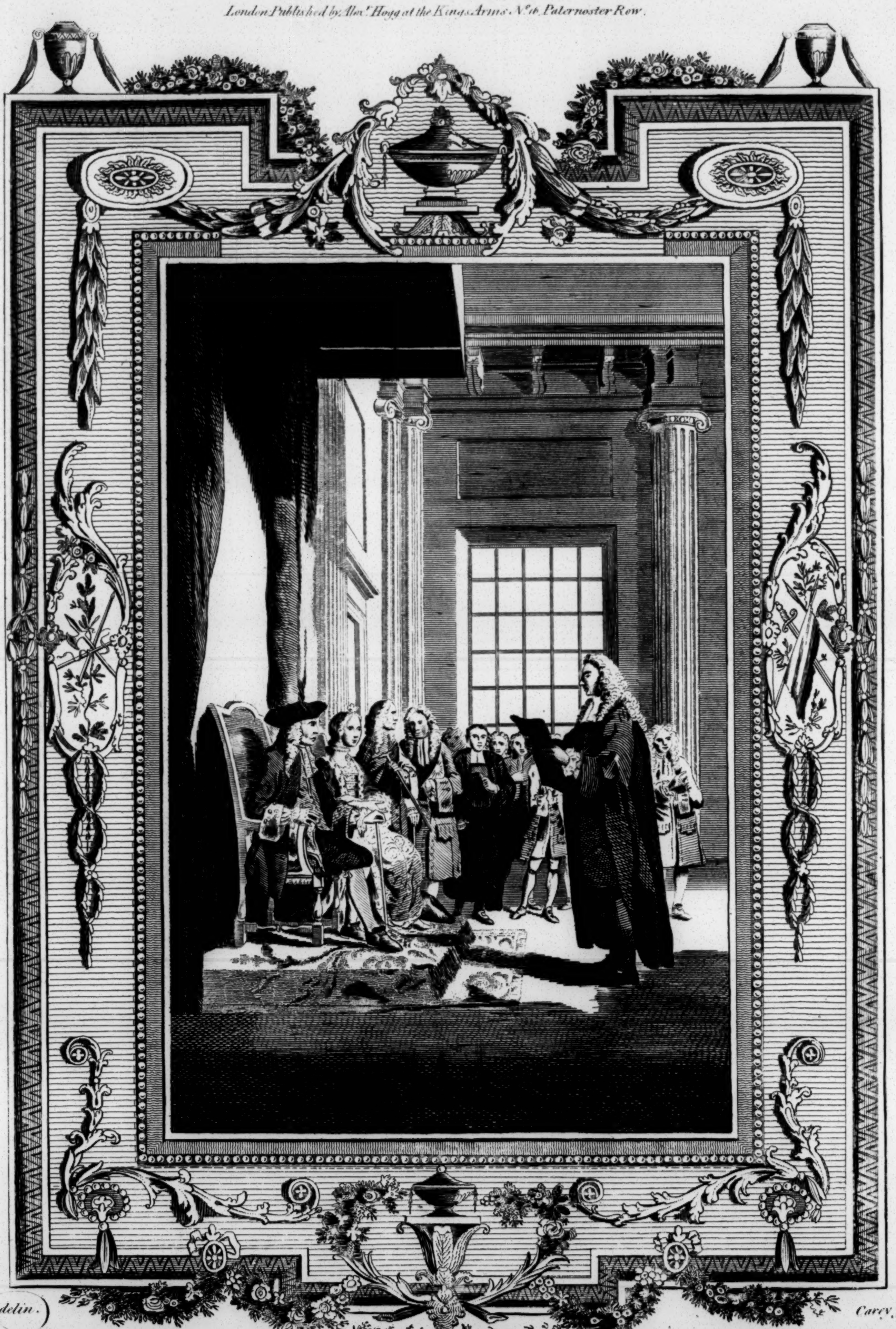


Wale delin. Carey sculp.

The BILL of RIGHTS ratified at the Revolution by King William, and Queen Mary, previous to their Coronation.

and ſuſpecting, hating and hated by each other, was full of difficulties. To truſt his ſervice to the tories alone, many of whom ſeemed averſe to his title, appeared dangerous. To truſt it to the whigs alone, was to declare himſelf the head of a party; and to give countenance to a ſuſpicion, that he intended to govern by thoſe who had chiefly raiſed him to the government. The fear of appearing ungrateful prevailed; he threw almoſt all the power into the hands of the whigs, lord Nottingham being almoſt the only one of the tories who was brought into adminiſtration. He and lord Shrewſbury were appointed ſecretaries of ſtate. The archbiſhop of Canterbury was put upon the liſt of the privy-council, leſs from attention to him than to his order. The privy-ſeal was reſtored to Halifax, and lord Danby was placed at the head of the council-board, arrangements which pleaſed neither whigs nor tories. Danby, who wiſhed for his old ſtaff of lord-treaſurer, thought his ſervices ill requited; and to make him reparation, he was created marquis of Caermarthen. In order to make room for ſuch perſons as had real merit in promoting the revolution, the treaſury, the admiralty, and even the chancery were put into commiſſion. Burnet, who had been proſcribed by the late king, was made a biſhop; Sir Patience Ward was choſen one of the repreſentatives in parliament for London; and Pilkington, lord-mayor of that city; in which one had been pilloried, and the other fined one hundred thouſand pounds for an offence againſt the duke of York. Military preferments were beſtowed on lord Churchill, but they were not ſuited to his ambition; and no notice was taken of his lady, who continued as uſual in the family of the princeſs Anne. But though Nottingham, Shrewſbury, Halifax and Danby, appeared oſtenſible miniſters, the king, in ſecret, put his real confidence in Mr. Sidney, and in Bentinck, a native of Holland, the firſt of whom was created lord Sidney, and the laſt lord Portland. But what gave univerſal ſatisfaction, was the nomination of the judges. Each privy-counſellor was directed to bring in a liſt of twelve; and from theſe liſts the judges were ſelected.

The firſt reſolution taken in the new council, was to convert the convention into a parliament, that the new ſettlement might be ſtrengthened by a legal ſanction, which was ſuppoſed to be wanting, as the aſſembly had not been convoked by the king's writ of ſummons. The experiment of a new election being thought too hazardous, it was reſolved in council that the king ſhould, by virtue of his own authority, change the convention into a parliament, by going to the houſe of peers with the uſual ſtate of a ſovereign, and pronouncing a ſpeech from the throne to both houſes. This expedient was accordingly practiced. The king aſſured them, that he ſhould take the utmoſt care to retain their good opinion of his integrity; that Holland was in ſuch a ſituation as required their immediate aid; that the poſture of affairs at home, likewiſe demanded their ſerious attention; that a good ſettlement was equally neceſſary for the eſtabliſhment of domeſtic peace, and the ſupport of the proteſtant intereſt abroad; that the affairs of Ireland were too critically ſituated to admit of the leaſt delay in their deliberations; he therefore begged they would be ſpeedy and effectual in concerting ſuch meaſures as ſhould be judged indiſpenſibly neceſſary for the good of the nation. The commons, on their return to their own houſe, paſſed a vote of thanks to his majeſty, and made an order that his ſpeech ſhould be taken into conſideration.

The coronation oath having been altered and explained, the ceremony of the coronation was performed by the biſhop of London, officiating at the king's deſire in the room of the metropolitan, who was a malcontent; and the next day the commons in a body waited on the king and queen at Whitehall with an addreſs of congratulation. William, in order to conciliate the eſteem of his new ſubjects, ſignified, in a ſolemn meſſage to the houſe of commons, his readineſs to acquieſce in any meaſure they ſhould think proper to take for a new regulation, or total ſuppreſſion of the hearth-money; and this tax was afterwards aboliſhed. We muſt here obſerve, that previous to their coronation on the thirteenth of February, the prince and princeſs of Orange being ſeated on two large chairs in the Banqueting-houſe, both houſes of the convention waited on them in a body, when the clerk of the crown read, in the names of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the commons aſſembled at Weſtminſter, the following "declaration of their rights," known by the name of

THE BILL OF RIGHTS.

I. That the pretended power of ſuſpending laws, or the execution of laws, by royal authority, without conſent of parliament, is illegal.

II. That the pretended power of diſpenſing with laws, or the execution of laws, by legal authority, as it hath been aſſumed, or exerciſed of late, is illegal.

III. That the commiſſion for erecting the late court of commiſſioners for eccleſiaſtical cauſes, and all other commiſſions and courts of like nature, are illegal and pernicious.

IV. That levying money for the uſe of the crown by pretence of prerogative, without grant of parliament for a longer time, or in any other manner than the ſame is or ſhall be granted, is illegal.

V. That it is the right of the ſubject to petition the king; and all commitments and proſecutions for ſuch petitioning, are illegal.

VI. That the raiſing or keeping a ſtanding army within the kingdom, in time of peace, unleſs it be with the conſent of parliament, is contrary to law.

VII. That the ſubjects, who are proteſtants, may keep arms for their defence, ſuitable to their condition, and as allowed by law.

VIII. That all elections of members of parliament ought to be free.

IX. That the freedom of ſpeech, or debates in parliament, ought not to be impeached or queſtioned in any court or place out of parliament.

X. That exceſſive bail ought not to be required, nor exceſſive fines impoſed, nor cruel nor unuſual puniſhments inflicted.

XI. That jurors ought to be duly impannelled and returned; and jurors who paſs upon men in trials of high treaſon, ought to be freeholders.

XII. That all grants of fines and forfeitures of particular perſons, before conviction, are illegal and void.

XIII. And that, for the redreſs of all grievances, and for the amending, ſtrengthening, and preſerving of the laws, parliaments ought frequently to be held.

And they do claim, demand, and inſiſt upon, all and ſingular the premiſes, as their undoubted rights and liberties: and no declarations, judgments, doings, or proceedings, to the prejudice of the people in any of the ſaid premiſes, ought, on any account, to be drawn hereafter into conſequence or example.

After enumerating theſe articles, the declaration concluded in the following manner: "Having therefore an entire confidence, that his ſaid highneſs

neſs the prince of Orange, will perfect a deliverance ſo far advanced by him, and ſtill preſerve them from a violation of their rights, which they have here aſſerted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, rights, and liberties, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons aſſembled at Weſtminſter, do reſolve, that William and Mary, prince and princeſs of Orange, be declared king and queen of England, France, and Ireland, and all the dominions thereunto belonging; to hold the crown and royal dignity of the ſaid kingdoms and dominions to them the ſaid prince and princeſs during their lives, and the life of the ſurvivor of them; and that the ſole and full exerciſe of the royal power be only in, and executed by the ſaid prince of Orange, in the names of the ſaid prince and princeſs during their joint lives; and after their deceaſe, the ſaid crown and royal dignity of the ſaid kingdoms to be to the iſſue of the body of the ſaid princeſs; and in default of ſuch iſſue, to the princeſs Anne of Denmark, and the heirs of her body; and in default of ſuch iſſue, to the heirs of the body of the ſaid prince of Orange."

As ſoon as this declaration was read, the marquis of Halifax, as ſpeaker of the upper houſe, made a ſolemn tender of the crown to their highneſſes, in the name of the peers and commons of England; and the offer was accepted in the moſt obliging manner by their highneſſes.

After his coronation, the king received an addreſs of thanks from the commons, couched in the warmeſt expreſſions of duty, gratitude, and affection; and declaring, that they would take ſuch meaſures in ſupport of his crown, as would convince the world that he reigned in the hearts of his ſubjects. The ſum total of the money expended by the States-general in William's expedition, amounted to ſeven millions of gilders; and the commons granted ſix hundred thouſand pounds for the diſcharge of this debt. The next object that engaged their attention, was the ſettlement of a revenue for the ſupport of government. Heretofore there had been no diſtinction of what was allotted for the king's uſe, and what was aſſigned for the ſervice of the ſtate, ſo that the ſovereign was abſolute maſter of the whole ſupply. As the revenue in the late reigns had been often embezzled and miſapplied, it was now reſolved that a certain ſum ſhould be ſet apart for the maintenance of the king's houſhold, and the ſupport of his dignity (called at this time the civil liſt) and that the reſt of the public money ſhould be employed under the inſpection of parliament. Accordingly, ſince this period, the commons have appropriated the annual ſupplies to certain ſpecified purpoſes; and an account of the application has conſtantly been ſubmitted to the inſpection of both houſes.

The tories had, through the communication of Nottingham, made proffers of ſervice to his majeſty; but complained at the ſame time, that as they were in danger of being proſecuted, they could not, without an act of indemnity, exert themſelves in favour of the crown. The king, wrought on by their remonſtrances, ſent a meſſage to the houſe by Mr. Hampden, recommending a bill of indemnity as the moſt effectual means of putting an end to all ſources of diſcord. He deſired it might be drawn up with all convenient expedition, with ſuch exceptions only as ſhould appear neceſſary for the maintenance of public juſtice, the ſafety of himſelf and the queen, and the welfare of the nation. But the whigs proceeded ſo ſlow in the bill, that it could not be brought to maturity before the end of the ſeſſion. It being now neceſſary to paſs an act for aſcertaining the ſucceſſion of the crown, a bill for this purpoſe was brought into the lower houſe, with a clauſe diſabling papiſts from ſucceeding to the crown; to this the lords added, "or ſuch who ſhould marry papiſts," abſolving the ſubject in that caſe from their allegiance. About this time the princeſs Anne brought forth a ſon, who was baptized by the name of William, and afterwards created duke of Glouceſter.

William, who was equal to moſt princes in political abilities, well knew, that the moſt effectual way of preſerving peace at home, was to find his new ſubjects employment abroad. The great ſcheme he had formed, when only Stadtholder, of a confederacy againſt France, began about this time to take effect. He was ſtrongly importuned to join this confederacy as king of England, and found no great difficulty in perſuading the Engliſh to draw the ſword againſt their old enemies and rivals. After the proper ſteps for that purpoſe were taken, both houſes joined in a dutiful addreſs to his majeſty, deſiring him to take ſuch meaſures as would be ſufficient to reduce the French king to ſuch a condition, as to render him incapable of diſturbing the peace of Europe, or prejudicing the trade and proſperity of England, aſſuring his majeſty that he might depend on his parliament for the neceſſary aſſiſtance.

Thus requeſted by both houſes of legiſlature, the king declared war againſt the French monarch on the ſeventh of May. This declaration was drawn up by the maſterly hand of Somers, afterwards lord chancellor. Lewis was charged with having unjuſtly invaded the territories of the emperor, and denounced war againſt the allies of England, in open violation of the treaties concluded under the guarantee of the Engliſh crown; of having encroached on the fiſhery of Newfoundland; invaded the Caribbee Iſlands; forcibly ſeized the provinces of New York and Hudſon's Bay: countenanced the ſeizure of Engliſh ſhips by French privateers; prohibited the importation of Engliſh manufactures; diſputed the right of the flag; perſecuted many Engliſh ſubjects on pretence of religion, contrary to expreſs treaties and the law of nations; and ſent an army into Ireland to ſupport the rebels in that kingdom. Ireland was far from imitating the examples of England and Scotland, in acknowledging William's title to the crown; and it was more than two years before that kingdom was entirely reduced. The earl of Tyrconnel, on the firſt news of James's retreat from England, ſecured the moſt important places in Ireland of which he was governor; and joining his natural hatred of the proteſtants to what he thought motives of policy and prudence, he treated them in ſo rigorous a manner, that they were forced to retire to their brethren in the north, who ſeizing on Kilmore, Coleraine, Iniſkilling, and Londonderry, declared for William and Mary. Tyrconnel, perceiving the ill effects of his cruelty, thought proper to temporize with William; yet he continued to ſolicit James by letter, to tranſport himſelf over to Ireland with a powerful body of troops; aſſuring him that ſuch a ſtep would effectually ſecure his intereſt in that kingdom; whereas a neglect or delay in following this advice, muſt entirely ruin his affairs. On receiving theſe letters, James ſent them to Lewis, and preſſed him for his aſſiſtance. Neither the French monarch nor his miniſters had any great expectations from this expedition: but as his honour was concerned in ſupporting his unfortunate gueſt, it was reſolved to furniſh him with five thouſand forces, under the command of M. de Lauſun. This army was embarked on board the fleet then lying at Breſt, conſiſting of fourteen ſhips of the line, ſix frigates, three fire-ſhips, and a proper number of tranſports. Lewis alſo ſupplied James with arms for forty thouſand men, in order to equip his friends in Ireland; preſented him with a large ſum of money; ſuperb equipages, plate, and every thing neceſſary for the camp and houſhold. At parting he embraced him with great affection, making uſe of this remarkable expreſſion: "Farewell brother! the beſt thing I can wiſh you, is, that I may never ſee you more."

James ſailed from Breſt on the fourteenth of March, attended by the count d'Avaux, in quality of ambaſſador, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction. After eight days ſail, he arrived ſafely at Kingſale in Ireland, whence he repaired in a few days to Cork; where he was received by the earl of Tyrconnel, who had collected an army of thirty thouſand foot, and eight thouſand horſe, for his ſervice. But adverſity had not yet taught James wiſdom and precaution: he acted with as little prudence, as he could have done, had he no oppoſition to encounter; and was ſo far from endeavouring to conciliate the affections of the proteſtants, which in common reaſon and common policy he ought to have done, that he gave repeated proofs of his thorough hatred, and frequently puniſhed them with death on the moſt trifling occaſions. One of the magiſtrates of Cork was executed by his orders, for having declared for the prince of Orange. In ſhort, inſtead of endeavouring to win over his adverſaries by mildneſs and popularity, he only exaſperated them the more, by his cruelty and arrogance: and thus, by his own imprudent conduct effectually ruined his affairs, at the very time when he flattered himſelf with their being in the moſt proſperous ſituation. Having refreſhed his forces, he marched for Dublin, and entered the city in triumph. He was met at the caſtle gate by a proceſſion of popiſh biſhops and prieſts, in their pontificals, bearing the hoſt, before which he kneeled down in public. He publiſhed ſome proclamations, promiſing protection to all his proteſtant ſubjects, who ſhould preſerve their loyalty: but theſe placed ſo little confidence in his promiſes, that they determined to ſtand in their own defence. Soon after he publiſhed another proclamation for the meeting of the parliament, on the ſeventh of May at Dublin; created Tyrconnel a duke, and beſtowed the royal regiment on Dorrington, in the room of the duke of Ormond.

His firſt expedition was againſt Kilmore, where the noble defence made by the proteſtants ſo exaſperated James, that he determined to uſe them with the utmoſt ſeverity; and was warmly ſeconded in this reſolution by Tyrconnel, who ſeemed to thirſt for the blood of theſe poor unfortunate people. Alarmed by this cruel uſage, and the report of a general maſſacre, intended to be perpetrated on all the proteſtants, they ſhut themſelves up in Londonderry, the capital of the county of the ſame name, and ſent immediately to England for aſſiſtance. Some arms and ammunition were accordingly ſent them, but no conſiderable reinforcements till the middle of April, when two regiments arrived at Loughfoyle, under the command of the colonels Cunningham and Richards. By this time James had reached the neighbourhood of the town, at the head of an army of twenty thouſand men; but he met with an oppoſition little expected; and which was chiefly owing to the bravery and reſolution of one man, a proteſtant clergyman of Donaghmore, who had raiſed a regiment for the defence of himſelf and his brethren. This clergyman gave Lundy, the governor of Londonderry, the firſt notice of the approach of James. Lundy immediately ſummoned a council of war, at which Cunningham and Richards, the two commanders lately arrived from England aſſiſted, and who, either from a diſlike to the ſervice they were ſent upon, or ignorant of the ſituation of the town and the diſpoſition of the inhabitants, gave it as their opinion, that the place was not tenable, that it would be imprudent to land the regiments; and that the principal officers ſhould retire from the town, in order that the inhabitants might obtain more favourable conditions. A meſſenger, in conſequence of this opinion, was diſpatched to James, with propoſals for opening a negotiation; and lieutenant-general Hamilton, who commanded in that prince's ſervice, undertook, that the army ſhould not, during the continuance of the treaty, advance nearer than four miles of the city. Mr. Walker, the clergyman already mentioned, had, in vain, uſed all his rhetoric to perſuade the governor to take the field, and come to a general engagement. He was deaf to all his arguments, and liſtened only to his own puſillanimous apprehenſions; which were greatly heightened, when he found that James, diſregarding the promiſe his general had made, was advancing at the head of his troops to the town walls. The inhabitants and ſoldiers in the place, were ſo exaſperated at the cowardice of their governor, and the two colonels, that they flew to arms, and would have made their lives pay the forfeit of their perfidy, had not the former kept himſelf concealed in his chamber, and the other two found means to eſcape on board their ſhips. In the mean time major Baker, their deputy governor, fired ſo warmly from the walls upon James's troops, that they were obliged to retreat to St. John's town in ſome diſorder. Walker and Baker made uſe of this reſpite, to preſs Lundy to exert himſelf as became a loyal ſubject and a good ſoldier, and to undertake the defence of the place: but ſuch was the governor's cowardice or treachery, that he abſolutely refuſed to have any thing to do with the government, and ſoon after made his eſcape in diſguiſe. He was, however, ſeized in Scotland, ſent thence to London, together with Cunningham and Richards, where they were all ignominiouſly diſmiſſed from the ſervice. The inhabitants now unanimouſly agreed to beſtow the government of the place on Mr. Walker, and major Baker, who immediately prepared for a vigorous defence; determining to bury themſelves under the ruins of the place, rather than ſurrender to the enemy. Accordingly they formed the citizens, amounting to ſeven thouſand men, into different regiments, taught them the proper management of arms, firing of cannon, and all the other manœuvres neceſſary for their own defence, or the annoyance of the enemy. On the twentieth of April, James's army opened the trenches, and their batteries began to play on the town, which was but poorly fortified, with only twenty pieces of cannon on the walls, and thoſe wretchedly mounted. The beſieged, however, animated by the example and ſpirited harangues of Mr. Walker, held out with aſtoniſhing reſolution, againſt a force, far ſuperior, employed to reduce them. James being obliged to return to Dublin, to meet the parliament he had convened, left the command of the army to the marquis de Roſane, one of the French generals, a man of more than ſavage haughtineſs and cruelty of diſpoſition. Incenſed with the oppoſition he met with from an handful of half ſtarved peaſants, as he contemptuouſly called them, vented his rage in the moſt inhuman manner, and informed the beſieged, that unleſs they inſtantly ſubmitted themſelves to their lawful ſovereign, he would not leave one ſtone upon another in the town, nor a ſingle perſon alive to carry the news of their deſtruction. It is a mark of true courage to look upon the threatenings of arrogance and vanity with contempt. The governor and garriſon anſwered his threats only by doubling their reſiſtance, though their proviſions were now all expended, and they were reduced to the dreadful neceſſity of ſupporting life by eating the fleſh of horſes, dogs, cats, and every other kind of loathſome food. They, however, ſupported their courage, and a proclamation was publiſhed, prohibiting,

hibiting, under pain of death, any perſon to talk of ſurrendering. Perceiving that menaces had no effect, the French general formed a deſign for forcing them to comply, which ſeemed to be rather the dictates of a fiend than of a human being. He ſent detachments of his ſoldiers through the adjacent country, with orders to ſeize all the proteſtants they could find, without diſtinction of age or ſex, ſtrip them naked, and drive them in that condition, under the walls of Londonderry. This order was executed with a brutality equal to that of the giver of it. Upwards of four thouſand of theſe miſerable objects were thus expoſed to the view of the beſieged; who, from their ramparts, beheld, with an horror not to be deſcribed, the forlorn condition of their fellow proteſtants, many of whom were every moment expiring with fatigue, cold, hunger and the cruel uſage they had received from their bloody perſecutors. This ſight, however, had a very different effect upon the garriſon, from what Roſane expected. They felt the deepeſt compaſſion for the diſtreſs of their brethren; but their compaſſion was mingled with ſuch indignation againſt the author of that infernal action, and ſuch apprehenſions of what would be their own fate, if they ſhould fall into his power, that they unanimouſly determined to periſh rather than ſubmit to ſuch a barbarian. They now thought themſelves excuſed from obſerving the ſtrict rules of war, which had been ſo flagitiouſly broken by the enemy; and accordingly erected a gibbet on their walls, and ſent to acquaint the French general, that unleſs he immediately ſet at liberty the proteſtants he had driven under their ramparts, they would immediately hang up every priſoner they had taken in their ſallies during the ſiege. Convinced by their whole behaviour, that they would certainly carry their threats into execution, Roſane ordered the proteſtants to be releaſed, after they had been detained three days, without taſting any kind of food. Numbers of them periſhed by famine and fatigue in their return to their houſes, and many of thoſe who ſurvived, had the additional misfortune to find their habitations and effects deſtroyed, by the roving parties about the country; ſo that the greater part of thoſe unfortunate people fell victims to the infernal malice of a popiſh foe. It is reported that James was requeſted by the biſhop of Meath to countermand this order, but without effect. At this time the intrepid garriſon of Londonderry was reduced from ſeven thouſand, to five thouſand ſeven hundred men; and theſe were driven to ſuch extremity of diſtreſs, that they began to talk of preying upon one another. But before this dreadful reſource for prolonging life was attempted, the long wiſhed for ſuccour arrived. Major general Kirk, who had rendered himſelf ſo infamous in England, during James's reign, and who had ſince abandoned his former maſter, and ſerved under king William, arrived in the Lough with a reinforcement of nine thouſand men; and being ordered to relieve the garriſon at all events, he ſent three ſhips up the river, laden with proviſions, under the protection of the Dartmouth frigate. But the enemy, to prevent any ſhips from ſailing up to the town, had erected ſtrong batteries on both ſides of the ſtream, and thrown a ſtrong boom acroſs the channel. One of the ſhips, however, taking the opportunity of a ſtrong gale of wind in her favour, advanced with full ſail, broke the enemy's boom, and the other veſſels following her, they all anchored in ſafety before the town. James now deſpaired of ſucceeding in his enterprize, and raiſed the ſiege that very night, after loſing near eight thouſand men in this fruitleſs attempt. Kirk landed at the town, and Walker, at the earneſt requeſt of the inhabitants, paſſed over to England, to return their grateful thanks to their majeſties for their generous ſuccour. He was received by the king and queen with that honour and reſpect, ſo juſtly due to his diſtinguiſhed valour. The inhabitants of Iniſkilling, on receiving intelligence that Londonderry had denied entrance to the troops in James's ſervice, reſolved not to admit any garriſon of his party: and having raiſed a regiment of twelve companies, they ſhut their gates, and appointed Guſtavus Hamilton their governor. He was a zealous proteſtant, and an officer of known courage and conduct. Having thus determined to oppoſe the popiſh army of James, they proclaimed king William and queen Mary. The lord Gilmoy, who had declared for James, appeared before their walls and ſummoned them to ſurrender; but was, by the noble reſiſtance they made, obliged to raiſe the ſiege, which, on their refuſal to capitulate, he had undertaken. Nor was this the whole; for the day before Londonderry was relieved, the brave Iniſkillingers advanced, with their handful of men, againſt ſix thouſand Iriſh, and totally defeated them at a place called Newton Butler; killing near three thouſand of the enemy, with the loſs of only twenty killed, and fifty wounded.

The Iriſh parliament met at Dublin, purſuant to James's proclamation; and was opened by that prince with a ſpeech from the throne. He firſt thanked them for their zeal and loyalty; laviſhed the higheſt encomiums on the humanity and generoſity of his good brother and ally, the king of France, diſplayed towards himſelf, his queen, and his ſon, in affording them an aſylum, after being expelled their lawful dominions, and in having now enabled him to viſit one part of his realm in perſon. He then declared his fixed reſolution to grant to all his ſubjects, full liberty of conſcience, which he conſidered as the only certain method of ſecuring their happineſs, as well as his own, looking upon himſelf as the common parent of all his people. He concluded with aſſuring both houſes of his hearty concurrence with them, in enacting ſuch laws, as might tend to the tranquillity and ſettlement of his dominions. Every method having been uſed to fill the houſe of lords with popiſh peers, ſo that there were only ſeven or eight proteſtant lords ſent to parliament; and hardly a member of that religion among the commons; it is not at all ſurprizing to find that parliament openly profeſſed itſelf a ſlave to the king's pleaſure. That man was looked upon as factious or rebelliouſly inclined, who dared to move any thing after it had been declared contrary to the king's pleaſure. He had therefore no ſooner left the houſe, than the commons came to a reſolution of preſenting an addreſs of thanks, and of deſiring the count d'Avaux to offer their moſt grateful acknowledgements to the French king, for the friendly aſſiſtance he had given to their ſovereign. They next ordered a bill to be brought into the houſe for recognizing James's title, and to expreſs their abhorrence of the prince of Orange's uſurpation, as well as of the diſloyalty and treaſonable conduct of the Engliſh. This addreſs being preſented to James, he publiſhed a declaration to all his loving ſubjects in the kingdom of England; promiſing that he would, for the future, take no ſtep without the concurrence and conſent of his parliament; offering a free pardon to all who ſhould abandon his enemies, and join him in twenty-four days after this declaration was publiſhed; and charged all the blood that might be ſpilt in this conteſt, upon thoſe who ſhould perſevere in rebellion. Had the people not been well acquainted with the little dependence that ought to be placed on his promiſes, James now gave them a convincing proof, that they were never intended to be kept any longer than they anſwered his convenience; for a bill of attainder was paſſed againſt all thoſe who were abſent from the kingdom, and refuſed reſuſed to acknowledge the authority of king James, or held any correſpondence with the rebels; or who had any ways aſſiſted the prince of Orange, ſince the firſt of Auguſt laſt. By this act no leſs than three thouſand proteſtants were attainted by name, among whom were the two archbiſhops, one duke, ſeventeen earls, ſeven counteſſes, as many biſhops, eighteen barons, thirty-three baronets, fifty-one knights, and eighty-three clergymen, all of whom were declared puniſhable by death and forfeiture. A bloody proſcription which has not its parallel in the records of the moſt tyrannical government; eſpecially when it is remembered that all the proſcribed were excluded from all hopes of pardon, and all benefit of appeal, unleſs enrolled by the king's order, before the firſt day of the enſuing month of December. By another act, Ireland was declared independent of that of England.

William was not idle in his preparations for the relief of his proteſtant ſubjects. He was informed that another ſtrong fleet, as a convoy to ſome tranſports laden with arms, ammunition, &c. was ſoon to ſail from France to Ireland; and therefore the king detached admiral Herbert from Spithead, with twelve ſhips of the line, one fireſhip, and four tenders, in order to intercept the enemy. The Engliſh admiral having for ſome time been blown about with contrary winds, reached at length the Iriſh coaſt, and on the firſt of May diſcovered the French fleet conſiſting of no leſs than twenty-eight ſhips of the line, moſt of them from ſixty to ſeventy guns, and five fire-ſhips, lying at anchor in Bantry-bay. The French admiral no ſooner ſaw the Engliſh fleet, than he immediately gave orders for getting under ſail, and giving the enemy battle. Herbert having for ſome time endeavoured to gain the weather-gage of the French, and finding it impoſſible to ſucceed, thought it highly imprudent to fight the enemy ſo ſuperior in force, while he laboured under ſo particular a diſadvantage. He therefore ſtood off to ſea, and maintained a running fight, till the evening began to approach, when the enemy tacked about, and returned to Bantry-bay. This trifling ſkirmiſh was by the French, repreſented as a ſignal victory, though with all their ſuperiority of ſtrength, they neither took nor ſunk a ſingle veſſel. William, however, was ſo ſatisfied with the behaviour of his admiral on this occaſion, that when the latter returned to Portſmouth, his majeſty, in an excurſion he made thither, to haſten the naval preparations then carrying on at that port, dined on board Herbert's ſhip, and declared his intention of creating him an earl in conſideration of his ſervices. At the ſame time he conferred the honour of knighthood on the captain Cloudeſly Shovel, another ſea officer, who had ſerved in this expedition, and beſtowed a gratuity of ten ſhillings on every private ſailor. Yet with all the aſſiduity of the king in haſtening the naval and military preparations, James had been ſix months in Ireland before the army was embarked for that kingdom. At length eighteen reigments of foot, and five of dragoons being ready, together with a ſuitable train of artillery, they were embarked for that kingdom, under the command of the duke of Schomberg; and on the thirteenth of Auguſt, were landed near Carrick-Fergus. Their firſt attempt was againſt Belfaſt, which they took poſſeſſion of with very little oppoſition; the enemy retiring at Schomberg's approach, to Carrick Fergus, which they determined to defend. But the intrepidity of the Engliſh was too powerful to be reſiſted for any length of time; and accordingly the place was ſurrendered in four days. This was followed by a ſeries of other ſucceſſes. Ewry, Dundalk, and ſeveral other places, yielded at the firſt ſummons; and the general's progreſs would have been much more rapid had not he been diſappointed in receiving the remainder of his forces and train of artillery which he had left behind him in England. James having aſſembled his forces, advanced towards Schomberg, who was encamped near Drogheda, and on the twenty-third of September arrived within two miles of the Engliſh entrenchments. But the duke, finding his army every day diminiſhing by ſickneſs, which had carried off many brave officers, and great numbers of ſoldiers, while the enemy who were at leaſt double his number, were in perfect health, and their troops much better diſciplined than his, prudently declined an engagement: while James, not chuſing to attack the duke in his trenches, drew off his forces: and the winter approaching both armies retired into winter quarters.

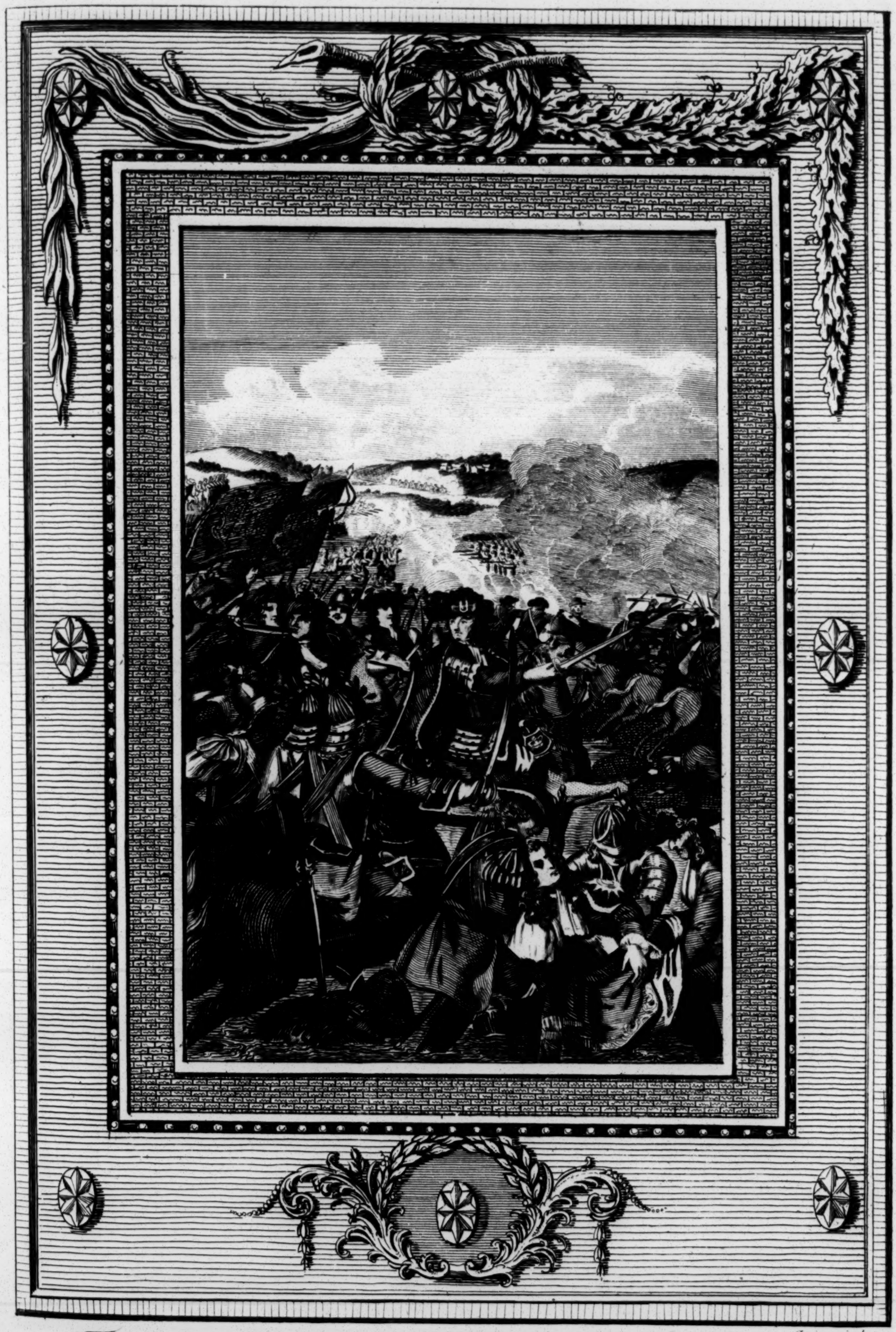
Admiral Herbert, now created earl of Torrington, having again ſailed for Ireland, with the combined fleets of England and Holland, attempted to ſurprize the city of Cork: but being deceived by falſe intelligence, that James with his whole army was encamped in the neighbourhood, he did not think it prudent to land his forces; and after continuing a ſhort time on the coaſt, returned to England, and anchored in Torbay; his men being very ſickly. There was indeed the greateſt reaſon to aſcribe this misfortune to the villainy of thoſe intruſted with the care of victualling the navy; for the Dutch ſeamen were in perfect health during the whole cruiſe. The French, though they did not dare to ſend out a fleet, did infinite damage to the Engliſh trade, by their privateers, which ſwarmed in the channel; and the Dartmouth ſhip of war had the misfortune to fall into their hands.

The Engliſh parliament met on the nineteenth of October, when the king explained the neceſſity of a preſent ſupply to carry on the war; deſired they would be ſpeedy in their determinations on that ſubject, as they would have the greateſt influence on the princes and ſtates concerned in the alliance againſt France, as a general meeting was appointed to be held at the Hague in the month of November. The houſes were then prorogued for four days, when they again aſſembled; and the commons taking the king's ſpeech into conſideration, unanimouſly reſolved to aſſiſt his majeſty in reducing Ireland, and joining his allies abroad, for a vigorous proſecution of the war againſt France. Accordingly they voted a ſupply of two millions, to be raiſed by a land-tax of three ſhillings in the pound, and additional duties upon coffee, tea, and chocolate. Several motions with regard to grievances having been made in the houſe of commons, the marquis of Hallifax, who thought himſelf particularly aimed at, determined to retire from court, and quit the adminiſtration. According he reſigned the privy ſeal, reconciled himſelf to the tories, and became the chief patron and protector of that party: while the whigs laboured to prevent their obtaining any preferment in the ſtate.

A. D. 1690.

William formed a reſolution of going over to Ireland in perſon to finiſh the war. Accordingly he came to the houſe of lords, on the ſeventeenth of January, declared his intention, and prorogued the parliament till the twenty-ſecond of April; but on the ſixth of February he diſſolved it, and iſſued writs for calling a new one to meet on the twenty-ſixth of March. During this ſeſſion of parliament, the bill of rights already mentioned was paſſed into a law; together with the act of ſettlement. The revenue of the princeſs of Denmark was ſettled, which had been left unfiniſhed the preceding ſeſſion. On the twentieth of March the new parliament met at Weſtminſter, and the king opened the ſeſſion by a ſpeech from the throne, in which he gave them to underſtand that he ſtill perſiſted in his reſolution of going in perſon to Ireland; deſired they would ſettle his revenue on him as they had done on his predeceſſors; or at leaſt eſtabliſh it on a fund of credit, on which he might raiſe the neceſſary ſums, for ſupplying his preſent occaſions. He told them he would ſend them an act of grace, with ſome few exceptions; being deſirous of taking from his ſubjects every ſhadow of pretence of raiſing diſturbances during his abſence. He adviſed them to avoid diſſentions; recommended to their conſideration an union with Scotland; and declared he ſhould leave the adminiſtration in the hands of the queen during his abſence; and therefore deſired they would provide an act for that purpoſe, if it was thought neceſſary. The commons proceeded to ſettle the revenue, and make it a fund of credit for the ſupplies that were ſtill wanting for the enſuing campaign. They began with voting a ſupply of one million two hundred thouſand pounds, between that time and Michaelmas. But William could not prevail on them to ſettle his revenue for life. The parliament being ſenſible how deſirous the king was to ſet out for Ireland, diſpatched the buſineſs before them with the greateſt facility; and the royal aſſent being given to ſeveral money bills, the act of indemnity, and ſome other acts of a ſimilar nature, together with a bill for inveſting the queen with the adminiſtration of the government during the king's abſence, his majeſty put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſhort ſpeech from the throne.

Every thing being ready, the king embarked on the fourth of June, at High-lake near Cheſter, and landed on the fourteenth at Carrick-Fergus, attended by prince George of Denmark, the duke of Ormond, the earls of Oxford, Scarborough and Mancheſter, and many other perſons of diſtinction. He repaired immediately to Belfaſt, where he was met by the duke of Schomberg, the prince of Wirtemberg, major general Kirke, and other principal officers. On his arrival in Ireland the whole face of affairs was immediately changed. The military operations had been for ſome time ſuſpended by the addreſs of the duke of Scomberg, who carefully avoided coming to an engagement with the enemy, before his majeſty's arrival to head his troops in perſon. James, wearied with a perpetual ſtate of uncertainty, ſeemed deſirous to determine his fate by one deciſive action. William was equally willing to put a final period to all conteſt for the crown of England. Thus determined, the two rivals, with their whole forces, moved towards each other, to decide at once the quarrel that had long divided the kingdom, and deſtroyed ſo many of the innocent inhabitants. William, after refreſhing his troops a few days at Belfaſt, marched to Liſburn, where the duke of Schomberg had fixed his head-quarters, and thence to Hilſborough, ordering the whole army to encamp at Loughbrillen. Here he reviewed his forces, and found they amounted to thirty-ſix thouſand effective men, well armed, and equipped with every particular. In the mean time, James committed the care of guarding Dublin to a body of militia, under the command of Lutterel, and joined his army, now nearly equal to the Engliſh in number, excluſive of about fifteen thouſand men, left in different garriſons. Having advanced to the banks of the river Boyne, he pitched his camp in a very advantageous ſituation. His front was defended by that deep and rapid river, a riſing ground and deep moraſs; ſo that the Engliſh could not attack him without expoſing themſelves to the moſt imminent danger. The jacobite officers therefore were very preſſing with James, not to venture an engagement; but rather reinforce his garriſons, withdraw to the Shannon, and wait the event of the naval preparations then making in France for attacking the Engliſh, and ſending ſuccours to Ireland. But James, determining to decide the conteſt by a general battle, refuſed theſe ſalutary counſels, and made the neceſſary preparations for a deciſive engagement. King William was equally prepared to receive him; but thought proper, before the battle began, to reconnoitre the ſituation of the enemy. Accordingly he advanced to the oppoſite ſide of the river, where, being ſingled out by the enemy, they brought down two field pieces by a hollow way, and planted them againſt his perſon. The firſt ſhot killed a man and two horſes cloſe by his ſide; and the ſecond rebounding from the ground, grazed his right ſhoulder, and produced a conſiderable contuſion. William did not betray the leaſt emotion on this occaſion; but after cauſing his wound to be bound up, he remounted his horſe, and kept on his former pace, only ſaying, "There was no neceſſity for the bullet to come nearer." This accident, however, though of no great moment in itſelf, occaſioned ſome confuſion among his majeſty's attendants; which being obſerved by the enemy, and they no longer ſeeing the king on horſeback, concluded that their balls had effected the intended purpoſe, and that William was killed. They therefore gave a general ſhout, which was echoed through the camp. The news was even ſpread to Dublin, whence it was ſent to Paris, where, contrary to the cuſtom of the French court, the people were ſuffered to expreſs their joy by bonfires and illuminations. When the ſlight wound he had received was dreſſed, the king returned to ſhew himſelf to his army, in order to quiet their apprehenſions. About nine o'clock at night, William called a council of war, and declared his intention of croſſing the river, and giving battle to the enemy. Schomberg ſtrongly oppoſed this meaſure; but the king being abſolutely determined, his plan was adopted by the majority of the council. Schomberg therefore acquieſced, and propoſed that part of the army, horſe and foot, ſhould be ſent that night to Slane-bridge in order to paſs the Boyne, and poſt themſelves between the enemy and the paſs at Duleck. This advice, which if purſued muſt have aſſured the Engliſh of ſucceſs, was objected to, and over-ruled by the Dutch officers; at which the duke was ſo diſguſted that he retired to his tent, whither the order of battle, after being ſettled in the council, was ſent to him. This he conſidered as an additional affront: but the reſpect he owed his ſovereign, kept him from complaining. He only ſaid, with ſome marks of diſcontent, that it was the firſt order of that kind he had ever received. It was reſolved, that next morning lieutenant-general Douglas, with the right wing of the infantry, and Munhardt, count Schomberg, the duke's ſon, ſhould paſs the river at Slane-bridge, in order to poſt themſelves between the enemy's camp and Drogheda; while a body of foot were to force a paſſage over the ford at Old bridge. A council of war was alſo called by James, where it was propoſed by lieutenant-general Hamilton, to ſend a ſtrong party of dragoons to take poſſeſſion of a ford, a little below the town of Drogheda, the ſecuring of which was of the greateſt importance. James, however, by an obſtinate perverſeneſs, would have only ſixty dragoons on that ſervice. The cannonade, which had continued pretty warmly ever ſince the two armies had come in ſight of each other, ceaſed towards the cloſe of the evening. William rode through the whole army by torch light, and retired to his tent, after having given the neceſſary orders for the proper diſpoſitions, and directed his ſoldiers to wear green boughs in their hats during the enſuing action, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe of the enemy, who wore in theirs, pieces of white paper. Near ſix the next morning, being the firſt of July, general Douglas, with young Schomberg, the earl of Portland, and Overkirk, marched to Slane-bridge,



Grainger inv.t et sculp.

The famous BATTLE of the BOYNE in Ireland,
in which WILLIAM III commanded in person against JAMES II
(and the Gallant Duke Schomberg was slain).

BRITISH
[illegible]
NATURAL

bridge, and paſſed the river with very little oppoſition. On their gaining the oppoſite bank, they perceived a conſiderable body of the enemy, formed into two lines behind a deep moraſs, which ſecured their front. Douglas, on reconnoitring their diſpoſition, thought it adviſable to halt for the coming up of a freſh reinforcement, which he knew were on their march to join him; and on their arrival, he ordered the infantry to move towards the moraſs between them and the enemy, while count Schomberg with his cavalry, who could not poſſibly march that way, was ſent round it in order to attack the Iriſh in flank. The enemy no ſooner perceived the motions made by the Engliſh, than they wheeled about, and retreated towards the paſs of Duleck; but being cloſely purſued by the cavalry under young Schomberg, numbers of them were cut to pieces in their retreat, or rather flight. In the mean time William, who was ignorant of what had paſſed between this part of the army and the enemy, but ſuppoſed that his men had, by this time, effected their paſſage over the river, ordered his main body, compoſed of the Dutch guards, the French proteſtant regiment, the Inniſkilling foot, and four battalions of Engliſh, to paſs the river at the Old bridge ford, and attack the enemy. They accordingly forded the river, though the waters were breaſt high; and having gained the oppoſite bank, notwithſtanding a body of muſqueteers ſent to oppoſe them, they drew up into files, and attacked the Iriſh with ſuch fury, that unable to ſupport the charge, they abandoned their intrenchments and retreated. James had imprudently removed his artillery from the bank of the river, which greatly facilitated the landing of the Engliſh; but before all the battalions could form, they were charged with great impetuoſity by general Hamilton, at the head of a conſiderable body of horſe and foot, and the diſpute was, for ſome time, very obſtinate. At laſt the Iriſh foot, who that day behaved very ill, gave way, leaving their horſe to ſuſtain the whole fury of the combat. In the firſt attack, La Caillemote, the friend and inſeparable companion of the intrepid duke Schomberg, received a mortal wound, at the head of the French proteſtants; and, as he was carrying back by four ſoldiers to the Engliſh camp, he encouraged his countrymen, who were ſtill croſſing the river, by calling out to them, " To glory, my good lads, to glory." Schomberg paſſed the ſtream with ſo much hurry, that he could not be perſuaded to put on his arms. Having reached the oppoſite bank, he rode full ſpeed to the French proteſtants, and after putting himſelf at their head, called out, by way of animating them, " Follow me, gentlemen: theſe are your perſecutors:" pointing, at the ſame time, to the French papiſts in the enemy's army. Theſe words were hardly pronounced, when the duke found himſelf ſuddenly attacked by a party of James's guards, who, after being routed, were returning on a full gallop to the main body of their army. The French refugees miſtaking them for ſome of their own troops, ſuffered them to paſs; when ſome of them riding up to the duke, ſurrounded him, and gave him two deſperate wounds on the head. Perceiving their error, and eager to ſave their general, the French proteſtants made ſuch an indiſcreet fire, that they ſhot the duke dead upon the ſpot. The ſmall part of the enemy's guards were immediately cut to pieces; but this was a poor recompence for the loſs of ſo conſummate a general, who thus fell in the field of honour, at the age of eighty-two, crowned with military glory. At the ſame time this accident ſo diſconcerted the Engliſh troops, that they ſeemed for a time to have loſt all their courage; their arms continued inactive; they gave ground apace; while the enemy, elated with this advantage, recovered freſh ſpirits, and returned to the charge with an order that ſeemed to inſure them the victory. They were juſt ready to fall upon the center, when William, who during the whole of the action might be ſaid to be every where, directing the whole by his conduct, paſſed the river at this critical juncture at the head of the left wing, conſiſting of the Daniſh, Dutch, and Inniſkilling horſe, and advanced on a full trot to attack the enemy on their right, who were by this time within muſquet ſhot of the center of the Engliſh infantry. The ſight of William advancing in that regular and undaunted manner to attack them in flank, ſo diſconcerted the Iriſh, that they made a ſudden halt, faced about, and retired to a ſmall village called Dunmore, about half a mile from the paſs, where they made ſo vigorous a ſtand, that the Dutch and Daniſh horſe, though headed by the king in perſon, unable to ſuſtain their terrible fire, gave way; and even the Inniſkillingers themſelves ſhewed a backwardneſs to advance. Shocked at this timidity, William rode up to the latter, and aſked, in a ſharp tone, if this was the behaviour he ought to expect from them. Stung by this reproach, and being acquainted that it was his majeſty that now headed them, they inſtantly reſumed their wonted courage, and returned to the charge with redoubled vigour. At the ſame time the Dutch horſe, rallying their ſeparated men, returned to the charge; and the enemy, after an hour's bloody conflict, were beaten back with conſiderable loſs. In this action, lieutenant-general Hamilton, who had been the principal ſupport of the Iriſh during the whole engagement, was taken priſoner. This accident ſo diſpirited them, that they abandoned the field with great precipitation; but the French and Swiſs guards retreated in good order, William not thinking it prudent to puſh the purſuit beyond the field of battle. In the mean time young Schomberg, having been informed of his father's death, was inſpired with ſo much ardour to revenge his fate, that nothing could oppoſe the fury of his arm. Animated at once with a juſt reſentment, and a noble thirſt for honour, he drove the enemy ſeveral times beyond the village of Duleck, ſtrewing the ground with their dead bodies. Nor could any thing reſtrain his fury, till he received poſitive orders from the king to put a ſtop to the ſlaughter, and return to the ſpot where the foot had halted, and where they continued under arms during the night.

Thus ended the famous battle of the Boyne, in which the loſs of James amounted to about fifteen hundred men, among whom were the lords Dongan and Carlingford; Sir Neal O'Neal, the marquis of d'Hocquincourt; beſides ſeveral priſoners, the chief of whom was lieutenant-general Hamilton. The Engliſh loſt about five hundred men; an inconſiderable number for the acquiſition of ſo important a battle, had not the famous duke Schomberg, the moſt conſummate general in Europe, been one of the number. William himſelf had nearly ſuffered the ſame fate; for a cannon ball carried away part of his boot. All hiſtorians unite in giving William the higheſt praiſe for the admirable conduct, courage, reſolution, and preſence of mind he diſplayed, during the whole courſe of this memorable action. On the ſucceſs of this, every thing dear to James as a king, or a man of honour, depended; yet he remained an idle ſpectator during the whole engagement, with a few ſquadrons of horſe on the hill of Dunmore, till the count de Lauzun, after the retreat of the French and Swiſs guards, came up to him, and, repreſenting the danger of his being ſurrounded, deſired him to think of a retreat. This advice was readily followed; James went firſt to Dublin, where he reſigned all his authority in that city, and next to

Waterford. James having unguardedly ſaid, while he haſtened through Dublin, that he would never more truſt his fate to an Iriſh army, his ſoldiers, upon hearing it, exclaimed, that complaints of cowardice came ill from the mouth of one, who had been the firſt to fly from the battle, and the only perſon, not of foreign birth, who had fled from the kingdom; and that if the Engliſh would change kings with them, they would fight the battle over again. The day after the battle, William made himſelf maſter of Drogheda, and a few days after entered Dublin. But the puſillanimous James embarked on board a veſſel, which he had ordered to be kept in readineſs for him; and arriving ſafely in France, fixed his reſidence at St. Germains.

In the abſence of the king, Mary found that ſhe ſtood in need of all her prudence and authority; and ſhe behaved with a reſolution very uncommon to her ſex. Advice having been received that a French fleet was ready at Breſt for making a deſcent on the Engliſh coaſt, admiral Herbert, earl of Torrington, who lay in the Downs, had orders to ſail directly for Portſmouth, and go in queſt of the enemy. The admiral ſailed immediately to St. Helen's: but while he lay there, advice arrived from Weymouth that the French fleet, conſiſting of ſeventy-eight ſhips of the line and two fire-ſhips, had entered the Engliſh channel. Torrington, though joined by a Dutch ſquadron, did not think himſelf ſtrong enough to give the French battle, as the whole of the combined fleet did not amount to more than fifty-ſix ſail. But having received expreſs orders from the queen to hazard an engagement at all events, he immediately put to ſea with the combined fleet in order to intercept the enemy, ſhould they attempt to ſail up the channel. On the thirtieth of June the two fleets engaged near Beachy-head. The Dutch ſquadron, which compoſed the van, began the engagement, about nine in the morning: but their courage exceeded their prudence; and they advanced too far out of the line. The blue ſquadron of the Engliſh alſo engaged with great bravery; but Torrington kept his ſtation, and continued to fight at a diſtance. The French obſerving that the Dutch had advanced far out of the line, collected all their force and totally ſurrounded them. The Dutch exerted their uſual valour; but the enemy being ſo far ſuperior in number, they muſt undoubtedly have fallen a ſacrifice to their raſhneſs, had not their admiral Callenbourgh ordered them to drop their anchors without lowering their ſails, there being then but very little wind. This ſtratagem had the deſired effect. The French, having no ſuſpicion of the deception, were hurried away by the tide, while the others lay ſtill. By which means the Dutch were ſoon out of danger, after having loſt Dick and Brackel, their two rear-admirals, and being obliged to ſink ſeveral of their ſhips, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. In this action the Engliſh loſt two ſhips, two captains, and about four hundred men. The Engliſh admiral retreated, without much oppoſition, to the mouth of the Thames; while the French, after ſtaying about five weeks in the channel, inſulted our coaſts, and burnt the ſmall town of Tinmouth in Devonſhire, with ſeveral merchant ſhips, and then retired to their own ports. Torrington, on his arrival, was ſent for immediately up to London, when he was deprived of his command, and ſent priſoner to the Tower.

Notwithſtanding this untoward event, the queen had the pleaſure of finding her wiſe meaſures approved by the majority of the nation; and of receiving addreſſes from the city of London, and many other reſpectable corporations and counties in the kingdom, all declaring unanimouſly, that they would ſpend the laſt drop of their blood in defending her, her royal conſort, and the preſent government. At the ſame time, the agitations of the people were greatly leſſened by the news of the complete victory gained by his majeſty on the banks of the Boyne. The friends of the revolution, after the late defeat at ſea, enjoyed, in their turns, the pleaſure of ſeeing the mortification of their adverſaries.

William, having received letters from the queen and council, informing him that his victory at the Boyne had produced the moſt ſalutary effects, determined to continue in Ireland ſome time longer. He now undertook the ſiege of Limeric, a town ſtrongly fortified, and defended by the principal part of James's army. General Douglas, who had in vain purſued them, and made an unſucceſsful attempt upon Athlone, joined the king; and on the twenty-ſeventh of Auguſt, the tenth day after the trenches were opened, he ordered a general ſtorm at a breach twelve yards wide. The troops advanced boldly, carried the counterſcarp, mounted the breach, and ſome of them entered the town; but the inhabitants animating the garriſon, and more troops pouring into the town from the country, after a diſpute of three hours, the king was obliged to deſiſt, with the loſs of five hundred of his Engliſh troops killed, and upwards of a thouſand foreigners.

William, having put his army into winter-quarters, embarked at Waterford with prince George of Denmark, and on the ſixth of September landed at Pill near Briſtol. He immediately ſet out for Windſor, where he was received by the queen and his ſubjects with the higheſt expreſſions of joy. Towards the latter end of this month, the earl of Marlborough, with five thouſand Engliſh troops, diſembarked in the neighbourhood of Cork, and he was joined by the duke of Wirtemberg. The object of theſe forces was the inveſtment of Cork and Kinſale. Preparations were made for beſieging Cork; and the trenches being opened, the batteries played with ſuch fury, that a breach was effected in a very ſhort time. Colonel Mackillicut, governor of Cork, demanding a parley, hoſtages were exchanged; but as he rejected the propoſitions of the Engliſh general, hoſtilities were renewed with additional fury; and in one of the attacks, the duke of Grafton, a young nobleman diſtinguiſhed by his intrepidity, and many other qualifications, who ſerved as a volunteer under Marlborough, was mortally wounded. But upon the Engliſh general making preparations for a general aſſault, the garriſon of Cork ſurrendered; and after taking poſſeſſion of the place, the earl detached brigadier Villiers with a party of horſe and dragoons, to ſummon the town and forts of Kinſale to ſurrender; and he followed the brigadier at the head of the remaining part of his army. The old fort was immediately taken by ſtorm; but the other, which was under the command of Sir Edward Scot, ſuſtained a ſiege for the ſpace of ten days, at the expiration of which time Sir Edward capitulated on honourable conditions. The reduction of theſe maritime places, intercepted all communication between that quarter of Ireland and France. The earl of Marlborough having atchieved theſe important enterprizes in the ſpace of thirty days, he embarked with his priſoners for England, where he received the congratulations of the public on occaſion of the rapid ſucceſs of his expedition. On the other hand, count Lauzun, commander of the French troops, remained in a ſtate of total inactivity in the neighbourhood of Galway; and he tranſmitted to the court of France ſuch deplorable accounts of his ſituation, that tranſports were ſent to convey his troops home.

Lauzun embarking with them, left the command of the Iriſh troops to the duke of Berwick, who was ſome time after ſucceeded by Mr. St. Ruth. Upon the arrival of Lauzun at Verſailles, he was diſgraced for having neglected to act in conjunction with the Iriſh troops. Tyrconnel, who had accompanied him in his voyage, applied to the court of France for a ſupply of officers, arms, ammunition, cloaths, and accoutrements; urging, that if his requeſt was complied with, the Iriſh army would continue reſolutely to ſupport the cauſe of James. In the mean time, the Iriſh troops formed themſelves into parties of free-booters, and under the denomination of Rapparees, committed great devaſtations in the country. Thus were the miſerable people of Ireland harraſſed and diſtreſſed in a manner that will ſcarcely admit of deſcription.

When the parliament met on the ſecond day of October, his majeſty's ſpeech imported, that he had exerted his utmoſt endeavours for reducing the Iriſh to obedience; that his troops had highly merited his approbation; that much injury would reſult to the nation on account of the war not having been proſecuted with ſufficient vigour; that the ſupplies had not been adequate to the unavoidable expences of the nation; that without unanimity in the councils of the kingdom, ſucceſs was not to be expected; and that theſe important ſubjects would be only diſregarded by the enemies of their king and country. The rumour of a conſpiracy among the Jacobites; the late attempt of the French to land on the coaſt of England; the ſingular intrepidity that the king had manifeſted in Ireland; and the puſillanimity of James, contributed to animate the reſentment of the nation againſt the adherents to the abdicated monarch. The houſes of parliament therefore preſented addreſſes reſpectively to the king and queen, extolling his bravery and prudence in war, and her wiſdom and fortitude in the adminiſtration of government, amidſt all the dangers that prevailed during the abſence of her conſort. The commons voted a ſupply of four millions for the ſupport of the army and navy. On the fifteenth of January the parliament was adjourned to the thirty-firſt of March.

A. D. 1691. On the ſixteenth the king, attended by a numerous retinue, embarked at Graveſend, and ſailed for Holland under a convoy of twelve ſhips of war, commanded by admiral Rooke. On the following day, being informed by a fiſherman that he was within a league and a half of Goree, his majeſty quitted his yacht, and went into an open boat, being accompanied by the duke of Ormond and ſeveral others of the nobility, with a deſign of landing immediately. However, they were unable to reach the ſhore; and, night coming on, they loſt ſight of the fleet. The ſea ran ſo high, that his majeſty and all his attendants were ſeveral times covered by the waves: for eighteen hours they were expoſed to the inclemency of the contending elements, and the danger of being taken by the enemy. Upon hearing ſome of the ſailors expreſs their apprehenſions, his majeſty exclaimed, "What, are you afraid to die in my company?" At day-break the king landed upon the iſland of Goree; and having received ſome refreſhment he returned to the boat, and in the afternoon arrived in the neighbourhood of Maeſland-ſluice. He was met at Hounſlar-dyke by a deputation of the States; and about ſix in the evening he reached the Hague, where he received the congratulations of the States-general, the States of Holland, the council of ſtate, the colleges, and all the foreign miniſters. At the interceſſion of the magiſtrates, the king made a moſt magnificent public entry; and his arrival was celebrated by illuminations, bonfires, and other demonſtrations of joy. The confederates againſt the court of France having reſolved upon holding a ſolemn congreſs at the Hague, king William attended that auguſt aſſembly; to whom he repreſented the dangers to which the ſeveral princes and ſtates were expoſed from the growing power and exorbitant ambition of France; he declared that he would neither ſpare his credit, his troops, or his perſon, in concurring with ſuch meaſures as they ſhould deem expedient; and ſtrongly enforced the neceſſity of acting with vigour and diſpatch; concluding with an aſſurance that, in the ſpring, he would come at the head of his forces to fulfil his engagements. The former delay in their councils, and the jarring of their particular intereſts, had given great advantage to the common enemy; but the addreſs of king William animated them to a perfect unanimity of ſentiment, and their plan of operations was ſpeedily concluded, according to which two hundred and twenty-two thouſand men were to act againſt France the enſuing campaign. Soon after the king embarked for England, where he arrived in the month of April. He next turned his attention to the intended campaign in Ireland, the plan of operations for which being adjuſted, his majeſty returned to Holland, and prepared to take the field.

Luxemburgh acted with ſuch caution, as to prevent the allied army taking any advantage of him, though their numbers were greatly ſuperior to his own. The king, finding that he could not bring the enemy to an engagement, gave the command of the army to prince Waldeck; and then returning to the Hague embarked for England, where he landed in October, by which time the war in Ireland was almoſt at an end, though the French had juſt ſent the catholics a ſupply of ammunition, cloaths, and proviſions, under the command of M. St. Ruth, a brave and experienced general. On the other hand, general Ginckle, who commanded the Engliſh forces, took the field, and inveſted the town of Ballymore, which was defended by a thouſand men under colonel Bourke. The batteries ſoon made a large breach in the walls of a place of no great ſtrength, ſo that nothing remained but to give a general aſſault. But the garriſon ſaved the Engliſh that trouble, by ſubmitting at diſcretion. Seven hundred and eighty men, beſides four field officers, and near three hundred of the rapparees, or Iriſh free-booters, were made priſoners of war. Ginckle, after putting the place in a poſture of defence, marched to Ballymore paſs, where he was joined by the prince of Wirtemberg. Thus reinforced, it was determined to advance towards Athlone, a town ſituated on the other ſide of the Shannon, and defended by the French and Iriſh army, encamped in its neighbourhood. The Engliſh town, ſituated on this ſide of the river, was taken in two days: many of the Iriſh were ſlain in the attack; and more of them periſhed by falling into the river, in their haſty retreat over the bridge to the Old town. Thus puſhed on by ſucceſs, batteries were erected againſt the Iriſh town, and did ſuch execution, that the caſtle and other ſtrong places were ſoon reduced to heaps of ruins. The garriſon, however, made ſo ſtout a reſiſtance, that the Engliſh general thought proper to call a council of war, to conſider whether it was adviſable to continue the attack, or abandon the ſiege. The duke of Wirtemberg, the generals Mackay, Talmarſh, Ravigny, and Tettreau, declared themſelves ſtrongly for continuing the ſiege; and propoſed to paſs the Shannon in order to attack the enemy, offering to conduct the attempt in perſon. Their opinions prevailed, and a detachment was ſent to paſs the ſtream, at a ford a little below the town. The river was deep and rapid, the bottom ſlippery and full of large ſtones, and the paſs defended by a battery erected for that purpoſe: but notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties, the Engliſh troops, whoſe courage and intrepidity always increaſe with dangers and difficulties, regardleſs of every thing but glory, threw themſelves into the Shannon, and paſſed the river through the thickeſt of the enemy's fire. Having reached the oppoſite bank, they threw in their hand grenades, and then diſcharged ſuch a volley of ſmall ſhot, that the enemy, unable to ſuſtain the charge, abandoned their works. In the mean time, a reinforcement was ſent to this brave detachment, and the Engliſh, in leſs than an hour, made themſelves maſters of the town, with the loſs of about fifty men. The French general, from a propenſity to that vanity and preſumption ſo common to his contrymen, treated the attempt of the Engliſh to force the paſſage of the Shannon, with a contempt that did little credit to that prudence and circumſpection for which he had been hitherto diſtinguiſhed. In vain did Sarsfield, the Iriſh general, preſs him to ſend ſuccours to the town; he laughed at that officer's apprehenſions; nor was he convinced, till too late, that Engliſh courage was equal to the moſt arduous enterprize. When they had taken poſſeſſion of the town, St. Ruth ordered ſome detachments to march and drive the Engliſh from their conqueſt; but the thunder of the cannon from the ramparts, which was now turned againſt the French, ſoon convinced him of his error, and that his own ſafety depended upon a precipitate decampment. Ginckle, as ſoon as the fortifications of Athlone were repaired, marched in purſuit of the French and Iriſh army, which made a ſtand near Aghrim, a ſmall town about ten miles from Athlone. Here the French general encamped in a very advantageous ſituation; and having, by draughts from different garriſons, increaſed his army to twenty-five thouſand men, while the Engliſh, under general Ginckle, did not exceed eighteen thouſand, reſolved to hazard a general engagement. Ginckle, notwithſtanding his inferiority in numbers, reſolved alſo to fight the enemy. The morning for the attack proved ſo foggy, that it was obliged to be poſtponed till noon, when the Engliſh croſſed the river Suc, oppoſite the enemy's camp. The center of the French and Iriſh was poſted on a riſing ground, uneven in many places, and interſected with banks and ditches, lined with infantry, and ſecured in front by a large bog, almoſt impaſſable: their right was defended by entrenchments, and two Daniſh forts; and their left by the caſtle of Aghrim. When the Engliſh had effected their landing, they marched up to the edge of the great bog, and endeavoured to force the only two places by which it was paſſable, in order to gain the ground on the other ſide. The enemy made a very furious reſiſtance, and repulſed the Engliſh horſe ſeveral times; but at laſt, the troops on the right ſucceeded in their attempt by means of ſome field pieces properly placed, and excellently ſerved. So much time, however, was unavoidably ſpent in theſe manœuvres, that the general was deſirous of deferring the battle till the next morning; but the confuſion he obſerved in the enemy's camp, convinced him that ſomething extraordinary was in agitation, and made him apprehenſive that they intended to retreat during the night. He therefore changed his opinion, and ordered his troops to prepare for the charge. At five in the evening, the Engliſh attacked the right wing of the Iriſh, from whom they met with ſo warm a reception, that it required the utmoſt efforts of their courage and reſolution to make them give ground. The Iriſh infantry that lined the ditches, were well ſupported by the horſe poſted behind them, and maintained their poſt with the moſt intrepid obſtinacy; nor would they ſtir from one ſide of the ditch, till the Engliſh preſented the muzzles of their pieces on the other; and even then, by their lines of communication, they immediately took poſt in the next ditch, where they continued to make the ſame reſolute defence. St. Ruth perceiving that his men were in danger of being overpowered, immediately reinforced them from his center and left wing. Mackey, perceiving this motion, inſtantly ordered two regiments to march round the bog, and fall on the enemy's left wing, weakened by the late detachments; and, at the ſame time, for the center to advance through the middle of the bog, though up to the waſte in mud and water. After gaining, with unſpeakable difficulty, the other ſide, they found themſelves obliged to aſcend a rugged hill, interſected with ditches and hedges, lined with muſqueteers, ſuſtained at proper diſtances with ſquadrons of horſe; there the enemy made ſuch a reſolute ſtand, and fought with ſuch perſeverance, that they puſhed the aſſailants into the middle of the bog; which St. Ruth perceiving, cried out in a bravado, "That he now had the Engliſh at his mercy, and would drive them back to the very gates of Dublin." General Talmarſh haſtened, at this critical moment to their relief, with a freſh body of forces, and gave orders for the broken regiments to halt and face about, which orders were immediately obeyed with unparalleled alacrity and reſolution. The Engliſh now attacked in their turn the Iriſh, who had advanced upon them into the middle of the bog, with ſuch fury, that three hundred of them were killed before they could gain the firm land; and marching forward gained the old ſpot, from whence they had been precipitately driven. In the interim, Ravigny's regiment of French proteſtant horſe, and Sir John Lanier's, being poſted on the right, moved to the left, and did the utmoſt ſervice. The Engliſh cavalry was likewiſe expoſed to a dreadful fire from the enemy's dragoons poſted under a cover, and obliged to preſs through a very dangerous paſs; but all theſe difficulties were not ſufficient to repreſs their ardour: they ſurmounted every difficulty, and at laſt lodged themſelves in a dry ditch in the hotteſt of the enemy's fire from Aghrim caſtle, and ſome old walls and houſes adjoining. At this time the battle ſeemed doubtful; but major-general Mackey, having timely reinforced the left wing with a body of horſe and dragoons, at laſt turned the balance in favour of the Engliſh. Ravigny, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his diligence, courage, and activity during the whole action, putting himſelf at the head of his own regiment of horſe, ſcoured the ſide of the bog, bearing down all before him. St. Ruth perceiving the execution of this body of horſe, determined to attack Ravigny in a hollow way, through which he knew he muſt paſs in his return to ſuſtain the center. Accordingly, he ordered a brigade of his own horſe from the right wing to march to the left; and putting himſelf at their head, began to deſcend the hill towards the place which he ſaw the Engliſh endeavouring to paſs. When he came near the ſpot where the hotteſt part of the battle was fought, he was killed by a cannon ball. This incident decided the fate of the day. The French and Iriſh were ſo much diſcouraged by the death of their general, that Sarsfield, who was ſecond in command, endeavoured, in vain, to recover them from their diſorder. Ravigny, obſerving their confuſion, preſſed boldly forward, and falling upon them ſword in hand, drove them, with very little reſiſtance, to the top of the hill, where they had at firſt pitched their camp: but their whole line giving way at once, they threw down their arms, and betook themſelves to flight. The Engliſh purſued them cloſely for three miles, and made a moſt dreadful ſlaughter: but night coming on, attended with a thick miſty rain, prevented the Engliſh from cutting off the fugitives from taking ſhelter in an advantageous poſt between them and Loughbreak. It was, however, computed, that no leſs than ſeven thouſand of the Iriſh fell in the action; while the Engliſh loſt no more than ſix hundred killed, and nine hundred and ſixty wounded. Ginckle having allowed a few days for the refreſhment of his troops, marched to Galway, one of the moſt conſiderable places left in the hands of the Iriſh; and immediately ſummoned the lord Dillon, the governor, to ſurrender the place. He, at firſt, refuſed to comply; but ſeeing part of the Engliſh army paſs the river, and ſeize a fort the Iriſh were rebuilding, he changed his reſolution, and ſurrendered the place on advantageous terms; the garriſon being ſafely conducted to Limerick.

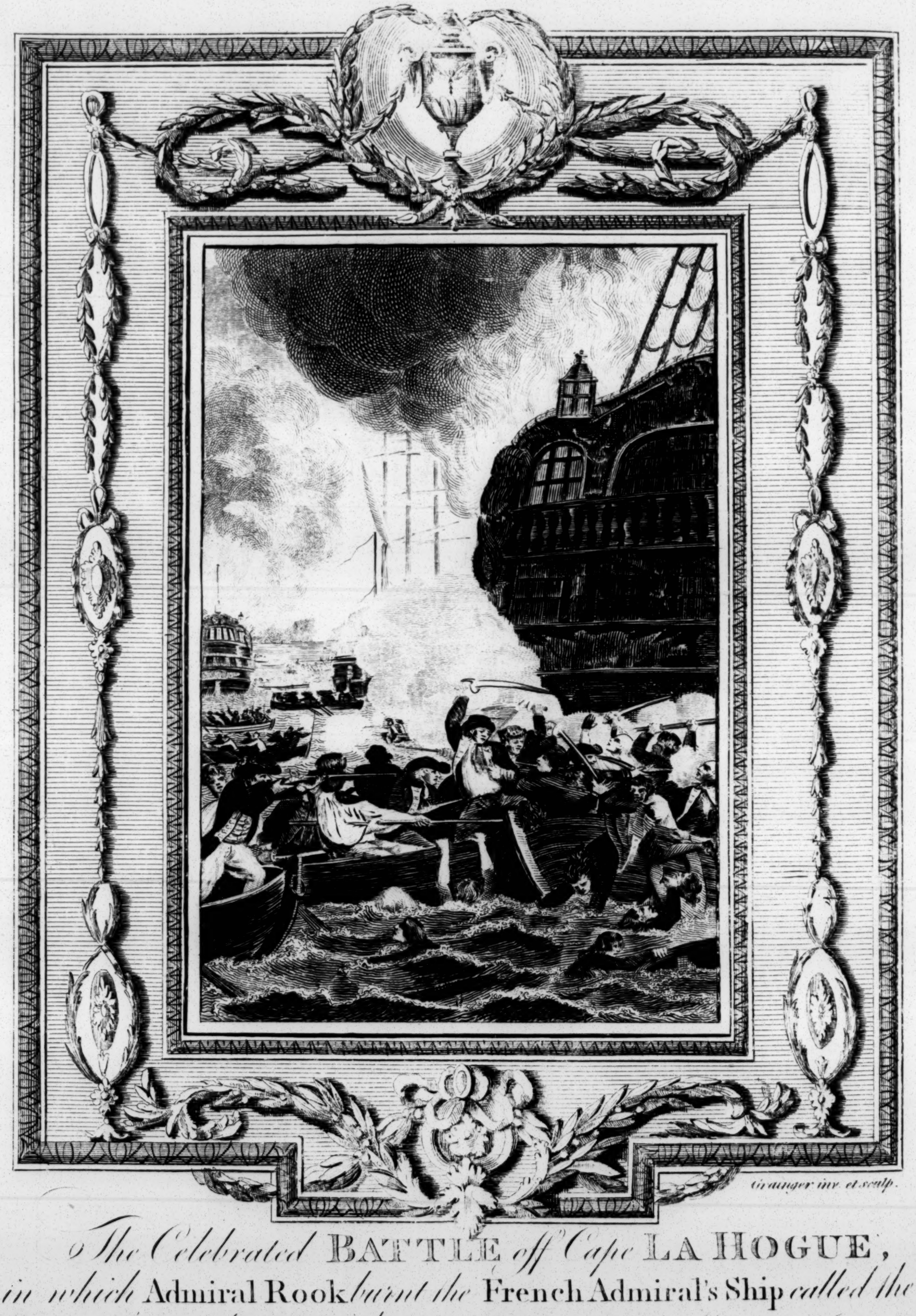
This laſt reſcource of the deſpairing Iriſh, was inveſted by general Ginckle on the twenty-fifth of Auguſt. The next day the Engliſh made themſelves maſters of Ireton's and Cromwell's forts, now called Mackey's and Naſſau's, from their being taken by theſe commanders. Two days after, Caſtle Connel, and Caſtle Garrick, two ſmall forts ſtanding on the Shannon a few miles below the town, were taken, and the garriſons of both made priſoners of war. Theſe forts being taken, the batteries againſt the town were opened, and the attack carried on with the utmoſt vigour till the ſeventeenth of September. But the reſiſtance of the enemy was ſo obſtinate, and the place ſo well fortified, that a council of war was held in the Engliſh camp, to conſider whether it would not be more eligible to paſs the river, and cut off the enemy's forage and proviſions, and turn the ſiege into a blockade, than to hazard the lives of ſo many brave men in fruitleſs attacks. The former expedient was preferred, and ſome ſteps taken for putting it in practice. This inſpired the Iriſh with the moſt flattering hopes, taking it for granted from perceiving theſe motions in the Engliſh camp, that they were preparing to raiſe the ſiege. But theſe flattering appearances were of ſhort duration; for on a ſecond conſultation of the Engliſh, it was reſolved to preſs the ſiege, and, at all events, make themſelves maſters of the town. Accordingly, the Engliſh, on the night of the eighteenth, threw a bridge over the river, about a mile above the camp, and a ſtrong party of horſe and foot were ſent over it. This ſudden movement ſtruck the enemy who guarded the oppoſite ſide of the river with ſuch a panic, that they threw down their arms and ſought their ſafety in flight. On the twenty-ſecond, general Ginckle himſelf paſſed the Shannon, at the head of a ſtrong party of horſe, and dragoons, ten battalions of foot, and fourteen pieces of cannon; leaving Wirtemberg, Mackey, and Talmarſh, to command the troops on the hither ſide of the Shannon. Theſe meaſures being taken, the ſiege was preſſed with redoubled vigour, and the batteries played againſt the town with great fury. In a few days, the Engliſh made themſelves maſters of ſeveral out-forts, and made a lodgment at the foot of Thomond bridge; the Iriſh finding themſelves cut off from all hopes of relief, determined to capitulate, which they according did on the twenty-ninth of September. By theſe articles, called the treaty of Limerick, the Iriſh were indemnified and reſtored to the enjoyment of the exerciſe of their religion, which they poſſeſſed in the reign of Charles II. They were admitted to all the privileges of ſubjects, on their taking the oaths of allegiance, without being obliged to take the oath of ſupremacy; and not only the French, but as many of the Iriſh as choſe to go over to France, had free liberty to follow their inclinations. On the other hand, Limerick, and all other towns, forts, and caſtles, which yet remained in the hands of the catholics, were to be delivered up within a limited time. Accordingly, the place was put into the hands of the Engliſh on the fifth; the French and many of the Iriſh were ſent away in tranſport veſſels; while the remainder of the army in the field ſubmitted to be included in the amneſty. By this train of ſucceſſes, Ireland was entirely ſubjected to the crown of England, and a ſolid peace eſtabliſhed between the two kingdoms, which has ſubſiſted to the preſent time without the leaſt interruption. On Ginckle's return to England, he was received with the higheſt applauſe, and, together with all his general officers, elegantly entertained by the city of London. The commons alſo, at the meeting of parliament, preſented to the general, as a token of the important ſervices he had performed for the ſtate, the thanks of their houſe. Soon after his majeſty created him earl of Athlone, and baron of Aghrim, that he might convey to his poſterity the honour of his glorious atchievements. At the ſame time to enable him to ſupport his new dignities, he was preſented with lands in Ireland to a very large amount.

A few days after the nineteenth of October, both houſes of parliament met for the diſpatch of buſineſs. The ſeſſion was opened by a ſpeech from the throne, wherein his majeſty told the two houſes, that he hoped the ſucceſs his forces had met with in Ireland, would be a great encouragement to them to aſſiſt them with freſh ſupplies: he recommended to them the neceſſity of keeping a ſtrong fleet at ſea, and an army of ſixty-five thouſand land forces, that they might annoy the enemy in the moſt ſenſible part; adding, that they had now an opportunity of eſtabliſhing the future quiet and proſperity of the nation; and which, if now loſt, might never more be recovered. Both houſes preſented addreſſes of congratulation to the king on his happy return, and alſo on the ſucceſs of his arms in Ireland; promiſing to aſſiſt him in carrying on a vigorous war againſt France, in order to procure an honourable peace for his own dominions, and ſecure his friends from the ambitious deſigns of the common oppreſſor. A proclamation was alſo publiſhed for a public thankſgiving on the twenty-ſixth of November. Addreſſes were alſo preſented to the queen, acknowledging her prudent care in the adminiſtration of affairs during the king's abſence.

Notwithſtanding all theſe expreſſions of gratitude, it ſoon appeared, that a ſtrong party was formed by the tories againſt the government, who could not approve of the maxims or conduct of the king. They inveighed both in public and private againſt the folly and extravagance of keeping on foot a ſtanding army; they inſiſted that England ought only to aſſiſt the allies with a certain quota of auxiliary troops; and that the management of affairs at ſea, were chiefly to be regarded. To this the advocates of the court replied, that without the interpoſition of England, the grand alliance would never have taken place; nor could a ſtop have been put to the ſpreading conqueſts of Lewis, who would ſoon have reduced both Flanders and Holland, and conſequently have deſtroyed the commerce, and even the liberties of England. The arguments againſt continental connections were ſo well adapted to the taſte of the public, that the preſent government was, in general, greatly cenſured. Another cauſe of murmurs was the evident partiality the king ſhewed to the Dutch over the Engliſh; and it was almoſt univerſally aſſerted, that the former were the only perſons favoured and truſted, while the Engliſh were wholly overlooked. It muſt, indeed, be confeſſed, that William took too little pains to remove the general diſguſt which ſpread itſelf among both the Engliſh officers and nobility, or to gain the affections of his Britiſh ſubjects. He continued in his cloſet the greater part of the day, with one or two of his particular friends, who were his own countrymen; while the ſullen ſilence he generally obſerved when any of the Engliſh nobility were admitted to an audience, was nearly as diſguſting as an abſolute denial. The earl of Marlborough, thinking his ſervices were not ſufficiently rewarded, began to ſpeak the language of diſcontent. However the commons, on the ninth of November, voted upwards of a million and a half for the ſervice of the navy and ordinance, and above two millions for the land forces during the enſuing year; beſides the ſupplies voted the preceding ſeſſion for the civil liſt, and other contingencies; ſo that about five millions were raiſed this year. The king, on the twenty-fourth of December, came to the houſe of peers, and gave the royal aſſent to ſeveral acts; after which his majeſty made a ſpeech to both houſes, thanking them for their reſolution of ſupporting him; but preſſed them to haſten the remainder of the ſupplies, that the enemy might not take the field before him, as they had done the laſt campaign. But this diſpatch, ſo greatly deſired by the king, was retarded by ſeveral incidental affairs which engaged the attention of the houſe.

A. D. 1692. The funds for the enſuing campaign being at length ſettled, the king came to the houſe of peers on the twenty-fourth of February, and gave the royal aſſent to the money, and ſeveral other bills, after which he cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſhort ſpeech, wherein he thanked his parliament for the zeal and attachment they had ſhewn to his government, and the liberality and diſpatch with which they had provided for the neceſſities of the ſtate, and informed them of his reſolution of repairing ſpeedily to the continent. The moſt remarkable tranſaction which happened during this ſeſſion, was the diſgrace of the earl of Marlborough, whom the king cauſed to be informed by the ſecretary of ſtate, that having no farther occaſion for his ſervices, he muſt reſign all his commiſſions. His counteſs was alſo forbid the court; and the princeſs of Denmark was deſired to diſmiſs her from her family, which ſhe refuſing to comply with, it occaſioned a quarrel between her and the queen, ſoon after which her royal highneſs removed from court to Sion-houſe, which ſhe borrowed of the duke of Somerſet.

Lewis entered into a correſpondence with the jacobite party in England, by whoſe aſſiſtance he hoped to make an invaſion on the coaſt of Suſſex. With this view he drew together a great number of tranſports, and a conſiderable body of forces, both which were in perfect readineſs before our court received the leaſt intimation of it. The fleet of tranſports, which conſiſted of three hundred ſail, was amply provided with every thing neceſſary for the invaſion. Count d'Etrees, with a ſquadron of twelve men of war, was to eſcort the embarkation; while Tourville cruized in the channel with the grand fleet, which was ready to put to ſea, but detained by contrary winds. Previous to theſe preparations, James had ſent over colonel Parker, and ſome other agents of his, to inform his friends in England of his motions. Theſe perſons employed themſelves, with the utmoſt privacy, in inliſting men in the counties of York and Lancaſter, and the biſhopric of Durham. In the mean time Mr. James Fountaine, lieutenant-colonel to the lord Montgomery, and colonel Holman, were forming two regiments of horſe in London, who were to join James on his landing. But their violent zeal betrayed them; for having, from ſome ſlight cauſe, imagined that rear-admiral Carter was diſaffected to the government of king William, they opened the whole ſcheme to him. He was no ſooner poſſeſſed of this important ſecret, than he divulged it to the queen and council, who ordered him to continue the deception, which he did ſo effectually, that the credulous conſpirators gave into the ſnare, to the deſtruction of their plot and fleet. They immediately ſent an expreſs to James, to acquaint him with their having corrupted Carter; and at the ſame time ſent a liſt of the ſhips which compoſed the Engliſh fleet, and deſired that Lewis would ſend expreſs orders to Tourville to attack them before they could be joined by the Dutch ſquadron from Holland. The French king, elated with ſuch favourable appearances, commanded Tourville to put to ſea, and fall upon the Engliſh fleet, without waiting for the ſquadron under count d'Etrees. James now went to La Hogue on the coaſt of Normandy, where he held himſelf in readineſs to embark with his army. When queen Mary received intelligence of theſe proceedings, ſhe publiſhed a proclamation, requiring all papiſts to quit the cities of London and Weſtminſter; a ſecond for aſſembling both houſes of parliament; and a third for apprehending the earls of Scarſdale, Litchfield, Newburgh, Middleton, and Dunmore; the lords Griffin and Forbes; Sir John Fenwicke, Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, Sir Andrew Forreſter, and ſeveral others, who were ſuppoſed to be in James's intereſt; and on the ſixth of May, the earls of Huntingdon and Marlborough, with the lords Brudenell and Fanſhaw, were ſent to the Tower; and Mr. Edward Ridley, Mr. Knevitt, Mr. Haſtings, and Mr. Robert Ferguſon, to Newgate, on violent ſuſpicion of high treaſon in abetting and adhering to their majeſties enemies. Orders were ſent to admiral Ruſſel, then lying at St. Helen's, to haſten to ſea; and the queen in perſon reviewed the trained bands of London and Weſtminſter, amounting to about ten thouſand men. Immediately on his arrival at Holland, William had haſtened the naval preparations there with unuſual diligence, ſo that the Dutch fleet was ſoon ready to put to ſea; and thirty-ſix ſail, under admiral Allemonde, joined our fleet at St. Helen's about the middle of May, which was ſoon after further reinforced by the ſquadron under Sir Ralph Delaval from the Mediterranean, and admiral Carter from the channel. Admiral Ruſſel immediately weighed anchor, and ſteered over to the coaſt of France. On the nineteenth of May, about three o'clock in the morning, the ſcouts to the weſtward of the fleet made the ſignal for diſcovering the enemy. The admiral immediately gave orders for forming the line of battle, which by eight was in good order; the Dutch ſquadron being in the van, our red ſquadron in the center, and the blue in the rear. Tourville was aſtoniſhed at the ſight of the combined ſquadrons, and might eaſily have avoided an engagement; but having received poſitive orders to fight, he reſolved to obey them at all events, and bore down upon our fleet with great reſolution. About half an hour after eleven, Tourville, in a firſt rate ſhip called the Riſing Sun, carrying one hundred and four guns, brought to, and began the fight with admiral Ruſſel in leſs than muſket ſhot. In this poſture the French admiral continued about an hour and a half, plying his guns very briſkly; but then began to tow off in great diſorder, his rigging, ſails, and topſail-yard, being greatly damaged. The wind about noon ſhifted to the north-weſt, ſo that five of the enemy's blue ſquadron poſted themſelves two a-head and three a-ſtern of their admiral, where they continued a very briſk fire till after three. The admiral, and his two ſeconds captain Churchill and captain Aylmer, had all theſe ſhips to contend with. About four, the fog became ſo thick, that the enemy could not be ſeen; and as ſoon as it cleared up, the French admiral was diſcovered towing away to the northward. Admiral Ruſſel immediately crowded ſail after him, making



Grainger inv. et sculp.

The Celebrated BATTLE off Cape LA HOGUE, in which Admiral Rook burnt the French Admiral's Ship called the Rising Sun, with Twelve other large Men of War, May 20. 1692.

ſignals to the reſt of the fleet to chaſe. While this paſſed between the admirals, Sir Cloudeſley Shovel had got to the windward of Tourville's ſquadron, and engaged them; but the fog becoming thicker than before, they were obliged to come to an anchor; the weather ſoon after clearing up, the French followed their flying admiral, while the Engliſh purſued them with all the ſail they could ſet. Soon after the blue ſquadron of the Engliſh fell in again with the enemy, engaged them about three quarters of an hour; when the latter, after loſing four ſhips, bore away for Conquet-road. In this ſhort action, admiral Carter was mortally wounded; but on his leaving the deck, requeſted his lieutenant to fight the ſhip, as long as ſhe would ſwim.

The next day proved ſo dark and foggy, that it was eight o'clock before the Engliſh diſcovered the enemy's fleet; when a general chaſe began, the French crowding away to the weſtward. About four in the afternoon, both fleets came to an anchor near cape La Hogue.

The next morning the Engliſh reſumed the chace with all the ſucceſs they could deſire. About eleven, the French admiral ran the Riſing Sun aſhore, near Cherbourg, where ſhe was burnt, together with the Admirable, a ſhip of one hundred and two guns, the Conquerant, of eighty, and three others of leſſer force, by Sir Ralph Dalaval. Eighteen ſhips of the French fleet took ſhelter in La Hogue; where thirteen of them were burnt by admiral Rooke, who, at the ſame time deſtroyed a great many tranſports, loaded with ammunition; amidſt a terrible fire from their forts, and in ſight of king James's camp. In the mean time Sir John Aſhby, with the blue ſquadron, and ſeveral Dutch ſhips purſued the reſt of the French fleet, which endeavoured to eſcape through the race of Alderney, among ſuch rocks and ſhoals, that the Engliſh could not venture to follow them without the moſt imminent danger of being daſhed to pieces. Beſides the Riſing Sun, of one hundred and four guns, the French loſt another ſhip of one hundred and two, one of ninety, two of eighty, four of 76, four of ſixty, and two of fifty guns. Could Sir John Aſhby have come up with that part of the enemy's fleet which took ſhelter in St. Malo's, it would, in a great meaſure, have annihilated the French power at ſea. It muſt, however, be conſidered as a very ſignal victory, and has accordingly rendered the memories of the great men who atchieved it, immortal. From this period to the concluſion of the peace, the French did not any more attempt to engage the Engliſh at ſea; contenting themſelves with diſtreſſing our trade with their ſmaller ſhips and privateers.

Admiral Ruſſel having ordered Sir John Aſhby to ſcour the French coaſt as far as Havre de Grace, returned to England to refit his ſhips, none of which were loſt in the late glorious engagement, and ſupply the fleet with proviſions. The news of the fleets being come to an anchor at Spithead no ſooner arrived in London, than the queen ſent down thirty thouſand pounds to be diſtributed among the ſailors, and gold medals for the officers, to expreſs the ſenſe ſhe entertained of their courage and fidelity. She alſo gave orders that the bodies of admiral Carter and captain Haſtings of the Sandwich, the only two officers of note who loſt their lives in the engagement, to be honourably interred at the charge of the crown.

The parliament met on the fourth of November, when the king in his ſpeech to both houſes, thanked them for their laſt ſupply, congratulated them on the late victory obtained at ſea, condoled with them on the bad ſucceſs of the laſt campaign on the continent; and obſerved, that the diligence of the French in augmenting their forces, was ſo remarkable, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to have as great a force to oppoſe them. He intimated a deſign of making a deſcent upon France, and demanded large ſupplies for proſecuting the war with vigour.

Marlborough, and other noblemen, having been committed to priſon, and admitted to bail by the court of King's Bench, the peers declared their reſolution of aſſerting their violated rights. The judges were ſummoned to attend the houſe, and upon witneſſes being examined, touching the evidence againſt the commitment of the lords, who had been remanded to the Tower, a vehement debate took place; and the opinion of the judges proving unſatisfactory, the matter was referred to a committee of the whole houſe, who paſſed a reſolution, purporting, that in purſuance of the Habeas Corpus act, it was the duty of the judges, on gaol delivery, to diſcharge the priſoner on bail, if committed for high treaſon, unleſs it be made appear upon oath, that there are two witneſſes againſt the ſaid priſoner, who cannot be produced until the ſeſſions or goal delivery. A warm debate then took place, as to the manner of reſtoring the lords to liberty; and the controverſy being maintained with great vehemence, the fears of the courtiers dictated an expedient, which was productive of the deſired effect. The houſe being purpoſely adjourned to the ſeventeenth day of the month, the king releaſed the noblemen from priſon; and both houſes were made acquainted with the late proceedings. After another ſpirited debate, a formal entry was made in the journals, purporting, that the houſe being informed of his majeſty's having given orders for the diſcharge of the lords under bail in the King's Bench, no further debate on the ſubject ſhould take place. The reſentment of the peers being thus appeaſed, they proceeded to the conſideration of his majeſty's ſpeech. Having paſſed a bill for regulating trials in caſes of high treaſon, the commons preſented addreſſes to the king and queen, wherein they acknowledged the goodneſs of the Almighty in reſtoring the king to his people; congratulated his majeſty upon his happy delivery from the machinations of his enemies, profeſſed and ſecret, and aſſured him, that they would, on all occaſions, exert their utmoſt endeavours in ſupport of his government. It was hence expected, that the ſupplies would be the next matter taken under the conſideration of parliament; but the houſe, inſtead of proceeding upon this buſineſs, inſiſted upon examining the treaties, public accounts, and eſtimates, that they might be better qualified to aſſiſt his majeſty with their advice. Complaints were likewiſe made, by ſome members, reſpecting the partiality ſhewn to foreign generals, and they ſeverely animadverted on the miſconduct of count Solmes, and his behaviour at the battle of Steenkirk. After warm altercations and debates, which had more the appearance of rude obſtinacy than genuine patriotiſm, it was reſolved, that a petition ſhould be preſented to the king, praying him to appoint a native of England to the command of the Engliſh army, and to beſtow ſuch vacant commiſſions as might happen among general officers, only upon Engliſhmen. Two millions of money were then voted to diſcharge the ſubſidies of the electors of Hanover and Saxony, to defray the expences incurred by the continental war, and for the ſubſiſtence of the land forces. With reſpect to the above parliamentary complaints, the king anſwered in general terms, that whatever was amiſs ſhould be remedied.

A. D. 1693.

The king, on the fourteenth of March, put an end to the ſeſſion, during the courſe of which, lord Mohun was indicted and tried by his peers, as an accomplice in the murder of Montford, a celebrated comedian;

the marquis of Caermarthen acting as lord ſteward upon this occaſion. The judges having been conſulted, the peers proceeded to give their judgments *ſeriatim*, and Mohun was acquitted by a great majority. Admiral Ruſſel was now created treaſurer of the houſhold, but the command of the fleet was veſted in the hands of Killigrew, Delaval, and Shovel. William having viſited the fleet and fortifications of Portſmouth, giving inſtructions for annoying the enemy by ſea and land, and left the adminiſtration in the hands of the queen, embarked on the laſt day of March near Graveſend, and arrived in Holland on the third of April. Lewis had by this time taken the field, attended by madame de Maintenon, and other miniſters of pleaſure; but after having gratified his vanity, by reviewing his army, he committed the command of his forces to the duke of Luxemburg. This general, conſcious of his ſuperiority over the confederate forces, and knowing that William's army muſt be greatly weakened, reſolved to attack the king in his camp, or at leaſt to fall upon his rear in his retreat. Accordingly he made a motion towards Liege, as if he intended to inveſt that place, pitching his camp at Heidelſhaim, about ſeven leagues from that of the confederates. On the twenty-ninth of July, he began his march in four columns, and paſſed the Sare without oppoſition. The king had left his camp a few days before to relieve Huy, which the French had inveſted. But on his march he was informed that Huy had ſurrendered, and that the van of the Engliſh enemy's army was advancing towards him. William, on this intelligence, changed his march; directing his rout to the neighbourhood of Heſpen, near Landen, where he halted, to procure more certain accounts of the intention of the enemy. And being informed that the whole French army was advancing againſt him, he reſolved to keep his ground, and immediately drew up his forces in order of battle. But his diſpoſition was ſo erroneous, that Luxemburg cried out on obſerving it, "Now I believe that Waldeck is dead;" alluding to that general's known ſagacity in chuſing his ground for an engagement. Early the next morning, the French appeared on the high ground, and ſoon after deſcended in good order into the plain; though the cannon of the allied army played on them very furiouſly the whole time. About eight they attacked the villages of Lare, and Neer-winden with great impetuoſity. Luxemburgh and the princes of France, at the head of the houſhold troops, carried the latter village ſword in hand two different times; but the inſtant the marſhal turned another way, the allies recovered it. At length, the French outnumbering the confederates, preſſed on with reſiſtleſs fury, freſh men ſtill ſupplying the ranks that were broken by the well-ſerved artillery of the king's camp. The battle now increaſed and continued till near ſun-ſet, when Luxemburgh having carried the village of Neer-winden a third time, and the confederates being wearied out with the heat of the day, the enemy with great difficulty and loſs forced their camp with their horſe. William, who through the whole day ſignalized himſelf by the greateſt efforts of courage, ſeeing all loſt, and fearing he ſhould be ſurrounded by the French troops, drew off his army, and retreated in as good order as ſo preſſing a ſituation would admit. The enemy had little reaſon to boaſt of a victory ſo dearly obtained, having loſt eight thouſand common men, and two thouſand officers, either killed or mortally wounded. On the ſide of the allies twelve thouſand men were killed, the duke of Ormond, after receiving ſeveral wounds, was taken priſoner; the count de Solmes had his leg ſhot off by a cannon ball, of which he died in a few hours; and they loſt ſixty pieces of cannon and nine mortars. The French were ſo much weakened by this engagement, that they either were not able, or did not think it prudent to purſue the confederates; while William having ſent orders to the duke of Wirtemburgh to join him, and the diſperſed ſoldiers returning to their colours, the army was ſo well recruited, that in a few days the king again took the field, and offered the enemy battle, which they did not think proper to accept. Nothing remarkable happened during the remainder of this campaign, except the reduction of Charleroy, which after ſuſtaining a ſiege of twenty-ſix days, ſurrendered to the enemy on honourable terms.

The ſame ill fortune attended the Engliſh by ſea this year, as the allies by land. About the middle of May, the fleet aſſembled at St. Helen's, and were ſoon after joined by the Dutch. It was reſolved that Sir George Rooke ſhould convoy the merchant fleet going to the Mediterranean, amounting in all to above four hundred ſail, belonging to England, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Hamburgh and Flanders; but ſuch was the indolence either of the admirals or the higher powers, that this fleet did not ſail till the beginning of June; when it was agreed that the combined fleets ſhould accompany the trading veſſels fifty leagues to the weſtward of Uſhant, where they were to leave Sir George Rooke, with a ſquadron of twenty-three ſhips of war, to proceed with them to their deſtined ports. The admirals, having received no intelligence of the enemy's motions, reſolved at random to purſue a plan without conſidering the event. Admiral Rooke had no ſooner arrived off Cape St. Vincent, on the coaſt of Portugal, than he uncovered the French fleet, under the command of the counts de Tourville and d'Etrees, amounting to eighty ſail. In this exigence, a council of war being called, it was reſolved that orders ſhould be ſent to the ſmall ſhips that were near the land, and therefore not likely to keep up with the fleet, to endeavour in the night to ſlip into the neighbouring ports of Faro, St. Lucar, or Cadiz, while the admiral ſhould ſtand off to ſea with an eaſy ſail, for the protection of the reſt. About ſix in the evening the French admiral came up with the leeward and ſternmoſt ſhips of the confederate fleet; theſe were Dutch men of war, commanded by the captains Schrijver and Vander Poel, who finding it impoſſible to avoid an engagement, ſtood in for the ſhore, and therefore drew the enemy after them, which ſaved the reſt of the fleet. The Dutch captains, however, made a very obſtinate defence, and for five hours together bravely fought firſt eleven, and afterwards ſeven of the enemy's ſhips; till being at length overpowered with numbers, they were obliged to ſubmit. In the mean time admiral Rooke ſtood off all night with a freſh gale, and the next morning had the pleaſure of ſeeing fifty-four ſhips of the convoy about him. At the ſame time he diſcovered five ſail of the enemy's fleet to leeward, and one to windward; the laſt continued to follow him all the next day. On the nineteenth, the admiral made a ſignal for the captains of the men of war and merchant men to come on board his ſhip, in order to procure an account of the condition they were in, and concert proper meaſures for their ſecurity. The reſult was, the admiral bore away for the Madeiras, where he hoped to meet with a part of his ſcattered fleet, and having ſupplied himſelf with wood, water, and other neceſſaries, he ſet ſail for Ireland, and arrived on the third of Auguſt at Cork with about fifty ſail, including ſhips of war and trading veſſels. The trade of the Engliſh and Dutch ſuſtained a ſevere loſs; ſeven large Smyrna ſhips were taken, excluſive of four which were burnt or ſunk at Gibraltar: and M. Tourville and the count d'Etrees took two Dutch men of war, burnt a rich pinnace and an Engliſh man of war; they alſo took twenty-nine merchantmen, and deſtroyed about fifty more. The value of theſe ſhips and their cargoes was computed at a million ſterling: but had the French admirals exerted themſelves properly, the loſs to the confederates muſt have been four millions at leaſt. The French admiral ſtood away for Cadiz, in order to make an attempt upon that place, but found it impracticable. They then bombarded Gibraltar, where the merchants ſunk their ſhips to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. From Gibraltar they entered the Streights, and proceeded along the coaſt of Spain; burnt ſeveral Engliſh and Dutch ſhips at Malaga and Alicant; and returned to Toulon about the latter end of September.

The trade of England had, for a conſiderable time paſt, ſuffered very ſeverely from the privateers of St. Malo's. Never did one port ſend out ſo great a number of thoſe, or even acquire in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, ſo much wealth, without engaging in any branch of commerce. The ſea was covered with their ſhips from the Channel to the Mediterranean; and their very names were become a terror to the merchants of London, Amſterdam, and Cadiz. The repeated complaints of the ſufferers by this depredatory war, ſo alarmed the Engliſh government, that a reſolution was taken to deſtroy St. Malo's, the port of theſe formidable enemies to the trade of the confederates. Purſuant to this reſolution, commodore Benbow, and captain Philips a famous engineer, were appointed commanders of this expedition. Every thing being ready, they put to ſea, with a ſquadron of twelve men of war, four bomb-ketches and other veſſels, and arrived before St. Malo's on the ſixteenth of November. After bombarding the town for three days, they took the advantage of a freſh gale of wind, a ſtrong tide, and very dark weather, on the night of the nineteenth, when they ſent in a fireſhip of a partiular conſtruction, with a deſign to lay the whole town in aſhes. This would undoubtedly have been the conſequence, had not the effect been prevented by an accident; for when ſhe had arrived within piſtol ſhot of the town where they intended to have moored her, a ſudden guſt of wind drove her upon a rock, where ſhe continued immoveable. At laſt, the engineer who was on board perceiving her ſides beginning to open, and fearing ſhe might ſink, ſet fire to her. The exploſion was ſo terrible, as to ſhake the whole town like an earthquake. The inhabitants were ſtruck with ſuch conſternation, that a ſmall body of troops might have taken the place; but the miniſtry, by an effect of their uſual inattention, occaſioned, perhaps, ſomewhat worſe, had ſent out this ſquadron, without a ſingle ſoldier on board. Sir George Rooke's ſquadron was by this time arrived in England, and laid up: and with Benbow's expedition ended the naval tranſactions of this year; as little to the honour of the Engliſh as any during the whole courſe of the war. This continued ſeries of misfortunes, threw the whole nation into confuſion: every individual in the kingdom exclaimed againſt the miniſtry, and even openly accuſed them of treachery to their country. The weight of this accuſation fell chiefly on the earls of Nottingham, Killegrew, and Delaval; two of the admirals, the marquis of Caermarthen, and the earl of Rocheſter, But whether they were or not guilty of the charge is uncertain: they were at leaſt known to have been firmly attached to the late king, and not yet thoroughly reconciled to the preſent government, though they poſſeſſed ſome of the moſt lucrative and honourable poſts in the ſtate. While the Engliſh were thus repining under their loſſes, the French were ſtarving amidſt their victories. That kingdom laboured under a moſt dreadful famine, which ſwept away many thouſands, and reduced the whole nation to poverty and diſtreſs. In this alarming conjuncture, Lewis thought it incumbent on him to free his country, if poſſible, from that deſtructive war, which his own unbounded ambition had occaſioned. In order to this, he attempted to make a ſeparate peace with ſome of the allies; but as his demands were ſtill ſo exorbitant as to afford the confederates no proſpect of a juſt and honourable peace, his offers were rejected.

William returned to England the latter end of October; when his firſt care was that of ſilencing the murmurs of his people, by making a thorough change in his miniſtry. The earl of Nottingham was now laid aſide, and his place ſupplied by the earl of Shrewſbury. The command of the fleet was taken from the hands of the commiſſioners, and committed ſolely to the care of the intrepid admiral Ruſſel. In a word, the tory party were obliged to make way for their antagoniſts the whigs; thoſe only who were known to be firm friends to the revolution being continued in office. Theſe meaſures were chiefly owing to the repreſentations of the earl of Sunderland, who had acquired a conſiderable influence with his majeſty, and found means to perſuade him that the whigs only were his true friends: while the tories, under the maſk of pretended loyalty, were in their hearts, devoted to the intereſt of their late ſovereign. The parliament, on the ſeventeenth of November, met at Weſtminſter; when the ſeſſion was opened by a ſpeech from the throne, in which his majeſty took notice of ſeveral diſadvantages the allies had ſuſtained, and alſo of our own miſcarriages at ſea. The former, he obſerved, were occaſioned by the ſuperior number of the enemy, in all places; and with regard to the latter, he declared he would make them the object of a particular and ſtrict enquiry; promiſed to inflict the ſtricteſt juſtice on all who ſhould, after a fair trial, appear to have been wanting in their duty; and alſo uſe his utmoſt endeavours to appoint ſuch perſons who ſhould, for the future, conduct the naval affairs in the moſt beneficial manner. He recommended to the parliament the increaſing the Engliſh forces both by ſea and land, the allies having taken the ſame reſolution; and concluded with requeſting the commons to take ſuch early reſolutions, that their ſupplies might be effectual, and the preparations in ſuch forwardneſs, as could not fail of inſuring the ſafety and honour of the nation. The commons, in anſwer to this ſpeech, unanimouſly reſolved, "That they would ſupport their majeſties and their government, and grant a ſufficient ſupply for a vigorous proſecution of the war." But before they proceeded on that ſubject, they thought proper to make a ſtrict enquiry into the cauſes that occaſioned the miſcarriages of the fleet laſt ſummer. This enquiry took up a conſiderable ſpace of time. Great exceptions were made againſt the many delays, by which the houſe ſuſpected a train was laid to prevent the Smyrna fleet from ſailing out of the Engliſh harbours, till the French had ſufficient notice of the deſign, in order to be ready to intercept them. Our want of intelligence was much complained of; the inſtructions which the admirals who commanded the fleet had received from the cabinet-council, were conſidered as badly drawn up, and worſe executed. The orders appeared ambiguous and defective; nor had the commanders ſhewed any zeal to do any thing more than ſtrictly to obey them, which they had done with the moſt ſcrupulous attention; they had uſed no methods to procure certain intelligence concerning the French fleet, whether it was at ſea, or ſtill in Breſt harbour. Inſtead of which, they had truſted to general and uncertain reports, though a fleet of the utmoſt conſequence to the nation was intruſted to their care; nor had they failed far enough with Rooke to ſee him paſt danger. To theſe charges they anſwered; but though their reaſons were thought far from being ſufficient to juſtify the meaſures they had purſued, yet, as they had obeyed their orders, they could not be puniſhed; and accordingly a vote paſſed in their favour. On the twenty-fifth of November the commons proceeded to take into conſideration the eſtimates and ſupplies for the enſuing year, when they voted five hundred thouſand pounds to pay the arrears due to the ſeamen; two millions for the ſervice of the fleet; and two millions five hundred thouſand pounds for the army, which it was reſolved to augment to the number of eighty-three thouſand one hundred and eighty-one effective men, officers included; and there appearing a deficiency of one hundred and eighteen thouſand pounds in the late annuity act, the ſum was agreed to be made good by enlarging the time for paying in the ſum of one million, intended to be raiſed by that act; and towards raiſing the money for the maintenance of the fleet, it was agreed, that any perſon might add a ſecond life to that already named in the annuity act, upon paying in the additional ſum of thirty-five pounds per cent. and a third life for the farther ſum of twenty pounds.

A. D. 1694. In the courſe of this year the nation ſuſtained another misfortune, by the loſs of Sir Francis Wheeler, with a number of ſhips under his convoy. He had received inſtructions to eſcort the merchant ſhips bound to Turky, Spain, and Italy; to cruiſe thirty days in a certain latitude for the protection of the homeward-bound Spaniſh fleet; to leave part of his ſquadron at Cadiz, as convoy to the trade for England; to proceed with the reſt to the Mediterranean; to form a junction with the Spaniſh fleet on his return, and to act in concert with them, till he ſhould be joined by the fleet from Turky and the Streights, which he was to convoy home. In January, Sir Francis arrived at Cadiz, and leaving admiral Hopſon there, he ſailed for the Mediterranean. While he was in the Bay of Biſcay, a violent tempeſt aroſe, in which many of his ſhips were driven on ſhore or ſunk; the admiral's ſhip foundered, and all his crew, except two negroes, periſhed. The remaining part of the fleet ſuſtained ſo much damage, that they were under the neceſſity of returning to Cadiz to be refitted; and they were in a ſhort time, put into a condition that appeared formidable to the enemy. On the twenty-ſixth of April the king came to the houſe of peers, and after giving the royal aſſent to the bills that were ready, put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſhort ſpeech from the throne, in which he thanked the commons for the large ſupplies they had given him; and as the poſture of affairs rendered his preſence neceſſary abroad, he recommended to both houſes to do every thing in their power to preſerve the public peace during his abſcence. Affairs in England being ſettled, his majeſty embarked for Holland on the ſixth of May; and after a very ſhort paſſage ſafely reached the Brill, and immediately ſet out for the Hague, where, after preſiding at an aſſembly of the States he repaired to Loo, continuing there till the opening of the campaign. Lewis IV. had, in order to relieve his ſubjects from the miſeries they ſuffered, offered the Spaniards a ſeparate peace, provided they would declare the duke of Anjou, one of his grandſons, heir to their crown. But theſe overtures being rejected, Lewis propoſed to invade that kingdom by ſea and land.

William having been previouſly informed of the enemy's deſign on Barcelona, reſolved to ſend a ſtrong fleet up the Mediterranean, at once to aſſiſt the Spaniards, and prevent the French ſquadrons from coming into the ocean. By an extraordinary diſpatch, Ruſſel ſailed from St. Helen's on the third of May with the combined ſquadrons, conſiſting of fifty-two Engliſh, and forty-one Dutch ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, fireſhips, and other ſmall veſſels. On his arrival off Breſt, he found that Tourville, with his ſquadron, had already quitted that harbour; and Ruſſel determined to purſue him. But being informed by the captain of a Swediſh ſhip, that there was a fleet of merchantmen lying in a harbour near Conquet-bay, he detached captain Pritchard in the Monmouth, with the Roebuck and Reſolution fire-ſhips, to attempt the taking or deſtroying them. This ſervice Pritchard performed ſo effectually, that out of fifty-five ſail, he burnt or ſunk thirty-five, and drove the man of war which was appointed to convoy them, on the rocks, where ſhe was loſt. Admiral Ruſſel not having been able to find the Breſt fleet, returned to St. Helen's; but ſoon received orders to proceed to the Mediterranean with the principal part of his fleet. On his arrival off the rock of Liſbon, he was joined by rear-admiral Neville from Cadiz, and the Dutch vice-admirals Callemberg and Evertzen, with ſixteen ſhips of the line. By this additional reinforcement, the ſhips under his command amounted to ſixty-three. Ruſſel now made the beſt of his way to Barcelona, in order to ſave that city, together with the whole province of Catalonia, from falling into the hands of the enemy, who had by this time blocked it up both by land and ſea. On his appearing before the town, the French admirals, who were in no condition to withſtand ſo powerful a fleet, returned with great precipitation into the harbour of Toulon, and Noailles abandoned his enterprize. Thus the Spaniſh dominions were freed from the danger that threatened them by this well-timed expedition, and the French fleet blocked up cloſely in the harbour of Toulon; a circumſtance that ſufficiently confuted their boaſting aſſertions, of being in a condition to give laws to all the maritime powers of Europe.

The confederate army, commanded by the king of England in perſon, took the field, and encamped at Mont St. André. It conſiſted of thirty-one thouſand horſe and dragoons, and fifty-one thouſand foot, all veteran troops, beſides a body of ſeven thouſand men under count Thian, near Ghent. The French were not greatly inferior in numbers: but the dauphin of France, who commanded in perſon, declared that he had orders not to ſtir out of his camp, while the allies continued in theirs; ſo that theſe two powerful armies continued inactive, waiting to take ſome advantage of each other till near the end of the campaign, when William attempted to paſs the Schelde and force the enemy to a battle, but was prevented by an almoſt incredible march of the enemy, who thereby defeated the deſign formed by the allies of penetrating into French Flanders. William having in vain, by marches and counter-marches, endeavoured to bring the French to an engagement, gave orders for beſieging Huy, and the place was accordingly inveſted by count Tilly in the beginning of September; and after a defence of ten days ſurrendered to the allies, who put a ſtrong garriſon in the place. This conqueſt ſecured the biſhopric of Liege from the incurſions of the French; and the ſeaſon for putting an end to the campaign now advancing, both armies retired into winter quarters. Soon after admiral Ruſſel ſailed for the Mediterranean; the Lord Berkley, with thirty ſail of men of war and tranſports, having on board between ſix and ſeven thouſand ſoldiers under general Talmarſh, was ordered to make a deſcent at Camaret-bay near Breſt, in order to deſtroy that harbour, or, at leaſt, to render it of ſervice to the French.

The fleet having on board lord Berkley, general Talmarſh, the marquis of Caermarthen, lord Cutts, and ſeveral other experienced commanders, arrived before this place on the ſeventh of June. It was immediately repreſented to general Talmarſh by ſeveral of the officers, what diſadvantages muſt attend an attempt upon a place ſo well prepared for annoyance as well as defence, and they warmly adviſed him not to expoſe himſelf or his men. But Talmarſh, firm in his reſolution, told them, that their advice came too late; that the honour of the Engliſh nation was at ſtake, for which reaſon he muſt, and would land. The marquis of Caernarvon, with the utmoſt intrepidity now ſtood in with eight men of war, and came to an anchor very near the ſhore, in order to cover the deſcent of the troops. He ſoon found his ſhips expoſed to the fire of ſeveral batteries, which till then they had not diſcovered. But he, not at all daunted by the danger of his ſituation, returned the fire of the enemy very briſkly. Eight hundred men under the command of Talmarſh, got ſafe to ſhore; but they were no ſooner landed, than the general found the enterprize impracticable, and made a ſignal to retreat. This command came too late; for it being ebb tide, the boats ſtuck faſt upon the mud. The men were now expoſed to the fire from the batteries, by which ſix hundred of them were killed; and a ſquadron of the French coming down to the ſhore, obliged thoſe that were left alive to lay down their arms, and demand quarter. Talmarſh eſcaped to a boat, which brought him back to his ſhip; but that brave officer had received a wound in his thigh by a ball, and died before he reached England. The ſhips that covered the deſcent were now in a terrible ſituation, having loſt a great number of their men, and had moſt of their maſts and rigging cut in pieces by the batteries; notwithſtanding which the marquis, with infinite hazard and difficulty, brought them all off, a Dutch frigate of thirty guns excepted, which fell into the hands of the enemy. A council of war was now called, wherein it was reſolved to return immediately to Spithead, at which place they arrived on the fifteenth of June.

The campaign being now cloſed, and William having ſetlted the affairs of the confederacy at the Hague, embarked on the eighth of November at Helvoetſluys, and the next day landed at Margate. On the twelfth the parliament met, and the king opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, wherein he obſerved, that the deſigns of the French had been diſappointed by ſending a fleet into the Mediterranean, and this year a ſtop had been put to the progreſs of their arms; and earneſtly recommended the providing ſupplies to proſecute the war with vigour, as the only effectual means to procure an honourable peace. He reminded them, that the act for tonnage and poundage, given for the civil liſt, would expire at Chriſtmas; and hoped they would continue that revenue to the crown, and alſo take care for diſcharging the debt for the tranſport ſhips employed in the reduction of Ireland, which ſtill remained unpaid. Upon which the ſupplies, which amounted to near five millions, were granted this ſeſſion without oppoſition. In order to raiſe this ſum, the land-tax of four ſhillings in the pound was continued; the ſubſidy of tonnage and poundage renewed for five years; and certain rates and duties were impoſed upon marriages, births and burials, bachelors and widows. An act was paſſed for laying additional duties upon tea, coffee, and chocolate, towards diſcharging the debt for the tranſport ſhips; and another, impoſing duties upon glaſs wares, ſtone and earthen bottles, coals and culm. Nor did the commons, while they were thus ſhewing their loyalty to their ſovereign, forget what they looked upon as their own intereſt and that of the nation: the triennial bill was now again inſiſted on; and the king, unable to reſiſt the repeated applications of his ſubjects, or unwilling to ruffle a parliament that appeared in ſuch a favourable diſpoſition, gave the royal aſſent to this bill. It enacted, that a new parliament ſhould be ſummoned every third year; and that the preſent parliament ſhould ceaſe and determine before the firſt day of January 1696, unleſs their majeſties ſhould think proper to diſſolve it ſooner. The people expreſſed great joy on paſſing this act: for they fondly imagined that the door was now effectually ſhut againſt all thoſe methods of corruption, which had hitherto flowed from long parliaments; but they ſoon found themſelves deceived: the candidates had ſtill the ſame ends to anſwer: miniſters ſtill had ſome favourite points to carry; and as the time was now ſo greatly abridged, the latter were obliged to bid higher in order to obtain a majority.

About this period, Dr. John Tillotſon, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was ſeized with a fit of the dead palſy, in the chapel at Whitehall, and died on the twenty-ſecond of November, deeply regretted by the king and queen, and by the nation in general, who eſteemed him as a prelate poſſeſſed of every amiable quality, and engaging virtue. A ſolid judgment, a ſincere piety, an univerſal philanthrophy, diſtinguiſhed his life, and ſtrongly characterize his ſermons, which notwithſtanding the obloquy of frantic enthuſiaſts, may juſtly be conſidered as perfect models of ſacred compoſition. So generous and charitable had he been in a poſt, from which his predeceſſor Sancroft had raiſed an eſtate, that he died poor, and had not the king forgiven his firſt fruits, his creditors could not have been indemnified. He was ſucceeded in the archiepiſcopal ſee by Dr. Teniſon, biſhop of Lincoln, who was indulged with the privilege of recommending Dr. Gardner to the biſhopric from which he had been tranſlated.

The queen did not long ſurvive her favourite prelate; in about a month after his deceaſe, ſhe was ſeized with the ſmall pox, and the ſymptoms appearing dangerous, ſhe prepared herſelf for death with great compoſure. She ſpent her time in exerciſes of devotion; ſhe received the ſacrament with all the biſhops who were in attendance, and expired on the twenty-eighth of December, in the thirty-third year of her age, and in the ſixth of her reign.

The king was ſo afflicted with her death, that for ſeveral days after the melancholy event, he could neither ſee company, nor attend to the buſineſs of the ſtate. Her obſequies were performed with great magnificence; the body was attended from Whitehall to Weſtminſter-abbey, by all the judges, ſerjeants at law, the lord mayor, and aldermen of the city of London, and both houſes of parliament. The common council of London alſo came to a reſolution to erect her ſtatue, with that of the king, in the Royal Exchange. The princeſs Anne, hearing of the queen's indiſpoſition, ſent a lady of her bed-chamber, to beg the favour to be admitted to her preſence; but the requeſt was refuſed on pretence, that the phyſicians had directed, that her majeſty ſhould be kept as quiet as poſſible. However, before her death, ſhe ſent a forgiving meſſage to her ſiſter, and after her deceaſe, the earl of Sunderland effected a reconciliation between the king and the princeſs, who viſited him at Kenſington, where ſhe was received with uncommon civility. He aſſigned her St. James's palace for her reſidence, and as an additional mark of his reſpect, preſented her with the greater part of the queen's jewels. But a mutual jealouſy, and diſguſt ſubſiſted under theſe exterior appearances of friendſhip and eſteem. The king admitted her into no ſhare of buſineſs, nor did he order his miniſters to attend her, or inform her of any public tranſactions.

Convinced that his majeſty's intereſt was extremely weakened by the queen's death, both houſes of parliament attended him with the following addreſs:

“We your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal in parliament aſſembled, do with in expreſſible grief, humbly aſſure your majeſty of the deep ſenſe we have of the loſs your majeſty and the whole kingdom doth ſuſtain by the death of that excellent princeſs, our late ſovereign lady the queen; moſt humbly beſeeching your majeſty, that you would not indulge your grief on this ſad occaſion, to the prejudice of the health of your royal perſon, in whoſe preſervation, not only the welfare of your own ſubjects but all Europe is ſo much concerned. We farther beg leave, on this ſad occaſion, humbly to renew to your majeſty, the hearty and ſincere aſſurances, of our utmoſt aſſiſtance, againſt all your enemies, both at home and abroad, and of all other demonſtrations of duty and affection, that can poſſibly be paid by the moſt faithful ſubjects.”

His majeſty received this addreſs with the utmoſt pleaſure, and returned them his ſincere thanks for their kind expreſſions and aſſurances, eſpecially their tender concern for the great loſs he had ſuſtained, which he aſſured them was beyond expreſſion.

The whole nation followed the example of the two houſes, and conſolatory addreſſes were preſented to his majeſty from every part of the kingdom.

Character of Mary II. queen of England.

This amiable queen in her perſon was tall and well proportioned, with an oval viſage, lively eyes, agreable features, a mild aſpect, and a natural majeſtic mein, that commanded reſpect, adorned with an affable diſpoſition. Her apprehenſion was clear, her memory retentive, her judgment ſolid; equally formed to bear adverſity and proſperity; and with the courage of the other ſex, ſhe poſſeſſed all the ſoftneſs of her own. Her excellent goodneſs in a uniform tenor of life, and her beneficient actions, illuſtriouſly viſible, afford a more effectual amplification of her worth and praiſe, than the moſt lively and graceful colours of language can impart. She was a zealous proteſtant, and her heart was ſo firmly attached to the path of pure religion, that ſhe was neither ſeduced nor terrified from it, in a court deeply affected with ſuperſtition, and ever watchful to propagate it. The diſpoſal of her in marriage to a prince of the proteſtant religion, appears an act of divine providence, to bring about the miraculous deliverance of this nation from popery, and its conſtant attendant, ſlavery. In the public worſhip of God, and a regular daily exerciſe of private devotion, this queen was a bright example of unaffected piety. When her reſidence was at the Hague, a lady of quality coming to the court, to pay her a viſit on a Saturday in the afternoon, ſhe was told, the princeſs was retired from all company, and kept a faſt, in preparation for receiving the ſacrament the next day. The lady ſtaying till five o'clock, the princeſs came out, and contented herſelf with a ſlender ſupper, it being incongruous to conclude a faſt with a feaſt. But her religion was not confined to either the chapel or the cloſet; it was influential on her practice. She was not fettered with ſuperſtitious ſcruples, but her clear judgment, and free ſpirit were for union of Chriſtians in things eſſential to Chriſtianity. Her boſom was like the Pacific ſea, that ſeldom ſuffers or is diſturbed by a ſtorm. She was ſo exempt from the tyranny of the angry paſſions, that we may have ſome conjecture of the felicity of the ſtate of unſtained innocence, of which one ray was ſo powerful. She was ſo remote from ſenſual paſſions, that nothing impure durſt approach her preſence. She was a ſtriking pattern of conjugal affection, the will of her huſband being the ſole rule of her actions, redoubling his comforts and dividing his cares. Her deportment was becoming the dignity and dearneſs of the relation. Of this the king gave teſtimony by his flowing tears after her death; and by declaring, that in all her converſation he diſcovered no fault. She had an excellent underſtanding that qualified her for government. Of this her preſiding in council, in times of danger, and preſerving the tranquillity of the kingdom, by her prudent and active meaſures, are convincing proofs. Her charity, that celeſtial grace, was like the ſun, nothing within her circuit was hid from its refreſhing heat. A lord propoſed to her a very good work that was chargeable: ſhe ordered that a hundred pounds ſhould be paid towards it. Some time interpoſing before the receipt of the money, he waited upon the queen, and pleaſantly told her, that intereſt was due for delay of payment; ſhe ordered that fifty pounds more ſhould be given, which was done accordingly; yet her benevolence lies under the imputation of two defects; her aſcending the throne of her father without any ſeeming compunction, and treating her ſiſter as a ſtranger. With reſpect to the firſt, candour will ſuggeſt, that her connection with her father, was far inferior to her conjugal and religious obligations; with reſpect to the latter, it may be obſerved, in extenuation, that family connections are of all others the moſt delicate, and are frequently influenced by ſuch a variety of minute and unknown circumſtances, that an indifferent perſon cannot aſcertain which party is juſtly cenſurable. As an inſtance of her impartial regard to merit of character, we ſhall cite her reply to one of her courtiers, who happened to inveigh againſt the ſeverity of hiſtorians, who had treated the memory of ſome princeſs with great rigour: “that if theſe princes were ſuch as hiſtorians repreſented them, they richly deſerved the treatment they had received; and that thoſe who trod in their ſteps, might naturally expect the ſame fate; for truth, though it might be for ſome time ſuppreſſed, would moſt certainly in the end prevail.” Her redemption of time was the effect of a conſcientious principle. She conſidered her glaſs was continually running, and all the particles of ſand were to be accounted for. In her ſickneſs, patience had its perfect work. She had no fearful apprehenſions about her future ſtate; becauſe her care had been to prepare for her latter end in the beſt time of her life. This mixed cordial drops in the bitterneſs of death: and when this king of terrors drew near, among other things, ſhe was heard to ſay, “I believe I ſhall now ſoon die, and I thank God, I have from my youth learned a true doctrine, that repentance is not to be put off to a death bed.”

A. D. 1695.

William, in the month of May, acquainted the peers with his intention of proroguing the paliament till the eighteenth of June; and ſending for the commons, the king cloſed the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech from the throne: “My lords and gentlemen, I am come to give you thanks for the ſupplies provided for carrying on the war, in which we are engaged; and at the ſame time, to conclude this ſeſſion, which cannot be continued any longer, without manifeſt injury to the ends for which the ſupplies were given; the ſeaſon of the year rendering

ing it abſolutely neceſſary for me to be abroad; and it could be wiſhed our buſineſs at home would have allowed me to have been there ſooner. I will take care to place the adminiſtration of affairs, during my abſence, in ſuch perſons, on whoſe care and fidelity I can entirely depend; and I doubt not, my lords and gentlemen, but every one of you, in your ſeveral ſtations, will be aſſiſting to them. That is what I require of you; and that you will be more than commonly diligent in preſerving the public peace." The lord keeper having prorogued the parliament, the archbiſhop of Canterbury and other perſons of high rank, were appointed to compoſe a regency. In a few days after, the king embarked at Graveſend, and repaired to the allied army in Flanders. The French were obliged to act on the defenſive during the whole campaign, owing to the ſuperior numbers of the allies; and to add to their mortification, they loſt their commander, the duke of Luxemburg, who was ſucceeded by the marſhal Villeroy, and Boufflers commanded under him. Conſcious of their own inferiority, they drew a line between Lys and the Scheld, for ſecuring their late conqueſts; and made a diſpoſition for covering Dunkirk, Tournay and Namur, which they apprehended might be attacked by the allied army. In the mean time the confederates formed two large armies in the Netherlands, one of which was commanded by the king in perſon, the other by the elector of Bavaria, who had under him the duke of Holſtein-Ploen, the earl of Athlone, and many other officers of ſkill and experience. By ſeveral well-concerted movements, William having drawn the enemy to the confines of Flanders, ſuddenly gave orders, that forty ſquadrons from the elector of Bavaria's camp, ſhould inveſt Namur, which ſervice was performed on the third of July. This place was ſtrong by art and nature, before it fell into the hands of the enemy; ſince which it had received ſuch additional fortifications, that it was now ſuppoſed to be altogether impregnable. On the eleventh of July the trenches were opened, and on the following day the batteries began to play with incredible fury. Equal reſolution ſeemed to inſpire thoſe who beſieged, and thoſe who reſiſted their attack. Lord Cutts, and major-general Ramſay, on the eighteenth, made an aſſault on the advanced works of the enemy. Six Engliſh battalions, eight foreign regiments, and nine thouſand pioneers, ſuſtained them in this conteſt, which continued for two hours; but at length the enemy was repulſed, and driven to the gates of the town. King William, a hero of the firſt rank, was ſo tranſported with the magnanimous behaviour of the Britiſh troops, that laying his hand on the elector of Bavaria's ſhoulder, he exclaimed in an ecſtacy of joy, "See my brave Engliſh!" On the twenty-ſeventh, the counterſcarp was attacked by the Engliſh and Scotch, under the command of Ramſay and Hamilton, when the beſieged party made an obſtinate reſiſtance; but the beſiegers, being ſuſtained by the Dutch, made a lodgment on the foremoſt covered way, before the gate of St. Nicholas, as alſo upon that part of the counter-guard. The valour of the enemy, on this occaſion, could only be exceeded by that of the aſſailants. Their officers in particular, behaved with amazing reſolution. Mr. Godfrey, deputy governor of the Bank of England, who came to the camp to confer with his majeſty about remitting money for the payment of the army, was killed in the trenches, together with ſeveral other perſons. On the thirteenth of Auguſt count Horn ſummoned the beſieged to ſurrender, and informed count de Lamot, that the garriſon could not expect relief, as marſhal Villeroy had retreated towards the Mehaign. No immediate anſwer being given, the elector determined to make a general aſſault. In this action two thouſand men were killed or wounded; the courage of the elector of Bavaria was ſignalized in a moſt extraordinary manner; he rode through the hotteſt of the enemy's fire, encouraging the ſoldiers by preſents of money, and the officers by promiſe of preferment. The garriſon of Namur, now having loſt all hopes of being relieved, count Guiſcard deſired to ſpeak with the elector of Bavaria. His highneſs complied with his requeſt, and the governor offered to ſurrender the fort of Cohorn; but the elector replied, that if he intended to capitulate, he might treat for the whole. Boufflers being made acquainted with this anſwer, the capitulation was ſigned before night.

Villeroy being informed that Namur had ſurrendered, paſſed the Sambre near Charleroy, with great precipitation, and retreated towards Mons, having in his way reinforced the garriſon of Dimant. The French garriſon, on the fifth of September, marched out of the caſtle, conſiſting of only five thouſand five hundred and eighty-three men, though its original number had been fifteen thouſand. Boufflers was arreſted in the name of the king of England, by way of repriſal for the garriſons of Dixmunde and Denſe, which had been detained by the French king, in violation of the cartel eſtabliſhed between the two nations; but a meſſenger arriving from the court of France, promiſing that the garriſon ſhould be reſtored, Boufflers was ſet at liberty. King William now reſigned the whole command to the elector of Bavaria, and retired to Loo with the higheſt military character; ſoon after which the armies ſeparated, and the campaign ended. During the ſummer of this year, the Engliſh fleet was ſo ſuperior to that of the enemy, that the ſhips of war remained inactive in their harbours; however they fitted out a number of privateers, which had great ſucceſs in cruiſing againſt our trading veſſels. They took ſeveral merchant ſhips bound from Barbadoes, and five Eaſt Indiamen, valued at a million of money. William having adjuſted with his allies the plan of operations for the enſuing year, embarked for England, where his people hailed him as a conqueror, with the loudeſt acclamations of joy. He inſtantly ſummoned a council at Kenſington, in which it was determined to convoke a new parliament.

Accordingly, on the eleventh of October a proclamation was iſſued for aſſembling a new parliament on the twenty-ſecond day of November, which having met, the commons choſe Paul Foley, Eſq; for their ſpeaker. While the people were buſied in elections, the king was prevailed on to conciliate the affections of his ſubjects by a more familiar and complacent behaviour. With this view he honoured the diverſions of Newmarket with his preſence, and there received a compliment of congratulation from the univerſity of Cambridge. Then he viſited, at their reſpective ſeats, the earls of Sunderland, Northampton, and Montague; the duke of Newcaſtle, the lord Brooke, and the duke of Shrewſbury; and afterwards made a public entry into Oxford, having been met at ſome diſtance from the city by the duke of Ormond, chancellor of the univerſity, the vice-chancellor, the doctors, and the magiſtrates, in their formalities. He proceeded directly to the theatre, where he was welcomed in an elegant Latin ſpeech; and received from the chancellor, on his knees, the uſual preſents of a large Engliſh Bible, and Book of Common-Prayer, with the cuts of the univerſity, and a pair of gold fringed gloves. The conduits ran with wine, and a magnificent banquet was prepared; but the duke of Ormond having communicated to his majeſty an anonymous letter, importing, that there was a deſign to poiſon him, he departed immediately for Windſor. The univerſity,

verſity, however, inſtead of reſenting this abrupt behaviour, choſe for one of their repreſentatives in parliament, Sir William Trumbul, ſecretary of ſtate.

Notwithſtanding the two houſes preſented addreſſes to his majeſty, offering to ſupply him with the neceſſary ſums for proſecuting the war with vigour; yet the public were exceedingly diſguſted by a ſyſtem of politics, in the purſuit of which the nation had incurred a vaſt expence of blood and treaſure, and they now complained loudly of the enormous weight of taxes with which they were burdened. The commons, either from principle, or motives of reſentment, reſolved, that the king ſhould grant ſome conceſſions in favour of the people in conſideration of the ſupplies, and therefore they introduced that long conteſted bill for regulating trials in caſes of high treaſon and miſpriſion of treaſon; and at ſo critical a juncture, the court party thought it imprudent to oppoſe this and other acts of popularity. They then proceeded to an examination of the public accounts and eſtimates; and for the ſervice of the enſuing year, voted a ſupply of above five millions. The ſtate of the coin, which had been ſhamefully diminiſhed by the clippers, was the next ſubject of conſideration; and a reſolution paſſed in favour of a new coinage.

A.D. 1696. Lewis was, by this time, heartily weary of the war, after having almoſt depopulated his country; but before he put a final period thereto, he reſolved, in concert with the Engliſh jacobites, to reſtore, if poſſible, James, his good friend and ally, to the government of England. On the eighteenth of February James ſet out for Calais, when the troops, artillery, and ſtores, were ordered to be put immediately on board the proper veſſels; and the ſcheme of an invaſion, and the deſign of taking off the king, were publicly mentioned in France ſo early as the beginning of this month. The principal contrivers of the aſſaſſination-plot, were the earl of Ayleſbury, lord Montgomery, ſon to the marquis of Powis, Sir John Fenwick, captain Porter, captain Charnock, and Sir John Friend. The duke of Berwick came privately to England, in order to haſten the preparations of the conſpirators, and to confirm them in their reſolution. He informed them, that James was ready to make a deſcent upon England at the head of a large body of French troops, diſtributed commiſſions, and gave them inſtructions for procuring men, arms, and horſes, to join him on his arrival. Upon his return to France, he found that all neceſſary meaſures had been purſued for the intended expedition. James had repaired to Calais; and monſieur Gabaret was advancing with a naval force, which was to be joined by a conſiderable number of tranſports then lying at Dunkirk. After divers conſultations, it was determined to attack and murder the king in a lane between Brentford and Turnham-Green, on his return from Richmond, where he uſually hunted on Saturdays. But on the day preceding that appointed for the perpetration of the horrid deed, the particulars of the plot were diſcovered to brigadier Leviſon by Pendergraſs, an Iriſh officer, whoſe evidence was confirmed by captain Fiſher, captain Porter, and La Rue, a Frenchman. At firſt, the king diſbelieved the report of the conſpiracy; but finding it authenticated by different witneſſes, he admitted Pendergraſs into his preſence, and prevailed upon him to deliver a liſt of his accomplices. James, upon receiving intelligence of the failure of the aſſaſſination-plot, and that admiral Ruſſel was diſpatched to the coaſt of France with a fleet conſiſting of a hundred and fifty ſail of the line, relinquiſhed his deſign of invading England; and, diſembarking with his troops, returned to St. Germain's. Moſt of the conſpirators being ſecured, the king, after their examination, in a ſpeech to both houſes, communicated the nature of the conſpiracy againſt his life, as well as the deſign of a foreign invaſion; profeſſed his reliance on their good will and affection; and hoped they would take ſuch ſteps for their common ſafety, as ſhould appear to them moſt expedient. That very evening the two houſes waited upon him at Kenſington with an affectionate addreſs, in which they expreſſed their deteſtation of the execrable deſign which had been formed againſt his ſacred perſon, of which they beſought him to take extraordinary care. They aſſured him, they would defend his life, and maintain his government, againſt the late king James, and all other enemies; and declared, that in caſe his majeſty ſhould come to a violent death, they would revenge it upon his adverſaries and their adherents. The king was highly pleaſed with this warm addreſs, and aſſured them in his turn, he would take all opportunities of recommending himſelf to the continuance of their loyalty and affection. They next proceeded to conſider of ways and means for raiſing the ſupplies. A new bank was eſtabliſhed, commonly called the Land-bank, becauſe founded upon land ſecurities. This ſcheme, ſuppoſed to have been projected by the famous doctor Chamberlain, was chiefly managed by Foley and Harley, and was generally believed to be a tory plan, intended to ruin the bank of England. The company of the latter petitioned againſt the bill, and were heard by their counſel; but their repreſentation had no effect, and the bill having paſſed both houſes, at laſt received the royal aſſent. On the twenty-ſeventh of April the king cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſhort but gracious ſpeech, and the parliament was prorogued to the ſixteenth day of June. Before this period, many of the conſpirators were brought to condign puniſhment, upon the evidence of Pendergraſs, Porter, and others.

The allied army reſolved to make an immediate retaliation upon the French, for their baſe deſign upon the life of king William. Lewis had been ſo confident of the ſucceſs of the expedition, that he had even regulated his military operations in Flanders upon that ſuppoſition, and had eſtabliſhed a vaſt magazine at Givet, with a view of ſtriking ſome ſtroke of importance early in the campaign, while the allies ſhould be weakened by the abſence of the Britiſh troops. Upon this magazine the confederates determined to wreak their vengeance; and with this view the earl of Athlone, and lieutenant-general Coehorn, ſet out from Namur with forty ſquadrons, thirty battalions, fifteen pieces of cannon, and ſix mortars. Athlone, with part of his body, inveſted Dinant; while Coehorn, with the remainder, advanced to Givet. He forthwith began to bombard the town, which in three hours was on fire, and by four in the afternoon wholly deſtroyed, with the great magazine it contained. Then the two generals joining their forces, returned to Namur without interruption. The king having appointed the ſame regency as governed the kingdom during his laſt abſence, embarked at Margate on the ſeventh of May, and arrived that ſame evening at Orange-Polder, from whence he repaired immediately to the Hague. The French had taken the field early in the ſpring; but no enterprize of importance was attempted in the courſe of this campaign. Lewis was obliged to act on the defenſive; while the active plans of William were defeated by want of money. All the funds of this year proved defective; the land-bank failed, without having produced any other effect than that of injuring the credit of the national bank by its oppoſition. Lewis having exhauſted the wealth and patience of his ſubjects, began to be ſenſible of his utter inability to continue the war, and therefore reſolved to convert his attention towards effecting an immediate peace. With this view he ſent an ambaſſador to the States-general; but the Dutch refuſed to enter into any conferences on the ſubject, until they had obtained the conſent of king William and the allies. Lewis, in order to expedite this negotiation, purſued offenſive meaſures in Catalonia, where his general, the duke de Vendome, attacked and worſted the Spaniards in their camp near Oſtalric, though the action was not deciſive; for he was obliged to retreat, after having made vigorous efforts againſt their entrenchments.

Nothing of conſequence had been lately atchieved by ſea; the Engliſh nevertheleſs rode maſters of that element. In the month of June, lord Berkley ſet ſail for Uſhant, in order to annoy the French coaſt. He pillaged and burned the villages on the iſlands Guoy, Horeal, and Heydic; made prize of about twenty veſſels; bombarded St. Martin's on the iſle of Rhee; and treated the town of Olonne in the ſame manner. Theſe enterprizes, however inconſiderable, kept the whole coaſt of France in perpetual alarm. Rear-admiral Bembow was ſent with a ſmall ſquadron to block up Du Bart in the harbour of Dunkirk; but that bold adventurer found means to eſcape in a fog, and ſailing towards the Baltic, fell in with the Dutch fleet, under convoy of ſix frigates. Theſe he took, together with half the trading veſſels; but failing in with the outward-bound fleet, convoyed by thirteen ſhips of the line, he was obliged to burn four of the frigates, turned two adrift, and part with all his prizes but fifteen, which he carried into Dunkirk. The king, being tired of an inactive campaign, embarked for England on the fourth of October, and on the ſixth arrived at Margate, from whence he repaired immediately to Kenſington. The parliament meeting on the twentieth of the ſame month, his majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he obſerved, that propoſals had been made for a negotiation; but that the beſt way of treating with France would be ſword in hand; that he hoped they would be expeditious in raiſing ſupplies for the ſervice of the enſuing year; that the civil liſt could not be ſupported without their aſſiſtance; that he flattered himſelf they would contrive ſome means for the recovery of the national credit; and that unanimity and diſpatch were now more than ever neceſſary for the honour, ſafety, and advantage of the kingdom. The commons having taken this ſpeech into conſideration, reſolved, that they would ſupport his majeſty's government, and effectually aſſiſt him in the proſecution of the war. They likewiſe preſented a ſpirited addreſs, in which they declared, that, notwithſtanding the blood and treaſure which had been already expended, they would not be diverted from their reſolution of obtaining by a war, a ſafe and honourable peace; and that therefore they would continue to ſupport his majeſty againſt all his enemies both at home and abroad. They then deliberated upon the eſtimates, and granted above ſix millions for the ſervice of the enſuing year. They paſſed a bill for remedying the ill ſtate of the coin; and another, explaining an act of the preceding ſeſſion, for laying duties on low wines, and ſpirits of the firſt extraction. In order to raiſe the ſupplies of the year, they reſolved to tax all perſons according to the true value of their real and perſonal eſtates, their ſtock upon land and in trade, or their income by offices, penſions, and profeſſions. A duty of one penny per week for one year was levied upon all perſons not receiving alms. Without ſpecifying any further particulars, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that in the general charge, the command did not exempt one member of the common-wealth, that could be ſuppoſed able to bear any part of the burthen. The Bank of England having been of ſingular utility to the government, the parliament reſolved to ſupport the credit of that inſtitution. It was accordingly agreed to ingraft upon the capital the ſum of eight hundred thouſand pounds by new ſubſcriptions, at the rate of eight per cent. intereſt, to be paid by tallies and Bank notes. In a few days, a million was ſubſcribed and paid in that manner: and from this time the credit of the Bank recovered ſo rapidly, that in a few weeks their notes, that bore no intereſt, were equal to money, and their bills, that bore intereſt, were better.

Public credit being thus reſtored, and the bills paſſed for the ſupplies of the enſuing year, the attention of the parliament was next engaged by the caſe of Sir John Fenwick, one of the conſpirators who had been apprehended at New Romney, while he was making his eſcape to France. He had, when taken, written a letter to his lady by one Webber who attended him; but this man being ſeized, the letter was found to contain ſuch circumſtances as plainly proved him guilty. This affair was now ſubmitted to parliament; and the commons having deliberated on the whole matter, brought in a bill of attainder againſt him, which, though not without a violent oppoſition, was actually carried through both houſes, and at laſt received the royal aſſent. This had no ſooner paſſed, than Fenwick exerted his utmoſt efforts to procure a reprieve from his majeſty; but all his applications proving ineffectual, he began to prepare himſelf for his approaching fate. He was indulged with the axe, in conſideration of his rank and alliance with the houſe of Howard, and ſuffered on Tower-hill, with ſeeming compoſure and reſignation. He owned his loyalty to king James, and prayed for his reſtoration; but mentioned with abhorrence the deſign upon the life of king William, which he juſtly termed a moſt villainous project. The king, on the ſixteenth day of April, cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he thanked the parliament for the liberal ſupplies they had granted him, and expreſſed his ſatisfaction with the meaſures they had taken for the retrieval of the public credit. About this time the earl of Dorſet reſigned the office of lord-chamberlain, which he had enjoyed ever ſince the revolution. He was ſevere and poignant in his writings; but humane and generous in his private conduct. The earl of Sunderland ſucceeded him in office, and now poſſeſſed as much favour as ever he had enjoyed in the former reign.

A. D. 1697.

William embarked on the twenty-ſixth day of April for Holland, in order to be preſent at the negotiation for a general peace. The plenipotentiaries met in congreſs on the tenth day of February, and the conference was opened by the French miniſter Callieres, who in his maſter's name agreed to the following preliminaries; that the treaties of Weſtphalia and Nimeguen, ſhould be the baſis of the preſent negotiation; that Straſburgh ſhould be reſtored to the emperor, and Luxemburgh to the Spaniards, together with Mons, Charleroy, and all the places taken by the French in Catalonia ſince the treaty of Nimeguen; that Dinant ſhould be ceded to the biſhop of Liege, and all re-unions, ſince the treaty of Nimeguen be made void; that Lorraine ſhould be reſtored according to the conditions of that treaty; and, that upon the concluſion of the peace, Lewis ſhould acknowledge the prince of Orange as king of Great Britain, without reſtriction, limitation, or reſerve. In the interim, the French king, fearing that the houſe of Auſtria would inſiſt on the treaty of the Pyrenees, reſolved to make his laſt efforts in Flanders and Catalonia, and reduce the Spaniards to his own terms. The campaign was opened with the ſiege of Aeth, which ſurrendered in a few days. In Catalonia, the duke of Vendome inveſted

Barcelona, which after having been gallantly defended for the ſpace of nine weeks, fell into the hands of the French; and the Spaniards, after the loſs of this important place, became as eager for peace, as they had been averſe to a negotiation. But the claims of the powers were ſo numerous and complicated, that the negotiation was protracted to the twentieth day of September, when the articles were ſubſcribed by the Engliſh, Dutch, Spaniſh, and French ambaſſadors, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the Imperial, and other German miniſters, who ſtill refuſed to accept of the terms which France had offered. The treaty between England and France imported, that Lewis ſhould not diſturb or diſquiet the king of Great Britain in the poſſeſſion of his crown or government, nor aſſiſt his enemies, nor favour conſpiracies againſt his perſon; that king William ſhould pay a yearly penſion to queen Mary D'Eſte of fifty thouſand pounds, which, during her reſidence in England, had been ſettled as her jointure; that a free commerce ſhould be reſtored between the two kingdoms; that commiſſioners ſhould be appointed to meet at London, to determine the pretenſions of each crown to Hudſon's Bay, taken by the French during the late peace, and retaken by the Engliſh in the courſe of the war; and to fix the limits of places to be reſtored, as well as the proportion of exchanges to be made; that in caſe of a freſh war, ſix months ſhould be allowed to the ſubjects of each crown for removing their effects; that the ſeparate article of the treaty of Nimeguen, relating to the principality of Orange, ſhould be fully executed; and that the ratifications ſhould be exchanged in three weeks from the day of ſigning. William having finiſhed this important affair, returned to England, and was received in London in a kind of triumph, amidſt the ſhouts and acclamations of the people.

The parliament meeting in December, he gave them to underſtand, that there was a conſiderable debt on account of the fleet and army, and that the revenues of the crown had been anticipated; he expreſſed his hope, that they would provide for him during his life in ſuch a manner, as would conduce to his honour and their glory; he recommended the maintenance of a conſiderable fleet and ſtanding army, as eſſentially neceſſary for the ſafety of England; and finally aſſured them, that, as he had reſcued their religion, laws, and liberties, when they were in the extremeſt danger; ſo he ſhould place the glory of his reign in preſerving and leaving them entire to lateſt poſterity. The parliament, after congratulating his majeſty on the concluſion of the peace, and aſſuring him they would be ever ready to ſupport his government, proceeded to conſider that part of his ſpeech which related to the maintenance of a ſtanding army, a practice to which they were inveterately averſe, and the recommendation of which from the throne, they could by no means approve. This point was debated with great vehemence; but at length the king, finding all his remonſtrances ineffectual, ſubmitted with his uſual prudence to this, as he had formerly done to other diſappointments, and affected to acquieſce in a very conſiderable reduction of the army. To compenſate for this diſagreeable circumſtance, they voted a ſupply of two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, to be diſtributed amongſt ſuch officers and ſoldiers as ſhould be diſbanded; and alſo granted the annual ſum of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds for the maintenance of the king's houſhold, to be continued during his life. Of this ſum, one hundred thouſand pounds were intended to enable his majeſty to pay the jointure of queen Mary D'Eſte, and to maintain a court for the duke of Glouceſter, now in the ninth year of his age; but it is affirmed by ſome, that the jointure was never paid, and that the king would not allow more than fifteen thouſand pounds a year to the duke, to whom biſhop Burnet was appointed preceptor.

A. D. 1698.

William Molyneux, a gentleman of Dublin, having publiſhed a pamphlet, in which he endeavoured to prove that Ireland was independent of the parliament of England, a committee was appointed to enquire into the nature and tendency of this performance. Upon the report of the committe it was reſolved, that the book was of dangerous conſequence, as it tended to leſſen the dependence of Ireland upon England, to the imperial crown of which it was unalterably annexed. They therefore preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, beſeeching him to give effectual orders for preventing any ſuch encroachments for the future, as well as the pernicious conſequences of what was paſt, by puniſhing and diſcountenancing thoſe who had been guilty of ſuch pernicious attempts. This addreſs was graciouſly received, and the king promiſed to comply with their requeſt. About this time a ſociety for the reformation of manners, was formed under the king's countenance and encouragement. Conſiderable collections were made for maintaining clergymen to read prayers at certain hours in places of public worſhip, and adminiſter the ſacrament every Sunday. On the third of July the king prorogued the parliament, after having thanked them in a ſhort ſpeech for the many teſtimonies of their favour he had received; and in two days after the prorogation it was diſſolved. In the latter end of July king William embarked for Holland, on pretence of enjoying a receſs from buſineſs; but in reality to treat with the French king, remote from the obſervation of thoſe who might have penetrated into the nature of his negotiation. He had appointed a regency to govern the kingdom in his abſence; and as one of the number, nominated the earl of Marlborough, who had regained his favour, and been appointed governor to the duke of Glouceſter. His majeſty at his departure left ſealed orders with the miniſtry, directing, that ſixteen thouſand men ſhould be retained in the ſervice, notwithſtanding the vote of the commons, by which the ſtanding army was limited to ten thouſand. He alledged, that the apprehenſion of freſh troubles, which might ariſe at the death of his catholic majeſty, induced him to tranſgreſs this limitation, and hoped that the new parliament would be more favourable. His enemies, however, availed themſelves of this opportunity to depreciate his character by malicious inſinuations. Having aſſiſted at the aſſembly of the States-general, and given audience to divers ambaſſadors at the Hague, William repaired to his palace at Loo, where he was viſited by count Tallard the French miniſter, who had inſtructions to negotiate the treaty concerning the Spaniſh ſucceſſion. The earl of Portland, by his majeſty's orders, had communicated to ſecretary Vernon the principal conditions that Lewis propoſed; he himſelf wrote a letter to lord chancellor Somers, deſiring his advice with regard to the propoſitions, and full power under the great ſeal, with blanks to be filled up occaſionally, that he might immediately begin the treaty with count Tallard. The purport of Portland's letter was imparted to the duke of Shrewſbury and Mr. Montague, who conſulted with the chancellor and ſecretary upon the ſubject; and the chancellor wrote a letter to the king, containing the iſſue of their joint deliberation: but before it reached his majeſty, the firſt partition was ſigned by the earl of Portland, and Sir Joſeph Williamſon. Lewis, who had made a practice of ſacrificing honour and conſcience to his pride and ambition, foreſaw that he ſhould never be able to accompliſh his deſigns upon Spain; while William was left at liberty to form another confederacy againſt him. He therefore determined to amuſe him with a treaty, in which he ſhould ſeem to act as umpire in the concerns of Europe. The plan ſucceeded; the king of England lent a willing ear to his propoſals, and engaged in a ſcheme for diſmembering a kingdom, in deſpite of the natives, and in violation of every law, human and divine.

William, on the third day of December arrived in England, where a new parliament had been choſen and prorogued on account of his majeſty's abſence. Though the majority of members were attached to the new eſtabliſhment, many of them had imbibed ſuch jealouſy of the court during the former unpopular reign, that they ſeemed not to have been much devoted to the perſon of their ſovereign; yet their choice of Sir Thomas Lyttleton for their ſpeaker, ſeemed to preſage a peaceable ſeſſion. On the tenth of December the two houſes being convened, the king in his ſpeech obſerved, that the ſafety, honour, and happineſs of the kingdom, would in a great meaſure depend on the ſtrength which they ſhould reſolve to maintain by ſea and land. The members of the preſent parliament were ſo provoked at the king's preſuming to tranſgreſs an act, to which he had given the royal aſſent, that they inſtantly reſolved that all the forces of England, in Engliſh pay, exceeding ſeven thouſand men, ſhould be diſbanded; as alſo thoſe in Ireland, exceeding twelve thouſand; and that thoſe retained ſhould be natives of theſe kingdoms. As this vote deprived the king not only of his Dutch guards, to whom he was remarkably attached, but likewiſe the regiments of French refugees, who had ſerved him with uncommon fidelity; he was ſo ſenſibly affected with it, that he threatened to abandon the government, and had even compoſed a ſpeech, which he intended to have delivered on the occaſion; but was diverted from his purpoſe by his miniſtry and confidents, and reſolved to paſs the bill by which he had been ſo much offended. Accordingly, when it was ready for the royal aſſent, he went to the houſe of peers, where, having ſent for the commons, he told them, that though he might juſtly complain of the harſh treatment in being deprived of his guards which had attended him in all his fortunes; yet as he believed nothing could be more fatal to the nation than any diſtruſt or jealouſy between him and his parliament, he was come to paſs the bill according to their deſire. At the ſame time, in diſcharge of the truſt repoſed in him, he declared it as his opinion, that the nation was left too much expoſed, and that it was incumbent upon them to provide ſuch a ſtrength as might be neceſſary for the ſafety of the kingdom. They were ſo mollified by this inſtance of condeſcenſion, that they preſented an addreſs, in which they thanked him for this freſh mark of his royal goodneſs, and ſolemnly aſſured him, that they would defend his perſon and government at the hazard of their lives and fortunes. Theſe aſſurances induced him to make another effort in favour of the Dutch guards, but it proved ineffectual; he was obliged to acquieſce, and they were tranſported to Holland.

Having thus effected a diſſolution of the army, the commons voted fifteen thouſand ſeamen, and a proportionable fleet for the ſecurity of the kingdom; and granted one million four hundred and eighty-four thouſand pounds for the ſervices of the year, to be raiſed by a tax of three ſhillings in the pound upon lands, perſonal eſtates, penſioners and officers. But the members of this parliament ſeem to have been actuated by a peeviſh and malicious ſpirit, which nothing could ſatisfy. The perſon againſt whom their reſentment was at preſent levelled, was the earl of Oxford, who now acted as treaſurer to the navy, and one of the commiſſioners of the admiralty. The commons drew up an addreſs, complaining of ſome important articles of miſmanagement in the conduct of the navy; and the earl was wiſe enough to avoid further proſecution, by reſigning his employments.

A. D. 1699.

The king, on the fourth day of May, cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech; hinting diſſatisfaction at their having neglected to conſider ſome points which he had recommended to their attention; and the parliament was prorogued to the firſt of June. In a little time after the prorogation the king appointed a regency, and on the ſecond of June embarked for Holland. Here he enjoyed himſelf at Loo, where he was viſited by the duke of Zell, with whom he had long intimately correſponded. During his reſidence in this place, the earl of Portland, and the grand penſionary of Holland, frequently conferred with the French ambaſſador count Tallard, upon the ſubject of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion; but no alteration was at this time made in the late treaty of partition. His majeſty, having ſettled with the States-general the number and ſtrength of the Dutch fleet, embarked for England on the ſixteenth of October, and next day arrived at Margate, from whence he immediately repaired to Kenſington. The parliament meeting about the middle of November, the king, in his ſpeech to both houſes, adviſed a further proviſion for the ſafety of the kingdom by ſea and land, and the repair of ſhips and fortifications; exhorted the commons to make good the deficiencies of the funds, diſcharge the national debt, and provide the neceſſary ſupplies. He aſſured them of his reſolution to encourage virtue, and puniſh vice; and that he would decline no difficulties nor dangers where the happineſs of his people might be concerned. He then concluded with theſe words: "Since, therefore, our aims are only for the general good, let us act with confidence in one another, which will not fail, with the bleſſing of God, to make me a happy king, and you a great and flouriſhing people. But this parliament, inſtead of an addreſs of thanks, according to the uſual cuſtom, preſented a remonſtrance, importing, that a jealouſy and diſguſt had been raiſed of their duty and affection, and that they deſired he would ſhew marks of high diſpleaſure towards all perſons who had preſumed to miſrepreſent their proceedings, and that if any ſhould attempt to impoſe upon him by ſuch calumnies, he would conſider and treat them as his moſt inveterate enemies. The next object which engaged the attention of the commons, was an enquiry into the forfeited eſtates in Ireland, which the king had diſtributed according to his pleaſure. The commiſſioners appointed to examine this affair, were Anneſley, Hamilton, Trenchard, Langford, the earl of Drogheda, Sir Francis Brewſter, and Sir Richard Leving. The firſt four were actuated by all the virulence of faction; the other three were ſecretly guided by miniſterial influence. They began their enquiry in Ireland, and proceeded with ſuch ſeverity, as ſeemed to flow rather from reſentment to the court, than from a love of juſtice and abhorrence of corruption. They in particular ſcrutinized a grant of an eſtate which the king had made to Mrs. Villers, now counteſs of Orkney, ſo as to expoſe his majeſty's partiality for that favourite, and ſubject him to an additional load of popular odium.

Having framed, finiſhed, and paſſed a bill of reſumption, the commons ordered an account of the whole tranſaction to be printed and publiſhed for their vindication; and reſolved, that the procuring or paſſing exorbitant grants by any member now of the privy-council, or by any other that had been a privy-counſellor, in this or any former reign, to his own uſe and benefit, was a high crime and miſdemeanor. As the members of the lower houſe were apprehenſive that this bill would be ſtrongly oppoſed by thoſe of the upper, they tacked it to the money bill; ſo that the one could not be rejected, without defeating the other. The lords propoſed ſome alterations; the commons refuſed to give their conſent, and ordered a liſt of the privy-council to be laid before them. They now ordered their houſe to be cleared of ſtrangers, and the doors to be ſhut, that no member might go forth; they then took into conſideration the report of the Iriſh forfeitures, with a liſt of the privy-counſellors; and a motion was made to addreſs his majeſty, to remove lord chancellor Somers from his preſence and councils for ever. This was, however, carried in the negative by a great majority. The king conſidered this bill as an invaſion of his prerogative, an inſult on his perſon, and an injury to his friends and ſervants, and at firſt determined to hazard the conſequences of refuſing the royal aſſent; but was diverted from his purpoſe by the remonſtrances of thoſe in whom he chiefly confided; nevertheleſs he could not diſſemble his reſentment; he became moroſe and peeviſh; and his enemies laid hold of this circumſtance, to brand his character with the utmoſt infamy. Though the motion againſt the chancellor had miſcarried, the commons reſolved to addreſs his majeſty, that no perſon, who was not a native of his dominions, except his royal highneſs prince George of Denmark, ſhould be admitted into his majeſty's councils in England or Ireland. This reſolution was levelled againſt the eſtates of Portland, Albemarle, and Galway; but before the addreſſes could be preſented, the king came to the houſe of peers, and having paſſed ſuch bills as were ready for his aſſent, the parliament was prorogued to the twenty-third day of May.

A. D. 1700.

The commons brought in a bill for the more effectual ſuppreſſion of piracy, which paſſed into a law; and underſtanding afterwards that Kidd, the pirate, was brought over to England, preſented an addreſs to the king, deſiring that he might not be tried, diſcharged, or pardoned, till the next ſeſſion of parliament; and his majeſty complied with their requeſt. A bill was alſo brought in, that no perſon born after the twenty-fifth day of March next enſuing, being a papiſt, ſhould be capable of inheriting any title of honour or eſtate within the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed; and that no papiſt ſhould be capable of purchaſing any lands or tenements, either in his own, or in the name of any other perſon in truſt for him. This bill was vehemently oppoſed in the houſe of lords; notwithſtanding which, it was finally carried by a great majority, and at laſt received the royal ſanction; but after all, it was deficient in neceſſary clauſes to enforce execution, ſo that the law was very little regarded in the ſequel.

William, in the beginning of July, embarked for Holland, after having appointed a regency to manage the government. On the twenty-ninth of the ſame month, the young duke of Glouceſter, the only remaining child of ſeventeen, whom the princeſs Anne had borne, died of a malignant fever, in the eleventh year of his age. His death was much lamented by the greater part of the Engliſh nation, not only on account of his promiſing talents and affable diſpoſition, but alſo as it left the ſucceſſion undetermined, and might create diſputes of fatal conſequences to the nation. Indeed, the preſent ſtate of affairs in England afforded but an uncomfortable proſpect. The nature of the partition-treaty was no ſooner known, than condemned by the moſt intelligent part of the nation. They firſt of all complained, that ſuch an important affair ſhould have been concluded without the advice of parliament. They obſerved, that the ſcheme was unjuſt, and the execution of it hazardous. All their exceptions were diffuſed by the malcontents, ſo that the whole kingdom echoed with murmurs and clamours; while the tory faction began to think in earneſt of eſtabliſhing the ſucceſſion of the Engliſh crown upon the perſon of the prince of Wales. Such was the ſituation of affairs when the king arrived in England; and ſoon after he received advice, that the king of Spain was actually dead. By his laſt will, Charles had declared the duke of Anjou, ſecond ſon of the dauphin, ſole heir of the Spaniſh monarchy. In caſe this prince ſhould die without iſſue, or inherit the crown of France, he ordered that Spain ſhould devolve to the duke of Berry; in default of him and his children, to the archduke Charles and his heirs; and in failure of them, to the duke of Savoy and his poſterity. It remains to this day a doubt, whether this will was ſigned by the king of Spain, or was only a forgery: thus much is certain, that when the teſtament, real or pretended, was notified to the French court, it afforded a new ſcene of hypocriſy and diſſimulation. The whole tranſaction had been concerted and executed by the intrigues and policy of the artful Lewis; and he was now determined to conclude the cheat, with the ſame dexterity with which it was begun. After the will was accepted, Lewis cloſetted the duke of Anjou, to whom he ſaid, in the preſence of the marquis de Rias, "Sir, the king of Spain has made you a king. The grandees demand you; the people wiſh for you; and I give my conſent. Remember only you are a prince of France. I recommend you to love your people; to gain their affection by the lenity of your government; and render yourſelf worthy of the throne you are about to aſcend." The new monarch was congratulated on his elevation by all the princes of the blood; nevertheleſs, the duke of Orleans and his ſon proteſted againſt the will, becauſe the archduke was placed next in ſucceſſion to the duke of Berry, in bar of their right as deſcendants of Anne of Auſtria. The emperor exclaimed loudly againſt the will, as being more iniquitous than the treaty of partition, and threatened to do himſelf juſtice by force of arms. The Spaniards, conſcious of their own inability to defend their dominions, reſigned themſelves entirely to the protection of the French monarch. William's real motive in affecting an indifference, was to conceal his reſentment until he ſhould have ſounded the opinions of other powers in Europe, and ſeen how far he could rely on his new miniſtry. His chief favourite was the earl of Rocheſter, who had undertaken for the tories, and was declared lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Lord Godolphin was appointed firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury; lord Tankerville keeper of the privy-ſeal; and Sir Charles Hedges ſecretary of ſtate: but the management was entruſted to Mr. Robert Harley, who had hitherto oppoſed the meaſures of the court with equal ability and virulence. Theſe new miniſters, knowing they had intereſt ſufficient to procure a majority, prevailed on the king to diſſolve the preſent parliament by proclamation, and iſſue writs to convene a new one, which was accordingly done.

A. D. 1701.

The new parliament meeting on the ſixth of February, according to appointment, was prorogued to the tenth day of the ſame month, when Mr. Harley was choſen ſpeaker by a great majority. The conduct of this parliament is ſtrongly marked with faction and prejudice, and diſcovers a total diſregard to the intereſt of England, and the general liberties of Europe. On the thirtieth of March, the king acquainted the commons with the declaration of the French monarch, "that he would grant no other ſecurity than a renewal of the peace of Ryſwick;"

ſo that the negotiation ſeemed to be at an end. William alſo communicated two reſolutions of the States-general, requeſting that the ſtipulated ſuccours might be immediately ſent. D'Avaux, the French ambaſſador, employed every artifice to perſuade the States of the cordial kindneſs of his maſter towards them. But the Dutch had too dearly experienced the French monarch's pretended love to their republic, to be eaſily perſuaded of the truth of his profeſſions; and therefore wiſely exerted themſelves in providing for their own ſecurity, by reinforcing their garriſons, and ſoliciting ſuccours from foreign powers. At the ſame time they wrote a letter to king William, wherein they expreſſed the moſt ſincere zeal for the intereſt of England, and earneſtly preſſed that the ſtipulated number of troops ſhould be immediately ſent to their aſſiſtance. Accordingly the three Scottiſh regiments, which the king had retained in his own pay, were directly ſent them from Scotland. The king communicated the letter of the States-general to the houſe of commons, who, having taken it into conſideration, came to the following reſolution; "That they would effectually aſſiſt his majeſty to ſupport his allies in maintaining the liberties of Europe, and immediately provide the ſtipulated ſuccours for the States-general." The addreſs from the houſe of peers on the ſame occaſion, was conceived in a warm and affectionate manner.

His majeſty was ſo well pleaſed with this diſpoſition in both houſes to ſupport him in his views, that he expreſſed his ſatisfaction in an anſwer he ſent to each houſe ſeparately. Notwithſtanding theſe appearances of friendſhip and union, the commons were proſecuting their favourite project of revenge againſt their antagoniſts. They had appointed a committee to examine the journals of the houſe of lords with regard to the partition-treaty, and to report their proceedings to the houſe. Sir Edward Seymour, a violent tory, was appointed chairman of this committee; and on his report the commons voted, "That William, earl of Portland, by negotiating and concluding the treaty of partition, which was deſtructive of the trade of this kingdom, and dangerous to the peace of Europe, was guilty, and ſhould be impeached of high crimes and miſdemeanors." Purſuant to this reſolution, Sir John Leviſon Gower was ſent up to impeach the earl at the bar of the houſe of lords, and at the ſame time to aſſure them, that the commons would, in due time, exhibit articles againſt him. They alſo reſolved to impeach lord Somers, which he being informed of, deſired to be heard before that houſe. This was granted, and he made a defence; wherein he obſerved, that he had only acted in compliance with the king's commands, which it was certainly his duty to do. After his lordſhip withdrew, the houſe fell into a long and warm debate upon the juſtification he had offered, when the tory party prevailed, and a reſolution paſſed, "That John, lord Somers, by adviſing his majeſty to conclude the treaty of partition, was guilty of a high crime and miſdemeanor." The commons then paſſed votes to the like effect againſt the earl of Orford and lord Halifax, and on the fifteenth of April a general impeachment was brought up againſt all three to the houſe of lords. A few days after the impeachment, they drew up an addreſs to the king, wherein they requeſted he would be pleaſed to remove John lord Somers, Edward earl of Orford, and Charles lord Halifax, from his council and preſence for ever; as alſo William earl of Portland, who had tranſacted theſe treaties. The lords were highly incenſed at this ſtep of the commons, which they conſidered not only as an inſult upon their tribunal, but alſo a violation of common juſtice; and they preſented a counter addreſs, wherein they entreated the king not to paſs any cenſure on thoſe lords, until they were tried upon the impeachments the commons had preferred againſt them. The latter, fearing that they might fall into diſgrace with the nation for having preferred impeachments which they could not properly ſupport, uſed every art to delay the trials of theſe noblemen; and when a day was at laſt appointed, they laid hold of ſome frivolous pretence to abſent themſelves from the trial, ſo that the four lords, having no proſecutors to appear againſt them were acquitted, and the impeachments diſmiſſed.

The whig party now omitted no endeavours to villify and depreciate their adverſaries in the minds of the people. They openly charged them with being penſioners to the French king; enemies to the preſent government; and that all their views and actions tended to the reſtoration of James and his family. They tried to procure petitions from London and the principal counties in England; but the county of Kent alone could be prevailed on to ſend up an addreſs. It contained the moſt indecent reflections on the houſe of commons, and was ſigned by the deputy-lieutenant of the county, ſeveral juſtices of the peace and others, and was boldly delivered to the houſe by five gentlemen of the county, who, upon being called in and queſtioned at the bar of the houſe, owned the petition and their hands to it. The houſe then took it into conſideration, and voted it to be a ſcandalous, inſolent, and ſeditious libel, tending to deſtroy the conſtitution of parliaments, and to ſubvert the eſtabliſhed government of theſe realms; and ordered the five perſons who had preſented it to be taken into cuſtody as promoters of the ſaid petition. Their confinement added fuel to the flame which had been blown up among the people; and ſoon after a paper came out, entitled a memorial from the gentlemen, freeholders, and inhabitants of the county of ——— in behalf of themſelves, and many thouſands of the good people of England. Herein they charged the commons with breach of faith in not paying the public debts; with impriſoning gentlemen who were none of their members; blamed them for voting the partition-treaty fatal; mentioned a new clauſe of rights; admoniſhed the commons to act according to their duty; and concluded thus: "For Engliſhmen are no more to be ſlaves to parliaments than to kings."

On the twelfth of June his majeſty came to the houſe, and gave the royal aſſent to the act of ſucceſſion, intitled, an act for the farther limitation of the crown, and better ſecuring the rights and liberties of the ſubject. On this occaſion he made a ſpeech, wherein he expreſſed his warm acknowledgments to both houſes, for the care they had taken to eſtabliſh the ſucceſſion of the crown in the proteſtant line, and for their repeated aſſurances of ſupporting him in ſuch alliances as ſhould be for the preſervation of the liberty of Europe, and the ſecurity of England and Holland. He then told them that the ſeaſon of the year required his preſence abroad, and recommended diſpatch in the buſineſs before them. Notwithſtanding the commons were exceedingly chagrined by the remonſtrance lately preſented them, they thought it beneath their dignity to take notice of it in the houſe; but in order to guard againſt its conſequences, they drew up an addreſs, wherein they repreſented to his majeſty, "That ſeveral diſaffected and evil-minded perſons having gone about to raiſe tumults in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, to diſturb the public tranquillity, they therefore humbly beſought his majeſty to provide for the public peace and ſecurity." They likewiſe preſented an addreſs in anſwer to the king's ſpeech, wherein they thanked him for having approved of their proceedings; declared they would ſupport him to the utmoſt; and deſired him to engage in ſuch new alliances with the emperor, and other ſtates, as he ſhould deem neceſſary for bridling the exorbitant power of France, and maintaining the independency of Europe. They next proceeded upon the buſineſs of ſupplies, and granted the ſum of a million and a half for the public expences. They voted thirty thouſand ſeamen, and reſolved that ten thouſand troops ſhould be ſent to the aſſiſtance of the States-general. They paſſed a bill for taking away all privilege of parliament in legal proſecutions during the intermediate prorogations; and introduced another for appointing commiſſioners to examine and ſtate the public accounts. On the twenty-fourth of June, after his majeſty had given the royal aſſent to ſeveral acts, he cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, wherein he returned both houſes thanks for the great zeal they had expreſſed for the public ſervice, and their ready compliance with what he recommended to them at the opening of the parliament; and particularly thanked the commons for the ſupplies, and for the encouragement they had given him to enter into alliances for the preſervation of Europe,

Having given the command of the ten thouſand auxiliaries, voted by the commons for the ſervice of the States-general, to the earl of Marlborough; placed the earl of Pembroke at the head of the admiralty; appointed Sir George Rooke to command the fleet; ſettled the regency, and other matters relating to domeſtic government, William embarked for Holland on the firſt of July. Immediately on his arrival at the Hague, he aſſiſted at an aſſembly of the States-general, whom he addreſſed in a moſt affectionate ſpeech. He now ſpent ſome time in reviewing the frontier garriſons of the States, and gave ſuch orders as he judged neceſſary for the better defence and ſecurity of the country. When he returned to the Hague, he was informed that the count d'Avaux, the French ambaſſador, had delivered a letter from Lewis to the States, accompanied with a memorial of his own, to notify his being called home by his maſter; and wherein he obſerved, "That the ties between their High Mightineſſes and the king of England were too ſtrict, and they had too well made known their blind ſubmiſſion to the ſentiments of that monarch; and no doubt but that they had already taken a reſolution to make the ſame declaration to the moſt chriſtian king's ambaſſador." The States-general, on the firſt of Auguſt, returned a very ſpirited anſwer to this memorial.

Every thing now ſeemed to tend to render a new war between France and Holland inevitable. The latter therefore exerted all their endeavours in making preparations for their own defence; they repaired their fortifications, augmented their army, and hired auxiliaries from various quarters. The king of Denmark engaged to furniſh three thouſand horſe, one thouſand dragoons, and eight thouſand foot, in conſideration of receiving a ſubſidy of three hundred thouſand crowns a year during the war. The emperor, who was the perſon moſt affected by the acceſſion of the duke of Anjou to the crown of Spain, aſſembled an army, the command of which he beſtowed on prince Eugene, one of the greateſt and moſt fortunate generals then in Europe.

William applied his principal attention in putting his navy on the moſt reſpectable footing, ſenſible of the fatal conſequences that flowed from the want of this precaution at the beginning of the laſt war. Accordingly, by the latter end of July, the Engliſh had a fleet of forty-eight ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, fire-ſhips, and ſmall veſſels, at Spithead, ready for the ſea, under the command of Sir George Rooke. That admiral cruiſing up and down the Channel, over-awed the French during the remainder of the ſeaſon. About the latter end of Auguſt, vice-admiral Bembow was ſent with a ſtrong ſquadron to the Weſt Indies. The French ſuſpected that this fleet was deſtined to the Mediterranean; and in order to confirm them in this belief, and cover its true deſign, William formally demanded a free uſe of the Spaniſh harbours. The demand was, however, civilly evaded, though the French ſhips had free admittance. The king now projected the grand alliance between the emperor Leopold, England and Holland, againſt France, for recovering the Spaniſh monarchy to the houſe of Auſtria, and for the ſecurity of England and Holland, in point of commerce and navigation, and of the houſe of Hanover's ſucceſſion to the crown of Great Britain, and to procure a ſufficient barrier for the Dutch. This triple alliance was framed in the nature of propoſals, upon which France might come in; and accordingly it was communicated to the French ambaſſador, and on their being rejected, it was determined to have recourſe to arms. The death of that weak and unfortunate prince, James the Second, which happened at this time, brought affairs much ſooner to a criſis than perhaps they would otherwiſe have been. He was ſeized with a vomiting of blood, and died at St. Germains on the ſixteenth of September, in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his exile. On this event it was conſidered in the French council, what ſteps ſhould be taken with regard to his ſon. Lewis was inclined to give him the ſame titles his father had borne; but the miniſtry adviſed their maſter to remain paſſive, and ſuffer him to aſſume what title he pleaſed. They enforced their advice with ſuch reaſons of ſound policy, that Lewis reſolved not to acknowledge the ſon of James the Second as king. The ſame day, however, Mary of Modena, widow to the deceaſed king, went to Madam de Maintenon's apartment, to ſpeak to the French king. She found him there; and with a flood of tears, conjured him not to treat her ſon, herſelf, and the memory of a king he had protected, with ſo much indignity as to refuſe a title, the only remains of their former greatneſs. She obſerved, that as her ſon always received the honours of prince of Wales, he ought to be treated as king after the death of his father; and that even William himſelf could not complain of this, provided he was left to enjoy the throne of which he had deprived him. She then obſerved, that whether he acknowledged the ſon of James or not, the Engliſh would, nevertheleſs, declare war againſt France, and that he would only feel the regret of having ſacrificed the moſt noble ſentiments to a fruitleſs precaution. The entreaties of the royal widow were powerfully ſeconded by Madam de Maintenon. Lewis reſumed his former ſentiments, and James's ſon was proclaimed king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by the title of James III. And this title was likewiſe recognized by the king of Spain, the duke of Savoy, and the pope.

William was no ſooner informed of this tranſaction, then he diſpatched a courier to the king of Sweden, as guarantee of the treaty of Ryſwick, to complain of this manifeſt violation of that treaty. At the ſame time he recalled his ambaſſador, the earl of Mancheſter, from Paris, with orders to return without taking leave; and M. Pouſſin, the French reſident, was told to depart the kingdom. Lewis, in a manifeſto which he publiſhed and diſperſed throughout Europe, endeavoured to vindicate his own conduct. He pretended to aſſert, that there was nothing in what he had done contrary to the treaty of Ryſwick; affirming, that he did not intend to aſſiſt king James the Third, as he ſtiled the pretender, in recovering his crown during the life of his preſent majeſty king William. Having concluded alliances with ſeveral foreign princes againſt France, particularly that with the emperor and Holland, the king began to prepare for his return to England, but being detained in Holland, partly by his bad ſtate of health, and partly in concerting meaſures with the States for attacking the French frontiers the next campaign, he did not arrive till the fifth of November. The firſt thing which engaged his attention and that of the council was, whether the preſent parliament ſhould be diſſolved and a new one called. After ſome debate it was carried for the latter meaſure.

A. D. 1702. On the thirteenth of December, the parliament met, and the commons having choſen Mr. Harley for their ſpeaker, the king opened the ſeſſion with a moſt gracious and patriotic ſpeech. In anſwer to which the two houſes preſented ſeparate addreſſes to his majeſty, which were moſt graciouſly received by him, and at the ſame time he gave them aſſurances of the great ſatisfaction he conceived of their duty and affection. Forty thouſand men were appointed for the naval ſervice, and the like number for the land. In order to raiſe his majeſty a preſent ſum of money for thoſe purpoſes, the commons reſolved, that whoever ſhould advance or lend the ſum of ſix hundred thouſand pounds for the ſervice of the fleet, and fifty thouſand pounds for the preſent ſubſiſtence of the land forces, ſhould be repaid with intereſt at ſix per cent. out of the firſt aids. It was alſo unanimouſly reſolved by both houſes, to preſent an addreſs to his majeſty, beſeeching him to inſert an article in all his treaties of alliance, importing, that no peace ſhould be made with France, until his majeſty and the nation had reparation for the great indignity offered by the French king, in owning and declaring the pretended prince of Wales, king of England, Scotland, and Ireland. A bill for attainting the pretended prince of Wales, was brought into the houſe of commons, which being carried up to the other houſe, paſſed with the additional clauſe of attainder againſt the late king James's queen; but when the bill was ſent back to the commons, they excepted to the amendment, as irregular, and propoſed that the queen ſhould be attainted in a ſeparate bill; to which the lords aſſented. The commons then took into conſideration the conduct of the Kentiſh petitioners who inſulted the laſt parliament; when they reſolved that Thomas Colepepper, Eſq; had promoted that ſcandalous and ſeditious petition in the houſe of commons, commonly called the Kentiſh petition, containing groundleſs reflections on that houſe, for which he ſhould be committed to Newgate, and the attorney-general ſhould proſecute him for that crime, and likewiſe for being guilty of corrupt, ſcandalous and indecent practices, in endeavouring to procure himſelf elected burgeſs for the town of Maidſtone in Kent. But while the houſe was thus maintaining its own dignity, care was taken that the rights and privileges of the ſubjects ſhould not be injured; and for this purpoſe it was reſolved by a conſiderable majority, that it was the undoubted right of the people of England, to petition or addreſs the king for the calling, ſitting, or diſſolving of parliaments, and for the redreſſing of grievances; and that every ſubject under an accuſation, either by impeachment or otherwiſe, had a right to be brought to a ſpeedy trial.

The king before his return from Holland had engaged in a negotiation with the prince of Heſſe d'Armſtadt, who aſſured him, that if he would lay ſiege to and take Cadiz, the admiral of Caſtile, and ſeveral other grandees of Spain, would declare for the houſe of Auſtria. The emperor and the Dutch had determined upon the ſiege of Keyſerwaert, which the elector of Cologne had delivered into the hands of the French. The elector of Hanover had reſolved to diſarm the prince of Wolfenbuttle and Saxegotha; the king of the Romans and prince Lewis of Baden undertook to inveſt Landau, and the emperor promiſed to ſend a powerful reinforcement to prince Eugene in Savoy. William alſo ſuggeſted a plan for effectually reducing the exorbitant power, and chaſtizing the inſolence of France. Thus every thing ſeemed to be in train to humble the pride of a treacherous enemy; but his majeſty did not live to attempt this important enterprize; yet, though his conſtitution was greatly impaired, he endeavoured to conceal the effects of his malady, and to recruit his ſtrength by regular exerciſe. But on the twenty-firſt of February, as his majeſty was riding from Kenſington to Hampton court, his horſe fell, by which accident his collar-bone was broke. Being conveyed to Hampton court, the fracture was reduced by Ronjat, his ſurgeon. In the evening his majeſty returned to his palace at Kenſington, where he had no ſooner arrived, than it was found, that the motion of the carriage had cauſed the ends of the fractured bone to ſeparate; but they were ſoon replaced under the inſpection of Bidloo, his phyſician. The king appeared to be in a fair way of recovery, till the firſt of March, when ſymptoms of an inflammation were diſcovered on his knee, which cauſed great weakneſs, and exquiſite pain. On the following day the bill of attainder againſt the pretended prince of Wales, and a bill enacting, that the ſolemn affirmation of the people called quakers, ſhould be accepted in the courts of law and equity, inſtead of an oath, received the royal aſſent by commiſſion. On the ſeventh of this month, the king's lameneſs was ſo far abated, that he was able to walk ſome time in the gallery of his palace at Kenſington; but ſeating himſelf on a couch, he fell aſleep, and was ſeized, upon his waking, with a ſhivering fit, which was preſently followed by a fever and diarrhœa. Sir Richard Blackmore, and other celebrated phyſicians, attended his majeſty, but all their endeavours to afford him relief proved ineffectual. On the eighth he granted a commiſſion for paſſing the malt tax bill, and the bill of abjuration; but he was ſo weak, as to be incapable of ſubſcribing the commiſſion, and therefore affixed to it a ſtamp prepared for the purpoſe, in the preſence of the lord keeper, and the clerks of parliament. During the intervals of his fits, the king ſent for ſeveral noblemen, and ſpake to them about private affairs. Upon the arrival of the earl of Albemarle, he was admitted into the royal preſence. His majeſty ſaid to him, with unuſual coolneſs, "I draw towards my end." In the evening he thanked Dr. Bidloo for his tenderneſs and care, ſaying, "I am convinced that you, and the other learned phyſicians, have done every thing that the art of man could effect, for procuring me relief; but finding all your efforts muſt prove fruitleſs, I ſubmit to my fate without reluctance." Early in the morning of the tenth, his majeſty had received the holy ſacrament from the hands of Tenniſon, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and continued in prayer with that prelate and Dr. Burnet, biſhop of Saliſbury, till about eight o'clock, when he was ſeized with the agonies of death. The king thanked lord Overkirk for the zeal and fidelity with which he had promoted his intereſts, during a ſeries of ſeveral years, and delivered the keys of his cloſet and eſcritoir to lord Albemarle, telling that nobleman, he was worthy to be intruſted with them. The earl of Portland, after whom his majeſty had made repeated enquiries, did not arrive till he had entirely loſt his faculty of ſpeech, and therefore he could only expreſs his friendſhip for that nobleman, by graſping his hand, and ardently preſſing it to his boſom. Soon after he expired in the arms of Mr. Sewel, one of the pages of the back ſtairs, who ſupported him as he ſat in his bed. Thus died, on the tenth of March, William III. in the fifty-ſecond year of his age, and the fourteeth of his reign. The lords

Lexington and Scarborough, who were then in waiting, no ſooner perceived that the king was dead, than they ordered Ronjat to take off from his left arm a black ribband, which bound next to his ſkin a gold locket, containing ſome hair of the late queen, expreſſing the tender regard he had for her memory. The royal corpſe, after having been opened and embalmed, lay in ſtate at Kenſington; and on the twelfth of April was depoſited in a vault of Henry the VIIth's chapel, in Weſtminſter abbey. In the beginning of May, a will which he had intruſted with monſieur Schuylemburg was opened at the Hague; in which it appeared, that he had declared his couſin, the prince Friſon of Naſſau, ſtadtholder of Friſland, his ſole and univerſal heir, and appointed the ſtates general his executors. By a codicil, he bequeathed the lordſhip of Breevert, and a legacy of two hundred thouſand guilders to the earl of Albemarle.

Character of King William III *.

This prince was of a middle ſtature, ſlender, and, by reaſon of an immature birth, of a delicate conſtitution; being ſubject, from his infancy, to a cough and aſthma. He had an aquiline noſe, a high forehead, ſparkling eyes, and a grave, ſolemn aſpect. But by the aids of temperance and exerciſe, he underwent much fatigue both in the field and in the cabinet. He was endowed with a retentive memory and a ſolid judgment; in conſequence of which his plans, though ſeldom remarkably ſucceſsful, were never ineffectual. He was temperate, juſt, ſincere, religious, and a ſtranger to violent tranſports of paſſion. He was very reſerved, ſpoke but little, and wanted in his manners that pleaſing addreſs, which among the admirers of Charles II. atoned for a number of his vices. He likewiſe was a ſtranger to that king's inſincerity; and never appeared delighted with thoſe he deſpiſed. The defects of literary ſcience were in him ſupplied by natural ſagacity; and there were a ſimplicity, an elevation, an utility, in all the actions of his life. The laſt treaty which William ſigned was the grand alliance; the laſt act of parliament that he paſſed, was one which completed the ſecurity of the Hanover ſucceſſion; and the laſt meſſage he ſent to parliament, while he was in a manner expiring, was to recommend an union between two parts of the iſland which had been long divided. In fortitude and equanimity he rivalled the moſt renowned heroes of antiquity. Being a predeſtinarian, he believed every bullet had its commiſſion; yet in battle his ſpirit was conſtantly reſtrained from acts of raſhneſs, by a deliberate judgment, and a remarkable preſence of mind. He was a zealous aſſerter of the reformed religion, recommending a conformity thereto by his own exemplary conduct. He maintained invariably a regard for the natural rights and liberties of mankind as rational, ſocial beings. Influenced by this benevolent principle, he exerted the moſt heroic efforts in the deliverance of our anceſtors from the bondage of ſlavery; and commenced champion of the general liberties of Europe, the cauſe of reaſon, of nature, of God, and of man. That the Seven United Provinces did not loſe their liberty by the growing power of France; that this iſland did not ſink into the moſt abject ſlavery; that the proteſtant religion was not aboliſhed by law in every county in Europe, appears under God, to be owing to him. To him it was owing, that mankind now ſee the ſingular ſpectacle of a monarchy, in which the ſovereign derives a degree of greatneſs and ſecurity from the liberty of his people, which treaſures and arms have not been able to beſtow upon other princes. In few words, William III. was a happy inſtrument in the hand of Providence, a good man, an illuſtrious ſovereign; and will ever hold a place among the greateſt princes recorded in the annals of time.

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* The character of this prince (a too common practice with former hiſtorians) has been ſet in quite oppoſite lights, ſome having beſtowed on him the moſt exalted encomiums, and others the moſt inveterate obloquy. In ſuch inſtances, which too frequently and ſhamefully occur, it has been our conſtant endeavour to perſevere in the middle way. Having pledged ourſelves to give the public both an *impartial* and *complete* hiſtory of England; we reſt ſatisfied with the full perſuaſion of having punctually hitherto fulfilled our engagements. We have been ſufficiently diffuſe, and upon a candid comparative view of our labours with ſimilar works, whoſe limits and ſize being too confined, contain not even half the whole hiſtory of England) we flatter ourſelves, our readers will find we have brought together all the remarkable tranſactions, memorable events, and ſingular occurrences, into a ſtriking point of view. At the ſame time we can aver, that ſcarce a number has been publiſhed, that has not contained either in the matter or the embelliſhments, much intereſting information, which may with ſtrict truth be ſtiled *new* and *entertaining*, and which is not to be found in any work of the like kind hitherto publiſhed, or now publiſhing, by thoſe whoſe only deſign in oppoſition, is to anſwer pecuniary and ſelf-intereſted purpoſes. Hence by much labour and aſſiduity, we have eſtabliſhed what was our only ambition, an honeſt reputation. We have nothing to fear from the unmeaning conditions and deluding promiſes of envious competitors. Let every one examine and compare our pretenſions, and give merit, wherever found, the preference. For our parts, regardleſs of the paltry artifices of intereſted perſons; we ſhall continue to hold the ſcale of impartiality and accuracy with an equal hand. We ſhall neither leſſen our original plan of *Seventy Numbers*, the *extraordinary large ſize* of our pages, the fullneſs of printing, nor our endeavours to inform and pleaſe; truth ſhall ſtill guide our pen, and an unſhaken integrity influence the whole of our public conduct, with regard to the *honourable completion* of THIS REAL NEW, COMPLETE, UNIVERSAL, AND AUTHENTIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

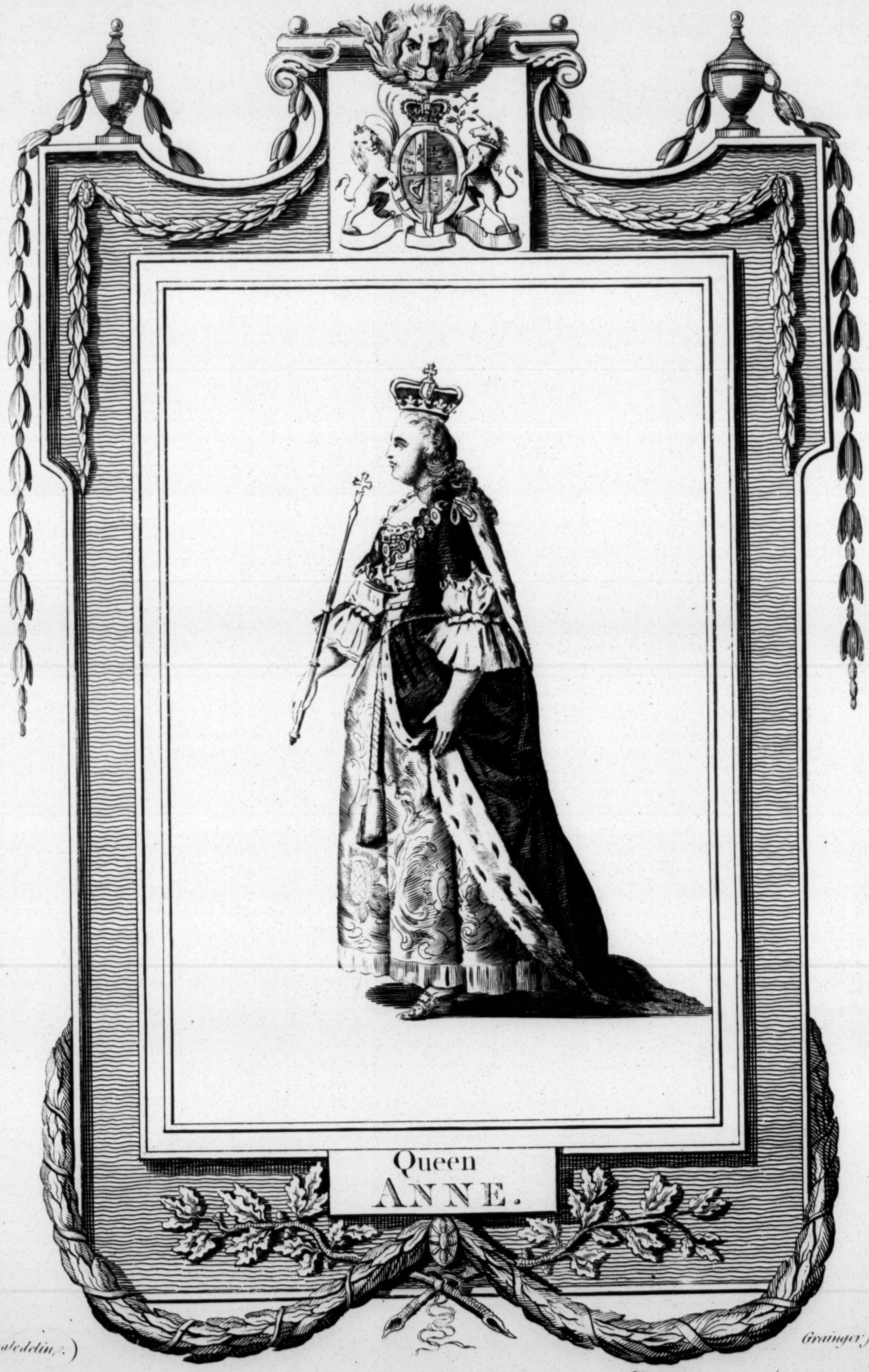
CHAP. II.

ANNE,

SECOND DAUGHTER OF JAMES II.

She proſecutes the war againſt France—The duke of Marlborough appointed commander in chief—Admiral Bembow's fatal engagement—The ſucceſs of the allies, and of the French in Italy—The archduke Charles arrives in England—The queen's bounty to the clergy—The victory of Blenheim—Gibralter taken by admiral Rooke—A naval engagement—The victory of Ramellies, and conqueſt of almoſt all the Spaniſh Netherlands—The union of Scotland with England—Battle of Oudenarde—Liſle taken—Sardinia and Minorca conquered—Death of prince George—Tourney taken—Battle of Malplaquet—Duke of Marlborough undermined by the tories—Sacheverel tried in preſence of the queen—General Stanhope and his troops, after the battle of Saragoſſa, made priſoners of war—The government wholly in the hands of the tories—Marlborough deprived of his poſt, which is given to Ormond—Peace of Utrecht—Oxford removed from the treaſury—Queen Anne's death and character.

A. D. 1702. ANNE, princeſs of Denmark, ſucceeded to the throne by virtue of an act of ſettlement made in the preceding reign; and was proclaimed queen on the tenth of March, when in the thirty-eighth year of her age. Her firſt act of ſovereignty was to convene the privy council,



Wale delin.

Grainger ſculp.

Ascended the Throne. March 8. 1702 — Died Augt 1. 1714.

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council, to whom ſhe declared her concern for the loſs the nation had ſuſtained in the death of his late majeſty; her regard for the religion and liberties of her country; her deſire to maintain the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line; and the government in church and ſtate, as by law eſtabliſhed; and laſtly, her fixed reſolution to curb the inſolence of France, and purſue the intereſt of England, together with that of the confederates, for the ſupport of the common cauſe. As by an act paſſed in the late reign the parliament continued ſitting, even after the king's death, both houſes unanimouſly voted an addreſs of condolence and congratulation. The lords and commons then aſſured her majeſty, that they firmly reſolved to enable her to maintain her alliances, and the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line, and effectually ſupport the credit of the nation. On the eleventh of March, the queen went to the houſe of peers, where, with the uſual ſolemnity, ſhe delivered her firſt ſpeech to parliament, in which ſhe expreſſed her ſatisfaction at their unanimous concurrence with her in opinion, that too much could not be done to reduce the exorbitant power of France; and deſired at the ſame time, they would conſider of proper methods for forming an union between England and Scotland. She declared it would be her conſtant endeavour to make the beſt return for their duty and affection; and as ſhe knew her heart to be entirely Engliſh, ſhe could very ſincerely aſſure them, that there was not any thing they could expect or deſire from her, which ſhe ſhould not always be ready to do for the proſperity and happineſs of England, and that they ſhould find her a religious obſerver of her word. Theſe aſſurances were highly pleaſing to all parties; and addreſſes were preſented by the clergy of London, by the diſſenters in and about that city, and by all the cities, towns, and corporations of England. In return, ſhe declared her attachment to the church; promiſed protection to the diſſenters, and received the compliments of all her ſubjects with an affability that engaged their affections.

The States having received the news of William's death, immediately aſſembled: and for ſome time gazed at each other in ſilent aſtoniſhment. They wept; interchanged embraces, and vowed, that they would act with unanimity, and expend their precious blood in defence of their country. Soon after penſionary Fagel imparted a letter which he had received from the earl of Marlborough, containing aſſurances in the queen's name, of union and aſſiſtance. But what chiefly revived the ſpirits of the Dutch, was the arrival of the earl of Marlborough, whom her majeſty had appointed generaliſſimo and ambaſſador extraordinary. The earl ſucceeded in every part of his negotiation, and having concerted meaſures for the enſuing campaign, embarked for England on the third of April. In the mean time the commons having voted the queen the ſame revenue for life, which had been enjoyed by king William, ſhe came to the parliament on the thirtieth of March, and generouſly informed them, that ſhe would give one hundred thouſand pounds for the public ſervice. Her majeſty was crowned on the twenty-third of April, and about the ſame time, the council ordered the princeſs Sophia to be publicly prayed for. On the fourth of May war was declared againſt France; and in this proclamation, the French king was charged with having taken poſſeſſion of great part of the Spaniſh dominions; with deſigning to invade the liberties of Europe; and with having offered an inſult to the queen and her throne, by preſuming to declare the pretended prince of Wales king of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The deſign of this war was to reſtore the balance of Europe, by taking the Spaniſh dominions out of the hands of the French monarch, and placing the archduke Charles, the ſecond ſon of the emperor Leopold, on the throne of Spain, whom the allies acknowledged as king, in oppoſition to the duke of Anjou. This was the ſcope of the grand alliance which William had formed with the emperor and the States General, and to which acceded the kings of Portugal and Pruſſia, the duke of Savoy, Holland, and other powers. After war was declared, the queen appointed lord Godolphin high-treaſurer, prince George of Denmark, her royal conſort, lord high-admiral, and Sir George Rooke, vice-admiral of England. On the ſecond of July the parliament was diſſolved, as it muſt have expired by the act ſix months after the death of the king. By this time the campaign had been opened in Germany. The confederates began with the ſiege of Keyſerſwaert, a ſtrong town on the Rhine, which the elector of Cologne had put into the hands of the French, and notwithſtanding a vigorous defence, the place ſurrendered about the beginning of June. In the mean time the French prevailed in the Netherlands; but the States having put their forces under the command of the earl of Marlborough, he aſſembled the confederate troops about the beginning of July, and marched againſt the enemy, who retired before him, till they had entirely abandoned Spaniſh Guelderland. Not being able to bring them to an engagement, the earl took Venlo on the twenty-fifth of September, Ruremond on the ſixth of October, and Liege about the end of that month. In November the army breaking up, Marlborough repaired to Maeſtricht, from whence he propoſed to return to the Hague by water. He accordingly embarked in a large boat with twenty-five ſoldiers, under the command of a lieutenant. But in the night a French partizan, with thirty-five men from Gueldres, lurking among the ruſhes, in expectation of prey, ſeizing the rope by which the boat was drawn, hauled it aſhore; they then ruſhed into the veſſel, and ſecured the ſoldiers before they could put themſelves in a poſture of defence. Thus the earl of Marlborough, with general Opdam, and Gueldermalſen, one of the deputies of the States, were taken priſoners. Theſe laſt were happily provided with paſſports. The earl had neglected this precaution, and it appeared as if nothing could ſave him: but recollecting he had an old paſſport for his brother, general Churchill, in his pocket, he, with admirable preſence of mind, produced it as his own; and the French being in ſuch confuſion as to neglect examining the date, were ſatisfied with rifling their baggage, and carrying off the guard as priſoners. The governor of Venlo being informed that Marlborough had been ſurprized, and conveyed to Gueldres, immediately marched with his whole garriſon to inveſt that town. The ſame imperfect account being carried to Holland, the whole province was filled with conſternation; and the States immediately aſſembling, reſolved, that all their forces ſhould inſtantly march to Gueldres, to his relief: but before theſe orders could be diſpatched, the earl, to the inexpreſſible joy of the people, arrived at the Hague.

The operations of the combined fleets did not anſwer the expectations of the public. The late king, juſt before his death, had formed a deſign of reducing Cadiz, and the queen determined to put this project in execution. The fleet conſiſted of fifty ſail of the line, commanded by Sir George Rooke, and the duke of Ormond was appointed general of the land forces. Toward the latter end of June the fleet ſailed from St. Helen's, and on the twelfth of Auguſt anchored at the diſtance of two leagues from Cadiz. On the fifteenth the duke of Ormond landed his troops in the bay of Bulls, and repulſed a body of Spaniſh infantry. He then ſummoned the governor of St. Catharine to ſurrender, and received for anſwer, that they were prepared for his reception. A battery was now raiſed againſt Montagorda fort, oppoſite to the Puntal; but the attempt miſcarried, and the troops were reimbarked. On his return to England, Rooke received advice, that the galleons from the Weſt Indies had put into Vigo, under convoy of a French ſquadron. He therefore reſolved to ſail thither and attack them. The paſſage into the harbour was well ſecured and defended. As the firſt and ſecond rates of the combined fleet were too large to enter, the admirals ſhifted their flags to ſmaller ſhips. To favour the attack Ormond landed with twenty-five hundred men, and took by aſſault a fort and platform of forty pieces of cannon, at the entrance of the harbour. No ſooner was the Britiſh enſign diſplayed at the top of the fort, than the ſhips advanced to the attack. Vice-admiral Hopſon, in the Torbay, crowding all his ſail, ran directly againſt the boom, which was broke by the firſt ſhock; and the whole ſquadron entered the harbour, through a terrible fire from the enemies ſhips and batteries. Theſe laſt however were ſtormed and taken by the grenadiers, who had been landed. The French, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, finding themſelves unable to contend with ſuch an adverſary, reſolved to ſet fire to their galleons and ſhips of war, that they might not fall into the hands of the victors. They accordingly burned and ran aſhore eight ſhips, and as many advice boats; but ten ſhips, and eleven galleons were taken. Though they had ſecured the beſt part of their effects, before the combined fleets arrived, yet the value of fourteen millions of pieces of eight, in plate and rich commodities, were deſtroyed in ſix galleons that periſhed; but about half that value was brought off by the conquerors; ſo that this victory proved a dreadful ſtroke to the enemy, and a valuable acquiſition to the allies. Sir George Rooke, being joined ſoon after by Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, left this officer to bring home the prizes, and deſtroy the fortifications, while he returned in triumph to England. But the Engliſh were not ſo ſucceſsful in America as in Europe. By the death of admiral Bembow, England was deprived of one of the braveſt ſea officers ſhe ever produced. This great man having received information that M. de Caſſe, with a French ſquadron was expected at Hiſpaniola, reſolved to go in queſt of him. On the nineteenth of Auguſt he came up with the French ſquadron, conſiſting of ten ſail, viz. four of ſeventy guns, one of forty, and the reſt ſmall frigates. Bembow had only ſeven ſhips with him, viz. the Breda of ſeventy guns, the Defiance of ſixty-four, the Ruby of fifty-four, and the Pendennis, Greenwich, Windſor, and Falmouth, of fifty each. The admiral in the Breda, with the Falmouth and Ruby, began the attack, but the other four ſhips fell aſtern, and ſcarce fired a ſhot; notwithſtanding which the admiral purſued the enemy, and maintained a running fight for five days, when one of the enemy's principal ſhips appeared quite diſabled. But the French having by this time diſcovered that Bembow was not ſeconded by the reſt of his captains, came down furiouſly upon him, and in the height of the engagment, he had the misfortune to have his leg ſhattered to pieces by a chain-ſhot. Undaunted by this accident he ordered his cradle to be brought upon deck, and ſtill continued the fight, till the captains, who had ſo baſely deſerted him, came on board, and deſired him to deſiſt, alledging the enemy was too ſtrong. The admiral, apprehenſive from their former conduct, that if he withſtood their importunities they might go over to the French, returned to Jamaica. Enraged at the baſe behaviour of his captains, he immediately iſſued a commiſſion to rear admiral Whetſtone, and other officers, to hold a court-martial, and try them for cowardice. Hudſon of the Pendennis, died before the trial; Kirby of the Defiance, and Wade of the Greenwich, were convicted and ſentenced to be ſhot; Conſtable of the Windſor was caſhiered and impriſoned; Vincent of the Falmouth, and Fogg, the admiral's own captain, were convicted of having ſigned a paper, that they would not fight on the preſent occaſion; but as they had behaved gallantly in the action, the court only inflicted on them the puniſhment of ſuſpenſion, nor was that to take place till the lord high admiral's pleaſure ſhould be known. Wade and Kirby were ſent home in the Briſtol, and, upon their arrival at Plymouth, ſhot on board the ſhip; a dead warrant for their immediate execution having lain there for ſome time. In the mean time admiral Bembow was ſo deeply affected by this miſcarriage, that he became melancholy, and his grief having augmented the fever, occaſioned by his wound, it ſoon put a period to his life.

On the ſecond of July, the queen iſſued writs for calling another parliament; it met on the twentieth of October, when the commons choſe Mr. Robert Harley for their ſpeaker. In an addreſs of thanks, returned by the lords to the ſpeech, they congratulated her majeſty on the ſucceſs of her arms under the earl of Marlborough, in general terms. But the commons were more particular, for in their addreſs they caſt ſeveral invidious reflections on the late reign; and among other things obſerved, " that the wonderful progreſs of her majeſty's arms, under the earl of Marlborough, had ſignally retrieved the ancient honour and glory of the Engliſh nation." The word retrieved, occaſioned ſeveral warm debates in the houſe, ſome affirming, that it evidently implied a reflection on the memory of the late king, as if the honour of the nation had been loſt, or had greatly ſuffered in his reign, and the word maintained, was propoſed to be inſerted in its room. But the tories who introduced and ſupported the firſt expreſſion, gained their point, and upon a diviſion, retrieved was carried by a great majority. November the twenty-firſt, the queen ſent a meſſage to the houſe of commons, by Mr. ſecretary Hedges, informing them, " that her majeſty, conſidering there was but a very ſlender proviſion made for the prince her huſband, if he ſhould ſurvive her; and that ſhe was reſtrained from increaſing the ſame by the late act of parliament, for ſettling the revenue, thought it neceſſary to recommend the making a further proviſion for the prince to their conſideration." In conſequence of this meſſage the commons unanimouſly reſolved, " that the yearly ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds be ſettled upon his royal highneſs, in caſe he ſhould ſurvive her majeſty." The earl of Marlborough now received the thanks of both houſes for his ſignal ſervices; and on the ſecond of December her majeſty declared in the committee of council, that ſhe was ſo ſatisfied with the eminent ſervices of lord Marlborough to the public and herſelf, both in the command of the army, and the entire confidence he had ſettled between her majeſty and her allies, the States General, that ſhe intended to create him a duke, and alſo to grant him a penſion of five thouſand pounds per annum, upon the revenue of the poſt-office, for the ſupport of his honour during her majeſty's life.

Commiſſioners for ſtating the public accounts having, by order of the houſe of commons, examined thoſe of the earl of Ranelagh, pay-maſter of the army, laid them before the houſe, with their own obſervations, in which they bore very hard upon the earl, and the commons, after a full hearing of all parties, came to ſeveral reſolutions againſt that nobleman, who, to avoid any farther enquiries into his management, reſigned his place; but this was not ſufficient to appeaſe the commons; for they expelled him their houſe, of which he was a member, and even addreſſed her majeſty to order the attorney general to proſecute him, but the queen did not think proper to comply with their requeſt. Violent animoſities were produced between the two houſes, by this enquiry; and the queen being informed thereof, ſent a meſſage to the lords, deſiring they would diſpatch the buſineſs in which they were engaged; but the quarrel between the two houſes ſtill continuing with a warmth that left little hopes of an accommodation, her majeſty reſolved to put an end to the ſeſſion as ſoon as poſſible.

A. D. 1703. The queen informed the commons, that the States General had preſſed her to augment her forces, as the only means to render ineffectual the great and early preparations of the enemy. The commons immediately reſolved, that ten thouſand men ſhould be hired as an augmentation of the forces to act in conjunction with the allies; but at the ſame time they intreated her majeſty to make it a point with the States General, that they ſhould put an immediate ſtop to all commerce and correſpondence with France and Spain; and on the twenty-ſeventh of February, her maj ſty came to the houſe of peers, and gave the royal aſſent to ſeveral acts; after which the lord-keeper, by her majeſty's command, prorogued the parliament.

Marlborough having croſſed the ſea about the middle of April, immediately aſſembled the allied army, and opened the campaign in Flanders with the ſiege of Bonne, which place was attacked in three different quarters at once. The garriſon made a very vigorous defence, but at laſt, the fort having been taken by aſſault, and the breaches being practicable, the marquis d'Alegre, the governor, ordered a parley to be beat; hoſtages were immediately exchanged, and two days after the garriſon marched out, and were ſent to Luxemburgh. The duke now advanced towards the French army with an intent to give them battle; but upon his approach, Villeroy thought proper to retire within the lines, having firſt blown up the works about Tongeren. It was next reſolved to attack the French lines; which ſervice was effectually performed by general Coehorn and baron Sparre, though not without conſiderable loſs in the attack. The duke of Marlborough finding it impoſſible to bring the French to an engagement, ſat down before Huy, of which he made himſelf maſter in about ten days. On the tenth of September, the confederates inveſted Limburgh, which ſurrendered on the twenty-eighth, and put an end to the campaign in Flanders. On the thirtieth of October, the duke of Marlborough returned to England. The command of the grand fleet was this year given to Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, Sir George Rooke being ill at Bath. It conſiſted of thirty-five ſhips of the line, and the admiral had under him Sir Stafford Fairborne, vice-admiral of the red; Sir George Byng, rear-admiral of the red; and Sir John Leake, vice-admiral of the blue. While this fleet was at ſea, intelligence was brought to the lord high-admiral's council, that a conſiderable fleet of French merchant ſhips, with their convoy, were in Concalle bay, on the coaſt of Normandy. Orders were immediately given to admiral Dilkes to ſail in purſuit of them, which he did on the twenty-ſecond of July, and executed his commiſſion with ſuch ſucceſs, that he took, burnt, and ſunk, upwards of forty ſail, three of which were equipped as men of war.

Lewis was ſtill able to make head againſt the united efforts of the grand alliance; it was therefore reſolved to weaken him by detaching from his intereſt two of his principal allies. The project ſucceeded; and Lewis with amazement heard, that the duke of Savoy was in actual treaty with the emperor. He immediately ſent orders to the duke of Vendoſme to ſeize and diſarm the troops of Savoy, that were in his ſervice, to the number of twenty-two thouſand men. The duke, by way of repriſal, commanded ſeveral French officers that were in Turin, and the French ambaſſador himſelf, to be put under arreſt. This proceeding produced a ſecond order from Lewis to the duke of Vendoſme, to invade Savoy immediately. In return, the duke publiſhed a manifeſto, ſetting forth the neceſſity and juſtice of his proceedings, and ſent expreſſes to the confederated powers to ſolicit their aſſiſtance againſt the impending ſtorm. The queen aſſured him of her protection, and both ſhe and the States ſent ambaſſadors to the court of Turin. In the mean time the duke concluded a treaty with the court of Vienna, who promiſed him all that France and Spain had refuſed him, viz. Monſerrat, Mantua, Alexandria, Valencia, and the countries between the Po and the Tanaro, with more money than he received from France in ſubſidies. The money was to be furniſhed by England, for the emperor had ſcarcely ſufficient to pay his troops. In return, the duke of Savoy acknowledged the archduke Charles as king of Spain, and prepared for the event. France had ſcarce received intelligence that ſhe had loſt this ally, but ſhe alſo heard that Portugal had deſerted her. Mr. Methuen, our ambaſſador at that court, had ſpared no pains to detach his moſt Faithful majeſty from his unnatural connections with the grand monarch. His arguments had their full weight with his Portugueſe majeſty, who was moreover allured by the proſpect of a match between the infanta his daughter and the archduke Charles, to whom the emperor and the king of the Romans, ſhould transfer all their pretenſions to the crown of Spain. A treaty was now ſet on foot and ſoon concluded at Liſbon, between the emperor, the queen of Great Britain, the king of Portugal, and the States General. In this treaty it was ſtipulated, that king Charles ſhould be conveyed to Portugal by a powerful fleet, having on board twelve thouſand ſoldiers, with a great ſupply of arms and ammunition, and that twenty-eight thouſand Portugueſe ſhould be ready to join him immediately at Liſbon. About the middle of September king Charles ſet out from Vienna for Holland, and paſſing through the territories of the elector of Hanover, was met by that prince, who complimented him on his acceſſion. At Duſſeldorp he was viſited by the elector Palatine and the duke of Marlborough, the latter of whom made him compliments of congratulation in the name of our queen. On the ſecond of November his majeſty arrived at the Hague, where he repreſented to the States, that the province of Limburgh belonged to him as king of Spain, and deſired he might have the civil government thereof; which the States complying with, his majeſty appointed count Zinzendorf to take poſſeſſion of the town and province of Limburgh in his name. Having paid his viſit at the Hague, the archduke arrived in England, where he was royally entertained by the queen and prince George at Windſor, for three days; and in the following year he ſailed with the combined fleets for Portugal. The parliament meeting on the ninth of November, the queen opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, wherein ſhe took notice of the declaration by the duke of Savoy, and the treaty of Portugal, as circumſtances very advantageous to the allies. The treaty with Portugal being now laid before the lower houſe, and duly conſidered, they voted forty thouſand men, including five thouſand marines, for the ſea ſervice of the enſuing year; the like number of land forces to act in conjunction with the allies, beſides the additional ten thouſand; and they reſolved that the proportion to be employed in Portugal ſhould amount to eight thouſand. For the maintenance of theſe armaments, as well as for the diſcharge of the ſubſidies, payable to her majeſty's allies, they granted the ſum of three millions eight hundred and eighty one thouſand ſix pounds, fifteen ſhillings. They likewiſe preſented an addreſs to the queen, in which they aſſured her, that they would provide for the ſupport of ſuch alliances as ſhe had made or ſhould make with the duke of Savoy.

September the twenty-ſixth, about eleven o'clock at night, there aroſe the moſt dreadful tempeſt that had ever been known in the memory of man, attended with ſuch flaſhes of lightening and peals of thunder as filled every mind with the utmoſt terror and conſternation. The houſes in London ſhook from their foundations, and ſeveral of them falling, overwhelmed the inhabitants in their ruins. The Thames overflowed ſeveral ſtreets, and roſe to a conſiderable height in Weſtminſter hall. London bridge was almoſt choaked up with the wreck of veſſels that were beat to pieces in the river. The loſs ſuſtained by the capital alone was computed at near two millions, and the city of Briſtol ſuffered to the amount of two hundred thouſand pounds: but the greateſt loſs fell upon the navy, of which there periſhed no leſs than thirteen ſhips, upwards of fifteen hundred ſeamen were drowned, among whom was Beaumont, rear admiral of the blue, who had been employed all this year in obſerving the Dunkirk ſquadron. Theſe loſſes, however, though they affected us greatly at home, ſerved in ſome meaſure to raiſe our reputation abroad; for orders were immediately iſſued for building a greater number of ſhips than deſtroyed; and the queen, by gracious bounties, gave ſuch ſpeedy relief to thoſe ſeamen who eſcaped with their lives, and to the diſtreſſed widows of ſuch as were drowned, as gained her full poſſeſſion of the hearts and affections of her ſubjects.

At this time Simon Frazer, lord Lovat, and two other perſons, were ſent over from St. Germains to Scotland, with inſtructions to learn the ſtrength and ſentiments of the clans, and endeavour to perſuade ſome of the nobility and leading men to enter into a deſign the French had formed of reſtoring the pretender to the crown of that kingdom. Sir John Maclean, who had lately come over from France to England, had been apprehended at Folkſtone in Kent, from whence he was brought to London in cuſtody of the queen's meſſengers. A perſon named Keith was apprehended at the ſame time, as was Mr. Lindſey, who had been under ſecretary to king James and the pretender. James Boucher, who had been aid de camp to the duke of Berwick, was taken on the coaſt of Suſſex, coming over from France. Such a number of rebels and outlaws coming over at this time, tended to confirm the truth of a conſpiracy being in agitation, though they made uſe of the ſpecious pretence, that their only deſign was to live peaceably at home, under her majeſty's government for the future. But one Ferguſon, who had been concerned in almoſt every jacobite plot, came in voluntarily and declared, that Frazer had been employed by the duke of Queenſberry, to draw ſome perſons whom that nobleman had a diſlike to, into a plot, but that there was in reality no ſuch thing in agitation. Theſe aſſurances, however, gained little credit, and the houſe of lords, taking theſe matters into conſideration, reſolved that a committee ſhould be appointed to examine into the particulars, and ordered that Sir John Maclean and the other emiſſaries, ſhould be taken into the cuſtody of the black rod, and no perſon admitted to ſpeak to them. This ſtep greatly offended her majeſty, ſhe thinking it too officious an interpoſition to take them out of the hands of her meſſengers, informed the lords, "that ſhe thought it would be inconvenient to change the method of examination already begun, and, that ſhe would, in a ſhort time, inform the houſe of the whole affair."

A. D. 1704.

The lords, proceeded in their examinations of the Scottiſh plot; and on the twenty-ninth of January, the earl of Nottingham acquainted them, that the queen had commanded him to lay before them the account, containing all the papers hitherto diſcovered in relation to that affair; but that there was one circumſtance that could not be properly communicated without running a riſk of preventing a diſcovery of much greater importance: but the lords not ſatisfied with this reſerve, preſented an addreſs, deſiring that all the papers, without diſtinction, might be ſubmitted to their inſpection, in order to enable them to penetrate to the bottom of this conſpiracy before the concluſion of the ſeſſion. Upon this the queen, a few days after, ſent the papers ſealed to the houſe; and all the lords were ſummoned to attend on the eighth of February, that they might then be opened and peruſed. The houſe accordingly met, and having finiſhed the examinations, voted, that there had been dangerous plots between ſome perſons in Scotland and the courts of France and St. Germains; and that the encouragement for this plotting aroſe, from not ſettling the ſucceſſion of the crown in the houſe of Hanover. Theſe votes were ſignified to the queen in an addreſs, and the lords promiſed, that when this ſucceſſion ſhould be once ſettled, they would endeavour to promote the union of the two kingdoms upon juſt and honourable terms. Her majeſty in the mean time performed an act of generoſity which greatly endeared her to her ſubjects, and was a convincing proof of the great regard ſhe had for religion, by conferring on the poor clergy a more extenſive and magnificent bounty than any of her predeceſſors ever had done: and which at this day amounts to above twenty thouſand a year, and is ſtill increaſing. On the twenty-ſeventh of February, her majeſty ſent a meſſage to the commons, importing, "that having maturely conſidered the mean and inſignificant maintenance appointed for the clergy: in various parts of the kingdom, ſhe had remitted the arrears of the firſt fruits and tenths, to the ſaid poor clergy: that ſhe would grant her whole revenue ariſing out of this fund, as far as it ſhould become free from incumbrances, towards an augmentation of their maintenance; and that if the houſe of commons could diſcover any method by which her good intentions towards the clergy could be rendered more effectual, it would be at once a great advantage to the public, and very acceptable to herſelf." Having received this meſſage, the commons voted an addreſs to the queen, in which they expreſſed their thanks for her pious concern for increaſing the maintenance of the poor clergy out of her own revenue, and aſſured her majeſty they would exert their utmoſt endeavours to render her intentions more effectual; and a bill was brought in, for enabling her majeſty to grant in perpetuity the revenue of the firſt fruits and tenths, for the maintenance of the poor clergy. At the ſame time they repealed the ſtatute of Mortmain, ſo far as it might be free to all men, either by deed or their laſt wills, to give what they thought proper, towards the augmentation of benefices. This was oppoſed with great warmth by ſome of the lords, who alledged, it would be opening a door for the clergy to practiſe upon the weakneſs of dying men: but after a debate of ſeveral hours, it was carried in the affirmative by a great majority; and ſoon after paſſed into a law.

The emperor's affairs were now in the moſt deplorable ſituation; and the houſe of Auſtria ſaw itſelf on the brink of ruin, without a timely and powerful aſſiſtance. The elector of Bavaria was maſter of Paſſau; thirty thouſand French under the command of marſhal Marſin, who had ſucceeded

Villars, over-run the country on the other ſide the Danube; ſeveral flying parties were in Auſtria: Vienna itſelf was threatened on one ſide by the French and Bavarians, and on the other by prince Rogotſki, at the head of the mutinous Hungarians, fighting for their liberty, and aſſiſted with money by the French and Turks. In this forlorn condition, Leopold had no other reſource than that of imploring the aſſiſtance of her Britannic majeſty. He therefore, about the beginning of April, ordered Wratiſlaw, the Imperial envoy at London, to preſent a memorial to the queen, diſplaying the imminent danger that threatened Germany, and earneſtly imploring her relief. This memorial was ſtrongly ſupported by the duke of Marlborough, who repreſented the abſolute neceſſity of ſpeedily ſuccouring the emperor. The queen, who was entirely guided by that general, returned a favourable anſwer to the emperor's memorial; and the duke embarking for Holland, arrived at the Hague, about the beginning of May, where he had a conference with the States General; and the Dutch readily agreed to ſend immediately a body of troops to the relief of the emperor. Having obtained every thing he wiſhed, the duke purſued his rout into the heart of the empire, and by forced marches, arrived on the banks of the Danube near Donawert, oppoſite to the Bavarian lines, where about eight thouſand French, and as many Bavarians, lay intrenched. On the firſt of July the duke of Marlborough encamped with his right at Amerdghem, and his left at Onderingen. The elector of Bavaria immediately ſent a detachment of his beſt troops to reinforce count d'Arco, who was poſted at Schellenburg, ſituated on a riſing ground on the Danube, where, for ſeveral days he had been raiſing intrenchments, it being a poſt of vaſt importance. Marlborough, however, knowing that the works were not completed, reſolved to attempt driving the enemy from their poſts. Accordingly, on the ſecond of July, he advanced, with a detachment of ſix hundred foot, thirty ſquadrons of Engliſh and Dutch, and three battalions of Engliſh grenadiers, the reſt of the army following him with all imaginable diligence. By unavoidable accidents it was near three in the afternoon before the duke could paſs the river Werimitz, which runs by Donawert, with the artillery. At length the attack was begun with unparalleled courage by the Engliſh and Dutch; the Imperialiſts not being yet arrived. The enemy made a moſt vigorous defence, but after an engagement of about an hour and an half, in which time the Imperialiſts came up, the intrenchments were forced, and the allies made a terrible ſlaughter of the enemy, who with the utmoſt precipitation ran towards Donawert and the Danube, and upon being cloſely purſued, the greateſt part followed the example of their generals, who ſwam over that river. Our loſs amounted to about ſix thouſand men, among whom were many brave officers. That of the enemy was computed at about eight thouſand. We took ſixteen pieces of cannon and thirteen colours and ſtandards. The day after this action the army took poſſeſſion of Donawert; the Bavarian garriſon quitted it upon their approach; having firſt broke down all the bridges, but wanted time to deſtroy the ammunition and proviſions, purſuant to the orders they had received.

The elector of Bavaria paſſed the Danube, to prevent the victors cutting off his retreat into his own country. The confederates having croſſed the river on ſeveral bridges of pontoons, a detachment was ſent to take poſt in the country of the elector, who had retired under the cannon of Augſburg. The allies advanced within a league of that city, but finding the enemy too ſecurely poſted, to be attacked with any proſpect of ſucceſs, they encamped in ſuch a manner as to cut off all communication between him and his dominions. Marlborough now propoſed very advantageous terms of peace to the elector, on condition of his abandoning the French, and his ſubjects preſſed him to comply, rather than expoſe his country to ruin and deſolation. A negotiation was therefore begun; but when he appeared ready to ſign the articles, hearing that marſhal Tallard was marching with a great body of forces to join him, he declared, that he thought himſelf obliged in honour to continue firm in his alliance. The allies exaſperated at this diſappointment, ravaged Bavaria. The duke ſoon after removing his camp, the elector of Bavaria marched to Biberach, where he was joined by count Tallard, and they paſſing the Danube, encamped at Blenheim. The duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene having alſo joined their forces, marched up to the enemy, whom they found advantageouſly poſted on a hill near Hochſtet. On the twelfth of Auguſt the confederate generals went out to take a view of the enemy, and diſcovered by their glaſſes that their whole army was in motion, the quarter-maſters having marked out a camp from Blenheim to Lutzingen. About four in the afternoon they diſcerned plainly the enemy's tents pitched, and that they were very advantageouſly poſted; their right being covered by the Danube, and the village of Blenheim; their left by a wood and the village of Lutzingen; and their front by a rivulet, the banks whereof were ſteep and marſhy. The confederate generals perceived the difficulties which would attend an attack of the enemy in this ſituation; but they ſaw alſo the danger of being inactive in their camp, till their forage might be conſumed and their proviſions exhauſted: they, therefore, on the thirteenth advanced into the plain, and ranged their forces in order of battle. All neceſſary diſpoſitions having been made, and orders communicated to general officers, the cannonading began about nine in the morning, and continued on both ſides till one in the afternoon. The French and Bavarians amounted to about ſixty thouſand, with one hundred pieces of cannon. On their right were poſted the marſhal Tallard, and the French troops he brought with him; and on the left the elector with his Bavarians, and the French troops under the command of marſhal Marſin. The number of the confederates did not exceed fifty-five thouſand. Their right was commanded by prince Eugene; their left by the lords Cutts, Orkney, and the generals Churchill, Lumley, and Ingoldſby; and the duke of Marlborough as commander in chief, took his ſtation in the centre. The action was begun at noon by major general Wilkes, with a body of Engliſh and Heſſians, who having with great difficulty paſſed a rivulet, attacked the village of Blenheim with great bravery; but were repulſed after three ſucceſſive attempts. Meanwhile the troops in the centre and part of the right wing paſſed the rivulet in different places; and formed on the other ſide without moleſtation. They were, however, at length, charged by the French horſe with ſuch impetuoſity, and ſo terribly galled in flank by the troops poſted at Blenheim, that they fell into diſorder, and part of them repaſſed the river; but a reinforcement of dragoons coming up, the French cavalry were, in their turn, broken, and driven to the very hedges of the village of Blenheim. The left wing of the confederates being now formed, aſcended the hill in a firm compact body, and charged the enemy's horſe with ſuch fury, that though they rallied ſeveral times, they could not ſtand their ground, but fled with precipitation. Tallard now ordered ten battalions to fill up the intervals of his cavalry, which the duke obſerving, ſent three battalions of the troops of Zell, to ſupport his horſe. Nevertheleſs the line was diſordered from the fire of the French infantry, and was obliged to recoil; but advancing to the charge with redoubled ardour, they routed the French cavalry, whoſe battalions being thus deſerted, were cut to pieces. Tallard rallied the remains of his broken cavalry behind ſome tents that were ſtill ſtanding; but they being vigorouſly attacked in flank, were totally routed. Part of them endeavoured to gain a bridge they had thrown over the Danube between Hochſtet and Blenheim; but were ſo cloſely purſued, that thoſe who eſcaped the ſlaughter threw themſelves into the river, where they were drowned. Tallard, being ſurrounded, was taken priſoner, together with the marquis de Montperoux, three major-generals, and many other officers of diſtinction. While the left wing of the allies was thus victorious, the centre, overpowered by numbers, was repulſed; but the duke of Marlborough brought up ſome freſh ſquadrons from the body-reſerve, and obliged the enemy to retire. He had no ſooner defeated the right wing, than he prepared to reinforce prince Eugene, when he underſtood his highneſs had no occaſion for his aſſiſtance, he having put the enemy to flight. The rout now became general in the French army; every one fled with the greateſt precipitation; and ſo extreme was the terror and confuſion, that officers and ſoldiers ran headlong into the Danube. The confederates, being now maſters of the field of battle, ſurrounded the village of Blenheim, in which were poſted twenty-ſeven battalions, and twelve ſquadrons. Theſe, being cut off from all communications with the reſt of the army, laid down their arms, and ſurrendered priſoners of war. Such was the event of the celebrated battle of Blenheim, or, as the French call it, the battle of Hochſtet; where the allies gained one of the moſt glorious and complete victories that was ever acquired in any war, or by any general. The French and Bavarians left ten thouſand dead on the field of battle; the greateſt part of thirty ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons periſhed in the Danube; thirteen thouſand were made priſoners; one hundred pieces of cannon were taken, with twenty-four mortars; one hundred and twenty-nine colours; one hundred and ſeventy-one ſtandards; ſeventeen pair of kettle-drums; three thouſand ſix hundred tents; thirty-four coaches; fifteen barrels, and eight caſks filled with ſilver, and three hundred loaded mules. Of the allies, about four thouſand five hundred were ſlain, and about eight thouſand wounded or taken. After this memorable victory, Ulm, Landau, and Taerbach were taken, and all Bavaria ſubmitted to the conquerers. Count Tallard, and ſeveral other officers were brought to England, and ſent to Nottingham, where they remained ſome years. The queen ſettled the manor of Woodſtock upon the duke of Marlborough, where Blenheim-houſe was erected for him at her majeſty's expence, as a monument of this glorious victory. The emperor wrote him a letter with his own hand, expreſſing his obligations to him, and offering to create him a prince of the empire. The duke, however, declined that honour, till he had obtained the conſent of the queen, which being obtained, he was advanced to that high dignity, and Mildenheim was beſtowed upon him as his principality. He was, indeed, never known by that title, the name of Marlborough being the nobleſt he could bear.

This campaign in Flanders was very barren of events; but in Italy the French were greatly ſuperior to the duke of Savoy, who was obliged to continue on the defenſive, and ſee Vendoſme reduce Vercelle and Ivrea. Soon after the French made themſelves maſters of the valley of Aoſta, whereby the duke's communication with Germany was entirely cut off. On the fourteenth of October Vendoſme laid ſiege to Verrua, a ſtrong fortreſs ſituated on the other ſide of the Po, between Caſal and Turin. This place held out five months againſt all the efforts of the French general: the duke of Savoy having poſted his little army on the other ſide of the Po, at Creſcentino, where he had a bridge of communication, by which he ſupplied the place occaſionally with freſh proviſions. But the communication being at length cut off, the duke retired to Chivas, and Verrua ſurrendered to the enemy. The duke of Savoy complained greatly at being abandoned by his allies on this occaſion.

The arms of England were no leſs ſucceſsful by ſea. Admiral Rooke, who was ordered to carry Charles III. to Portugal, having landed that prince at Liſbon, cruiſed for ſome time on the coaſt, and on the twenty-firſt of May the fleet ſteered for the iſles of Hieres. In their paſſage they ſaw the Breſt ſquadron ſailing towards Toulon. Sir George immediately gave chace; but the French ſhips had greatly the advantage of his, being all clean, by which means they got ſafe into Toulon, and Sir George proceeded to Liſbon in order to wait for a reinforcement. On the ſixteenth of June he was joined by Sir Cloudeſley Shovel with his ſquadron, and a council of war being called, it was reſolved to ſteer up the Mediterranean in queſt of the French fleet; and after cruiſing for near a month without being able to meet with it, a ſecond council of war was held, wherein it was reſolved to make a ſudden attempt upon Gibraltar. The fleet arrived ſafe in that bay, and about three o'clock in the afternoon, one thouſand eight hundred Engliſh and Dutch, with the prince of Heſſe at their head, were landed to the northward of the town. His highneſs had no ſooner ſecured this poſt, than he ſent a ſummons to the governor to ſurrender the place; but he returned for anſwer, "That he would defend it to the laſt extremity." Next day the admiral gave the ſignal for cannonading the town, which was performed with ſuch vigour, that fifteen thouſand ſhot were expended in five hours. In the mean time captain Whitaker was ſent in with ſome boats, and burnt a French privateer of twelve guns in the Old Mole. By this time the admiral, perceiving that the enemy were driven from their fortifications at the ſouth Mole-head, by the fire from our ſhips; and conſidering that if he could poſſeſs himſelf of theſe works the town muſt unavoidably be taken, he ordered all the boats of the fleet to be manned and armed, and gave the command of them to captain Whitaker, with orders, if poſſible, to make himſelf maſter of theſe works; but while captain Whitaker was preparing to execute theſe orders, captain Hicks of the Yarmouth, and captain Jumper, who lay next the Mole, puſhed on ſhore in their pinnaces, and ſome other boats; whereupon the Spaniards immediately ſprung a mine, which blew up all the fortifications upon the Mole, killed two lieutenants, with about forty men, and wounded ſixty. The ſeamen, however, kept poſſeſſion of the platform, till captain Whitaker and his men landed. They ſoon made themſelves maſters of the redoubt between the Mole and the town, and turned the cannon they found therein againſt the enemy. The admiral then ſent a letter to the governor, and a meſſage to the prince of Heſſe, deſiring him to ſend a peremptory ſummons, which his highneſs accordingly did; in conſequence of which on the twenty-fourth in the morning, the governor capitulated, and the prince of Heſſe took poſſeſſion of the place; and the fleet, having left as many men with that general as could be ſpared, ſailed to Tetuan to take in wood, water, and proviſions. This was no ſooner accompliſhed than the admiral again put to ſea, and, on the eleventh of Auguſt, got ſight of the French fleet, which he purſued with all the ſail he could make. On the thirteenth he came within three leagues of them to the weſtward of Cape Malaga, where they brought to, formed their line, and lay ready to receive him. Their line conſiſted of fifty-two ſhips, and twenty-four gallies; they were very ſtrong in the center, and weaker in the van and rear; to ſupply which moſt of the gallies were divided into thoſe quarters. Our line conſiſted of fifty-three ſhips; Sir George Rooke, with the rear-admirals Byng and Dilkes being in the center; Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, and Sir John Leake led the van, and the Dutch formed the rear. The action began about ten in the morning, when our van and rear immediately preſſed forward to a cloſe engagement, and ſoon obliged that part of the French line with which they were engaged to give way; but the center of the French bore extremely hard upon Rooke's diviſion: the fight was, however, maintained with great obſtinacy till night, when the French bore away to leeward with their diſabled ſhips, towed by their gallies. The wind ſhifting in the night, the enemy got the weather-gage; but their fleet and our's lay by all the day within three leagues of each other repairing their damages, and at night they again made ſail to the northward. The two following days Sir George endeavoured to renew the fight, but the French as carefully evaded it; and at laſt, crowding all the ſail they poſſibly could, actually ran away from the combined ſquadrons. Sir George ſailed to Gibraltar to refit; and leaving a ſquadron of eighteen ſhips under Sir John Leake, ſet ſail for England, where he arrived in the month of September, when her majeſty was pleaſed to confer the honour of knighthood on George Byng, and Thomas Dilkes, Eſqrs. and captain Jennings, commander of the St. George. The reduction of Gibralter no ſooner reached the court of Spain, than Philip, the reigning king, ſent the marquis of Villadartas with an army to retake it. He accordingly inveſted the place on the twenty-fourth of October. During the ſiege, which laſted four months, the prince of Heſſe gave every proof of his great capacity as a general, in its defence. The garriſon was ſupplied with men and proviſions from the ſquadron under Sir John Leake; but that admiral being obliged to ſail to Liſbon for freſh ſuccours, M. de Pointis, the French admiral, came out of Cadiz with thirteen men of war, and blocked up Gibraltar on that ſide next the ſea, whereby the town was reduced to the laſt extremity: but Sir John returning ſooner than the enemy expected, ſurprized de Pointis, took three of his ſhips, and ran two others on ſhore, which the enemy burnt. The beſiegers, having now loſt the beſt part of their army by ſickneſs and the ſword, thought proper to raiſe the ſiege on the tenth of March, leaving only a detachment of their forces at ſome diſtance to block up the place.

The parliment met on the twenty-fourth of October. The ſeſſion was opened by a ſpeech from the throne, and both houſes waited on her majeſty the next day, with ſeparate addreſſes of thanks. The lords congratulated her on the great and glorious ſucceſs of her arms under the command of the duke of Marlborough, without mentioning Sir George Rooke; but the commons congratulated her majeſty, "as well upon the victory obtained by Sir George Rooke, as upon that obtained by the duke of Marlborough." The houſe then deliberated upon the different articles of the national expence, and ſhewed ſuch zeal and application in ſupporting the war by neceſſary ſupplies, that thoſe requiſite for maintaining both the army and navy, were voted before the end of November; and on the ninth of December the bills for the ſame received the royal aſſent, when the queen, in a ſhort ſpeech, thanked the commons for their diſpatch, which, ſhe ſaid, ſhe conſidered as a ſure pledge of their affection.

A. D. 1705. Doctor Delany, vice-chancellor of Oxford, accompanied by the principal members of the univerſity, attended the queen with an addreſs of congratulation upon the ſucceſs of her arms in Germany, under the admirable conduct and invincible courage of the duke of Marlborough; and at ſea, under that brave and faithful admiral Sir George Rooke. The latter part of this addreſs gave umbrage to the queen, as it ſeemed to raiſe the admiral upon a level with the general, whoſe great victories had captivated her admiration, and whoſe wife had alienated her affection from the tories; her majeſty, therefore, returned a cool anſwer to the addreſs; and ſoon after Sir George Rooke was diſmiſſed from his command, without the leaſt reward for his long and faithful ſervices. He was ſucceeded by Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, who was then declared rear-admiral of England. The commons now took into conſideration the treaty which the duke of Marlborough had concluded with the king of Pruſſia, for taking eight thouſand of his troops into Engliſh pay, which were to ſerve in Savoy. They alſo took notice how very deficient the allies were in furniſhing their reſpective quotas towards carrying on the war, as well by ſea as land; and beſought her majeſty to uſe her intereſt with them, that next year they might furniſh their complete proportion, according to their reſpective treaties; to all which the queen returned favourable anſwers; and, after giving the royal aſſent to ſeveral bills ſhe diſſolved the parliament, and a proclamation was iſſued for calling another. In the beginning of May count Gallas, envoy extraordinary from the Imperial court, received advice of the death of his maſter, the emperor Leopold V. who was ſucceeded by Joſeph, king of the Romans, his eldeſt ſon. The envoy had alſo orders to aſſure her majeſty, that the new emperor would not only obſerve all the treaties concluded with his predeceſſor, but alſo do every thing in his power to render thoſe alliances more firm and laſting.

Marlborough, ever ſince the battle of Blenheim, had employed his thoughts in forming a plan for improving the advantage he had gained by that action; and, after the moſt mature deliberation, none appeared ſo rational as that of making an impreſſion on the frontiers of France. Accordingly the Moſelle was pitched upon as the ſcene of action, and large magazines were formed at Triers. As forage was very ſcarce in that part of the country, and therefore impoſſible for the allied army to ſubſiſt long between the Moſelle and the Saar, Marlborough ſent repeated remonſtrances to quicken the march of the Imperialiſts: but neither his remonſtrances, nor thoſe of the deputies of the States, had any effect.

In the mean time the French did not fail to puſh their ſuperiority in the Netherlands. They inveſted Huy; and carried on their attack with ſuch vigour, that in leſs than fourteen days the garriſon were obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. This diſagreeable news no ſooner reached the allied army, than the deputies of the States repreſented to the duke of Marlborough, "That it was impoſſible to ſubſiſt the army any longer in their preſent ſituation; that the Germans, by their delays, had rendered the beſieging Saar-Louis impracticable, and defeated the whole ſcheme for a campaign on the Moſelle; that it was to no purpoſe to continue in theſe parts, when their forces might be better employed in the Netherlands in ſtopping the progreſs of the enemy." The duke was ſufficiently perſuaded of the truth of theſe repreſentations; but being willing to remain till the laſt extremity, he did not decamp till the ſeventeenth of June, when he found all his hopes of penetrating into the bowels of France, rendered abortive. He therefore marched for the Netherlands by the ſhorteſt way; while the Imperial troops, the Pruſſians, and the Wirtemburgers, moved towards the Upper Rhine. The duke proſecuted his march with ſuch expedition, that he ſaved Liege; the enemy having, on receiving advice of his approach, ſent back their artillery to Namur, and retired with great precipitation to Tongeren. On the other hand, the duke continuing his rapid march, retook Huy, and drove the enemy behind their lines, which Marlborough reſolved to force. The French, conſiſting of near one hundred battalions, and one hundred and forty-ſix ſquadrons, were poſted behind their lines. The force of the allies was nearly equal, their army conſiſting of ninety-five battalions, and one hundred and fifty-nine ſquadrons. In order to divide the forces of the enemy, it was reſolved to make a falſe motion; and accordingly the army under M. d'Auverquerque decamped from Vignamont at five in the morning, and marched towards Burdine on the other ſide of the Mehaigne. At the ſame time the duke made a motion, as if he intended to ſupport Auverquerque, in attacking the lines near Meſſeline, that being the weakeſt part. This feint was attended with the deſired ſucceſs: the French ſent off large detachments to thoſe parts where they expected the greateſt danger; and conſequently left thoſe parts, on which the duke had a real deſign, in a very weak condition. Marlborough ſaw with pleaſure the French running into the ſnare he had prepared for them; and the ſame night marched at the head of his army, which was joined by that of M. d'Auverquerque, his army having repaſſed the Mehaigne; and the combined army proceeded with all poſſible expedition to ſupport a detachment, ſent to attack the enemy's lines in the neighbourhood of Heyliſhem. The deſign was ſo ſecret, and ſo ſuddenly carried into execution, that the enemy had not the leaſt thought of it; eſpecially as this was the ſtrongeſt part of their lines, and therefore leſs ſuſpected than any other. The confederates paſſed the lines with very little oppoſition; but were afterwards attacked by twenty-four ſquadrons of Bavarian horſe, and twenty battalions. This occaſioned a ſharp action, but they were ſoon defeated and put to flight; leaving their ſtandards, colours, and artillery behind them. The marquis d'Alegre, and the count de Horne, lieutenant-generals, were taken priſoners, together with one major-general, two brigadier-generals, and ſeventy-four other officers. In the morning of the ſame day, the army marched to Tirlemont; the French, in the mean time, decamping and breaking down their bridges with ſuch precipitation, as to leave near fifteen hundred men on this ſide, who were taken priſoners, together with a battalion of Montluc in Tirlemont. Nothing farther of moment happened in Flanders during the preſent campaign. The duke put his army into winter-quarters; and after concerting the operations of the next campaign with the emperor and the States-general, embarked for England, and arrived at St. James's on the thirtieth of December.

Not any events of importance were produced during the campaign upon the Rhine; but the naval operations of the allies were conducted with equal ſpirit and ſucceſs. The moſt remarkable atchievement was the reduction of Barcelona by the earl of Peterborough, and Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, who, in the latter end of May, ſailed from St. Helen's with the Engliſh fleet, and on the twentieth of June landed at Liſbon, where they were reinforced by Sir John Leake, and the Dutch admiral Allemonde. On the twenty-ſecond, they arrived in the bay of Barcelona; the troops diſembarked to the eaſtward of the city, where they poſſeſſed themſelves of a ſtrong camp, and were well received by the country people. On the twenty-eighth, king Charles landed amidſt the acclamations of an infinite multitude from the neighbouring towns and villages, who threw themſelves at his feet, exclaiming with tranſport, "Long live the king." The inhabitants of Barcelona were ſtrongly attached to the houſe of Auſtria, but were over-awed by a garriſon of five thouſand men, commanded by the duke of Popoli, Velaſco, and other officers, who had eſpouſed the cauſe of king Philip. Notwithſtanding theſe circumſtances rendered the attempt apparently hazardous, it was propoſed by the prince of Heſſe d'Armſtadt, who ſerved in this expedition as a volunteer, and approved by the earl of Peterborough, and Sir Cloudeſley Shovel. It was thought expedient to ſurprize the caſtle of Montjuic, to effect which the neceſſary preparations were made; and at ſix o'clock in the evening a detachment of one thouſand men was ordered to march by the way of Serria, and a thouſand more followed at midnight to ſupport them if there ſhould be occaſion. The out-works were carried by aſſault, but with the loſs of the gallant prince of Heſſe, who was ſhot through the head, and expired in a few moments. The earl then bombarded the fort; and a ſhell happening to fall into the magazine of powder blew it up, together with the governor, and ſome of the principal officers; an accident which ſo alarmed the garriſon, that they ſurrendered without further reſiſtance. Poſſeſſed of this important poſt, the Engliſh general erected his batteries againſt the town, and the bomb-ketches fired with ſuch execution, that in a few days the governor capitulated, and on the fourth of October, Charles entered in triumph. All the other places in Catalonia, except Roſeas, declared for him; ſo that the largeſt and richeſt province of Spain, was conquered by an army ſcarce double in number to the garriſon of Barcelona. Charles wrote with his own hand a letter to queen Anne, containing a circumſtantial detail of his affairs, the warmeſt expreſſions of gratitude, and the higheſt encomiums on her ſubjects, particularly the earl of Peterborough. The ſeaſon of the year requiring the fleet to return home, king Charles reſolved to continue in Catalonia, for the encouragement of the people of that province, together with the earl of Peterborough, and the land forces, as well as all the marines that could be ſpared on board the fleet. Admiral Shovel ſailed for England leaving twenty-five ſail of Engliſh ſhips, commanded by admiral Leake, and fifteen ſail of Dutch, under the command of admiral Waſſenaer, to winter at Liſbon. He alſo left four Engliſh and two Dutch frigates at Barcelona, to attend king Charles. The only misfortune which attended the arms of England this year, was the capture of the Baltic fleet, homeward bound, with their convoy of three ſhips of war, which were taken by the Dunkirk ſquadron, under the command of the count de St. Paul, who was killed in the action. When an account of this event was communicated to the French king, he replied with a ſigh, "Very well; I wiſh the ſhips were ſafe again in any Engliſh port, provided the count could be reſtored to life." After the death of Dubart, this officer was reputed the beſt ſeaman in France.

The election of members for a new parliament, now engaged wholly the attention of the Engliſh; and after a violent oppoſition, a majority of whigs was returned. The parliament meeting on the twenty-firſt of October, a warm conteſt aroſe about the choice of a ſpeaker. Mr. Bromley was propoſed by the tories, and Mr. John Smith by the whigs; the latter of whom was elected by a conſiderable majority. The queen, as uſual, made a ſpeech; and both houſes preſented addreſſes in the warmeſt terms of duty and affection. On the ſixth of December was held that famous debate in the houſe of lords, concerning the danger of the church. On that day the queen repaired to the houſe, in order to hear the debates. They were opened by the earl of Rocheſter; and the reaſons he aſſigned in ſupport of his opinion, that the church was in danger, were, the ſecurity act in Scotland; the abſence of the heir to the crown; and the parliament's not paſſing the occaſional bill. He was anſwered by lord Halifax, who aſſerted, that the ſecurity act being merely of a political nature, was foreign to eccleſiaſtical affairs, and was unavoidably paſſed to prevent an immediate rebellion. He ſlighted the ſecond reaſon as trivial; and with reſpect to the third obſerved, that the matter had been ſufficiently canvaſſed, and the houſe had given their opinion of it already. The biſhop of London alledged, that the church was in danger from the profaneneſs, irreligion, and licentiouſneſs of the times, as well as the pernicious tendency of ſeveral ſermons which had been lately preached, in which rebellion was countenanced, and reſiſtance to the higher power encouraged. Burnet, biſhop of Sarum, anſwered him; and affirmed, that extraordinary care had been taken of late in promoting religion, erecting ſchools for the inſtruction of youth, and giving away books to excite piety; in which uſeful works, one thouſand two hundred pounds had been expended the laſt year. The archbiſhop of York declared, that he apprehended danger from the increaſe of Diſſenters, particularly from the many academies they had erected; to which lord Wharton anſwered, by complaining of the ſchools and ſeminaries held by nonjurors. The biſhop of Ely complained of the heat and violence in the univerſities. The biſhop of Lichfield alledged the abuſive language uſed againſt the biſhops. The biſhop of Bath and Wells the invidious terms of high church and low church. Lord Somers cloſed the debates by a healing ſpeech. The queſtion, whether the church was in danger? being put, it was carried in the negative by a great majority. The houſe then reſolved, “That the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed, which was reſcued from imminent danger by king William III. of glorious memory, is now, by God's bleſſing, under the auſpicious reign of her majeſty, in a moſt ſafe and flouriſhing condition; and that whoever went about to inſinuate to the contrary, was an enemy to the queen, the church, and the kingdom.” This vote being communicated to the commons, and their concurrence deſired therein, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of forty voices; whereupon both houſes joined in addreſſes to the queen, exhibiting the ſaid reſolution, and deſiring her majeſty to make it public; and a proclamation to this end was publiſhed.

A.D. 1706. The credit of the duke of Marlborough was at this time very high; for the emperor having propoſed a loan of five hundred thouſand pounds on a branch of his revenues in Sileſia, the whole ſum, by the intereſt of the duke, was immediately ſubſcribed by the merchants of London. Indeed, at this juncture, public credit was in great repute; the kingdom was bleſſed with plenty; the forces were well paid, notwithſtanding the great quantity of coin exported for the maintenance of the war, the paper currency ſupplying the deficiency ſo well, that few murmurs were heard in the kingdom. All the funds being eſtabliſhed, her majeſty came to the houſe of peers on the nineteenth of March, and after giving the royal aſſent to ſuch bills as were ready, ſhe made a ſpeech to both houſes; after which the parliament was prorogued till the firſt of May following. On the ſixteenth, commiſſioners appointed for forming a union of England and Scotland, met at the Cockpit, and their commiſſions being opened and read by their reſpective ſecretaries, namely, Mr. George Doddington for the Engliſh, and Sir David Nairn for the Scots, and introductory ſpeeches delivered by the lord-keeper of England, and the lord-chancellor of Scotland, it was agreed, that copies of the ſeveral commiſſions ſhould be prepared and ſigned by the ſecretaries, and interchanged; after which the commiſſioners adjourned to the twenty-ſecond of April, on which day they again aſſembled, and the lord-keeper, in the names of the lords-commiſſioners for England, delivered to the board four preliminary articles, the ſubſtance of which was as follows: that all propoſals made by either ſide ſhould be in writing; and every point, when agreed, reduced into writing; that no point, though agreed upon, ſhould be obligatory, till all matters ſhould be adjuſted in ſuch a manner as would be proper to be laid before the queen, and the parliament of each nation, for their approbation; that a committee ſhould be appointed from each commiſſion, to reviſe the minutes which might paſs, before they ſhould be inſerted in the books by the reſpective ſecretaries; and, that all the proceedings during the treaty ſhould be kept ſecret. A fœderal union was propoſed by the Scots, in the nature of that ſubſiſting between the Dutch united provinces, or the cantons of Switzerland; but the Engliſh would hear of nothing leſs than an incorporating union, ſo as effectually to take from any future Scotiſh parliament, the power of repealing the articles of this treaty; and, on the twenty-fourth of April, the lord-keeper of England propoſed, “That the two kingdoms of England and Scotland ſhould be for ever united into one nation, by the name of Great-Britain; that it ſhould be repreſented by one and the ſame parliament; and that the ſucceſſion to this monarchy, in failure of heirs of her majeſty's body, ſhould be ſubject to the limitations mentioned in an act of parliament made in England in the twelfth and thirteenth years of the reign of the late king William III. entitled, An act for the farther limitation of the crown, &c.

To theſe preliminaries the commiſſioners for Scotland, agreed, with this proviſo only, “That all the ſubjects of the united kingdom of Great-Britain, ſhould have full freedom and intercourſe of trade and navigation, to or from any part or place within the ſaid united kingdoms, and plantations thereunto belonging, and that there may be a communication of all other privileges and advantages which do or may belong to the ſubjects of either kingdom.” To this the commiſſioners of England acquieſced, under ſuch terms as, in the further progreſs of this treaty, ſhould be found for the common advantage of both kingdoms. Theſe general preliminaries being agreed upon, the commiſſioners proceeded to particulars; and at length articles were ratified by both parliaments, though not without great oppoſition on the part of that of Scotland. This celebrated treaty imported, that England and Scotland ſhould, from the firſt of May one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeven, be united into one kingdom, by the name of Great-Britain; that the ſucceſſion ſhould be veſted in the princeſs Sophia and her heirs; that all papiſts, or perſons that marry papiſts, ſhould be for ever excluded from inheriting the crown; that the united kingdom ſhould be repreſented by one parliament; that all ſubjects of Great-Britain ſhould enjoy a communication of rights, and all advantages, and be under the ſame reſtrictions and regulations; that Scotland ſhould be exempted from the temporary duties on ſome commodities; that the ſum of three hundred ninety-eight thouſand and eighty-five pounds ten ſhillings, ſhould be granted to the Scots as an equivalent for ſuch part of the cuſtoms and exciſe, charged upon that kingdom in conſequence of the union, as ſhould be applicable to the payment of the debts of England, according to the proportion which the cuſtoms and exciſe of Scotland bore to thoſe of England; that as the revenue of Scotland might increaſe, a further equivalent ſhould be allowed for ſuch proportion of the ſaid increaſe, as ſhould be applicable to the payment of the debts of England; that the ſum to be paid at preſent, as well as the money ariſing from the future equivalents, ſhould be employed in reducing the coin of Scotland to the ſtandard and value of the Engliſh coin; in paying off the capital ſtock and intereſt due to the proprietors of the African company, which ſhould be immediately diſſolved; in diſcharging all the public debts of the kingdom of Scotland; and in promoting manufactures and fiſheries, under the direction of commiſſioners appointed by her majeſty, and accountable to the parliament of Great Britain; that the laws concerning public right, policy, and civil government, ſhould be the ſame throughout the kingdom; but that no alteration ſhould be made in laws which referred to private property, except for evident utility of the ſubjects within Scotland; that the court of ſeſſion, and all courts of judicature in Scotland, ſhould remain as then conſtituted by the laws of that kingdom, with the ſame authority and privileges before the union, ſubject however to ſuch regulations as ſhould be made by the parliament of Great Britain; that the rights and privileges of the royal boroughs of Scotland, ſhould remain entire after the union; that Scotland ſhould be repreſented in the parliament of Great Britain by ſixteen peers, and forty-five commoners, to be elected in ſuch a manner as ſhould be ſettled by the preſent parliament of Scotland; that all the peers in Scotland, and the ſucceſſors to their honours and dignities, ſhould, from and after the union be peers of Great Britain, and ſhould have rank and precedency immediately after the Engliſh peers of the like orders and degrees, who might be created after the union; that they ſhould be tried as peers of Great Britain, and enjoy all the privileges of peers, as fully as enjoyed by the peers of England, except the right and privilege of ſitting in the houſe of lords, and particularly the right of ſitting on the trials of peers; that the crown, ſceptre, and ſword of ſtate, the records of parliament and all other records, rolls, and regiſters whatſoever, ſhould remain as they were within that part of the united kingdom called Scotland; and that all laws and ſtatutes in either kingdom, ſo far as they might be inconſiſtent with the terms of theſe articles, ſhould ceaſe, and be declared void by the reſpective parliaments of the two kingdoms. Such was the ſubſtance of that famous treaty which was ſoon after concluded, and which happily united the different parts of this iſland under the ſame monarchy.

The duke of Marlborough repaired to Holland the latter end of April, and having conferred with the States-general, aſſembled the allied army, which amounted to ſeventy-four battalions of foot, and a hundred and twenty-three ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons, well ſupplied with artillery and pontoons. The court of France being informed that the Daniſh and Pruſſian troops had not yet joined the confederates, ordered the elector of Bavaria, and the marſhal de Villeroy, to attack them before the junction might be effected. In purſuance of this order, they poſted themſelves at Tirelemont, being much ſuperior in number to the allied army. About the beginning of May, the duke of Bavaria, and the marſhal Villars decamped, and paſſing the Dyle, marched directly towards the confederate army. The duke of Marlborough was ſeldom ſurpriſed for want of intelligence; and no ſooner was he informed of this movement, than he diſpatched an expreſs to the Dutch troops to join him, who arrived within a league of his camp. On Whitſunday, about four in the morning, the duke of Marlborough advanced with the army in eight columns towards the village of Ramillies, he being by this time joined by the Danes. The next, day the French general perceiving the allies ſo near, took poſſeſſion of a ſtrong camp, with the village of Ramillies nearly in the center. The confederate army was poſted near Folbz, with a moraſs in their front, and their left drawn up near the village of Franqueine upon the Mehaigne, where the duke alſo placed the Daniſh horſe, foreſeeing the ſtreſs of the action would lay there. The confederate army being drawn up in order of battle, about three in the afternoon, four battalions of the left wing began the attack againſt the enemy's brigade of foot, which they drove from their poſt on the Mehaigne; while Monſieur d'Auverquerque charged with the horſe of that wing. The ſucceſs was for ſome time doubtful; which the duke of Marlborough perceiving, ſuſtained them with the body of reſerve, and ſome ſquadrons drawn from the right. The duke then rallied ſome of the broken ſquadrons, in order that they might renew the charge, when his horſe falling, he was ſurrounded by the enemy, and muſt have been killed or made priſoner, had not a body of infantry came ſeaſonably to his relief. On his remounting, a cannon ball carried off the head of colonel Brienfield, his gentleman of the horſe, while he held his ſtirrup. The duke now ordered lieutenant-general Schultz to attack the village of Ramillies with twelve battalions of foot, and twenty pieces of cannon; while veldt-marſhal Overkirk on the left, ordered colonel Wertnuller, with four battalions, and two pieces of cannon, to diſlodge the enemy's infantry from the hedges of the village of Franqueine; both which orders were ſucceſsfully executed. By this time the right of the enemy's horſe being entirely defeated, the Dutch and Daniſh horſe of the left wing of the allied army fell upon the right of the enemy's infantry, and cut in pieces no leſs than twenty battalions, making themſelves maſters of their colours and cannon. The remainder began to retreat in good order, under cover of the cavalry of their left wing; but the Engliſh horſe having croſſed the rivulet which divided them from the enemy, fell upon them with ſuch impetuoſity, that they abandoned their foot, and were terribly ſlaughtered in the village of Anderkirk. The French king's own regiment begged for quarter, and delivered up their arms and colours to the victors. The French now gave way on all ſides, their cavalry flying three different ways; but were ſo cloſely purſued, that very few eſcaped. The elector of Bavaria, and the marſhal de Villeroy, ſaved themſelves with the utmoſt difficulty. Several waggons belonging to the enemy's vanguard breaking down in a narrow paſs, obſtructed the way ſo much that the baggage and artillery could not proceed; nor could their troops defile in order. The victorious horſe being informed of this accident, preſſed on them with ſuch rapidity, that great numbers threw down their arms and ſubmitted. The purſuit was continued five leagues from the field of battle, and laſted till two in the morning. Never was a victory more complete. The confederates took the enemy's baggage and artillery, a very few pieces excepted; about one hundred and twenty colours and ſtandards, ſix hundred officers, ſix thouſand private ſoldiers, and about eight thouſand were killed or wounded. Among the ſlain, were prince Maximilian and prince Montbaſon. The loſs of the allies did not exceed three thouſand men, including prince Lewis of Heſſe and M. Bentinck, who were both ſlain during the action. This victory was attended with the immediate conqueſt of almoſt all the Spaniſh Netherlands; the cities of Lovaine, Mechlin, Bruſſels, Antwerp, Ghent, and Bruges, ſubmitted without reſiſtance, and acknowledged king Charles. Oſtend, though it had a ſtrong garriſon, ſurrendered after a ſiege of ten days. Menin, eſteemed the moſt finiſhed fortification in the Low Countries; and though garriſoned by ſix thouſand men, ſubmitted to the ſame fate. The garriſon of Dendermonde ſurrendered themſeves priſoners of war; and Aeth ſubmitted on the ſame conditions.

Barcelona about the ſame time was blocked up by the French fleet under the count of Toulouſe, while Philip beſieged it by land. The inhabitants, animated by the preſence of king Charles, made a vigorous defence; but were ſo hard preſſed, that he was in danger of falling into the enemy's hands; but Sir John Leake ſailing to his relief, the French admiral no ſooner received intelligence of his approach, than he retired with precipitation; and the earl of Peterborough arriving with a body of troops, Philip abandoned the ſiege, and retired in great diſorder, leaving behind his tents, with the ſick and wounded. On the ſide of Portugal, the earl of Galloway, with an army of twenty thouſand men, undertook the ſiege of Alcantara; and in three days the garriſon, conſiſting of four thouſand men, were made priſoners of war. He afterwards took ſeveral other places, and advanced even to Madrid, which ſubmitting to king Charles, he was proclaimed there. But that prince loitering away his time in Barcelona, his competitor recovered his ſpirits; and his army, under the duke of Berwick, received ſuch reinforcements as enabled him to return to Madrid; upon which the allies were obliged to retire from that city, with as much haſte as they had marched thither.

In Italy, the allies were as ſucceſsful as in Flanders. The duke of Savoy had been reduced to the utmoſt extremity; and Turin, his capital, had been beſieged by the French. The city was reduced to great diſtreſs; moſt of the ammunition being ſpent, and the French having made a lodgment on the conterſcarp. In this dangerous ſituation, the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene ſaw themſelves under a neceſſity of marching immediately to the defence of the place. Accordingly they paſſed the Doria on the ſixth of September, and encamped on its banks. The next morning at break of day, the army moved towards the enemy. Never perhaps was a bolder march than the allied army made on this occaſion; having a continual fire to ſuſtain from forty pieces of cannon, which the enemy had pointed to gall them. The duke of Orleans perceiving that all their efforts were not ſufficient to ſtop the intrepidity with which the duke and the prince marched towards him, propoſed to quit the intrenchments, and give them battle. He was joined in this propoſal by the greater part of the general officers in the French army: but marſhal Marſin producing a written order from Lewis, which left every thing to his deciſion in caſe of an action; and giving his opinion to remain in the lines, the duke of Orleans was forced to acquieſce. When the confederate army came within half cannon ſhot of the French line, they drew up in order of battle, and began the attack with their artillery. On this the whole army moved in a moment; the infantry marched up with their muſkets to the foot of the intrenchments; and prince Eugene putting himſelf at the head of the left wing, began the charge, which was made with ſuch aſtoniſhing vigour and activity, that in leſs than two hours he carried the enemy's line. The ſame was done by the duke of Savoy in the center and on the right; ſo that by noon the allies were maſters of the French camp, and the defeat of the army was become general. The duke of Orleans behaved with great preſence of mind, and received ſeveral wounds in the action. Marſhal Marſin was taken priſoner, after having his thigh ſhattered by a cannon ball, and died in a few hours after under the amputation. The French loſt in the action near ſeven thouſand men, beſides three hundred officers, and about eight thouſand private men taken priſoners; two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, one hundred and eight mortars, ſeven thouſand eight hundred bombs, thirty-two thouſand hand grenades, forty-eight thouſand cannon balls, four thouſand cheſts of muſket balls, eighty-ſix barrels of gunpowder, all their tents and baggage, five thouſand beaſts of burden, ten thouſand horſes belonging to thirteen regiments of dragoons, and the mules of the commiſſary, all fell into the hands of the victors. The mules were ſo richly laden, that this part only of the booty was valued at near one hundred and thirty thouſand pounds ſterling. The loſs of the confederates did not amount to three thouſand men, killed, wounded, or diſabled in the attack, excluſive of two thouſand of the garriſon of Turin, who had fallen during the courſe of the ſiege.

We muſt not here omit relating an action, which muſt appear the more extraordinary, and entitle the author of it to the greater praiſe, as his birth and education were but mean, and conſequently not calculated to produce thoſe ambitious views, to which ſo many daring and heroic actions owe their origin. During the above ſiege, the enemy had broke into one of the largeſt ſubterranean galleries belonging to the citadel, and the French engineer was rewarded with two hundred Louis d'ors for making the diſcovery. The French now concluded they ſhould make their way into the citadel by means of this ſecret paſſage, and accordingly poſted two hundred grenadiers there. One Micha, a Piedmonteſe peaſant, who ſerved as a pioneer, and who, by his good natural parts and long practice, had acquired ſuch a ſkill in his profeſſion as to be made a corporal of that corps, was then working near the ſpot with about twenty men, in order to complete a mine; but hearing the French buſy over his head in ſecuring their poſt in the gallery, he immediately perceived that his work was become uſeleſs, and that the enemy was poſſeſſed of a poſt that would be of infinite advantage to them; at the ſame time he was convinced, that it would coſt him his life to prevent them, his mine having no fauciſſon, by which he might ſpring it with leſs danger. There was, however, no time for deliberation, and he inſtantly formed a ſcheme that would have done honour to the greateſt hero. He ordered his companions to withdraw out of the mine, and to fire a muſket as a ſignal when they reached a place of ſafety; at the ſame time requeſting them to acquaint the duke, his maſter, that Micha implored aſſiſtance for his wife and children. His companions immediately retired; and on this intrepid pioneer's hearing their ſignal, he ſet fire to the mine, and thus ſacrified his own life to the ſervice of his country. The two hundred French grenadiers were blown up into the air, and the ſecret paſſage on which the enemy had placed ſuch flattering hopes, was totally obliterated. His companions faithfully delivered his meſſage to the duke, who not only provided for his widow and children, but ſettled a perpetual annuity of ſix hundred livres a year upon Micha's deſcendants.

The duke of Savoy now entered his capital in triumph; and the duke of Orleans, finding it impoſſible to procure ſubſiſtence for his troops, retired into Dauphiny.

Lewis was now humbled to ſuch a degree as might have excited even the compaſſion of his enemies. He employed the elector of Bavaria to write letters, in his name to the duke of Marlborough, and the deputies of the States General, containing propoſals for opening a congreſs. He had already tampered with the Dutch, in a memorial, preſented by the marquis d'Alegre. He offered to cede either Spain and the Weſt Indies, or Milan, Naples and Sicily to king Charles, to give up a barrier for the Dutch in the Netherlands, and to indemnify the duke of Savoy for the ravages which had been committed in his dominions. The powers that formed the confederacy were fired with the ambition of making conqueſts; and England in particular thought herſelf entitled to an indemnification for the immenſe ſums ſhe had expended. Animated by theſe concurring conſiderations, queen Anne and the States General rejected the offers of France, declaring they would not enter into any negociations for a peace, but in concert with their allies. The parliament met at Weſtminſter on the ſecond of December, where her majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne. Both houſes preſented an addreſs to the queen for her gracious ſpeech, and congratulated her on the glorious ſucceſs obtained by the duke of Marlborough; voting at the ſame time an addreſs of thanks to that general, for his many eminent ſervices to her majeſty, and the kingdom. They then immediately granted the ſupplies for the enſuing year, beſides which they voted ſupplies for the equivalent granted by England to the Scots, purſuant to the treaty of union.

A. D. 1707. Her majeſty, on the twenty-eighth day of January, went to the houſe of lords and paſſed ſeveral public and private acts, and then made a ſpeech, acquainting them, that the union being perfected by the parliament of Scotland, ſhe had ordered the ſame to be laid before them, for their concurrence in it. She alſo intimated, that Scotland being to have an equivalent for what that kingdom is obliged to contribute towards the debts of England; ſhe deſired them to make proviſions for the payment thereof. In the houſe of lords previous to the entering upon conſideration of the articles of the union, a bill was ordered to be brought in for the ſecurity of the church of England; an act for the ſecuring Preſbytery in Scotland, having paſſed there before the articles of the union. The purport was, that the act of uniformity ſhould be in force for ever, that every king or queen hereafter, at their coronation, ſhould take an oath to preſerve the ſettlement of the church, and the doctrine and diſcipline thereof; and that this act ſhould be held a fundamental and eſſential part of the union of the two kingdoms.

The grand deſign of the allies, for which every thing elſe was neglected, except Naples, was the ſiege of Toulon. The latter end of June the duke of Savoy, and prince Eugene, began their march thither, with an army of between forty and fifty thouſand men; Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, with the combined fleet and tranſports, having taken on board their heavy cannon, with the proviſions and ammunition neceſſary for the undertaking. On the eleventh of July the army paſſed the Var, with very little oppoſition; here the duke of Savoy made a halt to refreſh his troops, and in order to be joined by his cavalry, which was not yet arrived: and to this delay the miſcarriage of that enterprize has been attributed; for the intention of the allies to beſiege Toulon being now no longer doubted, the enemy drew their troops thither from all parts; and not only repaired and augmented the fortifications of the town, but perfectly covered it by a fortified camp, in which they had no leſs than forty battalions. The confederate army being arrived before the place, prince Eugene obſerved the diſpoſition of the enemy; and finding he muſt fight an army intrenched in the outworks, and on the heights that ſurrounded the place, and which were furniſhed with an infinite number of guns, was for retreating forthwith. But the duke of Savoy was poſitive in his opinion for carrying on the enterprize, and accordingly the neceſſary diſpoſitions were made for attacking the hill of St. Catharine, which the enemy had fortified; and in this firſt attempt the allies were ſucceſsful. They alſo attacked and carried two ſmall forts near the harbour; but by the ſixteenth of Auguſt the enemy's forces were ſo increaſed, that they ventured to attack their camp and recovered the hill of St. Catharine. At length the duke of Savoy, being convinced of the impoſſibility of taking Toulon; and receiving intelligence that the enemy had now ſixty battalions in their intrenchments, beſides a numerous cavalry, agreed to deſiſt from the enterprize. However, by way of retaliation for the ruin of his capital city of Turin, he gave directions for the bombarding of Toulon both by ſea and land; and both himſelf and prince Eugene advanced to an eminence to behold the dreadful blaze.

Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, with fifteen ſail of men of war, ſet ſail for England; and on the twenty-firſt of October arrived in ſoundings; but by miſtake ſteering a wrong courſe, his own ſhip the Aſſociation ſtruck upon the rocks of Scilly, wherein periſhed himſelf and every ſoul on board. Such alſo was the unhappy fate of the Eagle and Romney. The Firebrand was daſhed in pieces on the rocks; but the captain and twenty-four of his men ſaved themſelves in his boat; the Phœnix ran aground, but the crew ſaved themſelves. Sir George Byng in the Royal Anne, by ſkilful ſteerage changed her courſe in a moment, and ſaved the ſhip when in the moſt imminent danger of ſtriking. The admiral's body being caſt a-ſhore was taken up by ſome country people, ſtripped, and afterwards buried in the ſands; but, upon enquiry, was found and brought into Plymouth, from whence it was conveyed to London, and interred in Weſtminſter-abbey; where her majeſty erected a monument for him at her own expence. Sir Cloudeſly was born of obſcure parentage in the county of Suffolk; but acquired renown by his aſſiduity in his public, and integrity in his private capacity.

Thus this ſummer, while the allies ſeemed to proſper in every quarter, fortune ſeemed to favour the enemy; for beſides the miſcarriages already recited, the earl of Galloway loſt the battle of Almanza in Spain, in which he too haſtily engaged againſt a much ſuperior force. Marſhal Villars made himſelf maſter of the German lines at Biehl and Stolhoffen, and would have proceeded farther, had not the elector of Hanover, with the Imperial forces, ſtopped his progreſs. In the Netherlands, the duke of Marlborough was unable to bring the French under the duke of Vendome to an engagement; and both ſides only preſerved what they had in poſſeſſion at the beginning of the campaign.

On the twenty-third day of October, the firſt parliament of Great Britain aſſembled at Weſtminſter, when the queen, in a ſpeech to both houſes, mitigated the miſcarriages in Provence and Spain, repreſenting the neceſſity of making further efforts againſt the common enemy; and exhorting them to be upon their guard againſt thoſe who endeavoured to ſow jealouſies in the commonwealth. The commons, in their addreſs expreſſed their continuance of their former zeal and devotion towards her majeſty's government; but in the houſe of lords, the earl of Wharton expatiated upon the ſcarcity of money, the decay of trade, and the miſmanagement of the navy. He was ſeconded by the lord Somers, and the leaders of all the tory party, who propoſed, that previous to every meaſure, they ſhould conſider the ſtate of the nation. The deſign of Wharton and Somers, was to raiſe the earl of Orford once more to the head of the admiralty; and the tories who did not perceive their drift, hoped in the courſe of the enquiry to fix the blame of all miſmanagement upon the whig miniſters. A day being fixed for this examination, the houſe received a petition from the ſheriffs and merchants of London, complaining of great loſſes by ſea, for want of cruizers and convoys; and theſe complaints were proved by witneſſes. The commons made ſome progreſs in an enquiry of the ſame nature, and brought in a bill for the better ſecuring the trade of the kingdom; and at the ſame time chearfully granted the ſupplies for the ſervice of the enſuing year. They alſo reſolved, that there ſhould be but one privy council in the kingdom of Great Britain, that the militia of Scotland ſhould be put on the ſame footing with that of England; that the powers of the juſtices of the peace ſhould be the ſame through the whole iſland; that the lords juſticiary in Scotland, ſhould go circuits twice a year, and that the writs for electing Scottiſh members to ſerve in the houſe of commons, ſhould be directed, and returns made in the ſame manner as practiſed in England. When the queen paſſed theſe bills, ſhe recommended an augmentation in the aids and auxiliaries granted to the king of Spain and the duke of Savoy. At the ſame time, William Gregg, a clerk in Mr. ſecretary Harley's office, was committed to Newgate for high-treaſon, in correſponding with the enemy, and on the nineteenth of January, he was brought to his trial at the Old Bailey, and confeſſed the indictments. It was ſuppoſed by many that the ſecretary would have been found to have had a ſhare in that correſpondence, but Gregg honourably acquitted him with his laſt breath.

A. D. 1708. His royal highneſs, the lord high-admiral, thought fit, the latter end of January, to make theſe ſeveral promotions of ſea officers. Sir John Leake was nominated admiral of the white ſquadron, and admiral in chief of her majeſty's fleet; Sir George Byng admiral of the blue; Sir John Norris, vice-admiral of the white; Sir John Jennings, vice-admiral of the red; lord Durſley, vice-admiral of the blue; Sir Edward Whitaker, rear-admiral of the red; and John Baker, Eſq; rear-admiral of the white. Mr. Harley reſigned his office of ſecretary of ſtate, and was ſucceeded by the right honourable Henry Boyle, chancellor of the exchequer; Sir Thomas Manſell, comptroller of the houſhold; Sir Simon Harcourt, attorney-general, and Mr. St. John, ſecretary of war, alſo reſigned their places. About this time Lewis meditating revenge for the invaſion of his kingdom, and beſieging a place of ſuch conſequence to him as that of Toulon, determined to retaliate the injury, and convince others of the diſtraction which an inroad produces. He was invited to make the experiment by the general diſcontent of the Scots, occaſioned by the union; and which gave the pretended prince of Wales reaſon to believe he ſhould not be an unwelcome gueſt in that kingdom. Lewis determined not to omit ſo fair an opportunity, and it was accordingly reſolved to offer the chevalier de St. George very powerful aſſiſtance if he would undertake to make England the ſeat of war. This offer being readily embraced, a fleet of men of war and tranſports was expeditiouſly fitted out at Dunkirk, and ten thouſand land forces, with many officers, a great quantity of ammunition, artillery, and arms, were embarked. Major general Cadogan, her majeſty's envoy in Holland, gave immediate notice of thoſe preparations; and then went to Bruſſels, and concerted matters in ſuch a manner with M. d'Auverquerque, that ten battalions of the Engliſh forces in Flanders were immediately drawn down to the coaſt, ready to be ſent to England. At the ſame time the Engliſh admiralty uſed ſuch diligence in fitting out a fleet, that three and twenty ſail of men of war, under the command of Sir George Byng, and the lord Durſley, appeared before Dunkirk on the twenty-ſeventh of February, when the enemy thought it impoſſible for England to have any fleet at ſea. On the ninth of March the pretender arrived at Dunkirk: but the ſight of the Engliſh fleet induced the French admiral M. Fourbin, to ſend to court for freſh inſtructions. But Lewis ſent peremptory orders to his admiral to venture out of the harbour. Sir George Byng being informed that the French had left Dunkirk, immediately ſailed in purſuit of them, and at the ſame time the forces were embarked at Oſtend, and convoyed to England by admiral Baker. Theſe forces, together with ſeveral regiments of horſe, marched for Scotland with all expedition. In the mean time Sir George Byng had, by his vigilance, rendered theſe precautions unneceſſary, arriving at the Frith of Edinburgh almoſt as ſoon as the enemy, whereupon they took the advantage of a land-breeze which ſprung up in the night, and bore away with all the ſail they could poſſibly carry. As ſoon as the day appeared the combined fleet gave chace, but were out-ſailed, and, except the Saliſbury, a man of war, formerly taken from the Engliſh, all the French ſhips eſcaped, and got back to Dunkirk in a moſt ſhattered condition. Lord Clermont, lord Griffin, Mr. Middleton a lieutenant general, his aid-de-camp, a colonel, two lieutenant colonels, five captains, and two lieutenants, French officers; fifteen Iriſh officers, five companies of French infantry, two hundred and fifty ſeamen, and all the officers of the ſhip, were taken priſoners in the Saliſbury. The lords Griffin and Clermont, with moſt of the other principal perſons, were ſent up to London, and committed to the Tower; as were alſo the duke of Hamilton, lord Belhaven, and ſeveral of the Scottiſh nobility and gentry, on ſuſpicion of carrying on a correſpondence with the court of St. Germains; but moſt of the latter were ſoon after admitted to bail. On the firſt of April, the queen went to the houſe and gave the royal aſſent to ſeveral bills; after which ſhe prorogued the parliament; and on the fifteenth prorogued it by proclamation. At the ſame time new writs were iſſued for calling another, and a proclamation was publiſhed, commanding all the peers of North Britain to meet on the ſeventeenth of June, at Holyrood-houſe, in Edinburgh, in order to elect ſixteen peers to repreſent them in the enſuing Britiſh parliament, purſuant to the twenty-ſecond article of the treaty of union.

It having been agreed on at the Hague, that prince Eugene, and the duke of Marlborough ſhould unite their forces, and act jointly in the Low Countries, during this campaign; they took the field the middle of May, and marched to the general rendezvous, having left no other troops at Ghent, and Bruges, than the county militia. Theſe places on the appearance of a detachment of French troops, ſurrendered to them without oppoſition. The enemy advanced as far as Dutch Flanders, and laid the whole country under contribution. The dukes of Burgundy and Berry, and the chevalier de St. George, who this year took the field with the duke of Vendome, finding their ſtrength ſo much ſuperior to the confederates, reſolved upon the ſiege of Oudenarde, and accordingly inveſted that place on the ninth of July, which occaſioned a battle two days after. Marlborough, being apprized of the enemies deſign was immediately in motion, and marched with amazing expedition to the relief of that place. He had been joined by the elector of Hanover in marching towards the Moſelle. At the approach of the confederates, the French raiſed the ſiege, and paſſed the Scheld at Gavre; which the duke perceiving, and being determined to bring them to a battle, detached general Cadogan in the night with ſixteen battalions and eight ſquadrons, to take poſt on the other ſide the Scheld, near Oudenarde, and to lay bridges neceſſary for the paſſage of the reſt of the army, which began to march about eight in the morning, and proceeded with ſuch expedition, that by two in the afternoon the horſe had reached the bridges, and ſoon after the whole army began to paſs: but the enemy perceiving the deſign of the allies, ſtruck off to the right towards Ghent. General Cadogan, however, fell upon ſeven battalions of foot, which the enemy had thrown into the hedges, and into the village of Heynim; and being afterwards reinforced by the foot, the attack was made with ſo much vigour and ſucceſs, that the enemy was ſoon driven out of the village, and being cloſely purſued, a whole brigade threw down their arms and ſurrendered themſelves priſoners. The event of this ſkirmiſh convinced the duke of Burgundy that it would be impoſſible to avoid a battle: he therefore endeavoured to diſengage his troops from the hollow ways and defiles, through which they were marching, in order to bring them into the plain, where they might be properly formed; but the confederate generals were too well acquainted with the art of war to give them time to effect this purpoſe. The allied army was immediately formed and advanced, in order of battle to the charge. Hereupon the enemy faced about and formed, but in great diſorder. The battle began about three in the afternoon, but could not be deemed a general engagement till ſeven in the evening, when the action became very furious and doubtful on both ſides, for the French being continually reinforced, they continued the fight with great vigour and reſolution for ſome time; at length the confederates drove the enemy from one poſt to another, till darkneſs put an end to the combat. The engagement was chiefly between the infantry; while the horſe, who, by reaſon of the broken ground, could not act, were detached to the wings, and advanced ſo far, that they attacked the enemy in flank and rear, which throwing them into the utmoſt confuſion, occaſioned a general rout. Part of them retired with the baggage and artillery towards Deynſe and Ghent, and another part by the road to Courtray. About nine in the morning they reached Ghent, and marching through that city, they encamped at Lovendegen on the canal. In this action three thouſand of the French were ſlain on the field of battle, two thouſand deſerted, and ſeven thouſand were taken priſoners, including a great number of officers, together with ten pieces of cannon, above a hundred ſtandards and colours, and four thouſand horſes, while the loſs of the allies did not amount to two thouſand men. The electoral prince of Hanover, in this engagement, charged at the head of Bulan's dragoons with great intrepidity: his horſe was ſhot under him, and colonel Luſky killed by his ſide.

After having levelled the French lines, on the thirteenth of Auguſt, the confederate forces inveſted Liſle. This was not only the ſtrongeſt town in Flanders, but was provided with all neceſſaries, and with ſtores of ammunition, while the garriſon was reinforced by twenty-one battalions of the beſt troops of France, commanded by marſhal de Boufflers in perſon. Prince Eugene commanded at the ſiege, and the duke of Marlborough covered it with the reſt of the army. The dukes of Burgundy and Vendome being now joined by the duke of Berwick, reſolved, if poſſible, to relieve the place, and made ſeveral marches and counter-marches for that purpoſe. Marlborough being apprized of their intention, marched out of his lines to give them battle; but the enemy declined an engagement, and the allies returned to their camp, which they fortified with an intrenchment. On the ſeventh of September, the beſiegers took the counterſcarp of Liſle by aſſault, after an obſtinate conteſt, in which they loſt one thouſand men. The French generals continued to hover about the camp of the confederates, which they even cannonaded. Marlborough again offered them battle in vain. On the twenty-third of September the tenaille was ſtormed, and a lodgment made along the covered way. On the twenty-third of October the town ſurrendered, and marſhal de Boufflers retired into the citadel with the remainder of his garriſon; but on the tenth of December the citadel ſurrendered. What facilitated its reduction was the famous battle of Wynendale, fought by major-general Webb, who, with ſix thouſand men, guarded a convoy from Oſtend. He was attacked by the count de la Motte with about twenty-two thouſand; when Webb, after a warm action, which laſted two hours, obliged them to retire in the utmoſt confuſion, after leaving ſix thouſand men killed; but the loſs of the allies did not exceed nine hundred and twelve officers and ſoldiers. After this glorious victory Ghent and Bruges were recovered. The campaign in Catalonia was no leſs ſucceſsful. Sir John Leake took Cagliari, the capital of Sardinia, upon which the whole iſland ſubmitted. Afterwards general Stanhope, with a body of land forces, aſſiſted by a fleet commanded by Sir John Leake, inveſted Port Mahon, which in three days capitulated; and the whole iſland of Minorca ſubmitted to the Engliſh government. While the arms of Great Britain were thus attended with a train of ſucceſſive good fortune, the people were afflicted with the loſs of prince George of Denmark, who died of an aſthma, on the twenty-eighth day of October, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age. He was a prince poſſeſſed of many amiable and engaging qualities, but deſtitute of great talents, and little qualified for making a figure in the world. He had always lived in great harmony with the queen; who during the whole courſe of their marriage, and eſpecially in his laſt illneſs, approved herſelf a pattern of conjugal fidelity and tenderneſs. The queen having conſented to an act of grace, wherein all treaſons were pardoned, except ſuch as were committed on the high ſeas; the lord chancellor, on the twenty-firſt day of April, made a ſpeech, in her majeſty's name, and then prorogued the parliament.

A. D. 1709.

The French king was by this time reduced to ſuch a ſtate of humiliation, that he made overtures of peace, in conſequence of which a treaty was begun at the Hague, and forty preliminary articles were agreed upon; but as by one of them king Philip was to quit the Spaniſh dominions, the French court refuſed their conſent; and after having offered the duke of Marlborough a large ſum of money for his intereſt in procuring a peace, which he generouſly rejected, the treaty came to nothing, and the confederates reſolved to open the campaign without further delay. Accordingly prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough proceeded to Flanders, and towards the end of June, the allied army encamped in the plain of Liſle, to the number of one hundred and ten thouſand fighting men. At the ſame time the mareſchal Villars, accounted one of the moſt fortunate generals in France, aſſembled the French forces on the plain of Lens, where he began to throw up intrenchments. The confederate generals having obſerved his ſituation, and finding they could not attack him without incurring great danger, reſolved to inveſt Tournay, the garriſon of which Villars had imprudently weakened. To conceal their deſign they made a motion towards Ypres, and while the attention of the enemy was wholly diverted to that quarter, they ſuddenly laid ſiege to Tournay. The town itſelf was eaſily taken; but the citadel was ſo ſtrong by nature and art, and lieutenant de Surville the governor ſuch an excellent officer, that though he had only a weak garriſon, he ſuſtained the ſiege for the ſpace of a month with incredible valour. As the beſiegers proceeded by the method of ſap; their miners frequently met with thoſe of the enemy under ground, and fought with bayonet and piſtol. The volunteers on both ſides preſented themſelves to theſe ſubterraneous combats, in the midſt of mines and countermines big with ruin and deſtruction. Sometimes they were kindled by accident, and ſometimes ſprung by deſign; ſo that great numbers of theſe brave men were ſtifled below; and above four hundred of the confederates were blown up by one exploſion. The beſiegers at length having effected a breach, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a general aſſault, the governor offered to ſurrender. Articles were drawn up and tranſmitted to Verſailles; but Lewis refuſed to ratify them, except on condition that there ſhould be a ſuſpenſion of arms in the Netherlands till the fifth of November. This condition being rejected, hoſtilities were renewed and proſecuted with great ardour and animoſity. Surville being now reduced to extremity, deſired to capitulate, and ſent certain articles to the duke of Marlborough; but he received for anſwer, that no terms were to be expected, and he muſt therefore ſurrender at diſcretion. Soon after, the proviſions in the citadel being exhauſted, Surville and his garriſon ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. Tourney being thus reduced, the confederates paſſed the Scheld with a reſolution to inveſt the city of Mons.

On the ninth of September the allies came ſo near the enemy, that the two armies cannonaded each other. The French army, amounting to one hundred and twenty thouſand men, were poſted behind the woods of La Merte and Frainciere in the neighbourhood of Malplaquet. The confederates, nearly of the ſame number, encamped with the right towards Sart and Bleron, and the left on the edge of Lagniere; the head-quarters being at Blaregnies. The enemy, inſtead of attacking the allies, fortified their camp with triple intrenchments, inſomuch that being naturally ſtrong, it now ſeemed inacceſſible. But on the eleventh, the confederates, favoured by a thick fog, erected batteries in the center and on each wing, and the weather clearing up, began the attack about eleven o'clock with the utmoſt fury. Eighty-ſix battalions on the right, commanded by general Shuylemburg, the duke of Argyle, and other generals, and ſupported by two and twenty battalions under count Lottum, attacked the left of the enemy with ſuch vigour, that in leſs than an hour they were driven from their intrenchments into the woods of Sart and Trainiere. The prince of Orange, with ſix and thirty Dutch battalions, advanced againſt the right of the enemy poſted in the wood of La Merte, and covered with three intrenchments. Both ſides fought with the moſt intrepid reſolution: the Dutch compelled the French to quit the firſt intrenchments; but were repulſed from the ſecond with great ſlaughter. The prince of Orange renewed the attack with great fury; and the enemy at laſt ſeeing their lines forced, their left and center giving way, and Villars, their general, dangerouſly wounded, retreated towards Bavay, under the conduct of Boufflers. The confederates took forty colours and ſtandards, ſixteen pieces of artillery, and a great number of priſoners, but purchaſed the victory at the price of twenty thouſand of their beſt troops killed in the action. Lottum, general Tottau, count Oxienſtern, and the marquis of Tullibardine, were killed. Prince Eugene was ſlightly wounded on the head; and lieutenant-general Webb received a ſhot in the groin. The prince of Orange had two horſes ſhot under him, but eſcaped unhurt; as did likewiſe the duke of Argyle, though ſeveral muſket balls penetrated through his cloaths, hat, and perriwig. The French being thus drove from the neighbourhood of Mons, the allies were left at liberty to beſiege that city, which capitulated on the twenty-ſixth of October, when both armies retired into winter-quarters. On the Rhine, nothing of importance happened, except one ſharp action between a detachment of the French army, and a body of Germans, in which the latter were defeated, and afterwards obliged to repaſs the river. While the brave Marlborough was thus purſuing his conqueſts in Flanders, and ſupporting the glory of the Britiſh arms, a party was ſecretly forming againſt him at home, chiefly by Harley and St. John. Harley had, by means of Mrs. Hill, afterwards Mrs. Marſham, private acceſs to the queen; and by her, and his own intrigues, gave her majeſty an ill opinion of the whigs, particularly of the duke and ducheſs of Marlborough, in order to put a ſtop to the progreſs of his glory, and to the humiliation of France. Mrs. Marſham was related to the ducheſs, who had introduced her into the queen's ſervice; and ſhe, by Harley's inſtructions, ſupplanted her benefactreſs. This paved the way for Harley and his aſſociates to advance themſelves, by undermining the brave Marlborough and his friends.

On the fifteenth day of November, the parliament being aſſembled, Mr. Dolben, ſon to the late archbiſhop of York, complained to the houſe of commons, of two ſermons preached and publiſhed by Dr. Henry Sacheverel, rector of St. Saviour's, Southwark, as containing ſeveral dangerous poſitions. Sacheverel was poſſeſſed of little genius or learning, but much bigotry and intemperate zeal, which he evinced in a flagrant degree againſt the diſſenters. The complaint of Mr. Dolben was ſeconded by Sir Peter King, and the ſermons were voted ſcandalous and ſeditious libels; in purſuance of which reſolution, the doctor, and Henry Clements his publiſher, were ordered to attend the bar of the houſe. Accordingly on the fourteenth of December, Sacheverel was brought to the bar, where he acknowledged himſelf the author of both the ſermons, and declared that he had received encouragement from the lord-mayor, to print that intitled, "The perils of falſe brethren." The lord-mayor denied that he had ever given ſuch encouragement; upon which the commons ordered Mr. Dolben to impeach the doctor at the bar of the houſe of lords, in the name of all the commons of England, appointed a committee to draw up articles againſt him, and commanded the uſher of the black rod to take him into cuſtody. On the ſeventeenth, he petitioned the houſe that he might be admitted to bail; but this indulgence was refuſed, and the commons ſeemed determined to carry on the proſecution with the utmoſt rigour.

A. D. 1710.

This very extraordinary trial laſted three weeks, during which all other buſineſs was ſuſpended; and the queen herſelf was every day preſent, though in quality of a private ſpectator. The invectives contained in the ſermons againſt the revolution, the toleration, the union, the diſſenters, and the adminiſtration, were ſo explicit, and the doctor's acknowledgment of himſelf as author ſo frank, that there was no need of further proof on that ſubject. At laſt, after violent debates, Sacheverel was found guilty by a majority of ſeventeen voices, and four and thirty peers entered a proteſt againſt this deciſion. He was prohibited from preaching for the ſpace of three years, and his two ſermons were ordered to be burned by the hands of the common hangman, in preſence of the lord-mayor and the two ſheriffs of London. The tories conſidered the lenity of this ſentence as a victory obtained over the oppoſite party; and they celebrated their triumph with bonfires, illuminations, and other demonſtrations of joy. During theſe tranſactions, the French king made freſh offers of peace; but theſe, like the former, appear to have been only deſigned to amuſe and divide the allies. Meanwhile the confederates did not retard the operations of the campaign; for the duke of Marlborough took Doway, Bethune, St. Venant, and Aire.

In Spain, the horſe and dragoons in the army of king Charles, commanded by general Stanhope attacked the whole cavalry of the enemy at Almenara. Stanhope charged in perſon, and with his own hand ſlew general Ameſſaga, who commanded the guards of Philip. The Spaniſh horſe were routed, together with nine battalions that eſcaped by favour of the darkneſs; and the main body of the army retired to Lerida. General Staremberg purſued them to Saragoſſa; and an engagement enſuing on the ninth of Auguſt, the enemy were totally defeated: five thouſand of their men were killed, ſeven thouſand taken, with all their artillery, and a great number of colours and ſtandards. King Charles entered Saragoſſa in triumph, and then proceeded to Madrid; but in a little time was obliged to retire from thence, his rival becoming ſuperior by freſh reinforcements. After this, general Stanhope, with eight Engliſh battalions, and as many ſquadrons, being quartered in the little town of Brihuega, was ſuddenly ſurrounded by the whole Spaniſh army under the duke of Vendome, and, after a ſhort but vigorous reſiſtance, was obliged to ſurrender himſelf and his troops priſoners of war. This was followed by an obſtinate battle near Villavicioſa. Six thouſand of the enemy were killed on the ſpot; but the allies had ſuffered ſo ſeverely, that Staremberg, ordering his cannon to be nailed up, marched to Saragoſſa, and from thence retired into Catalonia.

In England, the tories began to execute the ſchemes they had formed for effecting the ruin of the whig miniſtry. A popular ſpirit of averſion to thoſe who favoured the diſſenters, had been excited by Sacheverel's trial. Addreſſes were preſented to her majeſty from all parts, aſſerting in the ſtrongeſt terms, her hereditary right, and condemning all reſiſtance as a rebellious doctrine, founded upon antimonarchial and republican principles. The queen began to expreſs her partiality to this party, by mortifying the duke of Marlborough, whoſe intereſt was not now even ſufficient to prevent the diſmiſſion of his ſon-in-law, the earl of Sunderland, from the office of ſecretary of ſtate, in which he was ſucceeded by the lord Dartmouth; and the office of lord-chamberlain was transferred from the duke of Kent, to the duke of Shrewſbury. On the eighteenth of Auguſt the earl of Godolphin was deprived of his office, and the treaſury put into commiſſion, under the direction of Mr. Harley, appointed chancellor of the Exchequer, and under-treaſurer. The earl of Rocheſter was made preſident of the council, in the room of lord Somers; Henry St. John, ſecretary of ſtate, inſtead of Mr. Boyle; the lord-chancellor having reſigned the great ſeal, it was put into commiſſion, and afterwards given to Sir Simon Harcourt; the earl of Wharton ſurrendered his commiſſion of lord-lieutenant of Ireland, which the queen conferred on the duke of Ormond; the earl of Orford retired from the board of admiralty, and Mr. George Granville was appointed ſecretary of war, in the room of Mr. Robert Walpole; the command of the forces in Portugal was conferred on the earl of Portmore; and the duke of Hamilton appointed lord-lieutenant of the county-palatine of Lancaſter. In a word, there was not one whig left in any office of ſtate, except the duke of Marlborough; and even he would have reſigned his command, had not his particular friends repreſented to him, that ſuch a ſtep could not fail of being prejudicial to the intereſt of his country. The whig parliament was alſo diſſolved; and ſuch precautions taken, as ſufficiently influenced the electors in favour of the other party. On the twenty-fifth of November the new parliament met, when Mr. Bromley was choſen ſpeaker without oppoſition. The commons diſcovered the ſpirit by which they were actuated; they exhorted her majeſty to diſcountenance all ſuch principles and meaſures as had lately threatened her royal crown and dignity. Soon after, Meredith, Macartney, and Honeywood, were deprived of their regiments, becauſe, in their cups, they had drank confuſion to the enemies of the duke of Marlborough.

A. D. 1711. The two houſes of parliament in an addreſs to the queen, declared that Mr. Harley's fidelity to her majeſty, and zeal for her ſervice, had, in their opinion, drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of popery and faction. They intreated her to take all poſſible care of her ſacred perſon, and for that purpoſe to give directions for cauſing all papiſts to be removed from the cities of London and Weſtminſter. In compliance with this requeſt, a proclamation was publiſhed, ordering the laws to be ſtrictly put in execution againſt papiſts. The earl of Rocheſter dying about this time, Harley became ſole miniſter, was created baron of Wigmore, and raiſed to the rank of earl, by the antient titles of Oxford and Mortimer. He was ſoon after appointed lord-treaſurer, and had the ſole direction of affairs. About this time the emperor Joſeph died of the ſmall-pox without male iſſue, ſo that king Charles's immediate aim was to ſucceed his brother on the Imperial throne. At the ſame time the houſe of commons paſſed a bill, for building fifty new churches in the ſuburbs of London and Weſtminſter, and allotted for this purpoſe the duty upon coals, which had been granted for the building of St. Paul's, now finiſhed.

The duke of Marlborough being continued in the command of the army, ſet out for Holland on the eighteenth of February, the queen having aſſured him that the payment of the troops ſhould be duly remitted. About the middle of April he aſſembled an army at Orchier, between Liſle and Douay; and mareſchal Villars drew together the French forces in the neighbourhood of Cambray and Arras, and encamped behind the river Sanſet, in ſuch an advantageous poſt, that it could not be attacked without the moſt imminent danger. The duke therefore paſſed the Scarpe, and pitched his camp between Douay and Bouchain. His intention was to reduce Bouchain, which was judged impracticable, inaſmuch as it was ſituated in the middle of a moraſs ſtrongly fortified, defended by a numerous garriſon, and in the neighbourhood of an army ſuperior to that of the allies, who were likewiſe expoſed to the excurſions of Valencienne and Conde. Notwithſtanding theſe difficulties, and the diſſuaſions of his particular friends, he reſolved to undertake the ſiege; and accordingly, on the tenth day of Auguſt, the place was regularly inveſted. Mareſchal Villars had taken every precaution his ſkill and experience could ſuggeſt, to baffle the attempts of Marlborough: he had reinforced the garriſon with ſix thouſand choſen men, commanded by officers of approved courage and ability; he made ſeveral attempts to raiſe the ſiege, but they were rendered ineffectual by the ſuperior prudence and capacity of the Engliſh general. Perhaps a more difficult enterprize was never undertaken than the ſiege of Bouchain; Marlborough was obliged to caſt up lines, erect forts, raiſe batteries, throw bridges over a river, form a cauſeway through a deep moraſs, and provide for the ſecurity of convoys againſt a numerous army on one ſide, and the garriſons of Conde and Valenciennes on the other. Such difficulties required all the ſkill and experience of a conſummate general, and all the valour and intrepidity of the confederate army, who had perhaps never exhibited ſuch amazing proofs of courage upon any other occaſion; for in twenty days after the trenches were opened, the garriſon was obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. This was the laſt military atchievement of the immortal Marlborough; who ſoon after the taking of Bouchain returned to the Hague, and arrived in England about the middle of November. Though the miniſtry, and a great part of the Engliſh nation were, or affected to be, blind to the merit of their accompliſhed general, the allies laid not under the ſame prejudices. They frankly acknowledged, that their many valuable acquiſitions were in a great meaſure owing to the courage and conduct of that greateſt of generals, whoſe character they adored, and whoſe memory they ſtill revere. During theſe tranſactions, prince Eugene, at the head of the German forces, protected the electors at Frankfort from the deſigns of the enemy, and Charles was unanimouſly elected emperor.

A negotiation for peace had been carried on between the court of France and the new miniſtry, who were determined at all events to put a period to a war, which they were equally unwilling and incapable to continue. The earl of Jerſey ſent a private meſſage to the court of France, intimating the queen's ſincere deſire of a peace; and intreating that Lewis would propoſe to the Dutch a renewal of the conferences, in which caſe the Engliſh plenipotentiaries ſhould have ſuch inſtructions, as would render abortive all the endeavours of the States General to prevent the concluſion of the treaty. This meſſage was extremely agreeable to the French court, who returned a letter of compliment with aſſurances of their king's pacific diſpoſition, though he was averſe to a renewal of the conferences with the States General. The ſtates of Holland were greatly alarmed at this procedure, and ſent over Buys, as envoy-extraordinary, to intercede with the queen, that ſhe would alter her reſolutions; but all his endeavours had no effect; ſhe retained her reſolutions; and the earl of Strafford, ambaſſador in Holland, declared in the queen's name, that any delay in the States to concur with her majeſty, would be conſidered as an abſolute refuſal. Intimidated by this declaration, they agreed to open the general conferences at Utrecht on the firſt of January, granted paſſports to the French miniſters; and the queen appointed Robinſon, biſhop of Briſtol, and the earl of Strafford, her plenipotentiaries at the congreſs. The miniſtry, conſcious of the unpopularity of their conduct, employed a nnmber of mercenary writers to vindicate their meaſures. This produced a paper war between the whig and tory parties; and ſuch a torrent of falſehood, ſcurrility, and abuſe, was poured forth on both ſides, as ſeemed to bid defiance to truth, decency, and good manners. The miniſtry, as is generally the caſe, would not allow the ſame liberty to their antagoniſts which they aſſumed to themſelves. They cauſed fourteen bookſellers, printers, and publiſhers, to be apprehended and proſecuted; though at the requeſt of the attorney-general, a man of ſenſe and candor, they were bound over on their recognizances to the laſt day of term. Some individuals of the tory party themſelves were diſpleaſed with the preliminaries, and certain peers joined with the whigs in remonſtrating againſt them. The court being informed of this deſign, prorogued the parliament to the ſeventh of December, hoping that the arrival of the Scottiſh peers would be ſufficient to turn the balance in their favour. When the parliament, according to prorogation, met, the queen opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which ſhe obſerved, that notwithſtanding the arts of thoſe who delighted in war, both the place and time were appointed for opening the treaty of a general peace; and that the States General had expreſſed their entire confidence in her conduct.

As ſoon as her majeſty was retired, a motion was made in the houſe of lords for returning her majeſty thanks for her ſpeech; and the earl of Nottingham propoſed that a clauſe ſhould be inſerted in the addreſs, "That no peace could be ſafe or honourable to Great Britain or Europe, if Spain or the Weſt Indies were allotted to any branch of the houſe of Bourbon." This motion occaſioned a violent debate, in the courſe of which the earl of Angleſey repreſented, the neceſſity of eaſing the nation of the burthens incurred by an expenſive war. The duke of Marlborough, at whom this reflection was levelled, made a long ſpeech in his own vindication; he appealed to the queen, who was then in the houſe incognito, whether he did not, on all occaſions, inform her and her council of all the propoſals offered by the enemy for a peace, and had not deſired inſtructions for his conduct on that ſubject? He declared upon his conſcience, that he was deſirous of a ſafe, honourable, and laſting peace; and very far from entertaining any deſign of prolonging the war for his private emolument, as had been falſely inſinuated by his enemies. At laſt, the queſtion being repeated which the earl of Nottingham propoſed, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of ſix voices. The ſame clauſe was propoſed to be inſerted in the addreſs of the commons, but rejected by a great majority. The commiſſioners for examining the public accounts, having diſcovered that the duke of Marlborough had received an annual penſion of five or ſix thouſand pounds from the contractors for bread to the army, the queen declared in council, that ſhe thought proper to diſmiſs him from all his employments, that the matter might be ſtrictly and impartially examined; and accordingly on the thirty-firſt of December, her majeſty ſent his grace a letter written with her own hand, ſignifying her royal pleaſure to reſume all the places with which ſhe had entruſted him. This diſgrace of the duke of Marlborough, inſtead of weakening, ſerved rather to ſtrengthen the oppoſition in the upper houſe; and the miniſtry being determined at all events to procure a majority in that aſſembly, perſuaded the queen to venture on a meaſure which no Engliſh prince had ever before attempted. This was the creating of no leſs than twelve new peers; a proſtitution of honours which reflects equal diſgrace on the queen who beſtowed them, and thoſe who received them.

A. D. 1712.

Upon the diſgrace of the duke of Marlborough, the duke of Ormond was made commander in chief of her majeſty's forces; the duke of Northumberland appointed captain of the ſecond troop of horſe-guards; the earl of Rivers maſter of the ordinance; and the duke of Beaufort captain of the band of penſioners, in the room of the duke of St. Albans; brigadier Hill, brother to the lady Maſham, was made lieutenant of the Tower, in the room of lieutenant-general Cadogan; the duke of Somerſet was removed from his poſt as maſter of the horſe, and the counteſs of Sunderland, and lady Rialton, two of the duke of Marlborough's daughters, reſigned their places as ladies of the queen's bedchamber. On the ſeventeenth of January, her majeſty being greatly indiſpoſed, ſent a meſſage to both houſes, importing, that the plenipotentiaries were arrived at Utrecht, and employed in forming meaſures for procuring ſatisfaction to all their allies; that the terms of peace ſhould be laid before the parliament before they were finally concluded; that, in the mean time, ſhe was reſolved to make preparations for an early campaign, and therefore hoped, that the commons would grant the neceſſary ſupplies for that purpoſe. They now proceeded to take the affairs of the duke of Marlborough into conſideration; when after a long debate, it was reſolved by two hundred and ſeventy voices againſt one hundred and ſixty-five, "That the taking ſeveral ſums annually by the duke of Marlborough from the contractors, for furniſhing the bread and bread-waggons for the army in the Low Countries, was unwarrantable and illegal." It was alſo reſolved, "That the two and a half per cent. deducted from the foreign troops in her majeſty's pay, was public money, and ought to be accounted for; and that the ſaid reſolution ſhould be laid before her majeſty by the whole houſe." This being accordingly done on the twenty-ſixth, the queen gave orders to her attorney-general, to proſecute the duke for the money he had ſo deducted.

The beginning of April the duke of Ormond went over to Holland, and, on the twenty-firſt of May, he, in concert with prince Eugene, aſſembled the army between Douay and Marchiennes, which, upon a review, was found to conſiſt of two hundred and ninety-five ſquadrons, and one hundred and forty-three battalions. With this force the two generals marched towards the enemy; and paſſing the Schelde, encamped at Solemnes, and Neufville. But prince Eugene propoſing to attack the French army under marſhall Villars, or to inveſt the town of Queſnoy, the duke of Ormond, who had by this time received freſh orders, from Mr. ſecretary St. John, gave the prince and the deputies of the States to underſtand, that her Britannic majeſty, having a proſpect that the negotiations for peace would prove ſucceſsful, had given him orders not to act offenſively againſt the enemy. Surprized at this declaration, the deputies of the States immediately tranſmitted advice thereof to the Hague; and the Dutch plenipotentiaries at Utrecht received orders to complain to the biſhop of Briſtol, in the name of their maſters, againſt the orders which had been given to the Engliſh general. That prelate returned for anſwer, "That he was inſtructed to intimate to the States General, that as their high mightineſſes had not thought proper to concur with her majeſty in the meaſures ſhe had taken for procuring a ſalutary peace, they ought not to be ſurprized if ſhe now thought herſelf at liberty to procure that convenience for herſelf." The plenipotentiaries of the States then remonſtrating, that ſuch a ſtep would be contrary to all the alliances between the queen and the States General; the biſhop ſaid, his inſtructions further imported, "that, conſidering the conduct of the States towards her majeſty, ſhe thought herſelf diſengaged from all alliances and engagements with their high mightineſſes." The States now wrote a letter to the queen, and ordered their envoy at London to deliver it into her own hand, affirming, that all the difference between her majeſty and them was the diſparity of ſentiments; and if for ſuch a cauſe, confederates, united by the ſtrongeſt ties, might quit their engagements, no engagements could be relied on for the time to come." The envoy preſented this letter to her majeſty, and, according to private orders he had received from the States, copies of it were inſerted in the public papers, by which means it was diſperſed throughout the nation.

On the fifth of June her majeſty went to the houſe and communicated the plan of peace to her parliament. As ſoon as the queen was retired, the commons voted an addreſs of thanks and approbation. But a violent debate enſued in the houſe of lords upon their taking the ſpeech into conſideration. The majority, however, agreed to an addreſs, in which they thanked the queen for her great condeſcenſion in communicating theſe conditions to her parliament, and expreſſed an entire ſatisfaction in her conduct. On the twenty-firſt of June, the queen put an end to the ſeſſion by a ſpeech from the throne.

During theſe tranſactions, the trenches were opened before Queſnoy, and the ſiege carried on with uncommon vigour, under cover of the duke of Ormond's forces. But on the twenty-fourth of June, the duke declared to prince Eugene, and the deputies of the States attending the army, that he had received orders from the queen his miſtreſs to publiſh, within three days, a ſuſpenſion of arms for two months between his army and that of the French, and to make a detachment to take poſſeſſion of Dunkirk, which the king of France would deliver up to the Engliſh as a ſecurity for the performance of his promiſes. He alſo propoſed that the like ſuſpenſion of arms ſhould be publiſhed in the confederate army; adding, that if they perſiſted in their operations againſt Queſnoy, they muſt take care to oppoſe the attempts of the enemy, as he could no longer cover the ſiege. The deputies deſired he would delay his march five days, that they might have time to conſult their principals. Accordingly the duke waited till the twenty-eighth of June, when he ſent his adjutant with a written order to the generals of the foreign troops in the Britiſh pay, to hold their forces in readineſs to march; but to his unſpeakable ſurprize, they all refuſed to obey his orders, four ſquadrons and a battalion of the troops of Holſtein Gottorp, and a regiment of dragoons of the troops of Liege excepted. As a reaſon for this refuſal, they alledged, that being commanded to act againſt the French, they could not ſeparate from the confederacy without expreſs directions from their maſters. On the third of July, the town of Queſnoy ſurrendered, and the garriſon being made priſoners of war were ſent to Holland.

After the departure of the Britiſh forces, Villars left his camp at Chateau Cambreſis, and having divided his army into eight columns, he paſſed the Schelde at Sourche and Neufville. As ſoon as prince Eugene, who at this time had beſieged Landrecy, received intelligence of the enemy's motions, he marched to Denain, viewed the intrenchments, and reinforced a body commanded by lord Albemarle, with ſix battalions. In the mean time the enemy advanced, in one cloſe column, very near the works, then filed off, ſeemingly to attack them in front; and ſeveral feints were afterwards made as if they intended to retreat; but at laſt they began the attack with ſo much fury, that, after one diſcharge the intrenchment was abandoned. The allies having made a vigorous but vain reſiſtance, retired towards the bridge on the Schelde; which being broke by the weight of the baggage, the greateſt part of thoſe who attempted to paſs it periſhed in the river. The thirteen battalions who defended the intrenchments, were all killed or taken priſoners. Among the latter were lord Albemarle, five princes of the houſe of Naſſau, the prince of Holſtein Gottorp, the prince of Anhalt, and all the officers of the detachment. The French found in the camp twelve braſs cannon, a number of horſes and a very conſiderable booty. Villars immediately inveſted Marchiennes, where the principal ſtores of the allies were lodged. The place ſurrendered upon the laſt day of July, and the garriſon, conſiſting of five thouſand men, were ſent priſoners to Valenciennes. He then undertook the ſiege of Douay; and prince Eugene, in order to prevent his ſucceeding in this attempt, raiſed the ſiege of Landrecy, and marched towards the enemy, fully determined to give them battle. In this, however, he was prevented by the States, who thought it too hazardous an undertaking: and the prince had the mortification of ſeeing Douay fall into the hands of the French: nor could he prevent their retaking Queſnoy and Bouchain, though he did every thing in the power of an able and experienced general to prevent it. While theſe military tranſactions were going on, the Britiſh miniſters at the congreſs, continued their inſtances to the Dutch, and other allies, to join in the ſuſpenſion of arms; but they rejected the propoſal, and

continued

continued their preparations for proſecuting the war with vigour. But the Portugueſe who had hitherto continued obſtinately to refuſe their concurrence, to the pacific meaſures then carrying on, thought proper now to agree to a ceſſation of arms; and accordingly a treaty for that purpoſe was ſigned at Utrecht between their miniſters and thoſe of France on the ſeventh of November, which terminated the war on that ſide. About the ſame time the duke of Argyle was ſent from England to take poſſeſſion of Port Mahon, and the iſland of Minorca, for her Britannic majeſty; and the duke of Ormond having put his troops into winter quarters, returned to London.

Party diſputes were now carried on in England, with more acrimony than ever. The tories threw out many ſevere reflections againſt the duke of Marlborough, whom they repreſented as a perſon that omitted no opportunity of fomenting the animoſities between the two factions. Marlborough therefore perceiving his enemies growing every day more and more implacable, thought proper to retire to the continent. He had already loſt his friend the earl of Godolphin, the late treaſurer, who died in September, and left behind him the character of an able, faithful, and upright ſtateſman.

The States of Holland ſtill refuſed to join in a ſuſpenſion of arms. At laſt the earl of Strafford preſented a new plan of peace, in which the queen promiſed to inſiſt, that the city of Tournay and ſeveral other places, ſhould be ceded to the States. Their high mightineſſes having conſidered the new plan, and ſenſible of the circumſtances to which they had reduced themſelves by haughtily contemning all former propoſitions made them by her majeſty, determined to ſubmit themſelves to her pleaſure.

A. D. 1713. On the nineteenth of January a new treaty of barrier and ſucceſſion was ſigned at the Hague, and ſent over to England to be ratified. By this treaty the States engaged, "to aſſiſt and defend the ſucceſſion of the crown of Great Britain, according to the act of ſettlement, againſt all oppoſers:" and her majeſty ſtipulated and agreed, "that the States ſhould garriſon Furnes, Fort Knocque, Ypres, Menin, the town and citadel of Tournay, Mons, Charleroy, the town and caſtle of Namur, the caſtle of Ghent, the forts La Perle, Philip, and Damme: that fort Rodenhugſen near Ghent ſhould be deſtroyed, and that the revenues of thoſe towns which had been taken from France, over and above what was neceſſary for the ſupport of the civil government, ſhould belong to the States, for the maintenance of their garriſons: that a million of florins yearly, or an hundred thouſand crowns every three months, ſhould be paid alſo to the States, out of the cleareſt and moſt certain revenues of the Spaniſh Low Countries, which the late king Charles was in poſſeſſion of at the time of his death, towards the expence of the other garriſons. That the Engliſh and Dutch fleet ſhould be upon the ſame foot in point of trade in the Netherlands. That England ſhall aſſiſt the Dutch with ten thouſand men, and twenty men of war, in caſe they ſhould be attacked: and the States ſhould aſſiſt the Engliſh with ſix thouſand men and twenty men of war; and if this ſhould not be ſufficient, they ſhall aſſiſt each other with their whole forces:" This treaty ſeems to have had a conſiderable influence upon the other powers; for even the emperor's plenipotentiaries talked in more moderate terms; and the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain acted as mediators for the reſt of the allies. On the firſt of March the inſtruments relating to Catalonia and Italy were executed, and on the fourth of the ſame month the dukes of Berry and Orleans renounced their right to the crown of Spain in the parliament of Paris, to which renunciation the duke of Shrewſbury and Mr. Prior, her Britannic majeſty's miniſters, and the duke d'Oſſuna, miniſter from the court of Spain, were witneſſes. On the twelfth of April the treaty of peace was ſigned at Utrecht. The earl of Strafford and the biſhop of Briſtol were the firſt who ſigned; then the miniſters of the duke of Savoy, who were followed by thoſe of the king of Portugal: then the plenipotentiaries of the king of Pruſſia; and, laſt of all, thoſe of the States General. When the buſineſs was completed, the miniſters withdrew, and immediately diſpatched expreſſes to their reſpective courts, notifying this tranſaction.

By this treaty "the French king acknowledged the proteſtant ſucceſſion of the houſe of Hanover to the crown of Great Britain, and engaged for himſelf, his heirs and ſucceſſors, not to ſuffer the pretender to return into France, nor any way to ſuccour or aſſiſt him.

"That the crowns of France and Spain ſhould never be united under one head, and renunciations, made on both ſides in due form; and that they ſhould never be united under any pretence whatſoever.

"That the trade between France and Spain ſhall be on the ſame footing as in Charles II's time.

"That the fortifications of Dunkirk ſhould be demoliſhed, and the harbour filled up never to be repaired. That the queen and kingdom ſhould be fully reſtored to the bay and ſtreights of Hudſon, and ſatisfaction made to that company for damages ſuſtained.

"That the whole iſland of St. Chriſtopher be only hereafter poſſeſſed by the Engliſh, and alſo Nova Scotia or Acadia, with the port now called Annapolis Royal.

"That the iſland of Newfoundland ſhould belong of right wholly to Great Britain; the French to have huts to dry their fiſh, and liberty to fiſh from cape Bonaviſta to the northern point of that iſland, and ſo down to the weſtern ſide as far as Port Riche; and they were to retain Cape Breton and the other iſlands in the mouth of the river St. Laurence.

"The French in Canada not to moleſt the five nations of the Indians, ſubject to Great Britain; and England to do the ſame by them.

"All letters of repriſal, marque, and countermarque, to be annulled.

"That juſtice ſhould be done to the Hamilton family concerning the duchy of Chattelerault; to the duke of Richmond, concerning ſuch requeſts as he had to make in France; and to Charles Douglas, concerning certain lands to be reclaimed by him."

A treaty of navigation and commerce was at the ſame time concluded; whereby a free trade was eſtabliſhed according to the tariff of 1664, except in a few commodities, which in 1699 were ſubjected to new regulations. It was agreed that the duties impoſed upon the productions of France imported into England ſhould not exceed thoſe laid on the ſame commodities from other countries; and that commiſſioners ſhould meet at London to adjuſt all matters relating to commerce. It was likewiſe ſtipulated, that the emperor ſhould poſſeſs the kingdom of Naples, and the duchy of Milan in the Spaniſh Netherlands: that the duke of Savoy ſhould enjoy Sicily with the title of king: that the ſame title with the iſland of Sardinia ſhould be given to the elector of Bavaria, to indemnify him for the loſſes he had ſuſtained: that the States General ſhould reſtore Liſle and its dependencies; and that Namur, Charleroy, Luxemburgh, Ypres, and Newport ſhould be added to the other places they already poſſeſſed in Flanders: that the king of Pruſſia ſhould have Upper Guelders in exchange for Orange, and the other eſtates belonging to that family in Franche Comté. The king of Portugal declared himſelf ſatisfied with the treaty, and, as has already been obſerved, the emperor was to give his anſwer on the firſt of July.

The parliament met on the ninth or April, when the queen in her ſpeech, informed both houſes, that the treaty of peace was ſigned, and that in a few days the ratifications would be exchanged: ſhe expreſſed her hopes that what ſhe had done for the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and the perfect friendſhip that ſubſiſted between her and the houſe of Hanover, might convince ſuch who wiſhed well to both, and had the quiet and ſafety of their country at heart, how vain all attempts were to divide them. Addreſſes of thanks and congratulation were immediately preſented by both houſes of parliament, and their example was followed by the houſes of convocation, and all the principal corporations in the kingdom. The ratifications of the treaty being exchanged, on the fifty day of May the peace was proclaimed in the cities of London and Weſtminſter, with the uſual ſolemnities.

The treaty being laid before the parliament, after ſeveral violent debates, it was approved, and a public thankſgiving appointed, which was celebrated with great ſolemnity; and on the ſixteenth of July, by her majeſty's command, the lord chancellor prorogued the parliament to the twenty-eighth of Auguſt, but it never ſat more; for on the eighth of Auguſt, a proclamation was iſſued for diſſolving the preſent parliament, and declaring her majeſty's intention of calling a new one. Accordingly, on the eighteenth of the ſame month, writs were iſſued in due form, and the new parliament appointed to meet on the twelfth of November.

A. D. 1714. On the ſecond of March the queen, who ſtill continued in a bad ſtate of health, was carried in a ſedan to the houſe of lords, when ſhe made a ſpeech to both houſes; "I have done, ſaid ſhe, and ſhall continue to do my beſt for the good of my ſubjects. Let it be your endeavour, as it ſhall be mine, to unite our differences; not by relaxing from the ſtricteſt adherence to our conſtitution in church and ſtate, but by obſerving the laws yourſelves, and inforcing a due obedience in others." The people were now greatly alarmed by a total removal of the whigs from all employments civil and military, and their poſts filled by profeſſed tories, ſome of whom were ſuppoſed to be attached to the pretender. Theſe ſteps threw the whigs into a violent commotion, apprehending that a deſign was formed to ſecure the pretender's ſucceſſion to the throne of Great Britain. Baron Schutz, the Hanoverian reſident, held ſecret conſultations with the chiefs of the whig party, and communicated their obſervations to the elector. They alſo maintained a correſpondence with the duke of Marlborough, and the health of the queen being now ſo much impaired, that every day was believed to be the laſt of her life, they concerted meaſures for oppoſing all efforts that might be made againſt the proteſtant ſucceſſion on the death of her majeſty; and at the ſame time they employed all their arts to excite and encourage the fears and jealouſies of the people. The houſe of lords reſounded with debates on the danger that threatened the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and the archbiſhop of York, with the earl of Angleſey, joined the oppoſition to the miniſtry. The latter affirmed, that the honour of his ſovereign and the good of his country were the only rules by which he regulated his conduct; and when truth and juſtice bore witneſs to his actions, he ſhould not be intimidated from purſuing a wicked miniſter from the queen's cloſet to the Tower, and from the Tower to the ſcaffold. About this time baron Schutz demanded of the lord chancellor a writ for the electoral prince of Hanover to ſit in the houſe of peers as duke of Cambridge. The chancellor anſwered, that he would immediately acquaint her majeſty with this requeſt, but it required ſome conſideration to make out writs for peers who did not reſide in the kingdom. The envoy replied, in a menacing tone, that he doubted not but his lordſhip knew the nature of his office, but, if the prince's abſence was the only objection, he was reſolved to come over, and in all probability would be landed before the writ was made out. The queen being informed of this tranſaction, was ſo offended with the baron for applying to the chancellor before he had ſignified his intention to her, that ſhe forbad him the court; wrote a letter to the princeſs Sophia; and another to the electoral prince, complaining of his having formed ſuch a reſolution without knowing her ſentiments on the ſubject; and aſſuring him, that nothing could be more dangerous to the tranquillity of her dominions, and the right of ſucceſſion in his line, and conſequently more diſagreeable to her, than ſuch a proceeding at this juncture. Both theſe letters were printed and publiſhed in England with a view to inform the friends of the Hanoverian family, why the duke of Cambridge had laid aſide his deſign of reſiding in Great Britain. This ſtep the queen conſidered as a perſonal inſult, and alſo as an attempt to prejudice her in the opinions of her ſubjects; ſhe therefore ordered the publiſher to be taken into cuſtody. The princeſs Sophia did not long ſurvive this event, for on the eighth of June ſhe was ſeized with an apoplectic fit, as ſhe was walking in the gardens of Herenhauſen, and died in the arms of the electoral princeſs, before any aſſiſtance could be procured. She was the fourth and youngeſt daughter of Frederic king of Bohemia, and Elizabeth his conſort, daughter of king James I. On the ninth of July the queen put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne; and the parliament was prorogued to the tenth of Auguſt. The queen's conſtitution was now entirely deſtroyed, the anxiety of her mind having completed the ruin of her health. The diſſenſions among her miniſters were arrived to ſuch a height, that, forgetting their duty to her, or regard for their country, they ſeemed to meet in council merely with a view of oppoſing each other: and to ſuch an extravagant height did their animoſities arrive at laſt, that it is believed a quarrel which happened between the treaſurer and lord Bolingbroke, in her preſence, proved in ſome meaſure the cauſe of her death; for ſhe was heard to declare, that ſhe ſhould never outlive it. In the mean time lord Bolingbroke's art prevailed, and on the twenty-ſeventh of July, the earl of Oxford was diveſted of all his employments, and removed from the treaſury; upon which he retired meditating new projects for his future re-eſtabliſhment. His fall was ſo ſudden, that no plan had been formed for ſupplying the vacancy occaſioned by his diſgrace. The court was in the utmoſt confuſion, and her majeſty being no longer able to ſupport the burden of government, ſunk into a ſtate of inſenſibility, and thus found a refuge from her anxiety in lethargic ſlumbers. Every method was tried that the art of healing could beſtow, but in vain. Her diſorder gained ground ſo faſt that her phyſicians deſpaired of her life. The privy-council aſſembled, when the dukes of Somerſet and Argyle, being informed of the deſperate ſtate in which ſhe lay, entered the council-chamber without having been ſummoned. The members were ſurprized at their appearance, but the duke of Shrewſbury thanking them for their readineſs to give their aſſiſtance at ſuch a critical juncture, deſired them to take their places. Some of the lords now recommended the duke of Shrewſbury as the fitteſt perſon to fill the important office of lord high treaſurer, when this opinion was ſignified to the queen, ſhe expreſſed her approbation, and delivered into his hands the ſtaff, bidding him uſe it for the good of her people. He would have reſigned the lord chamberlain's ſtaff, but ſhe deſired him to keep them both: ſo that he was at one time poſſeſſed of three of the greateſt poſts in the kingdom, thoſe of lord treaſurer, lord chamberlain, and lord-lieutenant of Ireland. This advancement of Shrewſbury produced an entire alteration in the face of affairs: it baffled the deſigns of Bolingbroke, extinguiſhed the hopes of the Jacobites, and revived the ſpirits of all who wiſhed well to the proteſtant ſucceſſion. The dukes of Somerſet and Argyle propoſed, that all privy-counſellors, in and about London, ſhould be invited to attend, without diſtinction of party. The motion was approved, and the lord Somers, with many other friends of the houſe of Hanover, repaired to Kenſington. Their firſt conſideration was to provide for the ſecurity of the kingdom. Orders were diſpatched to four regiments of horſe and dragoons, quartered in remote counties, to march up to the neighbourhood of London and Weſtminſter. Seven of the ten Britiſh battalions in the Netherlands, were directed to embark at Oſtend for England; an embargo was laid upon all ſhipping; and directions were given for equipping all the ſhips of war, that were in a condition for immediate ſervice. Nor was the elector of Brunſwick forgot. A letter was ſent to that prince, acquainting him with the meaſures that had been taken, and requeſting of him to repair, with all convenient ſpeed, to Holland, where he ſhould be attended by a Britiſh ſquadron to convoy him to England, in caſe of her majeſty's death. At the ſame time inſtructions were tranſmitted to the earl of Strafford, to require the States General to prepare for performing their guaranty of the proteſtant ſucceſſion. Meaſures were likewiſe taken to ſecure the ſea-ports; and over-awe the Jacobites in Scotland: the command of the fleet was beſtowed upon the earl of Berkeley; and the heralds at arms were kept in readineſs to proclaim the new king, as ſoon as the throne ſhould become vacant.

While theſe neceſſary precautions were taken for ſecuring the ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover, the queen, on the thirtieth of July appearing ſomewhat better, roſe from her bed about eight in the morning; and walking a little about her chamber, caſt her eyes on the clock, and continued to gaze upon it for ſome time. One of her ladies in waiting begged to know what ſhe ſaw there more than uſual, to which her majeſty only anſwered, by turning her eyes upon her with a dying look. Soon after ſhe was ſeized with a fit of an apoplexy; from which ſhe was ſomewhat relieved by the aſſiſtance of Dr. Mead. She continued all night in a ſtate of ſtupefaction; but gave ſome ſigns of life between twelve and one o'clock, and expired a little after ſeven in the morning, on the firſt of Auguſt, in the fiftieth year of her age, and the thirteenth of her reign. By prince George of Denmark her majeſty had ſix children: a daughter, ſtill born, the twelfth of May, 1684. Lady Mary, born the ſecond of June, 1685, and who died in February, 1690. Anne Sophia, born May the twelfth, 1686, and died February following. William, duke of Glouceſter, born July the twenty-fourth, 1689, and died in 1700. The lady Mary, born in October, 1690, but lived only to be baptized. George, who alſo died ſoon after he was born.

Character of queen Anne.

In her perſon this queen was of the middle ſize, and well proportioned. Her face was rather round than oval, her hair of a dark brown, her features regular, her complexion ruddy, her aſpect rather comely than majeſtic, but her preſence very engaging. Her voice was clear and melodious, which appeared particularly in the graceful delivery of her ſpeeches to parliament. Her capacity and learning were not remarkable, but ſhe was a virtuous, juſt, and pious princeſs. In domeſtic life ſhe was a pattern of conjugal fidelity and affection; in ſocial, ſhe approved herſelf a ſincere friend, and munificent patron. She was a tender mother, an indulgent miſtreſs, a mild and merciful princeſs. During her reign, both the church and ſtate experienced a profuſion of royal bounty. While her ſubjects laboured under the burthen of an expenſive war, ſhe generouſly aſſiſted them with a conſiderable part of her revenue. She applied the firſt fruits and tenths, belonging to the crown, to the maintenance of the poor clergy. She promoted the deſign of erecting churches; and gave every encouragement to charity ſchools for the education and ſupport of indigent youth. Her political character is ſufficiently marked by the tranſactions of her reign. The greateſt part of this was glorious; and while her huſband, the prince of Denmark lived, the influence of his ſteadineſs made it ſhine with diſtinguiſhed luſtre. The ſame ſplendor might have continued to its cloſe, had ſhe not evinced the ſtrongeſt prepoſſeſſions in favour of the tories, whom ſhe was taught by her favourites to regard as her true friends, yet who made an ill uſe of her confidence, and, at her death, were reviving the perſecutions of former reigns, and throwing every thing into confuſion. At the ſame time this queen imbibed moſt incurable prejudices againſt the whigs, whom ſhe conſidered as the avowed enemies both of the church and monarchy. To theſe falſe notions was owing her unhappy conduct in reſigning herſelf into the hands of the former party, during the laſt four years of her reign, whereby a moſt ſucceſsful war was terminated by a moſt inglorious peace. Upon the whole, had this queen purſued, uninfluenced, her own good intentions, ſhe might have been ranked among the beſt of ſovereigns. In her ended the line of Stuarts, whoſe misfortunes and miſconduct ſtand recorded as awful leſſons of inſtruction to all their ſucceſſors.

BOOK XII.

The HOUSE of HANOVER, or LINE of BRUNSWICK.

From the acceſſion of George I. to that of George III.

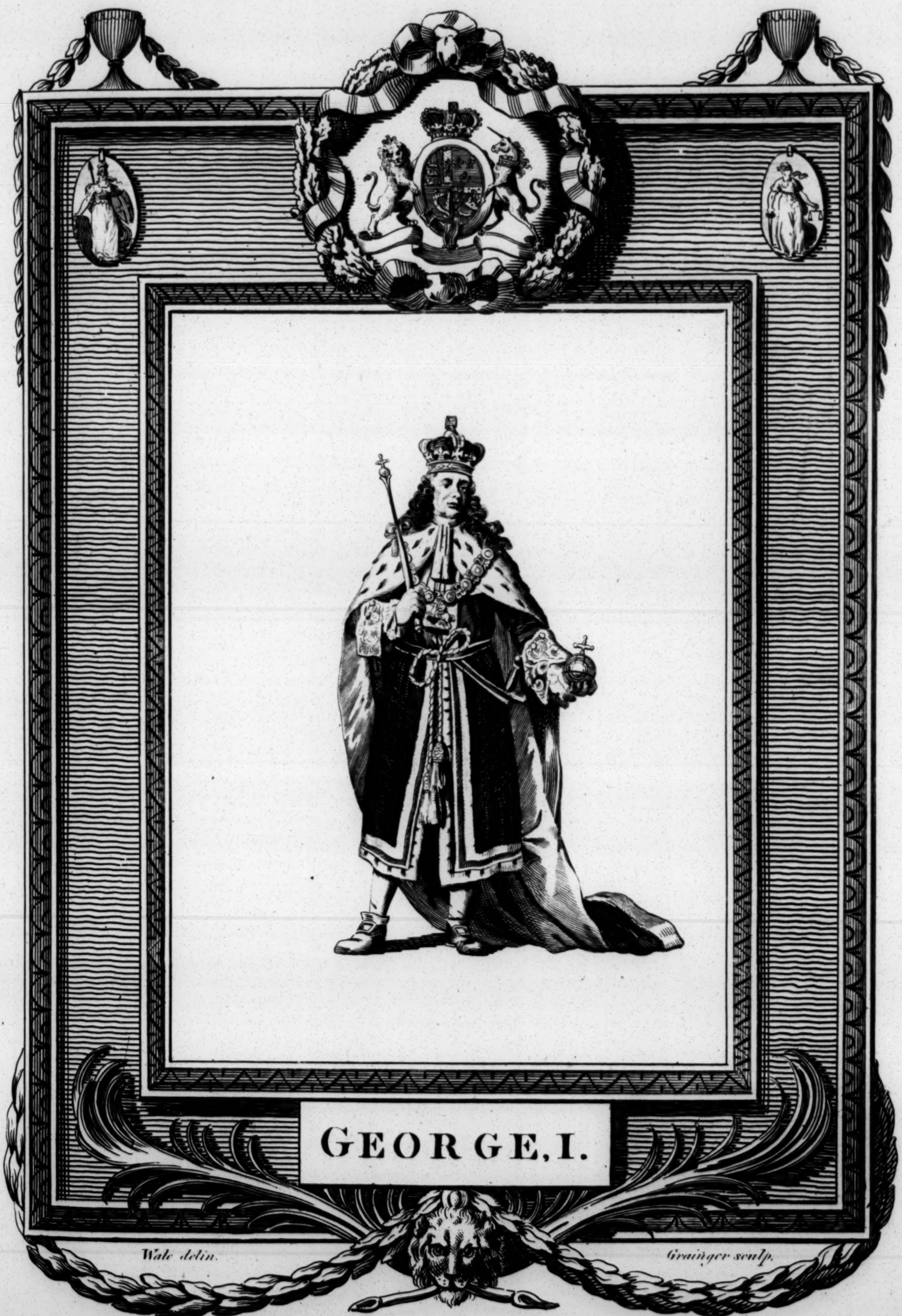
CHAP. I.

GEORGE I.

Arrives in England, and is proclaimed king—The tories diſgraced and excluded entirely from the royal favour—The impeachment of Bolingbroke and Ormond, who leave the kingdom—The firſt rebellion in favour of the pretender—Battles of Preſton and Dumblain—The pretender obliged to fly back to France—The earl of Oxford arraigned and acquitted—The Quadruple alliance—A victory obtained over the Spaniſh fleet—Vigo taken—South-ſea juggle—Gibralter beſieged—The king viſits his German dominions—Is taken ill on the road to Linden—His death and charactar.

A. D. 1714. GEORGE I. elector of Brunſwick, a prince of the houſe of Hanover, was indebted for his crown not to hereditary right, but to the election of a free and brave people; a title more honourable to a ſovereign than all the pride of royal anceſtry, or the boaſted claims of conqueſt. The right of this family to the throne is founded on that liberty they were choſen to preſerve; on that liberty which is the undoubted right of every ſubject; and while the ſovereign glories in being its protector, his throne will be fixed on the moſt ſolid foundation. The death of the queen, in a moment baffled all the expectations of the Jacobites; and their confuſion was completed by the diligence and activity of the lords juſtices, who had been appointed expreſsly by act of parliament, to adminiſter the government till the arrival of the ſucceſſor. Hence they found themſelves without any leader able to give conſiſtency to their deſigns, and force to their councils. Dr. Tenniſon, archbiſhop of Canterbury, no ſooner heard of the queen's death, than he went to the privy council, and produced an inſtrument, wherein the following lords had been nominated by his electoral highneſs to the regency: the dukes of Shrewſbury, Somerſet, Bolton, Devonſhire, Kent, Argyle, Montroſe and Roxborough; the earls of Pembroke, Angleſea, Carliſle, Nottingham, Abingdon, Scarborough, and Oxford; lord viſcount Townſend, lord Hallifax, and lord Cowper. Upon this orders were immediately iſſued for proclaiming king George in England, Scotland, and Ireland; which was performed the ſame day in London and Weſtminſter. The regency then appointed the earl of Dorſet to ſet out for Hanover with the news of his majeſty's acceſſion, and to attend him in his journey to England. They ſent the general officers in whom they could confide to their reſpective poſts; reinforced the garriſon of Portſmouth; and appointed Mr. Addiſon their ſecretary, in the room of Bolingbroke, who was obliged to ſtand at the door of the council chamber with his bag of papers, and underwent various kinds of mortification. Every thing contributed to ſecure the ſucceſſion purſuant to act of parliament; and the duke of Marlborough's arrival in England on the day of the queen's death, gave real joy to all the friends of the proteſtant ſucceſſion. The parliament being continued after the queen's demiſe, agreeable to an act for that purpoſe, met in the afternoon of the day ſhe died, though it was Sunday; and four days after the lord chancellor, in the name of the regents, made a ſpeech to both houſes, informing them what ſteps they had taken reſpecting their new ſovereign, whereupon both houſes agreed to addreſſes of condoleance, and congratulation; promiſing to ſupport his undoubted right to the crown, againſt the Pretender, and all other perſons whatſoever, and deſiring the king's ſpeedy preſence among them. Theſe addreſſes being preſented to his majeſty, he returned the following anſwer to the lords, and a ſimilar one to the commons: "I take this firſt opportunity to return you my hearty thanks for your addreſs, and the aſſurances you have given me therein. The zeal and unanimity you have ſhewn upon my acceſſion to the crown, are great encouragements to me, and I ſhall always eſteem the continuance of them as one of the greateſt bleſſings of my reign. No one can be more truly ſenſible than I am of the loſs ſuſtained by the death of the late queen, whoſe extraordinary piety and virtues ſo much endeared her to her people, and for whoſe memory I ſhall always have a particular regard. My beſt endeavours ſhall never be wanting to repair this loſs to nation. I will make it my conſtant care to preſerve your religion, laws, and liberties inviolable, and to advance the honour and proſperity of my kingdoms. I am haſtening to you according to your deſire, ſo affectionately expreſſed in your addreſs." On the twenty-firſt of Auguſt the lords of the regency gave the royal aſſent to the bill, "for the ſupport of his majeſty's houſhold, and the dignity of the crown," and to ſuch other bills as were ready; the houſes then adjourned to the twenty-fifth, when they were further adjourned to the twenty-third of September, by command of the king. On the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, the remains of the late queen were magnificently interred in the chapel of Henry VII. in the ſame vault with thoſe of her late huſband, prince George of Denmark. On the twenty-eighth Mr. Murray arrived from Hanover, with orders for the council, particularly one for removing viſcount Bolingbroke from his poſt of ſecretary of ſtate; which was done on the thirty-firſt, not without ſome marks of diſpleaſure; the dukes of Shrewſbury and Somerſet, and the lord Cowper, three of the lords regents, taking the ſeals from him, and locking and ſealing up all the doors of his office.

On the ſixteenth of September the king embarked for England, and the next day arrived at the Hope. On the eighteenth his majeſty and the prince landed at Greenwich in the evening, where the lords of the regency, and the earl of Northumberland, captain of the life-guards received them. They walked to the king's houſe in the park, attended by many of the nobility, and immenſe crowds of rejoicing ſpectators; and on the twentieth of the month, the king made his public entry into London, with great magnificence, more than two hundred coaches


GEORGE, I.
Wale delin.
Grainger sculp.

He was the first of the House of Hanover & Line of Brunswick—Proclaimed Augt 1. 1714—Landed at Greenwich Sepr 18 following, & Died in his Journey to Hanover June 11. 1727. Aged 67.

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of the nobility and gentry, each with ſix horſes preceding the royal carriage. A total change was now effected in the ſeveral departments of the ſtate. The great ſeal was intruſted to lord Cowper, the privy-ſeal to the earl of Wharton, and the government of Ireland to the earl of Sunderland. Lord Townſend and Mr. Stanhope were appointed ſecretaries of ſtate; the duke of Marlborough was made generaliſſimo, and the duke of Devonſhire ſteward of the king's houſhold; Mr. Poulteney was appointed ſecretary at war, and Mr. Walpole pay-maſter to the army and Chelſea hoſpital; the treaſury and admiralty were put into commiſſion, a new privy-council was appointed, and the prince royal was declared prince of Wales. All the corporations and the two univerſities preſented addreſſes of congratulation to his majeſty, who expreſſed great ſatisfaction upon receiving theſe inſtances of attachment to his perſon and government. He declared in council, that he was determined to maintain the churches of England and Scotland according to their eſtabliſhment by law; and this he conceived might be done, without abridging the proteſtant diſſenters of the indulgences they enjoyed under the toleration act; and further ſaid, that he would exert his utmoſt endeavours, effectually to ſecure the property of his ſubjects. In the beginning of October the princeſs of Wales, with her two daughters, the princeſſes Anne and Amelia, arrived in England; and on the twentieth of the ſame month, the king was crowned with great pomp and magnificence. Upon this occaſion, there were great demonſtration of joy throughout the kingdom; but the diſſatisfaction of the tories, on their being deprived of their places, ſoon ſhewed itſelf, by their reviving the clamour of the church's danger, and great tumults were raiſed in different parts of the kingdom, where the cry was, "Down with the whigs! Sacheverel for ever!" Hence breaking of windows, and pulling down of meeting houſes, were again practiced, as at the beginning of Sacheverel's mobs. During theſe commotions, the Pretender ſent a printed manifeſto to the dukes of Shrewſbury, Marlborough, Argyle, and many other noblemen. In a pamphlet written by Dr. Poland, the abſurdity of the allegations contained in the manifeſto was clearly expoſed. The copies of the repreſentation being delivered to the ſecretaries of ſtate, his majeſty refuſed an audience to the marquis de Lamberti, miniſter from the duke of Lorrain, being convinced that his maſter had countenanced the above proceeding.

The new parliament met on the ſeventeenth of March, wherein the king complained, that ſome men diſaffected to his ſucceſſion, had repreſented his principles and the general tenor of his conduct, in a manner highly injurious; he adverted to the perplexed ſtate of public affairs, the interruption of commerce, and the enormous national debt: and expreſſed an earneſt hope, that ſuch perſons might be elected into parliament, as had already approved themſelves zealouſly attached to the proteſtant religion, becauſe they would be the moſt likely to reſcue the ſtate from the embarraſſments in which it was then involved.

A. D. 1715. On the twenty-firſt of March the king came to the houſe of peers, and delivered to the chancellor a written addreſs to both houſes, which was read to the following effect: his majeſty thanked his faithful ſubjects for the zeal they had manifeſted in defence of the proteſtant ſucceſſion: ſome conditions of the peace he obſerved, were not fully executed, and that the whole might, therefore, be conſidered as precarious till the preſent treaties could be guarantied by defenſive alliances; he obſerved, that the Pretender threatened again to interrupt the tranquillity of his dominions; that great part of the trade of the nation was already rendered impracticable, and that if the evil was not ſpeedily repaired, the deſtruction of the navigation and manufactures of England muſt enſue; and that ſince the ceſſation of arms, a very great addition had been made to the public debts. He then informed the commons, that the revenues formerly granted were ſo incumbered and alienated, that the produce of the funds was not equal to the ſupport of the civil government; and that ſince his people were ſo happy as to have a prince of Wales, an expence would be neceſſarily incurred, to which the nation had not been accuſtomed for many years; and theſe circumſtances, his majeſty hoped, would be taken under the ſerious conſideration of his faithful commons. He obſerved, that this being the firſt ſeſſion in his reign, all the ſtates of Europe impatiently waited for the reſult of the parliamentary deliberations; exhorted them not to permit party contentions and animoſities, to divert their attention from the common intereſt of their country; and concluded with aſſuring them, that the civil and religious conſtitution of church and ſtate, and the happineſs and proſperity of his people, ſhould be the invariable rule of his government, and the principal care of his whole life.

In the morning of the twenty-ſecond of April, was a total eclipſe of the ſun, which had not happened in this kingdom for ſome centuries. The darkneſs was for a ſhort time ſo complete, that ſeveral ſtars appeared, and birds betook themſelves to rooſt. The eaſtern limb of the ſun was no ſooner covered, than the total darkneſs came on inſtantaneouſly, as did the light in the ſame manner return, when the moon left its weſtern limb. Obſervations were made on this extraordinary phænomenon by Mr. Whiſton, and other eminent aſtronomers.

Parliament had not ſat long before they began to call the late miniſters of queen Anne to an account; which ſo alarmed lord Bolingbroke, who had taken his ſeat in the houſe of peers, that he rode poſt to Dover, and embarked for Calais. A ſecret committee was formed for conſidering the ſeveral papers relating to the negotiations of peace, of which Walpole was made chairman. On the report of this committee being laid before the houſe, Bolingbroke and Oxford were impeached of high treaſon, and the earl of Strafford, one of the plenipotentiaries for the peace of Utrecht, of high crimes and miſdemeanors. It was thought Ormond's name being uſed as a ſignal for mobs and riots, contributed to haſten his impeachment; "High church and Ormond for ever!" being then as much the cry of the Jacobites and tory-mobs, as High church and Sacheverel had been before. It was, however, believed, that had he ſtaid he would have found favour; but taking the advice of his tory friends, he left the kingdom, and followed lord Bolingbroke to France. Upon this they were both attainted of high-treaſon, and a bill paſſed againſt them. The earl of Oxford, however, did not fly, but was committed to the cuſtody of the black rod, and then to the Tower. Mobs and tumults becoming now more frequent, an act was paſſed, declaring, that if any perſons to the number of twelve, unlawfully aſſembled, ſhould continue together one hour after being required to diſperſe by a juſtice of the peace, or other officer, and hearing the proclamation againſt riots read in public, they ſhould be deemed guilty of felony, without benefit of the clergy. This, which is commonly called the riot act, is ſtill in force.

The king having acquainted the parliament with the deſigns carried on in favour of the Pretender abroad and at home, addreſſes, expreſſive of loyalty and affection, were preſented by both houſes, the common-council of London, and the counties and corporations of England. The habeas corpus act was ſuſpended by parliament for ſix months. The duke of Powis, the earl of Jerſey, the lords Lanſdown and Dunbar, and other ſuſpicious perſons, were apprehended; the coaſts were ſtrictly guarded, and an expreſs ſent to the States-general for diſpatching their forces agreeable to their engagement. The earl of Mar, who, at the deceaſe of queen Anne, was ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland, and was one of the firſt who made profeſſions of loyalty to king George, expecting to be powerfully reinforced from England, began to act openly in North Britain. But being diſappointed of the encouragement and ſupport that had been promiſed him, he retired in diſguſt to the place of his nativity, and urged by ambition and reſentment, reſolved to take an active part in the Pretender's intereſts. With ſuch unabating perſeverance did he proſecute his deſign, that on the ſixth of September the adventurer's ſtandard was erected in Aberdeen, Dundee, Perth, and ſeveral other towns; and about ſix thouſand men appeared in arms, determined to ſupport his claim. A ſtrong party of the rebels made an attempt to ſurprize the caſtle of Edinburgh; but by the prudence of colonel Stuart, governor of the fortreſs, they were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. About this time died Lewis XIV. king of France; and this event proved ſo alarming to the rebels, that great numbers of them were deſirous of poſtponing all further meaſures till the Pretender ſhould have landed in England; but encouraged by the hope that an inſurrection would be fomented in their favour in England, it was decided by a majority, that at all hazards the enterprize ſhould be attempted. The dukes of Argyle and Roxborough, the earl of Sunderland, the marquiſſes of Annandale and Tweedale, and ſeveral other Scotiſh noblemen, repaired to the north, in order to collect their vaſſals, and exert their utmoſt intereſt to oppoſe the Pretender; and the duke of Argyle was appointed commander in chief of all the forces in Scotland. The earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forſter, with about two hundred and fifty more rebels, rendezvouzed at Plainfield, adjacent to Rothbury, where in a ſhort time they were joined by about thirty horſemen under lord Widdrington, and another party of horſemen from Scotland; they proclaimed the Pretender at Warkworth, Morpeth, and Hexham, with the uſual formalities; but upon the approach of general Carpenter, at the head of ſeveral regiments of cavalry and infantry, the enemy was thrown into ſuch conſternation, that they debated whether it would be moſt prudent to maintain their ground, or avoid an engagement. The former meaſure was ſtrongly recommended by Mr. Mackintoſh, who urged, that the longer the battle was poſtponed, the more formidable would become the power they had to encounter; but Forſter, their general, and the other principal officers, were for deferring the battle till they ſhould be joined by a ſtrong body of horſe: and therefore they marched to Longhoolm, Brampton, Penrith, Appleby, Kendal, Kirby, Dounſdale, and Lancaſter, and in moſt of thoſe towns proclaimed the Pretender in the uſual manner. They were now, in their march towards Preſton, joined by about fifteen hundred men from Lancaſhire. Upon their arrival at Preſton, they endeavoured to fortify themſelves in the town, being apprized of the approach of the king's forces under the command of general Wills. Upon the arrival of the royaliſts, the proper diſpoſitions were made for ſecuring the ſeveral avenues to the town, and an attack was made in regular form. At firſt, the king's troops were greatly annoyed by the enemy's ſhot from the windows and tops of houſes, and other buildings; but the royaliſts having ſet fire to the houſes at each end of the town, and received a conſiderable reinforcement, the rebels were ſo diſpirited, that they ſolicited a ceſſation of hoſtilities, and preſently after ſubmitted at diſcretion. The royaliſts ſuſtained a loſs of about a hundred and thirty men; but the number of ſlain on the part of the rebels, cannot be aſcertained.

It is remarkable, that on Sunday the thirteenth of November, the very day when the rebels were ſubdued at Preſton, the duke of Argyle, with about four thouſand men, engaged the rebel army under the earl of Mar, conſiſting of about nine thouſand, at Sheriffmuir, or Sheriff-moor, near Dumblain, about four miles from Sterling. Various accounts are given of the battle, which was obſtinate and bloody; and both ſides claimed the victory. It is, however, certain, that the duke of Argyle, with the right of his army, ſoon routed the left of the enemy; but while he was purſuing them two miles with great ſlaughter, the right of the rebels defeated the left of the royal army; ſo that general Witham, their commander, flying full ſpeed to Stirling, gave out that all was loſt. The duke, on his return from the purſuit of the rebels, with that part of the army which had been victorious, inſtantly perceived his imprudence. Both armies continued to gaze at each other, neither of them caring to engage; and towards evening both ſides drew off. The earl of Mar retreated to Perth. The earl of Ilay, the duke of Argyle's brother, was in the action; he behaved with great intrepidity, and was wounded in the arm and ſide. About eight hundred of the rebels were killed, and many made priſoners, among whom were ſeveral gentlemen. The caſtle of Inverneſs, which had been in the poſſeſſion of Mar, was delivered up by lord Lovat, who had hitherto appeared in the intereſt of the Pretender. The marquis of Tullibardine left the earl to defend his own country; and many of the clans ſeeing no likelihood of their ſoon coming to a ſecond engagement, returned home. The Pretender had now the greateſt reaſon to be convinced of the vanity of his expectations, in imagining the whole country would riſe in his cauſe, yet, though his affairs were deſperate, he was ſo infatuated as to reſolve to hazard his perſon among his friends in Scotland. Paſſing therefore through France in diſguiſe, and embarking in a ſmall veſſel at Dunkirk, he landed at Peterhead on the twenty-ſecond of September, having in his train the marquis of Tinmouth, ſon of the duke of Berwick, and five other gentlemen. Thence he haſtened to Fetteroſſe, where he was met by the earl of Mar, and about thirty noblemen and gentlemen.

The cloſe of this year was remarkable for a very ſevere froſt, which began towards the end of November, and continued till February; when the Thames, being frozen over, was covered with booths. Two whole oxen were roaſted upon it; and from the number of people who reſorted thither, it reſembled a fair.

A. D. 1716.

On the ninth of January the Pretender marched to Perth, where he reviewed the forces that had been raiſed for his ſervice, and expreſſed great ſatisfaction at the Highland dreſs, which he had never before ſeen. Thence he proceeded to Scoon, where he publiſhed ſeveral proclamations, particularly one for a convention of the ſtates, and another for his coronation, and aſſumed other acts of royalty, which ended almoſt as ſoon as they commenced; for towards the end of the month, the duke of Argyle, aſſiſted by lieutenant-general Cadogan, and other general officers who were ſent down to him, and reinforced by a good train of artillery, and the Dutch troops lately landed, marched from Stirling to attack the rebels at Perth, who no longer expected aſſiſtance from France; upon his approach they abandoned the place, and retired with the Pretender to Dundee, and from thence to Montroſe; where, finding they were cloſely purſued by the king's forces, on February the fourteenth, the Pretender, with the earls of Mar and Melfort, the lord Drummond, and ſome other chiefs, found means to make their eſcape in a French ſhip which lay there; ſoon after which the rebels diſperſed, ſome ſubmitted, and ſome were taken priſoners.

The Pretender ſteered for the coaſt of Norway, in order to avoid the Engliſh cruizers, and in five days time landed at Gravelin; and the chief of the rebel priſoners being conducted to London, the houſe of commons began to think of the moſt effectual method of proſecuting the offenders. They firſt expelled Mr. Forſter the houſe, and then impeached the earls of Derwentwater, Nithiſdale, Carnwath, and Wintoun, and the lords Widdrington, Nairn, and Kenmuir. Theſe noblemen being brought to the bar of the houſe of lords, heard the articles of impeachment read on the tenth of January, and were ordered to put in their anſwers on the ſixteenth. The impeachments being lodged, the lower houſe ordered a bill to be brought in to continue the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus act ſix months longer; then they prepared another to attaint lord John Drummond, the earls of Mar and Linlithgow, and the marquis of Tullibardine. All the lords pleaded guilty except Widdrington, who deſired farther time to prepare for his defence; and the reſt received ſentence of death on the ninth of February. Orders were iſſued for the execution of Derwentwater, Kenmuir, and Nithiſdale; but his majeſty was pleaſed to grant a reſpite to the others till the ſeventh of March. Nithiſdale effected an eſcape in the apparel of a woman, his mother having contrived to ſupply him with the diſguiſe. On the twenty-fourth of February, Kenmuir and Derwentwater were beheaded upon Tower hill. The earl of Wintoun was brought to trial, and being found guilty, received ſentence of death. Of the remaining priſoners, a conſiderable number were found guilty, hanged, drawn, and quartered; and among theſe was William Paul, a clergyman, who in a ſpeech to the populace at the place of execution, declared himſelf "A ſincere and true member of the church of England, but not of the revolution, ſchiſmatical church, whoſe biſhops had abandoned the king, and ſhamefully given up their eccleſiaſtical rights, by ſubmitting to the unlawful, invalid, lay deprivations authorized by the prince of Orange;" yet it appears, that this man's fear of death got the better of his reſolution; for he preſented a petition, declaring his ſorrow for his crime, and begged pardon of God, his king, and his country.

The miniſtry, apprehenſive that the approaching general election might give too much power to the jacobites and tories, had recourſe to a very extraordinary expedient to fruſtrate their views. The duke of Devonſhire repreſented to the houſe of peers, "That triennial elections ſerved to keep up party diviſions; to raiſe and foment feuds in private families; to produce ruinous expences, and give occaſion to the cabals and intrigues of foreign princes; that it became the wiſdom of ſuch an auguſt aſſembly, to apply a remedy to an evil which might be attended with the moſt dangerous conſequences, eſpecially in the preſent temper of the nation, while the ſpirit of rebellion ſtill remained unconquered, and ſeemed only to wait for a freſh opportunity to diſplay itſelf with more uncontrouled violence than ever; that as the election of a new parliament, which by the triennial act was faſt approaching, was the the moſt favourable juncture the jacobites could expect, he thought it abſolutely neceſſary to deprive them of that reſource; and that for this purpoſe he begged leave to propoſe a bill for enlarging the continuance of parliament, and deſired that the houſe would conſent to its being read. He was ſeconded by the earls of Dorſet and Rockingham, the duke of Argyle, the lord Townſend, and other leaders of the whig party; but the motion was oppoſed by the tories, particularly by the earls of Abingdon, Nottingham, and Paulet." Many arguments were uſed on both ſides of the queſtion, which at length being put, the bill paſſed, and it obtained the royal aſſent. Soon after, the clauſe in the act of ſettlement, by which the ſovereign was not to leave the kingdom without conſent of parliament, was repealed; and his majeſty having conſtituted the prince of Wales guardian of the realm during his abſence, ſet out for his German dominions on the ſeventh of July.

Though the rebellion was happily cruſhed, the ſpirit of it ſtill remained, and diſcovered itſelf in licentious mobs and tumults, in which the diſorderly multitude readily engaged. To ſtem the torrent of thoſe riots, the whigs, and ſuch who were well affected to the Hanoverian ſucceſſion, began even in the laſt reign to form themſelves into clubs, which met at ſeveral public houſes in the city and ſuburbs, then called Mug-houſes, from the veſſels uſed there. After his majeſty's acceſſion, theſe clubs were not only kept up but encreaſed. One of the moſt famous of the mug-houſes was the Roebuck in Cheapſide; and that in Saliſbury court became ſo from the following incident. The company there, upon ſome occaſion having given extraordinary demonſtrations of their loyalty, the jacobite mob were ſo enraged, that they attacked the mug-houſe, which was kept by one Mr. Read, and would have demoliſhed it, had not the company ſent for a reinforcement from the mug-houſe in Taviſtock-ſtreet. Upon their arrival, the mob was put to flight; but on the twenty-third, one Vaughan perſuaded the mob to attack the mug-houſe again, in order to revenge their late affront. They agreed, and followed him with loud huzzas of high church and Ormond, and down with the mug-houſes. Read ordered them to keep off, or he would fire among them; but they diſregarding him, he put his threats in execution, and killed Vaughan on the ſpot; for which he was afterwards tried and acquitted. The mob ſtill continuing their outrages, a party of the guards were ſent for. Five of the rioters were taken, who being tried and found guilty, were hanged at the end of Saliſbury court; and this put an end to thoſe tumults, which had for a conſiderable time thrown the capital into the utmoſt confuſion.

A. D. 1717.

While his majeſty was abroad, the triple alliance was ſigned between Great Britain, France, and the United Provinces. The king returned in January; and ſoon after the nation was alarmed with an intended invaſion by Charles XII. of Sweden in favour of the Pretender, which his majeſty communicated to the council: but Charles being ſoon after ſhot by a cannon ball before Frederick-ſhall, an end was put to all the deſigns of the Swedes againſt England. In the mean time, his majeſty ſent to demand of the commons an extraordinary ſupply, the better to enable him to ſecure his kingdoms againſt the danger with which they were threatened from Sweden; and after long and warm debates, two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds were granted for this purpoſe; but it was carried only by a majority of four voices. On the concluſion of this debate, there was almoſt a total change in the miniſtry. Mr. Stanhope was raiſed to the office of firſt lord of the treaſury, and chancellor of the exchequer; the earl of Sunderland and Mr. Addiſon were appointed ſecretaries of ſtate: the office of ſecretary at war was given to Mr. Craggs; the earl of Berkeley was appointed firſt lord of the admiralty, on the reſignation of the earl of Orford; the viceroyſhip of Ireland was given to the duke of Bolton, whom the duke of

Newcaſtle ſucceeded in his office of lord-chamberlain. Proceedings had been already begun with regard to a reduction of the national debt, which was comprehended under the two heads of redeemable and irredeemable incumbrances. The firſt had been contracted with a redeemable intereſt, and theſe the public had a right to diſcharge; the others conſiſted of longer and ſhorter annuities, granted for a greater or leſs number of years, which could not be altered without the conſent of the proprietors. Mr. Robert Walpole, when at the head of the treaſury, had projected a ſcheme for leſſening the intereſt, and paying the capital of theſe national debts. He propoſed in the houſe of commons to reduce the intereſt of the redeemable funds, and offer an alternative to the proprietors of annuities. This plan had met with approbation; but when he reſigned, ſome alterations were made which were diſpleaſing to him; and when a debate enſued, Mr. Stanhope and Mr. Walpole endeavoured to criminate each other; by which it ſeemed evident, that they had practiſed the ſelling places and reverſions. This diſcovery, which one would have imagined ſhould have cauſed ſuch an enquiry as might have ended in the puniſhment of both the parties, had a very different effect; the houſe ſeemed anxious that the whole matter ſhould be buried in oblivion; and the gentlemen "gave their word and honour to the ſpeaker, that their reſentment ſhould be carried no farther."

The earl of Oxford having been now confined near two years in the Tower, a petition from him was preſented to the houſe of lords, "praying that his impriſonment might not be indefinite." The tory lords aſſerted, that the impeachment was determined, and all proceedings againſt him ended by the prorogation of parliament; but this being put to the vote, was carried in the negative. Weſtminſter hall being prepared for his trial, and the lord-chancellor Cowper being appointed lord high-ſteward, the priſoner, on June the twenty-fourth, was brought from the Tower by water, and conducted to the bar; when Mr. Hampden, one of the managers for the commons, recapitulated the charge againſt the earl in a long ſpeech. Sir Joſeph Jekyll was proceeding to make good the firſt article; but lord Harcourt having made a motion previous thereto, 'that the commons be not permitted to proceed, in order to make good the articles againſt the earl of Oxford for high crimes and miſdemeanors, till judgment be firſt given upon the articles for high treaſon;' which after a long debate, was carried in the affirmative; there aroſe upon this a difference between the two houſes, the commons being reſolved to proceed in their own way, and the lords as ſtrenuouſly adhering to theirs. At laſt, in the beginning of July, the lords proceeded to the trial; and three proclamations were made for the accuſers of the earl of Oxford to appear, and make good the articles of impeachment againſt him; but nobody appearing, his lordſhip was, by the unanimous advice of all the peers preſent, diſcharged of the high crimes and miſdemeanors, as well as of high-treaſon. However, the commons addreſſed the king to except the earl of Oxford out of the act of grace, with which his majeſty complied. This act being ready, the king went to the houſe of peers, and having given his aſſent to ſeveral bills, cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which, among other things, he expreſſed his hope, that thoſe of his ſubjects who ſhould be reſtored to their liberty by the act of grace, would make a proper uſe of the indulgence for their own and the public advantage. After ſome diſputes between the northern powers, conferences were opened between the emperor, France, and Holland; in conſequence of which, before the cloſe of the next year, the famous quadruple alliance took place.

On the ſecond of November, the princeſs of Wales was brought to-bed of a prince, who was baptized on the twenty-eighth of the ſame month, by the name of George-William, and died ſoon afterwards, the king and the duke of Newcaſtle being godfathers, and the ducheſs of St. Albans godmother. By ſome circumſtance or other, after the chriſtening was over, his royal highneſs the prince of Wales fell under his majeſty's diſpleaſure, inſomuch that he was ordered to leave St. James's; which he did, and went and reſided at Leiceſter houſe, with the princeſs his conſort. The young princeſſes, and the young prince, remained at St. James's with his majeſty; orders having been given that her royal highneſs might come and ſee them as often as ſhe would. The prince retired with the princeſs to a houſe belonging to the earl of Grantham; and notice was given to all peers, peereſſes, privy-counſellors and their wives, that if "they viſited the prince and princeſs, they ſhould forbear coming into his majeſty's preſence." The conſequence was, that thoſe who held offices under the king or prince, were left to their choice; and moſt of the prince's ſervants declined going to St. James's.

When the king met his parliament in November, he informed them, that ſince the beginning of the laſt ſeſſion, he had reduced his army to nearly the half of its number at the commencement of the former ſeſſion. High debates aroſe in the houſe of commons, on the number of troops that ought to be ſupplied. Sir William Wyndam, Mr. Shippen, and Mr. Walpole, contended that twelve thouſand men were ſufficient; while Mr. Craggs and others were for voting ſixteen thouſand. At this period lord-chancellor Cowper, who had been promoted to the dignity of an earl, reſigned the great ſeal; which after being put in commiſſion for ſome time, was given to lord Parker. The earl of Sunderland was appointed preſident of the council, and firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury. The earl of Holderneſſe was placed at the head of the board of trade. The lord Stanhope and Mr. Craggs were appointed ſecretaries of ſtate; and ſhortly after the above changes, the lords Stanhope and Cadogan were advanced to the peerage.

A. D. 1718.

The Spaniſh monarch Philip, continued his warlike preparations, and equipped a formidable fleet, which early in the month of July ſailed from Barcelona towards Italy, but the deſtination of this armament was kept a profound ſecret. On the other hand, the king of England having fitted out a powerful ſquadron, the marquis de Monteleone, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, preſented a memorial to the miniſtry, importing, that ſo powerful an armament in a time of peace, could not but give offence to the king his maſter, and tend to diſturb the harmony that ſubſiſted between the crowns of Spain and England. In reply to this memorial, the Engliſh monarch obſerved, that he did not wiſh to conceal the deſign with which he had fitted out a fleet; and declared, that his intention was to ſend a powerful ſquadron into the Mediterranean under the command of admiral Byng, in order to protect the neutrality of Italy. In the mean time, the negotiations of the miniſters of France and Spain, brought about the quadruple alliance between Great-Britain, France, the emperor, and the States-general. It was ſtipulated by this famous treaty, that the king of Spain ſhould reſtore to the emperor, within two months after the ratification of the articles, the kingdom of Sardinia, and relinquiſh all claim to that iſland, as well as the dominions of the emperor in Italy and the Netherlands; that he ſhould conſent to the emperor's being put in poſſeſſion of Sicily, and renounce all claim to the reverſion of that kingdom in favour of the crown of Spain, as ſettled by the treaty of Utrecht; conditionally, however, of having Sardinia in exchange; that the emperor ſhould for himſelf, his heirs and ſucceſſors, abandon all pretenſions to any territories, of which, by the treaty of Utrecht, the king of Spain was acknowledged rightful poſſeſſor; that he ſhould recognize Philip as lawful king of Spain and the Indies; that the duchies of Parma, Tuſcany, and Placentia, ſhould be conſidered as male fiefs of the empire; and that, in default of male heirs, they ſhould devolve to the queen of Spain's eldeſt ſon; but it was provided, that neither of the above duchies ſhould ever be poſſeſſed by a prince in actual poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh crown; and that the king of Spain ſhould not aſſume the guardianſhip of the prince, to whom the duchies were to deſcend; that within two months after the ratification of the treaty, the king of Sicily ſhould reſtore that kingdom to the emperor; but that in return, the emperor ſhould give the king of Sicily poſſeſſion of the iſland of Sardinia, which he ſhould enjoy with the title of king, on condition that in default of male heirs, the right of reverſion ſhould be reſerved to the crown of Spain; that the kings of Spain and Sicily ſhould be allowed three months to determine, whether they would accede to the articles of the treaty; but that if, in oppoſition to the general wiſhes of Europe, they ſhould continue refractory, the mediating powers ſhould unite their ſtrength to compel their ſubmiſſion; that if any one of the mediators ſhould be attacked on account of the ſuccours lent to the emperor, the others ſhould declare war againſt the aſſailant, and not lay down their arms till the emperor ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of Sicily, and firmly eſtabliſhed in the enjoyment of his dominions in Italy; that if the terms propoſed by the allies ſhould be accepted by either of the kings, he ſhould unite with the mediators in order to enforce the compliance of the other; and to prove that juſtice and the peace of Europe were the only objects of the preſent treaty, it was expreſsly ſtipulated, that as ſoon as the emperor ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of Sicily, he ſhould relinquiſh all pretenſion to Spain and the Indies, whether king Philip acceded or not, inaſmuch as the guarantee of the mediatorial powers, would be, to his Imperial majeſty, a ſecurity for Sicily, the Netherlands, and the Italian dominions, equal to the renunciations of the Spaniſh monarch.

Intreaty and remonſtrance having proved equally ineffectual, the king of Great Britain reſolved to compel the Spaniſh monarch to comply with the conditions of the treaty. On the fourth of June Sir George Byng ſailed from Spithead, with an armament conſiſting of twenty ſhips of the line, two fire-ſhips, and two bomb-veſſels. On the thirtieth of the ſame month he arrived at St. Vincent's. Paſſing by Gibraltar, he was joined by vice-admiral Cornwall, with the Argyle and Charles galley. He then ſailed for Minorca, and relieved the garriſon of Port-Mahon. After this, he directed his courſe towards Naples, where he arrived on the firſt of Auguſt; and the Neapolitans, who were under the moſt terrible apprehenſions of a Spaniſh invaſion, hailed him as their deliverer. The admiral had an interview with count Daun, the viceroy, who treated him in a moſt honourable and reſpectful manner, and communicated to him the following very important intelligence: that a Spaniſh army, amounting to thirty thouſand men, under the command of the marquis de Lede, had effected a landing in Sicily, reduced Palermo and Meſſina, and was then employed in beſieging the laſt mentioned city; that unleſs ſpeedy relief was afforded, the Piedmonteſe garriſon would be under the neceſſity of ſurrendering; that an alliance was negotiating between the emperor and the king of Sicily; and that the latter had ſolicited the aſſiſtance of the Imperial army, offering the citadel of Meſſina for their reception. Having received this information, Sir George departed from Naples with all poſſible expedition, taking with him two thouſand German troops, under the command of general Wetzel, as a reinforcement to the citadel; and on the ninth of Auguſt he arrived within ſight of the Faro, off Meſſina.

The Spaniſh fleet had ſailed from the harbour of Meſſina, on the day before the arrival of the Engliſh ſquadron; and Byng imagining they had retired to Malta, proceeded towards Meſſina, in order to encourage and reinforce the garriſon in the citadel; but in doubling the Faro, he deſcried two Spaniſh ſcouts, and learnt from the people of a felucca from the Calabrian ſhore, that they had ſeen the Spaniſh fleet laying to in the order of battle. Upon this the admiral detached general Wetzel, with the German troops, to Reggio, under the convoy of two men of war. Paſſing through the Faro, the admiral ſailed in purſuit of the Spaniſh ſcouts; and before noon he deſcried the main fleet, conſiſting of twenty-ſeven ſail, excluſive of two fire-ſhips, four bomb-veſſels, and ſeven gallies, drawn up in line of battle. Don Antonio de Caſtaneta had the chief command of the Spaniſh fleet, in which were the four rear-admirals, Mari, Chacon, Guevara, and Cammock. Upon the appearance of the Engliſh fleet, the enemy ſtood away large, but continued to preſerve the order of battle; and they were purſued till evening. The next morning, rear-admiral Mari, with ſix men of war, the fire and ſtore-ſhips, bomb-ketches and gallies, ſeparated from the main fleet, and ſteered for the coaſt of Sicily. Captain Walton, with ſix ſhips, was diſpatched in purſuit of Mari, with whom he ſoon engaged. The Engliſh admiral purſued the main fleet, and the battle commenced about ten o'clock. The Spaniards made a running fight; and though the admirals behaved with great reſolution, they were all taken except Cammock, who eſcaped to Malta with three ſhips of war and three frigates. In this action, captain Haddock, of the Grafton, diſplayed repeated inſtances of good conduct and bravery. His ſhip being a remarkably quick ſailer, he made it a point to attack the headmoſt of the enemy. When he had diſabled one ſhip, he left it to be attacked by the Engliſh that followed, and then directed his force againſt another headmoſt veſſel in the enemy's line. Sir George received a letter on the eighteenth from captain Walton, mentioning, that he had made capture of four Spaniſh men of war, a bomb-ketch, and a veſſel laden with arms, and that he had burnt four ſhips of war, a bomb-veſſel, and a fire-ſhip. Notwithſtanding this defeat, the Spaniards continued to proſecute the ſiege of Meſſina with ſuch vigour, that on the twenty-ninth of September the governor capitulated, and the garriſon was tranſported to Syracuſe and Reggio. The emperor and the duke of Savoy now concluded a treaty at Vienna, according to which they were to form an army for the conqueſt of Sardinia in behalf of the duke, who engaged to evacuate Sicily; but it was ſtipulated that, until his forces could be removed from that iſland, they ſhould act in conjunction with the German troops againſt the common enemy. The Engliſh admiral continued to aſſiſt the Imperial forces in Sicily, during the greateſt part of the winter, by clearing the ſeas of the Spaniards, and preſerving a communication between the German troops and the Calabrian ſhore, from whence they were ſupplied with proviſions. Having held a conference with the viceroy of Naples, and the other Imperial general, reſpecting the operations of the enſuing campaign, Sir George ſailed for Mahon in order to refit his ſhips, intending to take the ſea early in the ſpring. The admiral's ſon remained at

Naples. to tranſact buſineſs with the viceroy, and tranſmit to England accounts of all important occurrences.

The parliament meeting on the eleventh of December, earl Stanhope offered to the houſe of lords a bill for ſtrengthening the proteſtant intereſt, by repealing the acts againſt occaſional conformity, and the ſchiſm bills which had been enacted at the end of the laſt reign. The tory lords were aſtoniſhed at this motion, for which they were unprepared. The archbiſhop of Canterbury repreſented theſe acts as the main bulwarks of the Engliſh church, and that it was needleſs to repeal them, ſince they had not been put in force: but Dr. Hoadly, biſhop of Bangor, proved, that they were perſecuting laws; and that the arguments in juſtification of them, would ſupport all the perſecutions maintained by the heathens, and even the popiſh inquiſition. In ſhort, this bill after long debates, paſſed both houſes, and in the following year received the royal aſſent.

A. D. 1719. A plan for invading England was concerted by Alberoni; and the duke of Ormond going to Madrid, had ſeveral conferences with the Spaniſh miniſter on this ſubject. In the mean time the Pretender quitted Rome, and arrived at Madrid, where he was treated as king of Great Britain. Ten ſhips of war and ſeveral tranſports, were prepared, and took on board ſix thouſand troops, and arms for twelve thouſand men. This fleet was commanded by the duke of Ormond, who had the title of captain-general of the forces of his moſt Catholic majeſty; and was furniſhed with a declaration in the name of that monarch, importing, that, for many good reaſons, he had ſent part of his land and ſea forces into England and Scotland, to act as auxiliaries to king James: that what had induced him to take this ſtep, was the certain intelligence he had received that many inhabitants of the two kingdoms, notwithſtanding their ſtrong inclination to acknowledge that prince for their ſovereign, durſt not openly declare for him, becauſe they did not ſee him ſupported by any of the ſtates of Europe, that had either the will or power to aſſiſt him: that in order to remove this difficulty, he had declared he was determined to exert his utmoſt endeavours for his reſtoration to the throne of a kingdom, which he ſaid belonged to him by undoubted right: that he hoped Providence would favour ſo juſt a cauſe: but that the fear of ill ſucceſs might not deter any perſon from openly eſpouſing his intereſt, he promiſed a ſafe retreat in his dominions, to all ſuch as, by their concern in this affair, might be obliged to leave their native country. Advice of this intended invaſion being tranſmitted from France to England, meaſures were taken to defeat the ſcheme. The king iſſued a proclamation, offering a reward for the apprehenſion of the duke of Ormond, or any gentleman embarked in the expedition. A ſtrong fleet was fitted out to oppoſe the invaſion; two thouſand men were demanded of the States General, and troops were aſſembled in the northern and weſtern parts of the kingdom. Parliament promiſed to ſupport the king againſt all his enemies, and aſſured him, that they would vote the neceſſary ſums for the payment of an additional force by ſea and land. The regent of France offered twenty battalions; but theſe were not accepted, as the Dutch had ſent two thouſand men, and ſix battalions of Imperialiſts were landed from the Auſtrian Netherlands. Tke duke of Ormond ſailed from Cadiz, but a violent ſtorm diſperſing his fleet, the boaſted expedition was fruſtrated; yet two frigates from Port-paſſage, with the earls Mariſchal and Seaforth, the marquis of Tullibardine, ſeveral officers, with three hundred Spaniards, and arms for two thouſand men, made the coaſt of Scotland, and took poſſeſſion of Donan, where they were joined by about ſixteen hundred Highlanders. They were oppoſed by a ſmall body of forces from Inverneſs, under the command of general Wightman. They gained poſſeſſion of the paſs at Glenſhiel; but upon the approach of the royaliſts, they retired to the paſs at Strachell, where they determined to defend themſelves. Being repeatedly attacked in the courſe of the day, and driven from one eminence to another, they became entirely hopeleſs, and wholly diſperſed in the night; and on the following day, the Spaniards ſurrendered themſelves as priſoners of war. The earls of Mariſchal and Seaforth, the marquis of Tullibardine, and ſome other officers, retired to one of the weſtern iſles, where they impatiently waited for an opportunity of eſcaping to the continent.

In return for this inſult, an expedition was undertaken againſt Spain, in which the lord Cobham, with the land forces, and vice-admiral Mighels, with the fleet, took Vigo, and Pont a-Vedre; in which places, they found ſome braſs artillery, ſmall arms and military ſtores, with which they returned to England. The ill ſucceſs of the Spaniards now induced them to wiſh for peace; and the king of Spain was at laſt contented to ſign the Quadruple alliance. The king having thus, with equal deliberation and vigour, uſed every precaution which his ſagacity could ſuggeſt, for ſecuring himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the crown, the parliament turned to an object of great importance; that of ſecuring the dependency of the Iriſh parliament upon that of Great Britain. Maurice Anneſley had appealed from a decree of the houſe of peers in Ireland, to the houſe of lords in England; and they having reverſed the appeal, the Britiſh peers ordered the barons of the exchequer in Ireland to put Mr. Anneſley in poſſeſſion of the lands he had loſt by the decree in that kingdom. This order the barons obeyed: but the Iriſh houſe of lords paſſed a vote againſt them, for attempting to diminiſh their juſt privileges, and ordered the barons to be taken under the cuſtody of the black rod. The houſe of peers in England, on the other hand reſolved, that the barons of the exchequer in Ireland, had behaved with courage and fidelity, and a bill was prepared, by which the Iriſh houſe of lords was deprived of the right of final juriſdiction. This was, however, oppoſed in both houſes. In the lower houſe Mr. Pitt maintained, that it would increaſe the power of the Engliſh peers, already too great, and Mr. Hungerford proved, that the Iriſh lords had always exerciſed their power of finally deciding cauſes. The duke of Leeds alſo exerted himſelf againſt the bill; but notwithſtanding all oppoſition, it was carried by a great majority, and received the royal aſſent. About this time his majeſty went to Hanover, and concluded a treaty of peace with Ulrica, queen of Sweden, by which the duchies of Bremen and Verden were ceded to the houſe of Hanover for ever; and at the ſame time the king mediated a peace between Sweden, Denmark, Ruſſia and Poland. The Czar, however, rejected this mediation, ſo anxious was he to purſue his ſchemes of conqueſt. He ſent a fleet, and landed fifteen thouſand men in Sweden, who committed horrid devaſtations; but Sir John Norris commanding the Britiſh ſquadron in the Swediſh ſeas, the Czar recalled his fleet, in fear of fatal conſequences. In November, John Matthews, a printer, was executed at Tyburn, for printing and publiſhing a treaſonable libel, entitled, *Vox populi, vox Dei*, in which the Pretender's right to the crown of theſe realms was aſſerted.

A. D. 1720. England now ſuffered a ſevere blow from the mean ſpirit of avarice and chichanery, with which all ranks of people were affected by the South Sea ſcheme, though juſt before France had been deluded by another which nearly reſembled it; where John Law, a Scotchman, had erected the Miſſiſſippi company, which at firſt promiſed the people immenſe wealth, but ended in their diſtreſs and the ruin of many. The South Sea ſcheme in England was no leſs fatal. In order to explain this in as conciſe a manner as poſſible, it muſt be obſerved, that the government, ever ſince the revolution, were conſtrained to borrow money from different companies of merchants, and among the reſt from the South Sea company. In 1716, government was indebted to them about nine millions and a half, for which an intereſt of ſix per cent. was paid. As this was not the only company to which the government was debtor, and paid large annual intereſt, Sir Robert Walpole formed the deſign of leſſening theſe national debts, by giving the ſeveral companies the alternative either of accepting five per cent. for their money, or of being paid their principal. The ſeveral companies choſe rather to accept of this diminiſhed intereſt than of their capital; and the South Sea company having made up their debt to the government ten millions, annually received, inſtead of ſix hundred thouſand pounds, as uſual, only five hundred thouſand. While things were in this ſituation, Sir John Blount, who had been bred a ſcrivener, and was a man of great art, propoſed to the miniſtry, in the name of the South Sea company to purchaſe all the debts of the different companies, and thus become the principal creditor of the ſtate, upon terms extremely advantageous to government. The parliament met, ſoon after the king returned from Hanover, and they had not ſat long, when the South Sea company laid before them their projected plan. After much debate and conteſt, it was determined in favour of the South Sea ſcheme, and their propoſals were accepted on the firſt of February, 1719-20. An act afterwards paſſed both houſes for that purpoſe, which received the royal aſſent in April following. However honeſtly the abovementioned ſcheme might have been deſigned by ſome, the execution of it was attended with amazing and fatal conſequences, to the enriching of a few and the impoveriſhing of thouſands; for it became a mere bubble and decoy for artful and cunning men to catch the unwary, but covetous adventurers. The infatuation was general, and nothing was now minded but the buſineſs of ſtock-jobbing. Exchange-alley, where theſe affairs were tranſacted, was in a continual hurry, where crowds of all ranks and qualities daily reſorted. The deſperate, who ventured firſt, were generally gainers; whilſt the wiſer and more ſedate, who came in later, were many of them great ſufferers. Stock roſe gradually to a prodigious height; to three hundred and ten pounds for one hundred pounds, before the bill had the royal aſſent, and in a few days to three hundred and forty, then to four hundred, and before the end of May to five hundred. In ſhort, what by the artifices of the managers, and the credulity of the people, through the eagerneſs of increaſing their fortunes, by the ſecond of June it got up to eight hundred and ninety, and continued riſing and falling, till it amounted to above a thouſand. A ſpirit of gambling thus prevailing in the nation, many projects were ſet on foot, ſome whimſical enough, which were deſervedly called bubbles, and grew up from the corruption of the grand bubble, or South Sea ſtock. They were near one hundred in number, and it was reckoned, that almoſt a million and a half was won or loſt in them. During the greater part of theſe tranſactions, the king was at Hanover. Such a number of opulent families had been reduced, that public credit received a ſevere ſhock: complaints and murmurings were every where heard, ſo that the whole nation was in a ferment. Repeated expreſſes were ſent to the king, requeſting his return; in conſequence of which he abridged his ſtay in Germany, and arrived in England in November. On the meeting of parliament, he acquainted the houſe with his negociations on the continent; lamented that the public credit at home had been ſo greatly injured in his abſence, and intreated them, "to conſider of the moſt effectual and ſpeedy methods to reſtore and ſecure the credit of the nation." Upon this an enquiry was made into the fraudulent execution of the South Sea act; and while this matter was in agitation, Mr. Knight, treaſurer of the company, and Sir John Blount, who had been principally concerned in the ſcheme, quitted the kingdom. In the end, the parliament applied to the relief of the ſufferers the eſtates of the ſub-governor, deputy-governor, directors, &c. only allowing each ſuch part as they thought proper; and John Aiſlabie, Eſq; chancellor of the exchequer, met with the ſame fate. They were alſo incapacitated from ſitting or voting in either houſe of parliament, or from holding any office or place of truſt under his majeſty, his heirs or ſucceſſors. The act againſt the directors received the royal aſſent on the twenty-ninth of July, and on the tenth of Auguſt the king paſſed the bill for reſtoring the public credit, and prorogued the parliament. The hand Mr. Robert Walpole had in ſettling this diſtracted affair, and reſtoring the credit of the nation, brought him into full favour again. He was made chancellor of the exchequer, and firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury. About two years afterwards, he was made knight of the Bath, and then of the garter, and continued prime miniſter to the end of this reign and fifteen years after.

A reconciliation between the royal family was now happily effected, in conſequence of which the prince of Wales attended at St. James's, and held a conference with the king, and on his return was attended by a party of the yeomen of the guards, and of the horſe-guards, after which the foot-guards began to do duty at Leiceſter-houſe.

A. D. 1721.

On the fifteenth of April the princeſs of Wales was delivered of a ſon, who was baptized by the name of William Auguſtus, and was afterwards created duke of Cumberland, whoſe name will be long dear to Engliſhmen. In the laſt ſeſſion a bill had been debated in the houſe of lords, for the more effectual ſuppreſſing of blaſphemy and profaneneſs. There was certainly too much occaſion for ſuch a bill: but as it chiefly tended to ſet up a kind of inquiſition on men's conſciences with regard to ſome ſpeculative points, wherein Chriſtians differ, it met with ſuch a rational oppoſition that it came to nothing.

A. D. 1722.

The king informed both houſes, that a conſpiracy was carrying on in favour of the Pretender, which had threatened the utmoſt danger to his kingdoms: he therefore hoped, that the members would exert themſelves with more than ordinary zeal and vigour; for that a perfect union among all who wiſhed well to the preſent eſtabliſhment, was become abſolutely neceſſary. This ſpeech was anſwered by addreſſes, expreſſive of zeal and loyalty; and a bill was brought in and paſſed, for the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus act for a year. As a proof of the reality of the abovementioned conſpiracy, the king ſent to the houſe of peers, the original and printed copy of a declaration, dated at Lucca on the twentieth of September, and ſigned by the Pretender. In this paper the Pretender who thought proper to aſſume the title of king James, affected to talk of the late violation of the freedom of elections; conſpiracies invented to give a colour to new oppreſſions; infamous informers; and the ſtate of the proſcription in which he ſuppoſed every honeſt man to be. He then very gravely propoſed, that if king George would reſign to him the throne of Great Britain, he would in return, beſtow upon him the title of king in his native dominious, and invite all other ſtates to confirm it. He likewiſe promiſed to ſecure the crown of England to king George, or his deſcendants, whenever it ſhould come to them by hereditary right. The lords came to a reſolution, that the above-mentioned declaration was a falſe, ſcandalous, and traiterous libel, and ordered it to be burnt at the Royal Exchange, and in this reſolution the commons concurred; and both houſes joined in an addreſs, expreſſive of their aſtoniſhment at the inſolence of the Pretender, and their readineſs to ſupport the king with their lives and fortunes. The commons now prepared a bill for raiſing one hundred thouſand pounds on the real and perſonal eſtates of Papiſts, towards defraying the expences incident on the late rebellion. The friends of the Roman catholics oppoſed this bill as a ſpecies of perſecution; but it paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent; as did likewiſe a bill to oblige perſons refuſing to take the oaths appointed for the ſecurity of the king's perſon and government, to regiſter their names and real eſtates.

November the twenty-firſt, Chriſtopher Layer, Eſq; a counſellor of the Temple, was brought to his trial in the court of King's Bench, and being convicted of having enliſted men for the Pretender's ſervice, in order to ſtir up a rebellion, received ſentence of death. He was repeatedly reprieved, and examined by a committee of the houſe of commons, in expectation that he would have made a diſcovery: but he was at length at executed at Tyburn, and his head fixed on Temple-bar. Mr. Pulteney, chairman of the committee of the houſe of commons, reported, that, from the examination of Layer and others, it had appeared, "that a deſign had been formed by perſons of figure and diſtinction at home, for placing the Pretender on the throne: that his firſt intention was to have procured a body of foreign troops, to invade the kingdom at the time of the late elections; but the conſpirators being diſappointed in this expectation, reſolved to make an attempt at the time when it was generally believed the king intended to go to Hanover, by the help of ſuch officers and ſoldiers as could paſs into England unobſerved from abroad, under the command of the late duke of Ormond, who was to have landed in the river with a great quantity of arms, provided in Spain for that purpoſe; at which time the Tower was to have been ſeized: that this ſcheme being defeated by the vigorous meaſures of the government, they deferred their enterprize till the breaking up of the camp; and in the mean time, employed their agents to corrupt and ſeduce the officers and ſoldiers of the army; that the late duke of Ormond, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Orrery, the lords North and Grey, and the biſhop of Rocheſter, were concerned in this conſpiracy: that their agents were Chriſtopher Layer and John Plunket, (who travelled with him to Rome) Dennis Kelley, George Kelly, and Thomas Carte, a nonjuring clergyman, Neynoe an Iriſh prieſt, and others." The commons on the reading the report, reſolved, that "a deteſtable and horrid conſpiracy had been formed and carried on by perſons of diſtinction at home, and their agents and inſtruments, in conjunction with traitors abroad, for raiſing a rebellion, ſeizing the Tower and city of London, laying violent hands on the perſon of his moſt ſacred majeſty and the prince of Wales, and to place a popiſh Pretender on the throne, with a view to ſubvert the eſtabliſhment in church and ſtate." Hereupon the parliament paſſed bills, for inflicting pains and penalties on biſhop Atterbury, Kelley, and Plunket; in conſequence of which, the firſt was baniſhed, and the two others impriſoned for life. Neynoe was drowned in attempting to make his eſcape from the houſe of the king's meſſenger which was ſituated on the banks of the Thames. The ſon of Sir Robert Walpole was now created a peer, in conſideration of the ſervices of his father; the biſhop of Rocheſter was ſent to the continent, and the king, having appointed a regency, ſet out for his dominions in Germany. The king was accompanied by the lords Cartaret and Townſend, ſecretaries of ſtate.

At this time Ireland was a little diſturbed by an incident which ſeems to have been miſunderſtood by the people of that kingdom. William Wood had obtained a patent for furniſhing Ireland with copper coin, in which it was deficient. When this money came to be circulated, a violent clamour was raiſed againſt it. The parliament of that kingdom, which met on the fifth day of September, reſolved, that the importing and uttering copper half-pence and farthings by virtue of Wood's patent, would be prejudicial to the revenue, deſtructive of trade, and of dangerous conſequence to the rights of the ſubject: that the ſtate of the nation had been miſrepreſented, in order to obtain the patent: that the half-pence wanted weight; that, even if the patent had been complied with, there would have been a loſs to the nation of a hundred and fifty per cent: and that granting the power of coinage to a private perſon had ever been highly prejudicial to the kingdom; and would, at all times, be of dangerous conſequence. Addreſſes from both houſes were preſented to the king on this ſubject. This affair was referred to the lords of the privy-council of England, who declared, that, from the report of Sir Iſaac Newton, and others of the mint, who had made the aſſay and trial of the half-pence, the conduct of the patentee was altogether unblameable; and that the terms of the patent had been exactly fulfilled: that Wood's currency, in goodneſs, fineneſs, and value of metal exceeded all the copper money, which had been coined for Ireland, in the reigns of Charles II. James II. king William and queen Mary: that his majeſty's predeceſſors had always exerciſed the undoubted prerogative of granting patents for copper coinage in Ireland to private perſons: that none of thoſe patents had been ſo beneficial to the kingdom as this granted to William Wood, who had not obtained it clandeſtinely or in an unprecedented manner, but after a reference to the attorney and ſolicitor-general, and after Sir Iſaac Newton had been conſulted in every particular; and finally that it appeared by a great number of witneſſes, that there was a real want of ſuch money in Ireland; which ſhewed the neceſſity of granting a patent. Notwithſtanding this deciſion the clamour of the Iriſh nation was induſtriouſly kept up by papers, pamphlets, and lampoons written by dean Swift and others; but Wood having voluntarily reduced his coinage from one hundred thouſand to forty thouſand pounds, the noiſe was in a great meaſure ſilenced. The parliament of Ireland paſſed an act for accepting the affirmation of quakers inſtead of an oath: and granted three hundred and forty thouſand pounds towards diſcharging the national debt, which amounted to ſix hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds.

A. D. 1723.

On the tenth of October England loſt a worthy nobleman in the death of lord Cowper, who had twice diſcharged the office of lord chancellor, with equal judgment and ability. This year was likewiſe remarkable for the death of the duke of Orleans, regent of France, who was carried off by an apoplexy, in the fiftieth year of his age, after having nominated the duke of Bourbon as prime miniſter. King George immediately received aſſurances of the good diſpoſition of the French court, to cultivate and improve the harmony ſo happily eſtabliſhed between the two nations.

A. D. 1724. On the nineteenth day of December, the king arrived in London; and on the ninth of January the parliament was aſſembled. His majeſty, in his ſpeech, congratulated them on the ſucceſs of their endeavours during the laſt ſeſſion to promote the ſafety, intereſt, and honour of the kingdom. He recommended to the commons the care of the public debts; and expreſſed his ſatisfaction at ſeeing the ſinking fund improved and augmented, ſo as to put the debt of the nation into a method of being ſpeedily and gradually diſcharged. Addreſſes of thanks having been preſented by both houſes, the commons proceeded to conſider the eſtimates for the enſuing year. They voted ten thouſand ſeamen; and the majority, though not without violent oppoſition, agreed to maintain four thouſand additional troops, which had been raiſed in the courſe of the preceding ſummer; the whole number of effective men amounting to eighteen thouſand two hundred ſixty-four. The expence was defrayed by a land-tax of two ſhillings in the pound, together with the malt-tax. The nation having long and loudly complained of the injuſtice of protections granted by foreign miniſters, peers, and members of parliament, the commons reſolved, that all protections granted by members of that houſe ſhould be declared void, and immediately withdrawn; that none ſhould be granted for the future; and that if any member ſhould preſume to contravene this order, he ſhould make ſatisfaction to the party injured, and be liable to the cenſure of the houſe. The lords made a declaration to the ſame purpoſe, with an exception of menial ſervants, and thoſe neceſſarily employed about the eſtates of peers. The public buſineſs being finiſhed, the king cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech on the twenty-fourth day of April. The parliament aſſembling on the twelfth day of November, continued the former eſtabliſhment of the land and ſea forces, and readily granted the neceſſary ſupplies. The chief object, which engaged their attention during the ſeſſion, was the trial of the earl of Macclesfield, lord chancellor of England. This nobleman, by conniving at certain venal practices touching the ſale of places, and the money of ſuitors depoſited with the maſters of chancery, had incurred ſuch a load of odium, that he found it neceſſary to reſign the great ſeal in the beginning of January.

A. D. 1725. On the twentieth day of April a petition was preſented to the commons, by the lord Finch, in behalf of Henry St. John, late viſcount Bolingbroke, praying that the execution of the law might be ſuſpended with reſpect to his forfeitures, as a pardon had ſuſpended it with reſpect to his life. Mr. Walpole informed the houſe, that ſeven years before, the petitioner had made his humble ſubmiſſion to the king, with the moſt ſolemn aſſurances of fidelity and allegiance; and that from his ſubſequent behaviour, he had proved himſelf to be a proper object of the royal mercy, which had induced his majeſty to conſent to his petitioning the houſe. The petition being read, Mr. Walpole ſaid, he was perfectly ſatisfied, that the petitioner had made ſufficient atonement for his paſt offences, and was therefore deſerving the interference of the houſe, to enable him to enjoy his family inheritance; which, according to the opinion of the moſt learned in the law, he could not do, unleſs the king's pardon was followed by an act of parliament for reſtoring his eſtates. After this matter had been fully diſcuſſed, a bill was preſented, and having paſſed both houſes, it received the royal aſſent in a few days.

Upon the deceaſe of Lewis, the young king of Spain, which happened a ſhort time after his advancement to the throne, his father Philip reſumed the powers of government; which, however, he exerciſed entirely under the influence of the queen, who was a woman of an intriguing and ambitious temper. Such a ſtrong averſion did Lewis XV. of France conceive againſt his conſort, the infanta of Spain, that he perſevered in a reſolution never to conſummate his nuptials. The whole kingdom of France being greatly alarmed with the apprehenſion of a civil war, in caſe of the king dying without male iſſue, he determined, with the advice of his council, to ſend her back to Madrid; whither ſhe was accordingly conducted by the marquis de Monteleone, and Patrick Lawleſs, agent to the Pretender. The queen of Spain was ſo exaſperated by the inſult offered to her daughter, that ſhe diſmiſſed madamoiſelle de Beaujolouis, one of the daughters of the regent, who had been contracted to her ſon Don Carlos; and farther to gratify her reſentment, ſhe reſolved, that the French ſhould in future have no concerns in the affairs of Spain. The congreſs of Cambray having proved wholly ineffectual, the queen propoſed to compromiſe her differences with the emperor, under the ſole mediation of Great Britain. But the king of England being ſatisfied that the emperor was by no means diſpoſed to abide by his determination, declined the honour offered him by the queen of Spain. Upon receiving this refuſal, her Catholic majeſty propoſed a private negociation to the court of Vienna, which was readily accepted. Hereupon the conferences were immediately opened; and they were conducted under the direction of the baron de Ripperda, a native of Holland, who had renounced proteſtantiſm, and engaged in the ſervice of Spain. A treaty of peace was ſigned at Vienna on the thirteenth of April, whereby the emperor acknowledged Philip as king of Spain and the Indies, and engaged not to diſpute his right to thoſe poſſeſſions which had been ſecured to him by the treaty of Utrecht. By the ſame treaty, Philip relinquiſhed all claim to the territories in Italy and the Netherlands, which by the treaty of London, concluded in 1722, had been adjudged to the emperor. Charles granted the inveſtiture of the dukedoms of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, to the eldeſt ſon of the queen of Spain, in default of heirs in the preſent poſſeſſors, as male fiefs of the emperor. The Auſtrian ſucceſſion was guarantied by Spain, according to the pragmatic ſanction, whereby the dominions of that houſe were ſettled on the emperor's heirs of either ſex, and declared to be a perpetual, indiviſible, and inſeparable feoffment of the primogeniture. No part of the above treaty was calculated to excite the diſpleaſure of the European powers: but the caſe was very different with reſpect to the treaty of commerce, by which the Auſtrian ſubjects were entitled to advantages in trade with Spain, from which all other nations were excluded. Philip propoſed to guaranty the Oſtend Eaſt-India company, and to pay the emperor an annual ſubſidy of four millions of pieces of eight. Different ſums were remitted to Vienna, amounting in the whole to one million ſterling; the Imperial forces were augmented by a body of ſixty thouſand men, and other powers were invited to engage in this alliance, but the court of Ruſſia only complied. Excluſive of theſe public engagements, there were ſeveral articles of a private nature, and a much more dangerous tendency, which proved highly alarming to the court of England. By theſe private articles, the contracting powers were ſaid to have bound themſelves to procure to Spain the reſtitution of Gibraltar and Port Mahon; to effect a double marriage between the two infants of Spain, and the two archducheſſes of Auſtria; and to exert their utmoſt endeavours, for eſtabliſhing the Pretender on the throne of England.

To render the deſigns of the new allies abortive, the Engliſh monarch ſuggeſted a defenſive treaty between England, France, and Pruſſia; and in the following September, this alliance, which was to continue for the ſpace of fifteen years, was concluded at Hanover.

In December, the order of the knights of the Bath was revived; they were thirty-eight in number, including the ſovereign. William Bateman was created baron of Calmore in Ireland, and viſcount Bateman; and Sir Robert Walpole, one of the revived knights of the Bath, was honoured with the order of the Garter.

The duke of Wharton having diſſipated his fortune by an extravagant courſe of life, repaired to the court of Vienna, from whence he proceeded to Rome, and offered his ſervices to the Pretender; in conſequence of which he received the order of the garter, and the title of duke of Northumberland. He was diſpatched by the Pretender with credentials to the court of Madrid; and the king of England being apprized of his arrival at the court of Spain, ſent a meſſenger with a letter under the great ſeal, commanding him, upon his allegiance, to return immediately to England. The king's letter being delivered to him as he was riding through the ſtreets of Madrid in his carriage, he vehemently exclaimed againſt the meſſenger, who had preſumed to execute a ſummons upon him within ſight of the palace of his moſt catholic majeſty; and he even threatened to preſent a memorial to the court of Spain, demanding juſtice againſt the meſſenger for the indignity he had offered him; but Philip declared that he would not interfere in this matter. In a ſhort time after this, the duke renounced the proteſtant religion; and having eſpouſed one of the ladies of the queen of Spain's bed-chamber, he was appointed a colonel in the Spaniſh army.

A. D. 1726. The king ſet out on his return for England; embarked at Helvoetſluys on the firſt day of January; and after having encountered a moſt furious ſtorm, was landed with great difficulty at Rye, from whence he proceeded by land to London. The parliament being aſſembled on the twentieth day of the ſame month, the king, in his ſpeech to both houſes, informed them, that the diſtreſſed condition of ſome of their proteſtant brethren abroad, and the negotiations and engagements contracted by ſome foreign powers, which ſeemed to have laid the foundations of new troubles and diſturbances in Europe, and to threaten his ſubjects with the loſs of ſeveral of the moſt advantageous branches of their trade, had obliged him to concert, with other powers, ſuch meaſures as might give a check to the ambitious view of thoſe who were endeavouring to render themſelves formidable, and put a ſtop to the further progreſs of ſuch dangerous deſigns; that, with this view, he had entered into a defenſive alliance with the kings of France and Pruſſia, to which ſeveral other powers, and particularly the States-general, had been invited to accede; and he had no reaſon to doubt, but they would readily give their concurrence: that by theſe means, and by their ſupport and aſſiſtance, he hoped he ſhould be able, not only to ſecure to his own ſubjects the enjoyment of many valuable rights and privileges long ſince acquired for them by the moſt ſolemn treaties, but effectually to preſerve the balance of power in Europe, the only end of all his endeavours.

When the treaties of Vienna and Hanover were taken into conſideration by the houſe of commons, Horatio Walpole opened the debate with a long and ſtudied ſpeech, in which he gave a detail of the affairs of Europe ſince the treaty of Utrecht. He recapitulated the ſubſtance of the barrier treaty; the convention for executing that treaty; the defenſive alliance with the emperor; another with the moſt Chriſtian king and the States-general; a ſubſequent convention; the quadruple alliance; the congreſs at Cambray; the treaty of Vienna, and that of Hanover. On the other hand, the members in the oppoſition alledged, that the treaty of Hanover would engage the Britiſh nation in a war for the defence of the king's German dominions, contrary to an expreſs proviſion made in the act of limitation. They were anſwered by Mr. Pelham, who moved for an addreſs to his majeſty, approving the alliance he had concluded at Hanover, in order to obviate and diſappoint the dangerous views and conſequences of the treaty of peace between the emperor and the king of Spain; and promiſing to ſupport him againſt all inſults and attacks that ſhould be made upon any of his territories, though not belonging to the crown of Great Britain. The addreſs was accordingly voted and preſented; and ſuch another was delivered by the houſe of lords in a body.

A tax having been impoſed on malt in Scotland, the maltſters of Glaſgow threatened the lives of the exciſemen, if they ſhould preſume to enter their houſes; in conſequence of which, major-general Wade, who then commanded the forces in Scotland, being applied to by the commiſſioners, diſpatched two companies of foot to Glaſgow, under the command of captain Buſhell. On their entrance into the town, the mob pelted them with ſtones, and the captain was obliged to hire an alehouſe as a guard-room, the populace having locked up the regular guard-room, and ſecreted the key. Towards midnight, the rabble broke into the houſe of Mr. Campbell, member for the city, and either carried off or deſtroyed moſt of the furniture. In the afternoon of the following day (the captain having in the mean time got poſſeſſion of the guard-room) the mob re-aſſembled, and made head againſt the ſoldiers, exclaiming, "Drive the dogs out of town, we will cut them to pieces." It was in vain that the captain remonſtrated with the enraged multitude, and told them that his men muſt fire, if they did not deſiſt. They continued to preſs forward in tumultuous numbers, and wounded ſeveral of the ſoldiers; who at length fired over their heads, in the hope to terrify them into ſubmiſſion. Still, however, they perſiſted in their attack on the ſoldiers, whom they pelted with ſtones, till they were compelled to fire, and three or four perſons were killed, and ſeveral wounded. The populace, now incenſed, ſeized all the arms that could be found in the town; whereupon the captain, finding reſiſtance vain, retreated to Dumbarton, towards which he was purſued ſix miles. General Wade being informing of theſe proceedings, got together a large body of troops, and, in conjunction with Duncan Forbes, the lord-advocate, took poſſeſſion of Glaſgow, the magiſtrates of which were ſent priſoners to Edinburgh, where they were tried by the lords-juſticiary, and acquitted. Of the lower ranks, ſeveral were puniſhed by whipping, and four tranſported. In March, the king ſent a meſſage to the houſe of commons, requeſting their aſſiſtance "to diſcharge the obligations he had already incurred, and to enter into ſuch other engagements as might be neceſſary." This requiſition, after ſome debate, was complied with, and the parliament was prorogued.

A. D. 1727. When the parliament of Great Britain met on the ſeventeenth day of January, the king, in his ſpeech to both houſes, obſerved, that, "If the preſerving a due balance of power in Europe; if defending the poſſeſſions of the crown of Great Britain, of infinite advantage to her trade and commerce, againſt dangerous and unlawful encroachments; and if the preſent eſtabliſhment, the religion, liberties, and properties of a proteſtant people, were any longer conſiderations worthy the care and attention of a Britiſh parliament, he need ſay no more to incite them to exert their beſt abilities in defence of them." Both houſes preſented addreſſes of thanks, replete with approbation of the king's proceedings to defeat the deſigns of his enemies; and the commons voted a land-tax bill of four ſhillings in the pound, to defray the expence of ſupporting twenty thouſand ſeamen, and twenty-ſix thouſand three hundred and eighty-three men for the land ſervice. There were high debates this ſeſſion in the houſe of lords, on the letters and memorials which had paſſed between the miniſters of Great Britain, France, and Spain, and the papers reſpecting the treaty of Hanover. At length it was reſolved, that the meaſures his majeſty had judged it expedient to purſue, were both juſt and honourable, and highly neceſſary for defeating the dangerous deſigns meditated in favour of the Pretender; for preſerving the dominions belonging to the crown of Great Britain by ſolemn treaties; and for ſecuring to his ſubjects their moſt valuable rights and privileges of commerce, and preſerving the tranquillity of Europe. But ſeveral of the peers proteſted againſt this reſolution.

In the houſe of commons, the oppoſition conſiſted chiefly in making motions for addreſſes on various ſubjects; one of theſe was for a copy of a memorial preſented to the king of Sweden by Mr. Poyntz, and for the ſecret offenſive article between the courts of Vienna and Madrid; another was for the declaration, letters, and engagements, reſpecting the reſtitution of Gibraltar, for which the court of Spain pretended a poſitive promiſe had been given; a third was for copies of ſuch memorials and repreſentations to his majeſty, as had induced him, in the courſe of the preceding year, to ſend a ſquadron into the Baltic; a fourth was for an account of the diſtribution of one hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds, charged in the ſtate of money granted for the ſervice of the laſt year, in general terms, as iſſued out for other engagements and expences, over and above ſuch as were ſpecified. But theſe motions were negatived; and an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty was voted by a conſiderable majority, in which the houſe expreſſed the moſt perfect ſatisfaction in the meaſures already purſued, and promiſed to ſupport his majeſty in ſuch proceedings as he ſhould deem neceſſary for the public good.

The king's ſpeech was the ſubject of much criticiſm, both at home, and in foreign countries. Some expreſſions therein were ſo diſpleaſing to the court of Vienna, that Mr. Palms, the Imperial reſident at London, was directed to preſent a ſpirited memorial to his majeſty, and afterwards to publiſh it, as an appeal to the people from the declarations of their ſovereign from the throne. In this inſolent paper, the king was accuſed of having averred from the throne, as certain and incontrovertible facts, divers miſrepreſentations and falſities. The memorial aſſerted, that the treaty of Vienna was founded on the quadruple alliance, and could not, therefore, reaſonably give offence to the king or people of England: that the treaty of commerce was calculated to promote the mutual advantage of both parties, agreeable to the laws of nations, and that it could in no reſpect operate to the diſadvantage of Great Britain; that there was no offenſive alliance concluded between the two crowns; and that the ſuppoſed article reſpecting the Pretender, was an abſolute deception; and the memorialiſt further ſaid, that the hoſtilities commenced in the Weſt Indies, and elſewhere, againſt the king of Spain, in direct violation of the moſt ſolemn treaties, afforded that monarch a ſufficient pretence for having laid ſiege to Gibraltar; but with regard to the inſinuation, that his maſter had agreed to aſſiſt in the ſiege, it was wholly deſtitute of foundation. the emperor having no other engagements with the court of Spain, than what was ſpecified in the treaty communicated to the king of England. And the memorialiſt, in the name of the emperor, demanded reparation for the injury the honour of his Imperial majeſty had ſuſtained by ſuch groundleſs imputations. This daring remonſtrance incenſed the people of England in the higheſt degree. Both houſes of parliament jointly addreſſed his majeſty, expreſſing their indignation at the conduct of the Imperial reſident; and aſſuring him, that this audacious manner of appealing to his people, was a proceeding that excited their utmoſt abhorrence and indignation; and the Imperial reſident was ordered immediately to quit the kingdom. Virulent memorials and declarations were preſented by the miniſters of the emperor, and the kings of Great Britain and France, to the diet of the empire at Ratiſbon; and ſuch ſevere perſonalities were thrown out by theſe potentates, that there was but little reaſon to expect a ſpeedy accommodation. To fortify himſelf againſt the impending ſtorm, king George engaged in a more ſtrict alliance with the French monarch. He prevailed upon the king of Sweden to accede to the treaty of Hanover; to ſupply, as a party in that treaty, a body of five thouſand men; to keep double that number of troops in readineſs to act, in caſe of emergency, in conſideration of a ſubſidy of fifty thouſand pounds for three years, to be remitted by equal inſtallments every ſix months. He alſo negociated a new treaty with the king of Denmark, who engaged to furniſh twenty-four thouſand auxiliaries, in conſideration of a ſubſidy of three hundred and fifty thouſand rixdollars, for the ſpace of four years, to be paid by the king of France. He made a convention with the prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, who promiſed to ſupply four thouſand cavalry, and double that number of land forces, in conſideration of immediately receiving from Great Britain ſeventy-five thouſand pounds, for the purpoſe of levying and equipping theſe forces; and an additional fifty thouſand pounds, in caſe their ſervice ſhould be requiſite in the field, excluſive of the uſual allowance for their pay and maintenance; and while his majeſty was negotiating theſe treaties, he engaged four and twenty thouſand ſeamen, and equipped a powerful fleet for the Baltic.

A motion was made in the houſe of commons by Mr. Scope, ſecretary to the treaſury, that a clauſe ſhould be inſerted in the malt-tax bill, empowering his majeſty to apply ſuch ſums as ſhould be neceſſary for defraying the expences incidental to ſuch engagements as had been made, or ſhould be made, previous to the twenty-fifth of the enſuing December, for the purpoſe of protecting and ſecuring the trade and navigation of the kingdom, and reſtoring the public tranquillity. A violent conteſt was the reſult of the above motion; the ſupporters of which aſſerted, that his majeſty was ſo unwilling to involve the nation in any extraordinary expence, that he had requeſted no greater ſupplies in this ſeſſion, than what he deemed abſolutely neceſſary for the ſervice of the year; but that, in the preſent ſituation of public affairs, circumſtances might occur to require an unforeſeen expence, for which no eſtimates could be made, becauſe ſome of the treaties in which his majeſty had judged it prudent to engage, were not yet completed; that therefore it was the duty of parliament to enable him to anſwer ſuch contingencies as might ariſe; and more eſpecially, as he had in no inſtance abuſed the confidence which the houſe had repoſed in him on former occaſions. On the other hand it was contended, that to grant ſupplies without an eſtimate, was contrary to the eſtabliſhed rules of parliament; that the clauſe propoſed was inconſiſtent with that part of the bill, which forbad "iſſuing the ſupplies granted to any other purpoſes than thoſe ſpecified, and rendered ineffectual that diſpoſal of the public money, which the wiſdom of all parliaments thought a neceſſary ſecurity againſt miſapplication; that this embezzlement was the more to be feared, as no proviſion was made to call any perſon to account for the money that ſhould be diſpoſed of by virtue of this clauſe; that the parliament had already granted vaſt ſums, which appeared ſufficient to anſwer any occaſions, as far as their preſent views could extend; and, if there ſhould happen any unexpected emergency which might demand a farther ſupply, it might be provided in the uſual manner, when neceſſity required," &c. It was farther ſaid, that "the repoſing a confidence in the crown in the diſpoſition of ſuch immenſe ſums of money, as, by the advice of profuſe miniſters may be ſquandered away, might be attended with great prejudice to the property of the ſubject, and great danger to the conſtitution." Notwithſtanding theſe and other arguments the motion was carried, and the bill likewiſe paſſed the houſe of peers. On the following day Sir William Younge moved, that three hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds towards the ſupply granted to the king, ſhould be raiſed by loans on Exchequer bills, to be charged to the ſurplus of the duties on coal and culm, which was reſerved for the diſpoſal of the parliament. This motion was oppoſed by Sir Joſeph Jekyll and Mr. Pultney, but was at length carried without any conſiderable oppoſition. The ſeſſion was now cloſed by the king, who thanked his parliament for their zeal and liberality; and informed them, that the count de las Torres, with twenty thouſand men, preſſed the ſiege of Gibraltar. At this time the place was well defended, and the earl of Portmore, governor of that garriſon, failed with a reinforcement, under convoy of a fleet commanded by Sir Charles Wager. Five hundred men likewiſe went from Minorca; and a plenty of freſh proviſions being ſent from the coaſt of Barbary, the efforts of the beſiegers were rendered ineffectual; but though the ſiege was ſuſpended upon preliminary articles for a general pacification being ſigned, it was not raiſed till ſome time after the king's death.

His majeſty not having viſited his German dominions for two years, declared in council his intention of embracing the preſent opportunity to enjoy that pleaſure. On the third of June the king ſet out for Hanover, and proceeding to Greenwich embarked on board the Carolina yacht for Holland, where he landed on the ſeventh. He lay at the little town of Vaert, and two days after arrived, between ten and eleven at night at Delden, to appearance in good health. Here he ſupped heartily, and eat part of a melon, which his ſtomach ſeemed not well to digeſt; for ſetting out the next morning, he had not travelled far before he was troubled with gripings of the cholic; and, ordering the coach to ſtop, complained that he had loſt the uſe of one of his hands. Being come to Linden, he could not eat any thing at dinner; upon which it was judged adviſeable to open a vein, and he was blooded, but without any good effect. He was adviſed by his attendants to remain at Linden; but being anxious to reach his electoral dominions, his majeſty continued his journey, during which he fell into a kind of lethargic dozing. About ten at night the king arrived at the palace of his brother, the biſhop of Oſnaburgh, where, his illneſs increaſing, he expired about eleven o'clock the next morning, on Sunday the eleventh of June, leaving the crown of England, and his foreign dominions, to his only ſon the prince of Wales. This worthy monarch aſcended the throne in the fifty-fourth year of his age, endowed with every quality neceſſary for governing a great and powerful people. He died in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign. His majeſty married Sophia Dorothy, daughter and heireſs of the duke of Zell, of whom was born his only ſon and ſucceſſor George II. and a daughter, mother of the preſent king of Pruſſia, who died in 1757. The king's body was conveyed to Hanover, and interred there among his anceſtors.

The principal writers who flouriſhed in this and the preceding reign, were Swift, Steel, Addiſon, Bolingbroke, and Trenchard, in the political line. Prior, Rowe, Garth, Addiſon, Philips, Gay, Dryden, and Pope, as poets; Atterbury, Clarke, and Hoadley, as divines.

Character of George I.

This prince was in his perſon plain, in his addreſs ſimple; of a compoſed and grave deportment; but in his hours of relaxation, familiar, and at times facetious. Before he aſcended the throne of Great Britain, he had juſtly acquired the character of a wiſe politician, a courageous, circumſpect general, a juſt and merciful elector. The eſtabliſhment of the electoral dignity in his family was a work, which, though begun by his father, was reſerved for him finally to accompliſh. A large acceſſion of territory fell to him by his ſucceeding to the dukedom of Zell, by which he became one of the greateſt princes of Germany. The duchies of Bremen and Verden, and the biſhopric of Oſnaburgh, conſiderably ſtrengthened his intereſt in the empire, and gave an additional weight to the proteſtant cauſe. He was, indeed, almoſt always attended with good fortune, which was chiefly owing to his prudence and aſſiduity. He aſcended the throne of England with a mind happily diſpoſed to govern his new ſubjects according to the maxims of the Engliſh conſtitution, and the genius of the people. This he ever made the rule of his conduct; while he himſelf appeared intereſted in the liberty and happineſs of his ſubjects. Naturally inclined to juſtice and equity, though abſolute and deſpotic in his hereditary dominions, he ruled with all the lenity and moderation of a limited prince. He conſidered civil and religious liberty as the unalienable right of mankind; and therefore he indulged it to a people, who pleaded no other claim than his known goodneſs and humanity. Poſſeſſed of theſe generous ſentiments, though his acceſſion to the throne enlarged his ſphere of action, it did not alter his plan of conduct. This was uniformly and invariably the ſame, both before and after his advancement to regal dignity. Leſs tenacious of his own prerogative than the rights and privileges of his ſubjects, as he never made any attacks upon the latter, no encroachments were ever made upon the former. The love and affection of his people, he conſidered as the firmeſt ſupport and ſecurity of his throne. Conſcious that, under an arbitrary government, the property of the ſubject is not in more danger than the life of the ſovereign, he wiſely rejected the inſidious advice of thoſe, who endeavoured to make their court to him by the profeſſion of an obedience which they could never practice, and which has always proved fatal to ſuch kings as have put it to the trial. Thoſe he regarded as his beſt friends, who honeſtly acquainted him with the true principles of the Britiſh conſtitution, and adviſed him to regulate his conduct according to its maxims. To their councils he prudently liſtened, and invariably adhered through the whole courſe of his reign.

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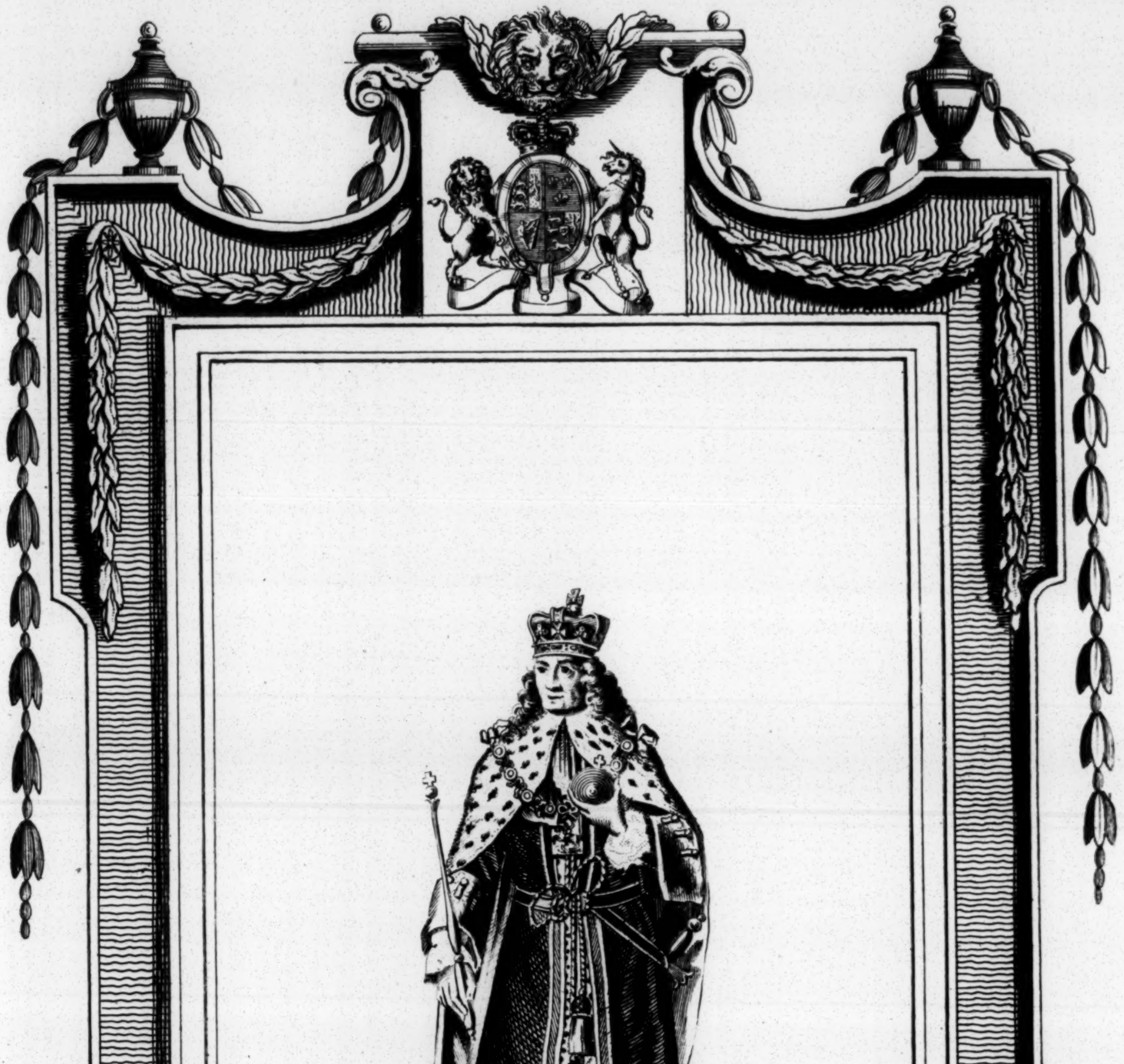

GEORGE II.

Wale delin. Grainger sculp.

Born Oct.r 30.1683. Ascended the Throne June 11.1727. and Died at Kensington Oct.r 25.1760 reign. It has been ſaid, that he did not diſtinguiſh himſelf by patronizing the arts and ſciences; yet he founded in the univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge two profeſſorſhips, one of modern hiſtory, and the other of modern languages. In a word, he loved his people; made their happineſs the rule of his actions; and it may be affirmed, no prince was ever better qualified to ſway a ſcepter, nor did any one ever exerciſe the virtues of a great and good king with more diſtinguiſhed ability, or more uninterrupted ſucceſs.

CHAP. II.

GEORGE II.

Is proclaimed and crowned—Diſtinctions of the court and country party—The ſalt tax revived—The exciſe ſcheme—Foreign affairs—A breach in the royal family—Death of queen Caroline—War declared againſt Spain—Porto Bello taken—War in Germany—Sir Robert Walpole made earl of Orford, and the miniſtry changed—Progreſs of the war—The engagement of Matthews and Leſtock with the combined fleet of France and Spain—Commodore Anſon returns from his voyage round the world—The Victory foundered at ſea—Marſhal de Belleiſle taken priſoner—The Treaty of Dreſden—Battle of Fontenoy—Cape Breton taken by the Engliſh—The ſecond rebellion in favour of the young Pretender—The allied army defeated at Roucour—An expedition to the coaſt of Brittany—The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle—Death of Frederick, prince of Wales—War declared againſt France—Minorca taken by the French—The action between admiral Byng and M. de la Galaſſionere—Progreſs of the war in Germany—The duke of Cumberland obliged to retire before the French, who take poſſeſſion of Hanover—The convention of Cloſter Seven—A great naval victory over the French—Deſcents upon the coaſt of France—Senegal, Cape Breton, with the iſland of St. John, taken from the French—Havre de Grace ſet on fire by admiral Rodney—De la Clue's ſquadron defeated by admiral Boſcawen—The French fleet again defeated by Sir Edward Hawke—The iſland of Guadaloupe, Quebec, and ſeveral other places taken from the French—Succeſs of the Engliſh in the Eaſt Indies—Death and character of George II.

A. D. 1727. GEORGE II. on the fourteenth of June, when the deceaſe of the late king was notified in England, received the privy-council, and many perſons of diſtinction at Leiceſter houſe, who drew up an inſtrument for his proclamation, and the ceremony was performed the next morning at the uſual places. The ſyſtem of politics eſtabliſhed in the preceding reign, was firmly adhered to. His majeſty declared in council, that he was firmly reſolved to maintain the religion, laws, and liberties of the kingdom, and to adhere to the alliances which his father had contracted, and which had contributed in a great meaſure to reſtore the tranquillity of Europe. Next day the parliament met, in purſuance of the act of the fourth of queen Anne, but was prorogued by commiſſion to the twenty-ſeventh. At the opening of this ſeſſion, the king gave an early omen of that paternal care, which he ever after exerciſed for the welfare of his people. After addreſſes of condolence and congratulation were preſented by the commons, Sir Robert Walpole moved, that as the annual allowance of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, ſettled on the late king, had annually fallen ſhort of the ſums wanted; and that as his majeſty's expences were likely to increaſe, "the entire revenues of the civil liſt, producing about eight hundred and thirty thouſand pounds, ſhould be ſettled on his majeſty during life." This motion was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by Mr. Shippen and other members, but was at length agreed to, and a bill was ordered in for the better ſupport of his majeſty's houſhold; and the commons voted, that if the queen ſhould ſurvive him, ſhe ſhould be allowed the annual ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds, with the lodge and lands of Richmond old park: after which, in a few days, the parliament was diſſolved.

In the mean time, his majeſty proceeded to ſettle his miniſtry, his council and his houſhold; and his manner of filling up the ſeveral places in theſe ſeveral departments, plainly ſhewed he was reſolved to give the preference to the friends of his family and of public liberty. The duke of Newcaſtle, and the lord Townſend, were declared ſecretaries of ſtate; Mr. Pelham, the duke's brother, was made ſecretary at war; the duke of Rutland was conſtituted chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter; Sir Robert Walpole retained the offices of chancellor of the Exchequer, and firſt lord of the treaſury; and, by the union of theſe two great poſts in his perſon, was conſidered as prime-miniſter of ſtate. The other lords of the treaſury were Sir Charles Turner, Sir George Oxenden, Mr. Doddington, and Mr. Clayton. Lord Torrington was placed at the head of the board of admiralty, the other members of which were, the lord Malpas, Sir John Norris, Sir Charles Wager, Sir Thomas Littleton, Mr. Cockburn, and Mr. Molyneux. The earl of Cheſterfield was nominated ambaſſador to the States-general; and the lord Carteret obtained the place of lord-lieutenant of Ireland. On the eleventh day of October, the coronation of the king and queen was performed at Weſtminſter with the uſual ſolemnity: the biſhop of Oxford preached on the occaſion, and the day was celebrated with the moſt extraordinary rejoicings in every part of theſe dominions.

The miniſtry was at firſt divided between lord Townſend, the earl of Cheſterfield, and Sir Robert Walpole, the laſt of whom ſoon engroſſed the greateſt ſhare of the adminiſtration. The houſe of commons, which in the preceding reign was diſtinguiſhed into whigs and tories, underwent another change, and was divided into the court and country parties. The former favoured all the ſchemes of the miniſtry, and the meaſures of the crown: they conſidered foreign alliances as conducive to internal ſecurity; and paid ſubſidies to other princes for their promiſes of future aſſiſtance. Of theſe Sir Robert was the leader; and ſuch members as he could not convince by his eloquence, he undertook to bring over to the court party by places and penſions. The country party, who were averſe to continental connections, complained that immenſe ſums were laviſhed on ſubſidies that could never be uſeful; and that alliances were purchaſed with money, which ſhould only be rewarded by a reciprocation of good offices. As the court party generally threatened the houſe of commons with imaginary dangers to the ſtate, the country party declaimed againſt the encroachments of the prerogative: but the complaints of neither were founded in truth; the kingdom was in no danger from abroad; nor was internal liberty in the leaſt infringed by the crown. While the court was partly headed by Walpole, the leaders on the other ſide were Mr. Pultney, Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Hungerford, and Mr. Shippen.

A. D. 1728. Prince Frederick his majeſty's eldeſt ſon, who had been repreſented by the Jacobites, and other enemies of the houſe of Hanover, as an ideot and a driveller, having arrived in England, was introduced into the privy-council, and created prince of Wales. At his appearance, the ſlanders paſſed upon him were ſilenced, his abilities acknowledged, and his amiable qualities ſoon engaged the affections of the people.

The new parliament met on the twenty-third of January, when Arthur Onſlow, Eſq; was unanimouſly choſen by the commons for their ſpeaker. His majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech; and both houſes preſented addreſſes filled with expreſſions of loyalty and affection for his majeſty. The commons aſſured him they entirely approved of his tranſactions, and promiſed to ſupport him in all his undertakings; and declared they would chearfully grant whatever ſupplies ſhould be wanted for public ſervice. During this ſeſſion, the parliament were chiefly employed in examining copies of ſeveral treaties and alliances which the king had laid before them. They likewiſe made an attempt to amend the ſtatute of limitations, which in the ſequel, however, did not ſucceed. They paſſed the mutiny bill, together with thoſe relating to the public ſupplies, and ſome others of a private nature. Theſe having received the royal aſſent on the twenty-eighth day of May, his majeſty cloſed the ſeſſion, having thanked the commons for the effectual ſupplies they had raiſed, and in particular for having empowered him to borrow five hundred thouſand pounds for the diſcharge of wages due to the ſeamen employed in the navy. Previous to the cloſe of this ſeſſion, his majeſty was pleaſed to raiſe the following gentlemen to the degree of barons of this kingdom. Sir John Monſon, by the title of lord Monſon, Sir Thomas Wentworth, by that of lord Malton, Sir John Hobart, by that of lord Hobart; and Sir Thomas Coke, by that of lord Lovel.

A. D. 1729. The parliament, which met on the twenty-firſt of January, was diſtinguiſhed by its being warmly employed in the cauſe of humanity. James Oglethorpe, a member of the houſe of commons, paying a viſit to a friend, who was a priſoner in the fleet, was convinced, that the unhappy perſons confined there were treated with the utmoſt cruelty; and laying the affair before the houſe, many humane members concurred with him, and promoted a motion for appointing a committee to enquire into the ſtate of the priſons in this kingdom; and this committee being appointed, Mr. Oglethorpe was choſen chairman. The committee began with viſiting the Fleet priſon in a body, where they found Sir William Rich, bart. loaded with irons, by order of Bambridge, the warden, whom he had offended; they were filled with horror at the diſcovery of many other inhuman barbarities committed by that ruffian; and detected the moſt iniquitous ſcenes of fraud, villainy, and extortion. Upon making their report to the houſe, it was reſolved, that John Huggins, and Bambridge, the late and preſent wardens, with ſeveral of their agents, ſhould be committed cloſe priſoners to Newgate. An addreſs was preſented to the king, deſiring him to direct his attorney general to proſecute theſe perſons and their accomplices; and a bill was brought in to diſable Bambridge from executing the office of warden, and another for the better regulating the priſon of the Fleet. Huggins and Bambridge were tried, not only for many high crimes and miſdemeanors, but for murder, yet were unexpectedly acquitted. One Acton, clerk to the Marſhalſea, was alſo tried for murder and acquitted. The iſſue of this affair was, that the jails were put under proper regulations; and our unhappy fellow ſubjects ſtruggling under the preſſure of miſfortunes, delivered from the inhuman gripe of villians, who had made a practice of adding miſery and extortion, to the pain of impriſonment.

During theſe tranſactions the Spaniards continued to commit great depredations on our ſhips and ſettlements in America, which exaſperated the Engliſh to repel their inſults: but the miniſtry who were entirely devoted to peace, urged, that as ſomething deciſive muſt ſhortly happen, it was moſt eligible, as the nation had waited ſo long, to wait a little longer, before it broke out into open hoſtilities. The Spaniards, about this time, having ſeized ſome of our ſhips, engaged in a lawful trade, the indignation of the public could not be any longer reſtrained. Petitions were delivered to the commons by the merchants of London, Liverpool, and Briſtol, complaining of the interruption they had ſuffered in their trade for ſeveral years, from the depredations of the Spaniards in the Weſt Indies. The houſe having conſidered theſe petitions, preſented an addreſs to the king, requeſting his majeſty to uſe his utmoſt endeavours for preventing ſuch depredations, procuring juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction, and ſecuring to his ſubjects the free exerciſe of commerce, &c. navigation to and from the Britiſh colonies in America. His majeſty aſſured them, that nothing ſhould be wanting on his part to anſwer the deſires and expectations of his people. The complicated buſineſs of this ſeſſion, being at laſt concluded, his majeſty, on the fourteenth of May, went to the houſe of peers, and put an end to the ſeſſion by a ſpeech, wherein he ſignified his intention of viſiting his German dominions; and ſet out for Hanover on the twentieth day of the ſame month. At this time colonel Stanhope was created earl of Harrington, and appointed ſecretary of ſtate in the room of Lord Townſend, who reſigned: the duke of Dorſet ſucceeded lord Carteret as lord lieutenant of Ireland: and the earl of Waldegrave was ſent ambaſſador to France, to congratulate Lewis XV. on the birth of a dauphin.

The negotiations at Soiſſons were, ſeemingly, at a ſtand: but at length it was agreed to open conferences at Seville between the plenipotentiaries of England, France, and Spain. The earl of Harrington, who, previous to this had been appointed ambaſſador extraordinary to his Catholic majeſty had the management of this treaty on the part of Great Britain, in conjunction with Mr. Keene, our plenipotentiary at the court of Madrid. This treaty was ſigned on the ninth of November, and in the acceſſion of the States General, which happened in the ſame month, they were to furniſh only four thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe; and on the part of the other allies, they were to guaranty the aboliſhing the Oſtend Eaſt India company; and the Catholic king engaged that entire ſatisfaction ſhall be given the Dutch for their grievances, as well in the Weſt Indies as in Europe, and to re-eſtabliſh their commerce, agreeable to former treaties; and laſtly to grant them all the commercial privileges enjoyed by the nations moſt favoured.

A. D. 1730. On the third of January his majeſty, who had returned to England, from his German dominions, the beginning of September, opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he informed the parliament, that he had concluded an abſolute peace with Spain, and thereby prevented the miſeries and calamities inſeparable from a war. He aſſured them that the peace was agreeable to the purport and intention of former treaties, and calculated to render effectual the ſtipulations of the quadruple alliance: that ſufficient proviſion had been made for the indemnification and future ſecurity of the trading intereſt; and that he had given orders for making an immediate reduction of his land and ſea forces. He then concluded with recommending to their conſideration the ſtate of public credit, and the hardſhips of poor artificers and manufacturers. Both houſes having preſented their addreſſes of thanks and congratulation to his majeſty, the lords took the treaty of peace into conſideration, and ſeveral ſevere animadverſions were paſſed upon it by thoſe in the oppoſition. Lord Bathurſt then moved for the following reſolution, "that the agreement in the treaty of Seville, to effectuate the introduction of Spaniſh troops into Tuſcany and Parma, is a manifeſt violation of the fifth article of the quadruple alliance, tends to involve the nation in a dangerous and expenſive war, and to deſtroy the balance of Europe." Two other motions were alſo made, the one to reſolve, "that Great Britain's right of ſovereignty, dominion, poſſeſſion, and claim to Gibraltar and Minorca, is not aſcertained by the treaty of Seville, ſo as to extinguiſh the claims and pretenſions ſet up by the Spaniards, which were followed by an actual ſiege, ſince the ceſſion of thoſe valuable places by the treaty of Utrecht." And the other, "that the ſtipulations in the treaty of Seville, for repairing the loſſes of our merchants, are inſufficient and precarious." Theſe motions, however, all ſharing a ſimilar fate; for the queſtion being put, it was carried againſt them by a great majority. The lords in favour of the miniſtry now propoſed to reſolve, "that the treaty of peace concluded at Seville, on the ninth of November laſt, doth contain all neceſſary ſtipulations for maintaining and ſecuring the honour, dignity, rights, and poſſeſſions of the crown; and that all due care is taken therein for the ſupport of the trade of the kingdom, and for repairing the loſſes ſuffered by the merchants." After long debates, the queſtion being put, it was reſolved in the affirmative, upon which ſeveral lords entered their proteſts againſt it, with their reaſons at large. A bill was brought into the houſe of commons, to prohibit his majeſty's ſubjects to lend any ſum of money to any foreign prince, ſtate, or potentate, without licence firſt obtained from his majeſty, under his privy-ſeal, or ſome greater authority. This, however, was not to extend to prohibit any ſubſcription to the public funds or trading companies of foreign kingdoms. This bill being read a ſecond time, Mr. Daniel Pulteney oppoſed it in very ſtrong terms. Mr. Barnard poſitively declared he would never conſent to a bill, which he deemed a violation of our fundamental laws, and a grievous hardſhip on individuals. He then propoſed an exception by which the prohibition ſhould be reſtricted to the emperor alone, without extending to other powers. But the bill, which was vindicated by Sir Robert Walpole, Mr. Pelham, and Sir Philip Yorke, attorney-general, and ſupported by the whole weight of miniſterial influence, not only paſſed through the houſe, but was afterwards enacted into a law. Several acts in favour of the ſubjects were paſſed this ſeſſion, among which were the following: an act for appropriating one million of the ſurpluſage ariſing from the ſinking fund, towards the diſcharge of the national debt. An act for extinguiſhing the duties upon ſalt. A third, for the better regulation of juries; and a fourth, for explaining and amending an act made in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, entitled, "An act for the relief of debtors, with reſpect to the impriſonment of their perſons." On the fifteenth of May, his majeſty went to the houſe of peers and put an end to the ſeſſion.

A. D. 1731. The parliament met on the twenty-firſt of January. No motion produced ſuch a warm conteſt, as that of Sir Robert Walpole's, that the duties upon ſalt, which about two years ago had been aboliſhed, ſhould now be revived, and granted for three years; though to ſweeten this propoſal, he declared, that the land-tax for the enſuing year, ſhould be reduced to one ſhilling in the pound. All the members of the country party were immediately in commotion. They affirmed, that the revival of the tax would be grinding the faces of the poor, in order to eaſe a few rich men of the landed intereſt: but the prices of all neceſſaries being thus enhanced, the wages of tradeſmen and manufacturers muſt be increaſed: they alledged, that the ſalt tax particularly affected the poor, who could not afford to eat freſh proviſions; yet the queſtion being put, the miniſter's motion was carried in the affirmative; however, before the bill paſſed ſeveral motions were made, and additional clauſes propoſed by the members in the oppoſition: new debates were raiſed on every new objection, and the courtiers were obliged to diſpute their ground by inches; but they at laſt carried their point, and the ſalt duty was revived. On the ſixteenth of May, the ſecret negotiation between the courts of London and Vienna was perfected into a treaty. It is obſervable that neither France nor Spain were included in this treaty: the latter of theſe powers, after much difficulty, was brought to accede to it, but the court of France was ſo far from liſtening to any ſolicitations on this ſubject, that its utmoſt endeavours were exerted to prevent the concurrence of Spain. It was even ſuppoſed that their reſentment had prompted them to an immediate invaſion of this kingdom; a large body of troops being aſſembled at Dunkirk. To prevent any attempt of this nature from ſucceeding, the coaſts of Kent were covered with regiments of horſe and foot, who received orders to march thither from all parts of the kingdom.

A. D. 1732. On the thirteenth of January the parliament met, when the king in his ſpeech declared, that the general tranquillity of Europe was now reſtored and eſtabliſhed, and all his expectations on that head fully anſwered.

In the laſt ſeſſion ſome complaints had been made to the houſe of commons againſt the Charitable Corporation, which affair now became very ſerious. This company was firſt erected in 1707, and their profeſt intention was to lend money at legal intereſt to the poor upon ſmall pledges, and to perſons of better rank, upon an indubitable ſecurity of goods. At firſt their capital was limited to thirty thouſand pounds, but had been increaſed by licenſes from the crown to ſixty thouſand. In the month of October George Robinſon, eſq; their caſhier, and John Thompſon, their warehouſe-keeper, diſappeared in one day. The proprietors, alarmed at this incident, held ſeveral general courts, and appointed a committee to examine the ſtate of their affairs, where it ſoon appeared that a moſt vile ſcene of villainy and corruption had been carried on, there being but thirty thouſand pounds left, to anſwer a capital of ſixty thouſand, the remainder having been embezzled by means which could not be diſcovered. Hereupon the proprietors preſented a petition to the houſe of commons, repreſenting, that by the moſt notorious breach of truſt in ſeveral perſons, to whom they had committed the management of their affairs, the corporation had been defrauded of the greateſt part of their capital, and many of the proprietors were reduced to abſolute beggary; they therefore humbly prayed, that as they were unable to detect the combinations of thoſe who had ruined them, or to bring the delinquents to condign puniſhment, without the aid and aſſiſtance of parliament, that houſe would be pleaſed to examine into the ſtate of the corporation, and the conduct of the managers, and give ſuch relief to the petitioners as the houſe ſhould think proper. This petition was graciouſly received, and a ſecret committee appointed to proceed on the enquiry. They ſoon diſcovered a moſt iniquitous ſcene of fraud, which had been acted by Robinſon and Thompſon, in concert with ſome of the directors, for embezzling the capital and cheating the proprietors. Many perſons of rank and quality were concerned in this infamous conſpiracy; ſome of the firſt characters in the nation did not eſcape ſuſpicion and cenſure. Sir Robert Sutton and Sir Archibald Grant, having had a conſiderable ſhare in thoſe fraudulent practices, were expelled the houſe: and a bill was brought in to reſtrain them, and other delinquents, from leaving the kingdom, or alienating their effects.

The parliament having granted the neceſſary ſupplies, his majeſty, on the firſt of June, gave the royal aſſent to the bills that were ready, and informed both houſes, that the States General had acceded to the treaty of Vienna; that he had determined to viſit his German dominions, and to leave the queen regent in his abſence; after which he put an end to the ſeſſion, and in a few days after ſet out for Hanover. This year the king granted his perpetual charter, for erecting a ſettlement at Georgia, ſituated to the ſouthward of Carolina in America; and accordingly Mr. Oglethorpe, the principal perſon who firſt ſet this ſcheme on foot, embarked at Graveſend with a number of poor families to plant that colony.

A. D. 1733. The laws that had been enacted for collecting the exciſe, ſeemed in many inſtances to encroach on the property and liberty of the people. Thoſe who had ſuffered by theſe laws, thought themſelves injured, and the number of complainants increaſed ſo faſt, that the clamour againſt exciſes was become almoſt univerſal. Such was the temper of the public when parliament met, the king being returned from Hanover, and was opened on the ſixteenth of January. In this ſeſſion Sir Robert Walpole laid before the houſe his long-projected ſcheme for a general exciſe. He began, by taking notice of the arts which had been uſed to prejudice the people againſt his plan before it was known. He affirmed, that the clamours occaſioned by theſe prejudices owed their riſe originally to ſmugglers and fraudulent dealers, who had enriched themſelves at the expence of the public; and that thoſe had found ſtrenuous ſupporters in another ſet of men, fond of every opportunity to ſtir up the people to mutiny and ſedition. He expatiated on the frauds committed on that part of the revenue ariſing from the duties on tobacco; upon the hardſhips to which the American planters were ſubjected by the heavy duties payable on the importation as well as by the ill uſage they received from their factors and correſpondents in England, who, from being their ſervants, were now become their maſters: upon the injury done to the fair trader, and upon the loſs ſuſtained by the public with reſpect to the revenue. He aſſerted that the ſcheme he was going to propoſe would remove all theſe inconveniencies, prevent innumerable frauds, perjuries, and falſe entries, and add two or three hundred thouſand pounds annually to the public revenue. He declared he had no intention to promote a general exciſe, and endeavoured to obviate ſome objections that might be made to this plan, the nature of which he at length explained. He propoſed to join the laws of exciſe to thoſe of the cuſtoms: that the farther ſubſidy of three farthings per pound charged upon imported tobacco ſhould be ſtill levied as formerly at the Cuſtom-houſe, and payable to his majeſty's civil liſt: that then the tobacco ſhould be lodged in warehouſes to be appointed for that purpoſe by the commiſſioners of exciſe: that the commiſſioner of each warehouſe, appointed likewiſe by the commiſſioners, ſhould have one lock and key, and the merchant importer another; and that the tobacco ſhould be thus ſecured until the merchant found vent for it, either by exportation or home conſumption: that the part deſigned for exportation ſhould be weighed at the cuſtom-houſe, diſcharged of the three farthings per pound at its firſt importation, and then exported without farther trouble: that the portion deſtined for home conſumption ſhould, in the preſence of the warehouſe keeper, be delivered to the purchaſer, upon his paying the inland duty of four-pence per pound to a proper officer appointed to receive it; by which means the merchant would be eaſed of the inconvenience of paying the duty on importation, or of granting bonds, and finding ſecurity for the payment before he had found a market for the commodity; that all penalties and forfeitures, ſo far as they formerly belonged to the crown, ſhould for the future be applied to the uſe of the public: that appeals in this, as well as in all other caſes relating to the exciſe, ſhould be heard and determined by two or three of the judges, to be named by his majeſty; and in the country, by the judge of exciſe upon the next circuit, who ſhould hear and determine ſuch appeals in the moſt ſummary manner without the formality of proceedings in the court of law or equity. This was the ſubſtance of the famous exciſe ſcheme, the propoſing of which occaſioned a violent debate, which was managed and maintained by the moſt able ſpeakers on both ſides the queſtion. The motion was at length, however, carried by a majority of ſixty-one voices. Several reſolutions were founded on the propoſal; and to theſe the houſe agreed, though not without a ſecond violent conteſt. Theſe reſolutions produced a bill, againſt which petitions were preferred by the lord mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, as likewiſe by the towns of Coventry and Nottingham. A motion was made that council ſhould be heard for the city; but it was rejected by the majority, and the petition was ordered to lay upon the table till the ſecond reading of the bill. The whole nation was alarmed, and clamoured loudly againſt the exciſe bill. The populace crouding around Weſtminſter-hall, blocked up all the avenues to the houſe of commons, inſulting the perſons of thoſe members who had voted for the miniſtry on this occaſion, and Sir Robert began to be in fear of his life: he thought proper, therefore, to drop the deſign, by moving, that the ſecond reading of the bill, which was to have been on the eleventh of April, might be poſtponded till the twelfth of June. This motion, after ſome debates, being agreed to, the houſe unanimouſly reſolved to enquire into the frauds and abuſes of the cuſtoms; and a committee of twenty-one perſons was choſen by ballot for this purpoſe. The miſcarriage of the bill was celebrated with public rejoicings in London and Weſtminſter, and the miniſtry burned in effigy by the populace.

On the thirteenth of June his majeſty went to the houſe, and put an end to the ſeſſion, after an act had been paſſed for granting eighty thouſand pounds to the princeſs royal on her marriage with the prince of Orange. On the ſeventh of November his highneſs arrived at Greenwich, and proceeded in one of the king's barges to the Tower, from whence he went to Somerſet houſe. An act was paſſed for ſettling five thouſand pounds per annum on the princeſs for life; and on the fourteenth of March, in the following year, her marriage with his ſerene highneſs was celebrated with great magnificence; and in about a month after, they ſet ſail for Holland.

The vacancy which now happened in the throne of Poland, involved Europe in freſh troubles. About the beginning of February Auguſtus died at Warſaw, which event threw the neighbouring powers into great commotion. Staniſlaus, whoſe daughter the French king had married, and the elector of Saxony, ſon to the late king, declared themſelves candidates for the Poliſh throne. The former was ſupported by Lewis XV. while the emperor, the czarina, and the king of Pruſſia eſpouſed the intereſt of the latter. The Imperial and Ruſſian troops encamped on the frontiers of Poland, and the king of France ordered the duke of Berwick to aſſemble an army on the Rhine, in order to enter Germany in caſe the Imperial forces made any attempt to diſturb the election at Warſaw. On the twenty-fifth of June the diet was opened with the uſual ceremonies, and Staniſlaus, being unanimouſly choſen king, appeared in the electoral field, where he was received with the loudeſt acclamations. The Saxon party, however, ſoon increaſed to ten thouſand men, proteſted againſt the election, and joined the Ruſſian army. Staniſlaus, finding himſelf unable to oppoſe ſuch powerful antagoniſts, retired to Dantzick, attended by the primate and French ambaſſador; and ſoon after the elector of Saxony was proclaimed king of Poland by the biſhop of Cracow, under the name of Auguſtus III.

Several changes happened about this time. The earl of Cheſterfield, diſguſted at the conduct of the miniſter, reſigned his place of ſteward of his majeſty's houſehold. The duke of Montroſe relinquiſhed his office of lord privy-ſeal of Scotland; as did lord Clinton, one of the lords of his majeſty's bedchamber. The duke of Bolton and lord Cobham, were deprived of their poſts in the army. Mr. Talbot, ſolicitor-general, was conſtituted lord high chancellor of Great Britain, and created baron Talbot of Henſoll. Sir Philip Yorke, attorney-general, was advanced to the office of lord chief juſtice of the court of King's Bench, and honoured with a peerage by the title of lord Hardwick; the place of ſolicitor-general was beſtowed on Mr. Dudley Rider, and that of attorney-general on Mr. John Willes. This year many perſons of diſtinguiſhed rank paid the great debt of nature: George Byng, lord viſcount Torrington, died on the ſeventeenth of January, and was ſucceeded, as firſt lord of the admiralty, by Sir Charles Wager: on the twenty-ſecond of the ſame month died the earl of Pembroke; on the nineteenth of March lord Raymond, lord chief juſtice of the King's Bench; on the ſeventh of May the earl of Cholmondeley; and in October, Henrietta, the young ducheſs of Marlborough; by which that title devolved to her ſiſter's ſon, the earl of Sunderland; and about the ſame time the ducheſs of Ormond departed this life.

A. D. 1734. The parliament meeting on the ſeventeenth day of January, the king, in his ſpeech to both houſes, told them, that though he was no way concerned in the war, which had broke out in Europe, except by the good offices he had employed among the contending powers, he could not remain an idle ſpectator of the preſent events, or be indifferent about the conſequences of a war undertaken and ſupported by ſuch a powerful confederacy. He ſaid, he had thought proper to take time to examine the facts alledged on both ſides, and to wait the reſult of the councils of thoſe powers, which were even more immediately intereſted in the conſequences of the rupture. He declared he would concert with his allies, more particularly with the States General of the United Provinces, ſuch meaſures as ſhould be thought moſt adviſeable for their common ſafety, and for reſtoring the peace of Europe; that he ſhould order the eſtimates to be laid before them, of ſuch ſervices as demanded their preſent and immediate care: that the augmentation, which would be propoſed for the ſea-ſervice, would be very conſiderable; but he was confident, they would think it reaſonable and neceſſary: that he muſt particularly recommend to their care the debt of the navy; which had every year been laid before them; but from the preſent circumſtances of the times, he believed, they would be perſuaded, that it now required ſome proviſion to be made for it; a thing that could not well be longer poſtponed, without manifeſt detriment to the public ſervice: that, as theſe extraordinary charges and expences were unavoidable, he made no doubt but they would effectually raiſe the ſupplies neceſſary for defraying them, with that readineſs and diſpatch, and with that juſt regard to the true intereſts of his people, which this parliament had hitherto ſhewn upon all occaſions: that he hoped they would proceed in all their deliberations with ſuch temper and unanimity, and ſuch expedition in the public buſineſs, as might give him the ſooner an opportunity of taking the ſenſe of a new parliament: that he flattered himſelf his preſent reſolutions would meet with their hearty concurrence and approbation; and, whatever reſolutions might be thrown out againſt the conduct of the government, he was confident a little time would effectually remove all groundleſs jealouſies, and make it appear, that Great Britain ought always to act that part, which the honour and intereſt of the nation called upon it to undertake. On the ſixteenth of April his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and having given his aſſent to ſuch bills as were ready, took leave of this parliament with the warmeſt acknowledgments of their zeal, duty and affection. The parliament was then prorogued, afterwards diſſolved, and another convoked by the ſame proclamation.

During theſe tranſactions at home the war was carried on with great vigour abroad, by the confederate powers againſt the emperor. In the mean time the French army on the Rhine, commanded by marſhal Belleiſle, beſieged and took Traerbach, while the duke of Berwick, at the head of ſixty thouſand men, inveſted Philipſburgh, where in viſiting the trenches, he was killed by a cannon ball; and the command devolved on the marquis d'Aſfeldt, who carried on the operations of the ſiege wih equal vigour and capacity. Prince Eugene did every thing his great military talents could ſuggeſt, to relieve the beſieged; but finding it impoſſible to ſucceed, general Watgenau, the governor capitulated, after having made a noble defence, and obtained the moſt honourable conditions. Eugene retired to Heidelberg, and the campaign ended in October.

In the month of November an edict was publiſhed in Paris, which commanded all the Britiſh ſubjects in France not actually in employment, from the age of eighteen to fifty, either to quit the kingdom in fifteen days, or enliſt in ſome of the Iriſh regiments on pain of being ſent to the gallies. This edict, which was executed with the utmoſt rigour, filled the priſons of Paris with the ſubjects of England, who were denied all communication with their friends, and muſt have periſhed by cold and hunger, had they not been relieved by the charity of the Janſeniſts. A ſpirited memorial from our court, on this occaſion, was delivered by lord Waldegrave, the Engliſh ambaſſador to the French council, who thought proper to excuſe themſelves by alledging, they only meant to execute their edict againſt Britiſh and Iriſh vagabonds, and ſuch as had no viſible means of ſubſiſtence.

A. D. 1735. At this period the affairs of Europe were in a very critical ſituation. The emperor complained loudly of the tame and pacific conduct of the Engliſh court, which, from the treaties ſubſiſting between them, he expected would have eſpouſed his cauſe. His Britannic majeſty, however, gave the world an inſtance about this time, that it was not from any perſonal diſlike to the emperor, that he took no part in his affairs, relative to the war now carrying on; for having received certain advice, that the French had formed a ſtrong a ſtrong party at the Ottoman court, who were labouring to perſuade the divan to declare war againſt his Imperial majeſty, ſent orders immediately, in conjunction with the States General, to their reſpective miniſters at that court, to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to counteract the French in their deſign: and theſe miniſters laboured ſo effectually, that the grand ſignior was perſuaded to lay aſide all thoughts of attacking the emperor. Nor was it in this inſtance only, that the Engliſh court acted as a mediator, in order to maintain the balance of power, which was now in the utmoſt danger. A miſunderſtanding had lately ariſen between the courts of Spain and Portugal, occaſioned by affronts mutually offered to their ambaſſadors at each court. This affair could not be amicably compromiſed; and the king of Spain began to make preparations for a war with Portugal; which ſo alarmed his moſt Faithful majeſty, that he inſtantly made very preſſing applications to the Britiſh court, for protection againſt the deſigns of his enemies. The king of Portugal was readily promiſed aſſiſtance; and it was reſolved, by a timely and powerful relief, to render the deſigns of the Spaniards abortive. Accordingly in the month of May, Sir John Norris, with twenty-eight ſhips of the line, was diſpatched to the river Tagus; where he was received by the inhabitants of Liſbon, as their guardian and deliverer.

The belligerent powers on the continent, now became heartily tired of the war, though neither cared to own their ſentiments. Conferences for a peace had, for ſome time been carried on at the Hague, under the mediation of his Britannic majeſty and the States General; notwithſtanding the latter had renewed, for another year, their treaty of neutrality with France. Couriers were continually paſſing and repaſſing between London and Verſailles; and though the king of Great Britain could not claim the merit of having abſolutely completed the deſired work of peace, yet he undoubtedly ſmoothed the way to it by the plans he propoſed. But the two courts of Verſailles and Vienna, the two belligerent powers, diſguſted by certain proceedings in the congreſs, aſſembled to conſider of theſe plans, fell upon a more effectual method of terminating their differences: an armiſtice was propoſed by the emperor, and agreed to by the court of France, which ſoon after terminated by certain preliminary articles, by which France agreed to reſtore to the empire all the places ſhe had taken from it during the courſe of the late war. It was alſo ſtipulated that the emperor ſhould poſſeſs, the Mantuan, Parma, Placentia, and the Milaneſe. Don Carlos was to be acknowledged king of Naples and Sicily; John Francis, duke of Lorraine, was declared grand duke of Tuſcany, after the death of the reigning prince; when the duchy of Lorraine was to be annexed to the crown of France. Staniſlaus was to renounce the crown of Poland, which he had twice obtained. He was, however, allowed to retain the title of king, and to be indemnified for his loſſes. Cardinal de Fleury, the French miniſter, who was at firſt ſatisfied that Staniſlaus ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of the diſtrict of Bar, which was to be given him by the duke of Lorraine, with a reverſion to the crown of France; nor was Lorraine to be ceded, till the preſent duke was in full poſſeſſion of Tuſcany: but the cardinal afterwards demanded the whole duchy of Lorraine, on the ſame conditions as that of Bar, and eaſily obtained it, at the expence of an annual penſion of about ſixteen thouſand pounds, granted to duke Francis, till he ſhould be poſſeſſed of Tuſcany. By this treaty Lorraine was for ever annexed to the crown of France, after having been many times attempted without ſucceſs; a king of Poland was tranſplanted to Lorraine: the ſecond ſon of the king of Spain was removed to Naples: and the duke of Lorraine, by this arrangement, became ſoon after grand duke of Tuſcany. Leghorn was to be declared a free port: France undertook to guaranty the Pragmatic Sanction; and England, Holland, Portugal, Vienna, Spain and Sardinia were to ſupport the preſent convention.

A. D. 1736.

The act of James I. againſt conjuration and witchcraft, was repealed; and the famous act for laying a duty upon the retailers of ſpirituous liquors, commonly called the gin act, was, after long and warm debates, paſſed into a law. In this ſeſſion was alſo paſſed the Mortmain act, the Smuggling act; and one for building a bridge acroſs the Thames at Weſtminſter. On the ſeventeenth of April, his royal highneſs Frederick prince of Wales, was married to her ſerene highneſs Auguſta, princeſs of Saxe Gotha. This event was followed by extraordinary rejoicings, and congratulations from both houſes of parliament, the city of London and the two univerſities. But the moſt remarkable event that diſtinguiſhed this year, happened at Edinburgh, where John Porteous who commanded the guard of that city, was, while attending the execution of a ſmuggler, ſo far provoked by the inceſſant inſults of the populace, as to order his men, without uſing the previous formalities of the law, to fire with ſhot, among the crowd; by which inconſiderate action ſeveral innocent perſons were killed. Porteous was indicted for murder, convicted, and received ſentence of death; but her majeſty as guardian of the kingdom, his majeſty being now returned to Hanover, thought proper to grant him a reprieve. This lenity was ſo highly reſented by the common people, that they determined to execute the ſentence themſelves, on the very day the judges had fixed for that purpoſe. Accordingly about ten o'clock at night, they aſſembled in different bodies, locked the gates of the city to prevent the admiſſion of the troops quartered in the ſuburbs, ſurprized and diſarmed the town guard, broke open the priſon, dragged Porteous from thence to the place of execution, and leaving him hanging by the neck on a dyer's pole, quietly diſperſed to their reſpective habitations. In the courſe of this year died at Vienna, in the ſeventy-fourth year of his age, the celebrated prince Eugene, leaving behind him the character of an invincible hero, and conſummate politician. Count Staremberg, who ranked next after the prince in military reputation, did not long ſurvive. Lord chancellor Talbot, univerſally admired for his worth, probity, and acquired accompliſhments, paid about the ſame time, the great debt of nature; and was ſucceeded in his important office of chancellor, by lord Hardwick.

A. D. 1737.

The murder of Porteous having been concerted and carried into execution, with remarkable prudence and moderation, it was ſuſpected that ſome of the leading citizens of Edinburgh had been concerned in that audacious riot; eſpecially as a reward of two hundred pounds offered by proclamation, for the diſcovery of any perſon who had acted in that tragedy, had not brought one man to juſtice. A bill was therefore brought into the houſe of lords to diſable Alexander Wilſon, eſq; lord provoſt of Edinburgh, from enjoying any office or place, in the magiſtracy of that city, or elſewhere in the dominions of Great Britain; for impriſoning the ſaid Alexander Wilſon; for aboliſhing the guard of Edinburgh, and for taking away the gates of the nether bow port, ſo as to open a communication between the city and the ſuburbs, where the king's troops are quartered. Some amendments and mitigations being made to this bill, it paſſed both houſes and received the royal aſſent. Another bill was paſſed this ſeſſion to limit the number of play-houſes; to ſubject all writings intended for the ſtage to the inſpection of

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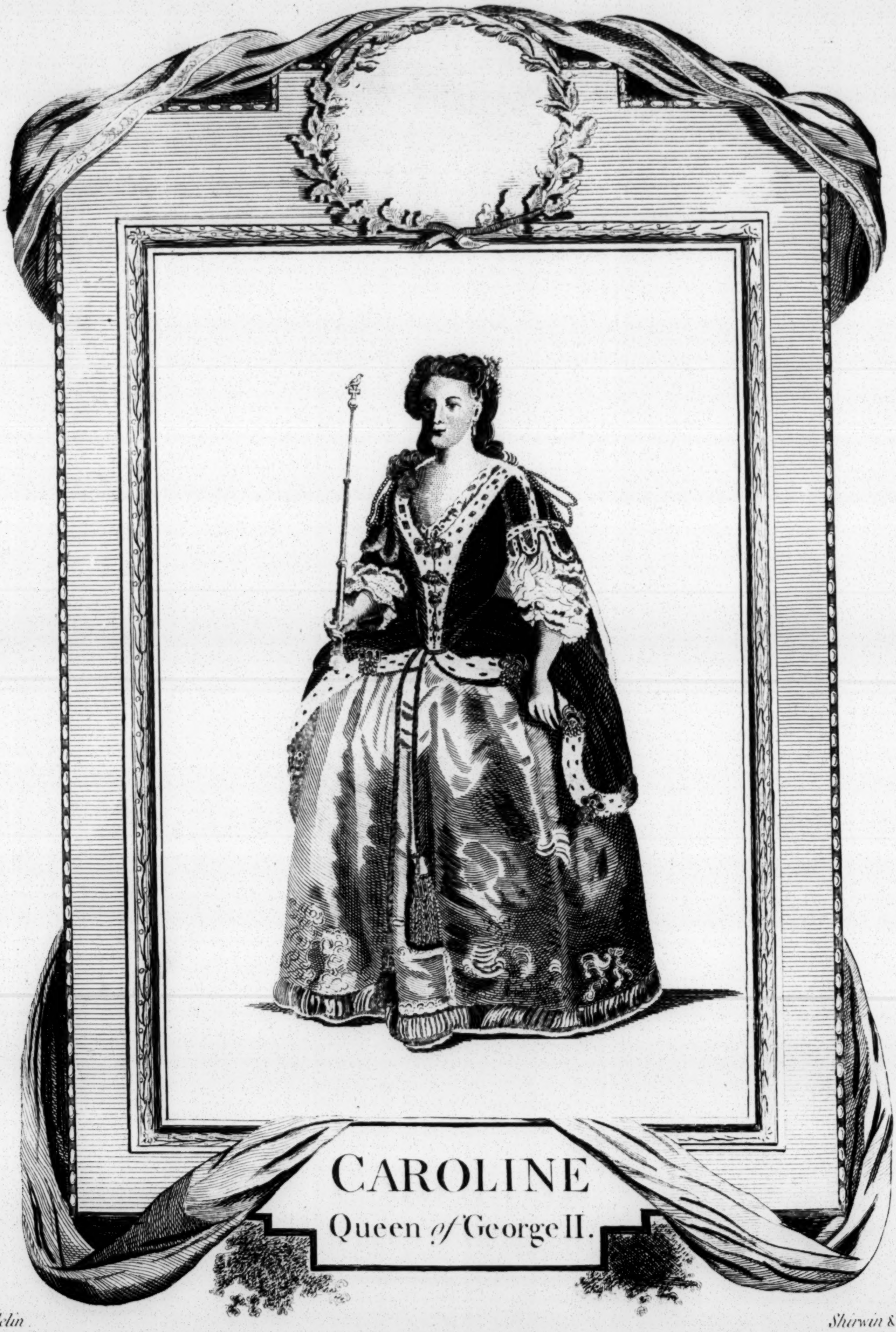


CAROLINE
Queen *of* George II.

Hamilton delin.

Sherwin & Lodge sc

She was Princeſs *of* Brandenburgh Anſpach Married *to* George II. *while* Prince *of* Wales, *1704* — Died *of a* Mortification *in her* Bowels *Novr 20. 1737* — *And was* Buried *in* Henry *the* VII. Chapel Weſtminſter. —

the lord chamberlain; and to compel the authors to take out a licenſe for every production, before the piece could be publicly acted. About this time aroſe unhappily an open breach in the royal family. The princeſs of Wales had advanced to the very laſt month of her pregnancy, before either the king or queen knew any thing of her ſituation. She was conveyed from Hampton-court to St. James's palace, when it was apprehended her labour pains were approaching, and was delivered of a princeſs in about two hours after her arrival. His majeſty, on being informed of this event, ſent a meſſage to the prince, expreſſing his high diſpleaſure at his inconſiderate conduct, as an indignity offered both to himſelf and the queen. The prince implored his majeſty's pardon, and begged the mediation of the queen; the princeſs alſo joined her intreaties; but all was ineffectual. His majeſty gave the prince to underſtand, that till he ſhould withdraw his confidence from thoſe, by whoſe inſtigation and advice he was directed and encouraged in his unwarrantable behaviour to himſelf and the queen, and returned to his duty, he ſhould not reſide in the palace; and added, that it was expected he ſhould leave St. James's, with all his family, as ſoon as it could be done without prejudice or inconvenience to the princeſs. Accordingly the prince, in obedience to this order, retired to Kew, and made freſh efforts to be again reſtored to his majeſty's favour; but without effect. He was not even admitted into the preſence of the queen his mother, to expreſs his duty to her in her laſt moments; to implore her forgiveneſs, and receive her bleſſing.

Wilhelmina Carolina, queen conſort, died on the twentieth of November of a mortification in her bowels, in the fifty-fifth year of her age. She was regretted as a princeſs endowed with uncommon abilities, poſſeſſed of many amiable qualifications, and a pattern of conjugal fidelity. Her remains were interred, with great ſolemnity, on the ſeventeenth of December, in a new vault in Henry the Seventh's chapel.

A deputation of the merchants waited on his majeſty at Hampton court with a petition, complaining of the depredations of the Spaniards, and requeſting ſatisfaction for the loſſes they had ſuſtained. His majeſty returned a moſt gracious anſwer to this petition, and the ſecretary of ſtate ſent orders to Mr. Keene at Madrid, to repeat his inſtances at the court of Spain for their relief. In the mean time a committee of the privy-council ſat at Whitehall, to receive proofs of the loſſes which the merchants had ſuffered. The French alſo about this time gave the miniſtry no ſmall umbrage, by their eager attempts to engroſs the whole commerce of the different quarters of the globe. On the north continent of America, they aſſiduouſly purſued the plan of Lewis XIV. for forming a chain of forts and ſettlements from the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi up to the province of Canada, in order to cut off the Engliſh ſettlements from having any commerce with the vaſt Indian countries to the weſtward, and, in time, to obtain poſſeſſion of them all. In order to this they ſtrongly fortified the iſland of Cape Breton, ſituated near the mouth of the river St. Lawrence.

In Africa, they had monopolized the gum trade near the river Senegal; they had alſo encroached on the Engliſh ſettlements on the river Gambia, and greatly extended their ſlave-trade on that coaſt, for the encouragement of their Weſt Indian ſugar-iſlands, which now furniſhed amazing quantities of ſugar, rum, indigo, cotton, ginger, and other commodities produced in that country. They had alſo planted a conſiderable colony on the coaſt of Guiana, near Surinam in South America; encroaching on the territories both of the Dutch and Spaniards in that country.

A. D. 1738.

Thus ſituated were the affairs of Europe, when his majeſty opened the ſeſſion of parliament on the twenty-fourth of January. His ſpeech was remarkably ſhort, and concluded with recommending the diſpatch of public buſineſs with prudence and unanimity. Each houſe preſented a warm addreſs of condoleance on the queen's death, with which the king appeared to be deeply affected. The depredations of the Spaniards ſtill continued, ſo that the Engliſh merchants were exaſperated beyond all farther patience. His majeſty had referred the examination of the merchants to a committee of the privy-council; and the former endeavoured to make good their allegations. Their cauſe was at once both ſpecious and popular; the public warmly eſpouſed their quarrel; they were ſtrongly ſupported by the minority in both houſes, who were determined to force the miniſtry into a war with Spain.

The lords were no leſs buſy than the commons in enquiring into this ſubject, and in their reſolutions went far beyond them; for they not only aſſerted our undoubted right to navigate in the American ſeas, "but alſo to carry all ſorts of goods, merchandize, or effects, from any one part of his majeſty's dominions to another; and that no goods being ſo carried, are, by any treaty ſubſiſting between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain, to be deemed or taken as contraband or prohibited goods; and that the ſearching ſuch ſhips on the open ſeas, under pretence of their carrying contraband or prohibited goods, is a violation and infraction of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns."

Buſineſs being concluded, the king, on the twentieth of May, put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, wherein he obſerved, "that, agreeable to what had appeared to be the concurrent opinion of both houſes of parliament, he had given orders to repeat, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt preſſing manner, his inſtances at the court of Spain, for obtaining ſatisfaction for the many injuries and loſſes ſuſtained by his trading ſubjects in America, and for effectually ſecuring their rights for the future; and he hoped from the juſtice and equity of the catholic king, to procure and eſtabliſh a free and uninterrupted exerciſe of trade between the ſubjects of the two crowns, agreeable to treaties and the law of nations."

In the mean time, a ſpirit of riot and confuſion diſcovered itſelf among the lower claſs of people in different parts of the kingdom, during the courſe of this year. The moſt dangerous of theſe tumults happened in the weſt of England, where a number of journeymen weavers roſe in a riotous manner, and committed the moſt terrible outrages on the properties and perſons of ſeveral maſters in that branch of trade, from a perſuaſion that they had uſed them ill. At length the affair grew ſo ſerious, that the government was obliged to quarter bodies of troops in ſeveral of the borough and market-towns, to prevent the ſedition from ſpreading. Nor was the metropolis itſelf free from tumults and diſorders: a moſt dangerous inſult was committed upon juſtice by a party of ſailors at Wapping, who cut down from the gibbet and brought to life one Buchanan, who had been condemned for murder; and notwithſtanding the atrocious nature of the crime, and the danger of the example, the offenders were ſo highly favoured by the public, that not one of them could ever be diſcovered.

A. D. 1739.

The ſeſſion of parliament was opened on the firſt of February, when the king informed both houſes in his ſpeech, that he had concluded a convention with the king of of Spain, who had obliged himſelf to make reparation to his ſubjects for their loſſes, by certain ſtipulated payments; that plenipotentiaries were appointed for regulating the grievances and abuſes which had hitherto interrupted the commerce of Great Britain in the American ſeas; and for ſettling all matters in diſpute in ſuch a manner, as for the future to prevent and remove all new cauſes of complaint. This convention alarmed the merchants and traders of Great Britain, filled the people with indignation, and raiſed a general outcry againſt the miniſter. The eyes of the whole kingdom were now turned upon the houſe of commons. The two contending parties ſummoned their whole ſtrength for the approaching diſpute; and on the day appointed for conſidering the convention, four hundred members had taken their ſeats by eight in the morning. Several days were employed in reading papers: at length, Horatio Walpole having launched out in praiſe of the convention, moved for an addreſs of approbation to his majeſty. The houſe, upon a diviſion, agreed to the addreſs; but when a motion was made for its being recommitted, the two parties renewed the engagement with redoubled eagerneſs and impetuoſity. Sir William Wyndham and Mr. Pulteney, poured all the thunder of their eloquence againſt the inſolence of Spain, and the conceſſions of the Britiſh miniſtry. Sir Robert Walpole exerted all his fortitude and dexterity in defence of himſelf and his meaſures; and the queſtion being put, the reſolutions of the addreſs were carried by a ſmall majority. To ſuch a degree of mutual animoſity were both ſides inflamed, that the moſt eminent members of the minority left the houſe, and returned no more to it during that ſeſſion. In the houſe of lords, the diſpute was maintained with equal warmth, but ended alſo in the defeat of thoſe who ſtigmatized the treaty; and the houſe agreed to thank his majeſty for his gracious condeſcenſion in laying the convention before them; and acknowledged his great prudence in bringing the demands of his ſubjects for their paſt loſſes to a final adjuſtment. At the head of thoſe who voted againſt the addreſs, was the prince of Wales; and his example was followed by ſix dukes, twenty-two earls, four viſcounts, eighteen barons, four biſhops, and ſixteen proxies; and a ſpirited proteſt was entered and ſubſcribed by thirty-nine peers. But notwithſtanding the parliamentary ſanction the convention had received, the rumour of a war with Spain began to revive. For the Spaniſh monarch not only ſuffered the four months to elapſe, during which interval he was to pay the ſtipulated ſum of ninety-five thouſand pounds, but ordered ſeizures to be made of the ſhips and merchandize of the Britiſh ſubjects in his dominions wherever they could be found; and even commanded all the Britiſh ſubjects to leave his territories in a ſhorter time than was allowed by treaty. Theſe proceedings put a ſtop to the conferences carried on with that crown, and Mr. Keene preſented a ſpirited declaration to the court of Madrid. This was followed with an order of council, dated July the tenth, for granting letters of marque and repriſals to our merchants. A reſolution was alſo formed for endeavouring to preclude the Spaniards from the reſources of their riches in the Weſt Indies and the South Seas. Admiral Vernon was ſent to the Weſt Indies to take upon himſelf the command of the ſquadron in thoſe ſeas, and to deſtroy the trade and ſettlements of the Spaniards. Vernon had rendered himſelf remarkable in the houſe of commons by condemning the meaſures of the miniſtry; and in a debate on the Spaniſh depredations he happened to affirm, that Porto Bello, a ſtrong port on the Spaniſh main, might be eaſily taken; and even offered to undertake the reduction of it with ſix ſhips only. The miniſter, deſirous of removing ſo troubleſome a cenſor from the houſe, ſent him to the Weſt Indies, that he might have an opportunity of executing the ſcheme he had undertaken. A declaration of war againſt Spain was publiſhed on the twenty-third of October, in which his majeſty charges the king of Spain with breaking the convention lately concluded, by not paying within the time appointed the ſtipulated ſum admitted to be due to the ſubjects of Great Britain; and on the fifteenth of November the parliament met at Weſtminſter, when the ſeſſion was opened by a ſpeech from the throne, in which his majeſty informed both houſes, that he had augmented his forces both by ſea and land.

A. D. 1740.

The committee of ſupplies, upon the fourteenth of the ſame month, reſolved to grant his majeſty two hundred thouſand pounds on account of carrying on the war, and nine thouſand five hundred for ſervices that year, not provided for by parliament; which was agreed to by the houſe. A million was alſo granted out of the ſinking fund, and two hundred thouſand pounds for the ordinary of the navy. The king having by a meſſage ſignified his intention of giving the princeſs Mary in marriage to prince Frederick of Heſſe, and expreſſed his hopes, that the commons would enable him to give him a ſuitable portion with his daughter, they unanimouſly agreed to grant forty thouſand pounds for that purpoſe; they alſo preſented an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty for having communicated this intended marriage to the houſe. On the twenty-ninth of April his majeſty put an end to the ſeſſion, after thanking the commons for the liberal ſupplies they had granted; recommended unity and concord to both houſes; and expreſſed his hopes, that the preparations he was making for carrrying on the war in the moſt vigorous and effectual manner, would be crowned with ſucceſs equal to the juſtice of his cauſe. This ſeſſion being concluded, his majeſty appointed a regency, and ſet out for Hanover in the beginning of May. During theſe tranſactions, a ſhip arrived from the Weſt Indies, diſpatched by admiral Vernon, with an account of his having taken Porto Bello with ſix ſhips only, and demoliſhed all the fortifications. This event filled the whole nation with joy; and both houſes of parliament joined in a congratulary addreſs on the ſucceſs of his majeſty's arms.

Admiral Haddock continued cruizing during the whole ſummer in the Mediterranean, and had, for ſome time actually blocked up the mouth of that part of the harbour of Cadiz, where the Spaniſh fleet was then lying; which induced admiral Pintado, who commanded another ſquadron, to make a feint of attacking the iſland of Minorca. The Engliſh admiral was deceived; he left his ſtation in order to relieve that iſland; and the Cadiz fleet, conſiſting of nine men of war and two frigates eſcaped, and joined another ſquadron at Ferrol. But the detention of the treaſures from New Spain, kept this combined fleet in that port, till the French thought proper to declare their real intentions, by ſending a ſtrong ſquadron from Breſt and Toulon under the command of the marquis d'Antin, to Martinico, one of their Weſt Indian ſettlements, with ſecret orders, not only to act offenſively againſt the Britiſh ſubjects, but alſo to conſult meaſures for attacking Jamaica; and at the ſame time declaring, that France could no longer behold, with an eye of indifference, the enterprizes which the Engliſh nation had formed in America, nor ſuffer them to make any new eſtabliſhments in that country. Miniſtry were ſurprized at this unexpected behaviour from France, while the nation called loudly for proſecuting the war with the utmoſt vigour, in order to convince that court that we were not to be intimidated by their inſolent threats.

In the month of September a ſmall ſquadron was fitted out under the command of commodore Anſon, conſiſting of five ſhips of war; the Centurion, the commodore's own ſhip, of ſixty guns and four hundred men; the Glouceſter and Severn, of fifty guns and three hundred men each; the Pearl, of forty guns and two hundred and fifty men; and the Wager, of twenty-eight guns and one hundred and ſixty men; beſides the Trial ſloop, of eight guns and one hundred men, and two victualling ſhips. The commodore's orders were to ſail to the South ſeas, in order to attack the enemy's colonies, and co-operate occaſionally with admiral Vernon, acroſs the iſthmus of Darien. The ſquadron did not arrive at Madeira till the twenty-fifth of October, where they watered, and took in refreſhments of ſeveral kinds. On the fourth of November, Anſon iſſued orders to the captains, appointed their rendezvous, in caſe of ſeparation, at the iſland of St. Catharine's on the coaſt of Brazil in South America; and the ſame day the ſquadron weighing anchor, ſteered their courſe for St. Catharine's, where they arrived on the twenty-firſt of December, having in their paſſage loſt a great number of their men by the intemperature of the warm climates. The commodore made all poſſible diſpatch for Cape Horn, but was detained by unavoidable accidents till the eighteenth of January, when the ſquadron, after burying many of their men, and ſickneſs ſtill increaſing, left the iſland, and ſailed to port St. Julian, on the coaſt of Patagonia.

Admiral Vernon having equipped his ſquadron, and made every neceſſary preparation which the nature of the ſervice required, ſailed from Port Royal the latter end of February, on board the Stafford, accompanied by the Princeſs Louiſa, Windſor, Norwich, Falmouth, and Greenwich men of war, and a proportionable number of fireſhips, bombs, and tenders, with a deſign to bombard Carthagena, and afterwards to annoy the Spaniards in Fort Chagre, which lays a little to the ſouth-weſt of Porto Bello. After ſome difficulty he anchored in the bay of Playa Granda before Carthagena, and began a briſk bombardment againſt the town, which did conſiderable damage to ſome of the principal edifices. But not having ſtrength ſufficient to make himſelf maſter of the place, he thought proper to return to Porto Bello, from whence he frequently detached cruizers to lie off Fort Chagre, and in a little time ſailed in order to attack it in perſon, which he did on the twenty-third of March, and obliged the garriſon to ſurrender.

This year was rendered remarkable by the death of three crowned heads: the king of Pruſſia, who was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Frederic, the reigning king of that realm; Charles VI. emperor of Germany, who expired at Vienna on the ninth day of October, and was ſucceeded in his hereditary dominions by his eldeſt daughter Maria Thereſa, married to the grand duke of Tuſcany; and the empreſs of Ruſſia, who by her will appointed prince Ivan, ſon of duke Anthony Ulric of Brunſwic-Lunenburgh-Bevern, and the princeſs Ann of Mecklenburgh, her ſucceſſors. She, by the ſame will, named the duke of Courland regent of the empire, and guardian of the young czar, though his own parents were living. The regent, however, was ſoon turned out, and the czar's mother ſucceeded him in that truſt till her ſon was finally depoſed, and the princeſs Elizabeth placed on the throne of the Ruſſias. In England, the beginning of this year was diſtinguiſhed by a moſt intenſe froſt which began on Chriſtmas day, and continued till the latter end of February. The Thames was frozen over, and a multitude of people dwelled on it in tents. A great number of booths were erected for the entertainment of the populace. A kind of fair was kept, and an ox roaſted whole upon the ice. The navigation being entirely ſtopped, the watermen and fiſhermen were deprived of the means of ſubſiſtence; and a ſtop was put to many kinds of manufactures. The price of all ſorts of proviſions roſe to a great height; even water was ſold in the ſtreets of London; and the poor could neither obtain food, or ſupply themſelves with coals or other fuel, which advanced in proportion to the ſeverity and continuance of the froſt. In this ſeaſon of diſtreſs, many unhappy families muſt have periſhed by cold and hunger, had not thoſe in eaſy circumſtances been inſpired with a remarkable ſpirit of compaſſion and humanity. The ſtreets were crouded with beggars, who were relieved with a liberal hand; and, to the honour of the Engliſh nation, uncommon pains were taken to diſcover and relieve thoſe ſtill more unhappy objects, who, from motives of falſe pride, or ingenuous ſhame, ſtrove to conceal their miſeries. The ſolitary habitations of the widow, the fatherleſs, and the unfortunate, were viſited by thoſe who felt for the woes of their fellow-creatures; and to ſuch who refuſed to receive a portion of public charity, the neceſſaries of life were privately conveyed, in a manner that could leaſt ſhock their delicacy.

A. D. 1741.

In the beginning of April his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and made the cuſtomary ſpeech; and on the twenty-fifth, the king cloſed the ſeſſion, when he warmly expreſſed his entire ſatiſfaction of the conduct of his parliament. His majeſty, after appointing a regency, ſet out for his German dominions about the middle of May. Having collected his fleet, Sir Chaloner Ogle ſailed for Jamaica. His arrival reanimated admiral Vernon, who now ſaw himſelf at the head of a more formidable fleet and army than had ever before been ſeen in thoſe ſeas, with full power to act as opportunity ſhould offer.

Vernon had for ſome time meditated an attack on Carthagena, a very ſtrong city ſituated on the Spaniſh main, and now determined to carry the deſign into execution. His plan, however, was no ſecret to the Spaniards, who had omitted nothing to put the city in the beſt poſture of defence. Admiral de Torres, and Don Blas de Lezo, a ſea officer of great experience and reputation, had already reached Carthagena with the Ferrol ſquadron, and reinforced the garriſon, which now amounted to above four thouſand men. As ſoon as the admiral had received an account of the fortifications, &c. he directed Sir Chaloner Ogle to proceed with his whole diviſion of ſhips, conſiſting of four of eighty, ſix of ſixty, and one of fifty guns, beſides frigates and bomb veſſels, to demoliſh the forts and batteries, and to ſcour all the country, ſo as to ſecure a deſcent for the land forces. Sir Chaloner performed the ſervice he was entruſted with, in a very ſatiſfactory manner; while general Wentworth landed his forces on Tierra Bomba iſland, near Bocca Chica caſtle. They immediately erected a battery; and having, with the aſſiſtance of the fleet, made a practical breach in the wall, they took the caſtle by ſtorm on the twenty-fourth of February. About the ſame time, the Spaniſh ſhips that lay athwart the harbour's mouth, were either taken or deſtroyed, the paſſage was opened, and admiral Vernon, with the whole fleet, entered the harbour, and attacked Caſtillo Grande, which the enemy likewiſe abandoned to the Engliſh. The forces that were landed on Tierra Bomba were re-embarked, and ſat on ſhore again within a mile of the city. This unexpected ſucceſs ſo greatly elated both the admiral and general, that the Spence ſloop of war was diſpatched to England with letters to the ſecretary of ſtate, promiſing nothing leſs than the total reduction of the city of Carthagena. But they ſhould have remembered, that the greateſt difficulty ſtill remained, the taking of fort St. Lazaro, which muſt be done before they could attack the city. And what was ſtill of more conſequence, a miſunderſtanding had by this time ariſen between the admiral and the general; and which ſoon grew to ſuch a height, that it impeded every operation for the advantage of their country. They had their ſeparate parties, and behaved towards each other with the coldeſt reſerve. The admiral accuſed the general of inactivity, by which the enemy had time ſufficient to finiſh the fortifications they had begun at the foot of the hill on which fort St. Lazaro ſtood. The general at the ſame time accuſed the admiral of his dilatory proceedings with regard to the landing of the tents, ſtores, and artillery of the army. In ſhort, both had committed miſtakes; and inſtead of endeavouring to repair them, employed their whole attention to mortify each other. At laſt, Wentworth reſolved to do ſomething, at leaſt in appearance, and accordingly made preparations for attacking fort St. Lazaro on the eighth of March; but inſtead of beginning the attack in the night as he ought to have done, he waited till break of day. The guides alſo who were provided to conduct the troops, were killed in the march; many of the ſoldiers miſtook their way, and advanced to the ſtrongeſt part of the fortifications, which they could not have mounted, had there been no enemy to oppoſe them. But notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties, the Engliſh troops behaved with ſuch intrepidity as was really aſtoniſhing: twelve hundred men, under the command of general Guiſe, paraded on the ſtrand, where they formed, and began the attack with the utmoſt fury, amidſt an inceſſant ſhower of bullets from the artillery and ſmall arms of the Spaniards. Colonel Grant, who commanded the grenadiers, was mortally wounded; the ſcaling ladders were found too ſhort; and the officers were confuſed for want of proper directions. The ſoldiers, however, maintained their ground for ſeveral hours with the moſt heroic reſolution, till they were drawn off by the general's orders, with the loſs of ſix hundred men of the flower of the army. All hopes of taking the city of Carthagena now vaniſhed like a dream: the troops ſickened in ſo ſurprizing a manner, that no leſs than three thouſand four hundred and forty-five men periſhed in the ſpace of two days, among whom were many of the principal officers. It was therefore determined in a council of war to return immediately to Jamaica. Accordingly, after entirely demoliſhing all the fortifications the fleet ſet ſail, and arrived at Jamaica on the nineteenth of May. Thus ended an expedition that had alarmed all Europe, coſt the Engliſh nation an immenſe ſum, and filled the minds of the people with the moſt ſanguine expectations. But whenever leaders, inſtead of aſſiſting each other, form ſeparate intereſts and cabals, diſappointment and diſgrace will always be the natural conſequences. In the month of July the fleet, which, as well as the land forces were greatly reduced, many of the ſhips being rendered unſerviceable, ſailed again from Jamaica, in order to attack the city of St. Jago de Cuba, and anchored in Walthenham-bay, about twelve leagues to the windward of St. Jago. Here they had the pleaſure of finding themſelves in one of the moſt ſpacious and ſafe harbours in the world; the air perfectly pure and healthy, and their ſhips ſecure from all hurricanes. The admiral, pleaſed with this delightful bay, gave it the name of Cumberland harbour. Here the troops were landed, but continued totally inactive in their camp till the month of November; when general Wentworth abſolutely declaring that he would not march to attack St. Jago, the ſoldiers were again embarked and carried back to Jamaica. In the month of October the king returned to England, and on the firſt of December opened the ſeſſion o parliament with a ſpeech from the throne. It ſoon appeared how greatly the miniſter's party was weakened, and that Sir Robert was on the brink of ruin. The cauſes of popular diſcontent, added to many other complaints which had long been repeated againſt the miniſter, and which were exaggerated by his enemies with unwearied induſtry, rendered him at length univerſally odious.

A. D. 1742.

Sir Robert well knew that the majority of a ſingle vote would be ſufficient to ſend him to the Tower; and he likewiſe knew, that his ſafety could only be ſecured by dividing the oppoſition. He however determined previouſly to try his ſtrength in the houſe of commons, with regard to the diſputed election of Chippenham in Wiltſhire; but had the mortification to find a majority of one voice againſt him. Irritated at this proceeding, he declared he would never more ſit in that houſe; and accordingly the next day the king adjourned the parliament to the eighteenth of the next month. During the interval, Sir Robert was created earl of Orford, and reſigned his employments. He had now occaſion for all his art, to ward off the blow that threatened his deſtruction. He had recourſe to the plan he had already formed, of transferring the popular odium from himſelf to his adverſaries. In order to this, a coalition was propoſed between the diſcontented whigs, and thoſe of the ſame denomination who acted under the miniſtry. Some were gratified with titles and places; and aſſurances given to all, that a new ſyſtem in the management of affairs would be adopted according to the plan they themſelves ſhould propoſe. Nor was there any thing required of them from the court, but that of ſuffering the earl of Orford to eſcape with impunity. Mr. Sandys was appointed one of the lords of the treaſury, and chancellor of the exchequer; lord Harrington was dignified with the title of earl, and declared preſident of the council; lord Carteret was made ſecretary of ſtate; and the earl of Wilmington firſt lord of the treaſury; the marquis of Tweedale was appointed ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland; Mr. Pulteney was ſworn a member of the privy-council, and afterwards created earl of Bath; the earl of Wincheſter was placed at the head of the admiralty, in the room of Sir Charles Wager; and the earl of Stair appointed field-marſhal of all his majeſty's forces, and ambaſſador extraordinary to the States-general.

The firſt happy effect of this change in the miniſtry, was a reconciliation between the king and the prince of Wales, who now waited on his majeſty at St. James's, attended by a great concourſe of nobility, and other perſons of diſtinction: he was received in a very gracious manner, and a guard was immediately appointed to attend his royal highneſs at Carleton houſe. On the eighteenth of February the parliament met at Weſtminſter purſuant to their adjournment; when the petitions that had been preſented by the merchants of London, Briſtol, Liverpool, Glaſgow, and many other trading towns in the kingdom, complaining of the loſſes they had ſuſtained by the bad conduct of the war, were taken into conſideration; and a number of ſmall men of war were appointed to cruize in the channel, and along the enemy's coaſts, to ſecure the merchant ſhips from the inſults of the Spaniſh privateers.

The late change in the miniſtry had induced the people to hope, that the great aſſembly of the nation would have become once more the ſeat of union and harmony: but alas! theſe hopes were quickly blaſted; and it appeared to plainly, that thoſe who had declaimed the loudeſt for the liberties of their country, had been ſolely actuated by the moſt ſordid views of ſelf-intereſt. The members that compoſed the long oppoſition were now divided; thoſe who were in power being joined by ſome of the late miniſters, and having gained over others who oppoſed them, obtained a viſible aſcendancy in the parliament; many of the leading tories were neglected by the miniſtry; the rage of party again began to kindle, and another formidable oppoſition ſoon appeared. Whigs and tories were blended together in ſuch confuſion from ſome of them being in, and others out of place, that it was difficult to make any diſtinction. Every claſs of men expected that the earl of Orford would be called to a very ſtrict account for the alarming meaſures purſued during his adminiſtration: but they were entirely diſappointed. The new miniſtry never intended any thing more, than to expoſe the miſconduct of the earl of Orford. This being done, they deſigned to protect him from all dangers that might naturally be expected to reſult from the open and declared vengeance of an enraged and unthinking multitude. They however puſhed their enquiry ſo far, as to render it evident that he had been concerned in many flagrant acts of fraud and corruption in influencing elections; and by making uſe of the wealth, power, and places of the crown, to introduce a criminal dependency in parliament, and conſequently, to ſap the very foundation of the Engliſh conſtitution. It appeared, that during the laſt ten years of his adminiſtration, no leſs than one million, four hundred and fifty-three thouſand, four hundred pounds of the public money had paſſed through his hands for ſecret ſervices; that above fifty thouſand pounds of this ſum had been paid to hireling writers; and that, on the very day preceding his reſignation, he had ſigned orders on the revenues of the civil liſt for above thirty thouſand pounds.

The miniſtry, in order to ſooth the reſentments of the people, and, if poſſible, to conciliate their affections, paſſed a bill for excluding certain officers from their ſeats in the houſe of commons. Another bill was paſſed for encouraging the linen manufacture; and a third to prevent the marriage of lunatics. They voted forty thouſand ſeamen, and ſixty-two thouſand five hundred landmen, for the ſervice of the current year: they provided for the ſubſidies paid to Denmark and Heſſe-Caſſel; they granted the ſum of five hundred thouſand pounds; and voted to ſend ſixteen thouſand three hundred and four effective men to the aſſiſtance of the queen of Hungary. The grants for this year amounted to five millions, ſeven hundred, twenty-three thouſand and thirty-ſix pounds, for the raiſing of which the committee of ſupplies provided a land-tax of four ſhillings in the pound; the malt-tax; one million from the ſinking fund; granted annuities upon it for eight hundred thouſand pounds; and procured a loan of one million ſix hundred thouſand pounds from the Bank. The total produce of this amounted to ſix millions; ſo that there remained a ſurplus of three hundred ſeventy-ſix thouſand four hundred and ſixty-three pounds. Miniſtry, from the behaviour of the French commander to admiral Haddock with regard to his attacking the Spaniſh ſquadron, determined to keep no farther meaſures with France. In the mean time admiral Haddock, partly from the fatigues of the ſervice, and partly from anxiety of mind occaſioned by the numerous diſappointments he had met with, found his conſtitution ſo much impaired, that he reſigned the command of the fleet in the Mediterranean to commodore Leſtock, who lately arrived from the Weſt Indies, and was ſent up the Streights with ten ſail of men of war, to reinforce admiral Haddock, and oppoſe the united fleets of France, and Spain. Leſtock uſed his utmoſt diligence in fitting his fleet for ſea; and on the twelfth of April ſailed for Port Mahon, with a ſquadron of twenty-eight men of war, and ſoon after appeared before Toulon, which filled the inhabitants with the utmoſt conſternation; the whole adjacent country was alarmed by fires, beacons, &c. But they ſoon found their fears had no foundation, the commodore having no intention of moleſting them. The united ſquadrons were indeed greatly ſuperior to that of England; the French, under admiral de Court, conſiſted of five ſhips of ſeventy, ſeven of ſixty, two of fifty, two of thirty and two of twenty guns; and the Spaniſh ſquadron, commanded by Don Navarro, of one ſhip of one hundred and fourteen guns, four of ſeventy, ſix of ſixty, and five of fifty; in all, thirty-ſix men of war. Commodore Leſtock, therefore, after obſerving their ſituation, proceeded to Antibes on the coaſt of Italy. On the change of the miniſtry, Leſtock was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the white; but it being determined to attempt ſome bold enterprize in the Mediterranean during the courſe of the ſummer, the ſupreme concern of the fleet was beſtowed upon Thomas Matthews, Eſq; vice-admiral of the red, who was at the ſame time inveſted with the character of ambaſſador-extraordinary to the king of Sardinia, and the other princes and ſtates of Italy. Matthews left England in the month of April, and in his paſſage took ſeveral French and Spaniſh merchant ſhips, and at length ſafely joined rear-admiral Leſtock in the harbour of Villa Franca. Soon after admiral Matthews's arrival in the Mediterranean, he detached captain Norris, in the Kingſton of fifty guns, and the Duke fire-ſhip, to burn five Spaniſh gallies which had taken ſhelter in the bay of St. Tropez, a French port in the Mediterranean; this order was effectually executed. But no action of the admiral's proved ſo agreeable to the people of England, as that of ſending commodore Martin with a ſquadron of ſhips and bomb-veſſels to Naples, to demand from the king of the Two Sicilies a promiſe in writing, to withdraw his troops from acting in conjunction with thoſe of Spain, and alſo not to give them for the future any kind of aſſiſtance. If this demand ſhould be refuſed, Martin had orders to bombard the city of Naples. The conſternation of the Neapolitans was incredible; and however his Sicilian majeſty might diſlike this inſult upon his dignity, his private reſentment was obliged to ſubmit to the intereſt of the ſtate, which was in no condition to defend itſelf. Accordingly, after ſeveral meſſages between the commodore and the duke de Montealegre, the Sicilian miniſter, the latter, in his maſter's name, gave a written promiſe that his troops ſhould be immediately withdrawn out of Lombardy, and that he would not in any manner whatſoever aid or aſſiſt thoſe of Spain any more during the preſent war in Italy. This promiſe was inſtantly performed; the Neapolitan troops were forthwith recalled; by which means the Spaniſh army was ſo conſiderably weakened, that they were incapable of performing any action of importance during the remaining part of the campaign. By this bold, but ſucceſsful ſtep of the Britiſh admiral, the queen of Hungary was ſaved from apparent deſtruction. Soon after this expedition to Naples, admiral Matthews, purſuing the ſpirited meaſures he had ſo happily began, diſpatched the ſame embaſſy to St. Remo, a ſea-port town belonging to the Genoeſe, with orders to deſtroy ſome conſiderable magazines which the Spaniards had collected. This ſervice alſo the commodore effectually performed; and in the beginning of September re-joined the vice-admiral, who now took up his ſtation in Hieres bay, where his ſhips lay in an excellent road, and commanded every veſſel that might attempt to enter into, or come out of, the harbour of Toulon. The Britiſh fleet being now joined by admiral Rowley, was rather ſuperior to the united ſquadrons of France and Spain: the latter therefore kept cloſe in the harbour of Toulon.

In America every thing ſeemed to go backward, owing chiefly to the diſſentions between the admiral and general. In the latter end of the preceding year, they had received a reinforcement from England; upon the arrival of which a council of war was held, to concert in what manner the ſhips and forces might be moſt effectually employed for the advantage of the nation, and the annoyance of the enemy: when it was propoſed by the officers of the army to undertake an expedition againſt Panama, by which a body of three hundred men, with five hundred negroes, and four hundred muſquetos, were to be landed at Porto-Bello, and from thence to march over the Iſthmus of Darien to the ſaid town of Panama. This ſcheme being approved by Sir Chaloner Ogle and Mr. Vernon, Mr. Lowther was ſent aboard the Triton ſloop to the coaſt of Porto-Bello, in the character of a trader, with orders to obtain all the intelligence he could; and in the mean time the admiral got the ſquadron in readineſs; but the land-officers were ſo dilatory in their motions, that it was the latter end of March before the fleet arrived at Porto-Bello. It conſiſted of eight ſail of the line, with three fire-ſhips, two hoſpital ſhips, and about forty tranſports, having on board three thouſand land-forces, and five hundred negroes raiſed by governor Trelawney, who attended this expedition in the rank of a colonel. Admiral Vernon entered the harbour of Porto-Bello without the leaſt oppoſition; for the governor no ſooner ſaw the Engliſh fleet ſtanding in for the harbour, than he quitted the town with the utmoſt precipitation, being attended in his flight by three companies of Spaniſh ſoldiers. Moſt of the inhabitants were preparing to follow, but the admiral immediately diſpatched an officer with an interpreter, to deſire the natives would lay aſide their apprehenſions, and continue peaceably in their poſſeſſions, promiſing them the fulleſt protection in their lives and properties. Encouraged by this meſſage, a deputation from the magiſtrates was ſent on board the admiral, acknowledging his humanity, and readily putting themſelves under his protection. Lieutenant Lowther being returned, gave it as his opinion, that the deſign againſt Panama could not at that time be attempted with any hopes of ſucceſs, on account of the rainy ſeaſon of the year, and the ſickneſs which, in conſequence thereof, prevailed among the troops. This was adopted by all the land-officers, the general not excepted; and as they were greatly ſuperior in number to the ſea-officers, their opinions were always deciſive. At length a general council of war was held on board the Boyne, wherein it was agreed to wood and water the ſhips and return to Jamaica. General Wentworth, however, ſent a paper to the admiral, containing the reaſons of the land officers for laying aſide the projected attempt againſt Panama. Nothing could exceed the vexation of admiral Vernon at finding this expedition likely to conclude ſo ingloriouſly. He was convinced that two thouſand men would have been more than ſufficient for the taking of Panama; and it is certain that the governor of that place deſpaired of its preſervation.

The fleet having returned from Porto-Bello, nothing material was tranſacted in the Weſt Indies either by Vernon or Wentworth, except the taking poſſeſſion of, and ſettling the ſmall iſland of Rattan, in the bay of Honduras. On the twenty-third of September, captain Fowke arrived at Port-Royal in Jamaica, with orders for the above officers to return to England; the vice-admiral to leave the command of the fleet to Sir Chaloner Ogle, and the general to ſupply it with what number of ſoldiers ſhould be demanded, to be under that admiral's command, the government being now fully ſenſible of the diſadvantages attending a command divided between the land and ſea officers. On the ſixteenth of November, the parliament being aſſembled, his majeſty acquainted the houſe of commons in particular, "that he had ordered the proper eſtimates for the ſervice of the enſuing year to be laid before them, and alſo the account of the expence of thoſe particular ſervices which he had already mentioned, and which they would find to have been concerted in as frugal a manner as the nature of them would admit. He ſaid, he was perſuaded that they would readily grant him ſuch ſupplies as ſhould be found neceſſary for the ſecurity and welfare of the nation, requiſite for the ſupport of the common cauſe, and adequate to the emergency." After ſome oppoſition, raiſed by the diſguſted members, addreſſes were preſented to his majeſty by both houſes, expreſſing their approbation of the meaſures he had taken in ſupport of the queen of Hungary, and the reſtoration of the balance of power in Europe. About this period a treaty of mutual defence and guarantee between his majeſty and the king of Pruſſia, was ſigned at Whitehall.

A. D. 1743.

The new miniſtry, towards the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion, had contracted for ſixteen thouſand Hanoverians to be taken into Britiſh pay, without the concurrence of parliament, whoſe approbation was expected when they aſſembled again: but on a motion made in the houſe of commons to reſolve, that the ſum of two hundred and ſixty-five thouſand one hundred and ninety-one pounds ſix ſhillings and two-pence farthing, ſhould be granted to his majeſty for defraying the charges of the aforeſaid troops, it was oppoſed with great vehemence: long and violent debates enſued, the reſult of which were, however, that this meaſure was approved by a majority in both houſes, and the money granted. The total of the grants, this ſeſſion, amounted to five millions three hundred and fourteen thouſand one hundred pounds for the ſervice of the current year, and five hundred ninety-eight thouſand three hundred and eighty-two pounds for a deficiency in the ſupplies granted for the preceding year, which together amount to the ſum of five millions nine hundred and twelve thouſand four hundred and eighty-two pounds. The committee of ways and means ſettled the ſum of ſix millions five hundred and ſixty-two thouſand four hundred and ninety-two pounds to anſwer the ſupplies; which was an exceeding of ſix hundred and fifty thouſand and ten pounds. To raiſe this ſum the land-tax at four ſhillings in the pound, was computed to furniſh two million; the malt-tax ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand; one million was taken from the ſinking-fund; one million was to be borrowed at three per cent. and eight hundred thouſand pounds to be raiſed by a lottery; five hundred and eighteen thouſand ſix hundred pounds were to be borrowed by a loan on the exciſe bills, and four hundred eighty-one thouſand four hundred pounds, being the deficiencies on the pot-duty; beſides twelve thouſand four hundred and ninety-two pounds overplus in the exchequer. On the twenty-firſt of April, his majeſty went to the houſe; where after giving the royal aſſent to ſeveral acts, he made a ſpeech to both houſes, wherein he obſerved, "that, to the end that the Britiſh nation and the common cauſe might reap the moſt beneficial fruits from the vigorous reſolutions of this parliament, he had, at the requiſition of the queen of Hungary, ordered his army, in conjunction with the Auſtrian troops, to paſs the Rhine, as auxiliaries to her Hungarian majeſty, to oppoſe any dangerous meaſures that might affect the balance and liberties of Europe, or hinder the re-eſtabliſhment of public tranquility upon juſt and ſolid foundations." The lord chancellor then, by his majeſty's order, prorogued the parliament; and the king, immediately after, ſet out for Germany, attended by his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, in order to head his troops in perſon.

The troops which had been aſſembled by the king of great Britain in the Netherlands, under the command of the earl of Stair, began their march for the Rhine, and in May they encamped near Hoech, on the river Mayne. Their intention was to join the Auſtrian forces under prince Charles of Lorraine: and the French king, in order to prevent this junction, ordered marſhal Noailles to aſſemble ſixty thouſand men on the Mayne. After ſecuring the towns of Spire, Worms, and Oppenheim, the marſhal paſſed the Rhine in the beginning of June, and poſted himſelf on the eaſt ſide of that river, above Frankfort. The earl of Stair advanced towards him, and encamped at Kilenbach, between the river Mayne and the foreſt of d'Armſtadt; from which place he made a motion to Aſchaffenburgh, with an intention to ſecure the navigation of the Upper Mayne; but the enemy, who lay on the other ſide of that river, had taken poſſeſſion of the poſts above, in ſuch a manner as to intercept all ſupplies. At the ſame time they found means to cut off the communication by water between Frankfort and the confederates. On the ninth of June, when his Britannic majeſty arrived at the camp, he had the mortification to find his army, which conſiſted of forty thouſand men, in danger of being ſtarved; but having received intelligence that twelve thouſand Hanoverians and Heſſians had reached Hanau, he determined to march thither in order to join thoſe forces, and procure proviſions for his army. Accordingly, on the twenty-ſixth he decamped, but had hardly quitted Aſchaffenburgh before it was ſeized by the French, and after marching about three leagues, he perceived the enemy to the number of thirty thouſand, had paſſed the river, and were drawn up in order of battle at the village of Dettingen, to diſpute his paſſage. He now found himſelf in a very dangerous ſituation; the enemy at Aſchaffenburgh prevented his retreat; his troops were confined in a narrow plain, bounded on the right by hills and woods, and flanked on the left by the river Mayne, on the oppoſite ſide of which the French had erected batteries to annoy the allies in their march; a conſiderable part of the French army was, at the ſame time, drawn up at the end of a narrow paſs, having the village of Dettingen on the right, a wood on the left, and a moraſs in the center. Thus hemmed in on every ſide, the confederates muſt either have fought at a great diſadvantage, or ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war, had not the duke de Grammont, who commanded under his uncle the marſhal Noailles, actuated by a ſpirit of impatience, paſſed the defile, upon which a battle immediately enſued. The French horſe charged with great impetuoſity, and threw ſome of the Britiſh regiments of cavalry into diſorder; but the infantry of the allies behaved with ſuch intrepidity and deliberation, as ſoon determined the fortune of the day. The French were obliged to retreat and paſs the Mayne with great precipitation, after loſing about five thouſand men, killed, wounded, or taken priſoners. Had the allies purſued their advantage without giving the enemy time to recover from their confuſion, a total overthrow would, in all probability, have been the conſequence. This meaſure was actually propoſed by the earl of Stair, but his advice was over-ruled.

The confederates loſt in this action near three thouſand men. The generals Clayton and Monroy were killed; the duke of Cumberland was ſhot through the calf of the leg; the earl of Albemarle, general Huſke, and ſeveral officers of diſtinction were wounded: the king himſelf expoſed his perſon to a very ſevere fire of cannon and muſketry, for, during the whole engagement, he rode up and down the flanks, encouraging his troops to fight for the honour of England. Toward the latter end of October, the king of Great Britain returned to Hanover, and the army ſeparated; the troops in the Britiſh pay marched back to the Netherlands, and the reſt took the rout to their reſpective countries. In the month of September, a treaty was concluded at Worms, between his Britannic majeſty, the king of Sardinia, and the queen of Hungary.

Admiral Matthews continued all this time at the iſles of Hieres, to prevent the French and Spaniſh fleets from coming out of Toulon, which it was ſuppoſed they would ſoon attempt; and Sir Chaloner Ogle, who was left in America on the return of Vernon and Wentworth to England, was deterred from perſonally attempting any material enterprize, becauſe the Spaniſh ſquadron, under admiral de Torres, and which was much ſuperior to his own, ſtill continued at the Havannah. In the beginning of this year, however, he determined on an attack againſt the Spaniards, which might not too greatly weaken his fleet. Accordingly he ordered captain Knowles of the Suffolk, a ſeventy gun ſhip, to take under him the Burford of ſeventy guns, the Aſſiſtance, Norwich and Advice of fifty, and the Scarborough of twenty, with three ſloops, and to proceed to Antigua, where he was to be joined by the Eltham of forty guns and the Lively of twenty. With this ſquadron he was to make an attempt upon la Gueira and Porto Cavallo, on the Caracao coaſt; but the governor of Caracao, having received intelligence of this expedition, erected new batteries, augmented the garriſons with a numerous body of Indians, Mulattoes and Negroes; and prevailed on the Dutch governor of Curacoa, an iſland of the Leſſer Antilles, to ſupply him with a conſiderable quantity of ammunition; ſo that when Knowles made an attack upon the place, he met with ſuch a warm reception, that he was obliged to abandon the enterprize, and ſailed immediately for the iſland of Curacoa, in order to repair the damage he had ſuſtained. One lieutenant and ninety-two men were killed, and three hundred and eighty wounded. The Spaniards, however, had no great cauſe of exultation, as their town and fortifications were almoſt deſtroyed, beſides the loſs of ſeven hundred men. Commodore Knowles had no ſooner refitted his ſquadron than he put to ſea with a reſolution to make an attempt upon Porto Cavallo, off which place he came to an anchor on the fifteenth of April: when taking a view of the ſituation of the Spaniards, he diſcerned twelve of their ſmalleſt ſhips, and three gallies, hauled up to the head of the harbour out of gun ſhot, and two large ones, one of ſixty, the other of forty guns, moored cloſe over to the other ſhore, there not being depth of water ſufficient for them to go up the harbour. A ſhip was likewiſe laid acroſs the channel ready to be ſunk, if an entrance ſhould be attempted, a chain being fixed from the caſtle to her ſtern, and another from her head to the main, where the Spaniards had lately erected three faſcine batteries, which extended a conſiderable length; and on the low point, called Punta Brava, were two other faſcine batteries, one of twelve guns, the other of ſeven: but the commodore perceiving they were ill-deſigned and might eaſily be flanked, reſolved on the attempt. Accordingly the next morning two ſhips were ordered to cannonade, and ſoon ſilenced both thoſe batteries. In the evening the forces were landed under the command of Major Lucas; but being ſeized with a ſudden panic they fell into the greateſt confuſion, and retreated with precipitation to their ſhips. A general conſultation of officers was now held, when it appearing that moſt of the ſhips had ſpent the chief part of their ammunition, were all terribly ſhattered in their maſts and rigging, and quite unable to renew the attack, the commodore abandoned the enterprize, and having made an exchange of priſoners with the governor of Porto Cavallo, he returned to Jamaica.

The parliament met on the firſt of December, when an addreſs, beſeeching his majeſty to diſcontinue the Hanoverian troops in the pay of Great Britain, was moved for by lord Sandwich, but the motion was rejected; as was another made by Mr. Grenville for an addreſs, requeſting his majeſty that he ſhould not engage the Britiſh nation any farther in the war on the continent without the concurrence of the States General, on certain ſtipulated proportions of force and expence, as in the late war.

A. D. 1744. Cardinal de Tencin, who had ſucceeded Fleury as prime-miniſter of France, was perſuaded that a deſcent on England might be attended with ſucceſs, and place the chevalier de St. George on the Britiſh throne: but ſhould it miſcarry, it would at leaſt embarraſs his Britannic majeſty, who was the chief ſupport of the houſe of Auſtria and all its allies. Preparations were therefore made for carrying the ſcheme into execution: count Saxe was appointed commander in chief; and the troops for this expedition, which amounted to fifteen thouſand men, began their march to Picardy, while a great number of veſſels were aſſembled for their embarkation at Dunkirk, Calais and Boulogne. It was determined they ſhould land in Kent, under convoy of a ſtrong ſquadron equipped at Breſt, and commanded by M. de Roquefeuille. Theſe preparations were ſuperintended by Charles Edward, the Pretender's eldeſt ſon, who, in the month of December, had paſſed through Italy, in the diſguiſe of a Spaniſh courier, embarked at Final, and landed at Antibes, from whence he purſued his journey to Paris, and was indulged with a private audience of the French king. On the twenty-ſixth of January, M. de Roquefeuille ſailed from Breſt, directing his courſe up the Engliſh channel with twenty ſhips of the line. On the fifteenth of February, the king ſent a meſſage to both houſes of parliament, intimating the arrival of the Pretender's ſon in France, the preparations at Dunkirk, and the appearance of a French fleet in the Engliſh channel. In anſwer to this, both houſes joined in an addreſs, declaring their indignation and abhorrence of the deſign formed in favour of a popiſh Pretender; and aſſuring his majeſty, that they would with the warmeſt zeal and unanimity, take ſuch meaſures as would enable him to fruſtrate and defeat ſo deſperate and inſolent an attempt. Addreſſes of the ſame kind were preſented by the city of London, both univerſities, the principal towns of Great Britain, the clergy, the diſſenting miniſters, the quakers, and almoſt all the corporations and communities in the kingdom. The ſix thouſand auxiliaries which the States General were by treaty obliged to furniſh on ſuch occaſions were now demanded and granted with great alacrity and expedition. Orders were alſo ſent to bring over ſix thouſand of the Britiſh troops from Flanders, in caſe the invaſion ſhould actually take place. The habeas corpus act was ſuſpended for ſix months. Several perſons of diſtinction were apprehended on ſuſpicion of treaſonable practices. A proclamation was iſſued for putting the laws in execution againſt papiſts and nonjurors, who were commanded to retire ten miles from London; and in ſhort every precaution was taken that had any tendency to preſerve the tranquillity of the public.

The French carried on their preparations with great diligence and expedition; ſeven thouſand men were actually embarked, and M. de Roquefeuille, after detaching M. de Barreil with five ſhips to haſten the embarkation at Dunkirk, ſailed up the channel as far as Dungeneſs, where he came to an anchor. On the twenty-fourth of February, he perceived the Britiſh fleet, under Sir John Norris, coming round the South Foreland from the Downs; and, though the wind was againſt him, by the help of the tide, gaining way very faſt. Intimidated at the ſuperiority of his enemy, Roquefeuille called a council of war, in which it was determined to avoid an engagement, weigh anchor at ſun-ſet; and make the beſt retreat they could to their own coaſts. In the mean time, the tide being ſpent, the Engliſh admiral was obliged to anchor two leagues to leeward of the enemy. A few hours after, a ſtrong gale of wind ſpringing up at north-eaſt, the French ſhips got under ſail, but the wind increaſing every minute, ſoon became a ſtorm that hurried them down the channel at the rate of ten miles an hour. This ſtorm, which in all probability ſaved their fleet from deſtruction, utterly diſconcerted the deſign of invading England. Many of their tranſports were driven on ſhore and daſhed to pieces, and the reſt ſo damaged that a very conſiderable time was neceſſary to repair them. This diſappointment ſo exaſperated the court of France, that the Britiſh reſident at Paris was given to underſtand, that a declaration of war would immediately enſue, and accordingly, on the twentieth of March, this was actually publiſhed, and on the thirty-firſt of the ſame month, a ſimilar declaration was made by us againſt France, amidſt the acclamations of the people.

The Dutch, who upon ſuch an event were to ſupply us with twenty ſhips of war did vouchſafe to ſend five or ſix, which being of no ſervice, might as well have continued at home. The elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Heſſe, refuſed their ſtipulated ſuccours till we had an army formed in Hanover, ſufficient to protect them. The Ruſſians alledged it was too late in the year to give us that aſſiſtance we had a right to demand. The king of Pruſſia inſiſted that we were the aggreſſors, and therefore would ſend us no ſuccours. France, likewiſe, in the beginning of April, declared war againſt the queen of Hungary, who, in May, returned a like declaration againſt that nation.

Upon the third of April his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and made a ſpeech to his parliament; to which both houſes returned the moſt affectionate and loyal addreſſes, promiſing effectually to ſtand by and aſſiſt his majeſty in proſecuting the war againſt France with the greateſt vigour, and to furniſh whatever expences ſhould be found neceſſary for the ſame, as became a free and grateful people in defence of their liberties. On the fifteenth of May, his majeſty put an end to the ſeſſion.

An engagement, during theſe tranſactions, happened in the Mediterranean between our fleet under the command of Matthews, and the combined ſquadrons of France and Spain, which he had ſo long blocked up in the harbour of Toulon. On the ninth of February they were perceived ſtanding out of the road to the number of thirty-four ſail. The Engliſh admiral immediately weighed from Hieres bay, and on the eleventh part of the fleet were engaged. Matthews in the Namur, and captain Cornwall in the Marlborough, bore down together upon Don Navarro, the Spaniſh admiral, and the Iſabella, and about half an hour paſt one the action began. Captain Forbes in the Norfolk, bore down and engaged the Conſtant; while rear-admiral Rowley, ſingled out M. de Court, who commanded the French ſquadron. A few more of the Engliſh captains followed the example of their admiral; but vice-admiral Leſtock, with his whole diviſion, remained at a great diſtance a-ſtern; and ſeveral captains who were under the eye of Matthews, behaved in ſuch a manner as reflected diſgrace on their country. A conſtant fire was, however, maintained by the Namur and Marlborough, and the Norfolk obliged the Conſtant, after an engagement of three quarters of an hour, to bear away out of the line ſo diſabled, that ſhe never returned

turned to the attack. The Spaniſh admiral's ſhip, the Real, was now ſo ſhattered that ſhe lay like a wreck upon the water. Matthews therefore ſent the Ann galley fire-ſhip to deſtroy her, but this expedient miſcarried: for the ſhip ordered to cover the Ann galley did not obey the ſignal, ſo that the captain was expoſed to the whole fire of the enemy; notwithſtanding which he continued to advance till he found his ſhip on the point of ſinking. Perceiving his deſtruction inevitable he determined at leaſt to revenge himſelf in the hour of his death, and hoping he ſhould yet be able to get along ſide of the Spaniſh admiral and blow her up along with himſelf, ſet fire to the train; but it was too late, his veſſel was on fire in an inſtant, and blew up within a few yards of the Real, whoſe deck was covered with the wreck, but without receiving any damage from this dreadful exploſion. A Spaniſh launch, however, ſhared the fate of the Ann galley. She had been manned with fifty ſailors to prevent the fire-ſhip from running on board the Real, and arriving cloſe under her ſtern at the inſtant ſhe blew up, periſhed in the conflagration. The Podea, a large Spaniſh ſhip, ſtruck to captain Hawke, who ſent a lieutenant to take poſſeſſion of her: ſhe was afterwards retaken by the French ſquadron, but found ſo diſabled that they deſerted her, and ſhe was, next day, burnt by order of admiral Matthews. Night now put an end to the action, and the admiral found his own ſhip ſo much damaged that he removed his flag to another. The combined fleet took this opportunity of towing all their ſhattered ſhips before the wind, and making the beſt of their way from the Britiſh fleet. who loſt ſight of them about ten o'clock, and there being but little wind Matthews brought to, that Leſtock and the ſternmoſt ſhips might get up to him. Next day the enemy appeared to leeward, and the admiral gave chace till night. They were obſerved again on the thirteenth at a conſiderable diſtance, and our fleet purſued them till evening. On the morning of the fourteenth a great number of the ſhips of the combined fleets were ſeen diſtinctly from the maſt head, and a freſh gale ſpringing up, Leſtock gave chace to, and had conſiderably gained on them by noon; but juſt as he came up with them, Matthews threw out a ſignal to leave off chace, and afterwards bore away for Port Mahon to refit; while the enemy continuing their courſe towards the coaſt of Spain, M. de Court with his diviſion anchored in the road of Alicant, and Don Navarro ſailed into the harbour of Carthagena. When the Engliſh fleet reached the iſland of Minorca, Matthews ſuſpended Leſtock, accuſed him of having miſbehaved in the battle off Toulon, and ſent him priſoner to England. Theſe two officers had long entertained a violent reſentment againſt each other, and to gratify this paſſion, Leſtock betrayed the intereſt of his country. He might certainly have come up time enough to engage, and, in all probability, by his aſſiſtance the combined fleets of France and Spain would have been in a great meaſure deſtroyed. On the other hand Matthews ſacrificed his duty to his reſentment by calling Leſtock from the chace of the enemy when they appeared diſabled, and when, had they been vigorouſly attacked, they muſt have fallen an eaſy prey to the Engliſh. It is no wonder that a miſcarriage of ſuch importance ſhould be thought a ſubject worthy the moſt ſtrict enquiry. The community had ſuffered from the perſonal animoſity of individuals, and therefore the repreſentatives of that community undertook to puniſh thoſe who had betrayed their country. In an addreſs to the throne, the commons deſired that a court-martial might be appointed to try the delinquents; for by this time Leſtock had in his turn accuſed Matthews, who had reſigned his command to Rowley, and returned to England, and all the captains in his diviſion that had miſbehaved in the day of battle. This court-martial was conſtituted and proceeded to trial. Several commanders of ſhips were caſhiered; vice-admiral Leſtock was honourably acquitted, and admiral Matthews rendered incapable of ſerving for the future in his majeſty's ſervice. It was publicly known that Leſtock kept aloof, and that Matthews ruſhed into the hotteſt part of the engagement, yet the former triumphed on his trial, and the latter narrowly eſcaped the ſentence of death for cowardice and miſconduct. On the eleventh of May a treaty of alliance and union was concluded at Frankfort between his Imperial majeſty, the king of Pruſſia, the elector Palatine and the king of Sweden, as landgrave of Heſſe: by which they agreed, "To employ their good offices either to perſuade or compel the queen of Hungary to recognize the emperor's title, to reſtore his hereditary Bavarian dominions, and to give up the archives of the empire, which were in her poſſeſſion."

The French had aſſembled an army of one hundred and twenty thouſand men in the Netherlands, provided with a very formidable train of artillery, under the command of marſhal Saxe. In the month of May the allied forces, conſiſting of twenty thouſand active men, aſſembled in the neighbourhood of Bruſſels, whence they marched to Oudenarde, and placed themſelves behind the Schelde, not being able to meet the French in the field. Saxe made himſelf maſter of Menin, Ypres, Fort Knocque, and Furnes; Coigni and Seckendorf, at the head of a ſtrong body of troops, were advantageouſly poſted for the defence of Alſace. Prince Charles of Lorrain, however, found means to paſs the Rhine, and obliged the French and Bavarian generals to retire in order to cover Straſburgh; while the Auſtrians took Haguenau and Saverne, ſecured the paſſes of Lorrain, and laid all the contry of Lower Alſace under contribution. The French king immediately ordered a detachment of thirty thouſand men from his army in Flanders to reinforce that under the command of the marſhal de Coigni. Lewis himſelf ſet out for the Rhine, in order to check the progreſs of the enemy, but was ſeized by a ſevere diſtemper at Metz in Lorrain. Prince Charles purſued his conqueſt with great rapidity, and would, in all probability, have rendered the ſchemes of France in regard to the Netherlands abortive, had not the king of Pruſſia, at the head of a numerous army, entered the electorate of Saxony, penetrated into Bohemia, and made himſelf maſter of Prague. This irruption obliged the queen of Hungary to recal prince Charles from Alſace: accordingly he paſſed the Rhine in the face of the French army, marched to the Danube, laid the Upper Palatinate under contribution, and joined the troops in Bohemia under the command of Borthinny and Merotitz. He was ſoon after reinforced by twenty thouſand Saxon troops, which rendered the combined army ſuperior to that of his Pruſſian majeſty, who now abandoned all his conqueſts in Bohemia, and retired with precipitation into Sileſia. The retreat of prince Charles left the French at liberty to paſs the Rhine, which they did at Fort Louis, and inveſted the ſtrong and important city of Friburgh, defended by general Damnitz, at the head of nine thouſand veterans. On the eleventh of October the French king arrived in the camp, and after a ſiege of forty-five days, the garriſon was obliged to ſurrender, the place being firſt reduced to a heap of ruins, and above fifteen thouſand of the beſiegers killed. But the generals who commanded the allied forces deſpiſed each other. Wade, the Engliſh commander, was vain and weak, and the duke d'Aremberg was proud and rapacious, and deſtitute both of talents and ſentiment: ſo that after having made a general forage without moleſtation, they retired to their former camp at the Schelde, and ſoon after into winter quarters; their example being followed by count Saxe.

Commodore Anſon, in the month of June, returned to England, having been abſent three years and nine months, during which time he had ſurrounded the whole terraqueous globe. It has been already obſerved that he ſailed for the South Sea, in order to diſtreſs the Spaniſh ſettlements of Chili and Peru. It was the thirtieth of November before he weathered Cape Horne, after ſurmounting moſt terrible difficulties, and loſing ſight of the Pearl and Severn, two of his largeſt ſhips; they having been unable to weather Cape Horn, returned to Europe. The commodore's whole ſtrength was now reduced to a couple of ſhattered half-manned cruizers, and a ſloop ſo far diſabled that in many climates they would not have ventured out to ſea. Upon doubling the Cape his little ſquadron was again ſhattered and diſperſed by a violent tempeſt, and one half of the men periſhed aboard by an inveterate ſcurvy. The commodore's ſhip being ſeparated from the reſt, put into the iſland of Juan Fernandez on the ninth of June, where he was afterwards joined by the Tryal ſloop, and the Glouceſter, three of his own ſhips being yet miſſing. The Anna Pink came in about the middle of Auguſt, and the commodore ſent the Tryal ſloop to Maſſa Fuera, about twenty-two leagues to the weſt of Juan Fernandez, in queſt of the miſſing ſhips, but without ſucceſs. The Wager, a twenty gun ſhip, commanded by captain Cheap, had come with the commodore into the South Seas, but had been ſeparated from him in one of thoſe dreadful ſtorms the ſquadron had encountered, and was unfortunately wrecked on the iſland of Socoro, but the crew, amounting to one hundred, were all ſaved: they, however, imagining that all ſubordination was at an end when the veſſel periſhed, began to mutiny, and having confined the captain, and converted the long-boat into a ſchooner, eighty of them ſet ſail for Rio Grande on the coaſt of Brazil, where, after their number had been more than one half diminiſhed by ſickneſs, they at laſt arrived in the month of January, 1742. Captain Cheap, with the ſmall number who remained behind, found means to be conveyed to Chiloi, from thence to Valparaiſo, and afterwards to St. Jago, the capital of Chili. Here they remained above a year, till at length a cartel being ſettled between the two nations, they were permitted to return to their own country. There now remained with the commodore, the Centurion, the Glouceſter, the Tryal ſloop and the Anna Pink, which latter was loaded with proviſions. With theſe he put to ſea on the eighth of September, and took ſeveral conſiderable prizes near the iſland of Fernandez; but having ſoon after advanced towards the equator, he ventured to attack the city of Paita, where he had learned from ſome of the priſoners on board his prizes, that a large ſum of money was at that very time lodged in the cuſtom-houſe belonging to the Spaniſh merchants, and intended to be ſhipped on board a veſſel then in that port: in executing this bold and hazardous enterprize, he neither made uſe of his ſhips, nor of the land forces on board them, but ſent fifty-eight of his own ſeamen, commanded by Mr. Brett, his lieutenant. Theſe were ordered into boats, and, taking the advantage of the night, landed unperceived. On entering the town the ſailors ſet up a loud ſhout, which inſpired the inhabitants with ſuch terror and confuſion, that, together with their governor, they abandoned the place with the utmoſt precipitation, imagining a conſiderable army was in purſuit of them; after which the ſailors carried off the treaſures which they found in the cuſtom-houſe and private dwellings without moleſtation. The commodore then ordered the town to be ſet on fire, which was ſoon deſtroyed. The loſs which the Spaniards ſuſtained, was much greater than the advantage the Engliſh made, for it amounted to about a million and a half of dollars, but the booty of the Engliſh did not exceed forty thouſand pounds. Anſon now prepared to ſail with all expedition to the ſouthern parts of California or to the adjacent coaſt of Mexico, there to cruiſe for the Manilla galleon, which he knew was then at ſea, bound for the port of Acapulco. It was then about the middle of November, and the galleon did not uſually arrive at Acapulco till the end of January. By croſs winds and bad weather it was the nineteenth of February, 1742, before the Engliſh ſquadron arrived off that place, when they received the diſagreeable intelligence that the Manilla ſhip had anchored in that harbour on the ninth day of January; that ſhe had converted her cargo into money, and was to have ſailed again on the fourteenth of March, but that upon a ſquadron having been diſcovered by the Spaniards, the governor of Acapulco had countermanded her departure for that year. The commodore had now a moſt dreary proſpect; the rainy ſeaſon approached, and he had nothing left but to croſs the Pacific ocean to the river Canton in China. The Tryal ſloop was grown ſo leaky, that ſhe was no longer able to ſwim, and was therefore ſcuttled and ſunk, as were the prizes which had been taken, and the crews were put on board the Centurion and Glouceſter. With theſe two only remaining ſhips, the Anna Pink having been diſcharged and ſent home, the commodore ſtretched away for the river Canton, which he was in hopes of reaching in about two months, but the winds continued againſt him, and to add to his diſtreſs, the Glouceſter ſprung a leak, which obliged him to take her crew on board the Centurion and burn her. The commodore's ſhip was now the only one left of his whole ſquadron, and ſhe was in a moſt ſhattered condition. Incredible were the miſeries and hardſhips he and his people ſuffered from the leakineſs of the veſſel, and the ſcorbutic diſorder which raged amongſt them with the moſt alarming violence. At laſt, towards the end of Auguſt, they made one of the Marian or Ladrone iſlands, called Tinian, which at that time was quite uninhabited, and to this place the whole crew owed their preſervation. It was the middle of October before the commodore was in a condition to put to ſea again, and on the twelfth of November he arrived in Macao, where his ſhip was refitted, and the Chineſe furniſhed him with proviſions and ſtores to enable him to proceed to England. Having taken on board ſome Laſcars and Dutch ſailors, whom he thought might be uſeful to him, he ſailed on the fifteenth of April, with a full determination to go in ſearch of the Manilla ſhip or ſhips, which he had reaſon to believe were, at this ſeaſon of the year, returning from Acapulco. By the laſt of May the Centurion arrived off Cape Eſpiritu Santo, on the iſland of Sammal, in the direct track of the Manilla ſhip; and upon the twentieth of June, the ſo much deſired object was deſcried. This ſhip, called the Noſtra Senhora de Cabadonga, was mounted with forty guns, and the treaſure with other effects on board amounted to three hundred and thirteen thouſand pounds ſterling. The Centurion, though mounting ſixty guns, had but two hundred and twenty-ſeven men on board. An engagement, however, enſued, in which the reſolution and ſkill of the Engliſh overbalanced all the ſuperiority of the Spaniards; and the galleon, after having ſixty-ſeven men killed and eighty-four wounded, ſtruck. The Centurion had only two men killed, and one lieutenant and ſixteen hands wounded. The commodore returned with his rich prize to Canton, when after having refitted his ſhip, and ſupplied himſelf with ſuch neceſſaries as he wanted, he prepared to return to his native country; but before his departure from Canton he ſold the hulk of the galleon to the merchants of Macao. On the eleventh of March he arrived at the Cape of Good Hope; and, by favour of a fog, having unknown to himſelf run through a fleet of French ſhips, he, as we have already obſerved, arrived ſafe at Spithead in the month of June.

In April, Sir Charles Hardy ſailed with a ſquadron of eleven ſhips of the line, and one bomb-ketch, having under his convoy a conſiderable number of veſſels laden with ſtores and proviſions for the fleet in the Mediterranean. Sir Charles conducted his convoy ſafe to Liſbon, where he was detained a conſiderable time by a ſquadron of fourteen ſail of the line and ſix frigates, commanded by M. Rochambault, and ſent from Breſt to cruize off the rock of Liſbon, and intercept Sir Charles if he offered to put to ſea. The Britiſh miniſtry no ſooner received intelligence of this, than they ordered Sir John Balchen, who commanded a large fleet at Spithead, to ſail with the firſt favourable wind, and proceed in queſt of the Breſt ſquadron. Before theſe orders could be put into execution, Sir John was reinforced by a Dutch ſquadron of twenty men of war, commanded by admiral Bacchereſt, which their high mightineſſes had at length conſented to ſend, agreeable to the treaty of 1697. On the ſeventh of Auguſt the combined fleets ſailed from Spithead, conſiſting of twenty-one ſail of the line, and on the ninth of September arrived off the rock of Liſbon. M. Rochambault, finding this combined fleet ſo much ſuperior to him in force, thought proper to quit his ſtation, leaving Sir Charles Hardy at liberty to proceed according to his deſtination, and Sir John Balchen ſailed again for England; but, on the third of October, he was overtaken in the Bay of Biſcay by a violent ſtorm of wind, in which his own ſhip, the Victory, of one hundred and ten guns, was loſt on the rocks of Alderney, commonly called the Caſkets, and this brave commander, with all his officers, volunteers, and crew, amounting to eleven hundred picked ſeamen, periſhed. The reſt of the fleet with great difficulty eſcaped the fury of the ſtorm, and got ſafe to Spithead. On the fourth of October, the marſhal duke de Belleiſle, and his brother, halting in their way to Berlin, at a village in the foreſt of Hartz, dependent on the elector of Hanover, they were apprehended by the bailiff of the place, and brought to England. They reſided at Windſor till the following year, when being allowed the benefit of a cartel, they were releaſed.

Near the cloſe of this year, another revolution happened in the Britiſh cabinet. Lord Carteret, who was now, in conſequence of his mother's death, earl of Granville, finding it impoſſible to withſtand an oppoſition formed againſt him in parliament, wiſely avoided the impending ſtorm, by a voluntary reſignation of his employments. The earl of Harrington ſucceeded him as ſecretary of ſtate. The duke of Bedford was appointed firſt lord of the admiralty, and the earl of Cheſterfield lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The lords Gower and Cobham were re-eſtabliſhed in the offices they had reſigned. Mr. Littleton was made a commiſſioner of the treaſury. Sir John Hynde Cotton accepted of a place at court; and Sir John Phillips had a ſeat at the board of trade and plantations.

A. D. 1745. Harmony now ſubſiſted in both houſes; and during this whole ſeſſion, which began on the twenty-eighth of November, there was ſcarcely a diviſion heard of; and nothing was wanting on the part of the new miniſtry to convince his majeſty, that they were determined to carry on the war with vigour. New levies for land and ſea were ordered, and the commons voted ſix millions and a half for the ſervice of the current year, to be raiſed by the land, the malt, and ſalt taxes, the ſinking fund, and an additional duty on foreign wines. The king acquainted the parliament, "That he had concluded a treaty of quadruple alliance, in conjunction with the queen of Hungary and the States-general; and that the empreſs of Ruſſia, the republic of Poland, and all the other powers of Europe, ſhould be invited to accede to this treaty, which was to continue after the war was concluded." March the twelfth, his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland was appointed captain-general and commander in chief of all his majeſty's forces; and in the ſame month died Robert, earl of Orford, late prime miniſter, after having enjoyed for a very ſhort time a penſion of four thouſand pounds per annum from the crown, in conſideration of his paſt ſervices. This miniſter, though he had long directed the application of the public treaſure, was not remarkable for his riches; he was of a liberal diſpoſition, and had ſuch a number of rapacious dependents to gratify, that very little was left for himſelf. May the ſecond, the king went to the houſe of peers, and concluded the ſeſſion with a gracious ſpeech from the throne, acquainting the two houſes with his intention of leaving the kingdom for a ſhort time; he then nominated a regency to adminiſter the affairs of government during his abſence, and the next day embarked on board the Caroline yacht for Holland. On the twelfth he landed at Helvoetſluys, and from thence proceeded directly for Hanover.

By the death of the emperor Charles VII. the face of affairs on the continent were entirely changed. The grand duke of Tuſcany, conſort to the queen of Hungary, declared himſelf candidate for the Imperial throne; but his election was warmly oppoſed by the French king and his allies. A powerful army was aſſembled by the French in the neighbourhood of Frankfort, in order to influence the election; but the Auſtrian army, commanded by the grand duke in perſon, marching thither from the Danube, the prince of Conti was obliged to repaſs the Rhine at Nordlingen. On the ſecond of September the grand duke was, by a majority of voices, declared king of the Romans, and emperor of Germany at Franckfort. Meanwhile the king of Pruſſia, after having made himſelf maſter of the capital of Saxony, concluded a treaty at Dreſden, under the mediation of his Britannic majeſty. By this convention, the king of Pruſſia retained all the contributions he had levied in Saxony, and the elector engaged to pay him a million of German crowns at the next fair of Leipſic: he, and the elector palatine agreed, to acknowledge the grand duke emperor of Germany, and evacuate the Saxon territories. This treaty reſtored the peace of Germany, and the king of Poland was left in the quiet poſſeſſion of his hereditary dominions.

France could not prevent the elevation of the grand duke to the Imperial throne; but Lewis reſolved to humble the houſe of Auſtria, by making a conqueſt of the Netherlands. Accordingly a prodigious army was aſſembled there, under the auſpices of count Saxe; and his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, with the dauphin, arriving in the camp, they inveſted the ſtrong town of Tournay on the thirtieth of April. The garriſon conſiſted of eight thouſand Dutch, commanded by the old baron Dorth, who made a vigorous defence. The duke of Cumberland aſſembled the allied army, and aſſumed the chief command, being aſſiſted by the advice of count Konigſegg, general of the Auſtrians, and the prince of Waldeck, commander of the Dutch forces. Their army was greatly inferior to the enemy, notwithſtanding which they reſolved to march to the relief of Tournay. Accordingly they advanced to Leuſe, and on the twenty-eighth of April took poſt at Maulbre, in ſight of the

French army, which was encamped on an eminence, and extended from the village of Antoine to a large wood beyond Vazon, having Fontenoy in their front. Next day was employed by the allies in driving the enemy from ſome out-poſts, and clearing the defiles through which they were obliged to advance to the attack; while the French completed their batteries, and made the moſt formidable preparations for their reception. On the thirtieth of April, about two o'clock in the morning, the duke of Cumberland began the attack; a briſk cannonade enſued, and about nine both armies were engaged. The Britiſh infantry drove the French beyond their lines; but the left wing of the allies failing in the attack on the village of Fontenoy, and the cavalry forbearing to advance on the flanks, they meaſured back their ground in ſome diſorder, occaſioned by the prodigious fire of the French batteries. They rallied, however, and returning to the charge with rodoubled ardor, repulſed the enemy to their camp with great ſlaughter; but being wholly unſupported by the other wing, and expoſed both in front and flank to a dreadful fire, which did great execution, about three in the afternoon the duke was obliged to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a retreat, which was effected in tolerable order. The battle was fought with great obſtinacy, and the ſlaughter on both ſides was very great. The allies loſt about twelve thouſand men, among whom were many officers, lieutenant-general Campbel, and major-general Ponſonby being two of them. The victory coſt the French almoſt an equal number of lives; and although the attack was judged raſh and precipitate, the Britiſh and Hanoverian troops fought with ſuch intrepidity and perſeverance, that, if they had been properly ſupported by the Dutch forces, and their flanks covered by the cavalry, the French, in all probability, muſt have abandoned the ſiege. The duke of Cumberland left his ſick and wounded to the humanity of the victors; and retiring to Aeth, encamped in an advantageous ſituation at Leſſines. The garriſon of Tournay, though now deprived of all hope of relief, maintained the place to the twenty-firſt of June, when the governor obtained an honourable capitulation. The duke of Cumberland apprehending the enemy had a deſign upon Ghent, ſent a detachment of four thouſand men to reinforce the garriſon of that city; but they fell into an ambuſcade at Pas-du-mêle, when above one thouſand of them were killed or taken priſoners. That very night Ghent was ſurprized by a detachment of the French army. The conquerors next inveſted Oſtend, which, though defended by an Engliſh garriſon, and open to the ſea, was, after a ſhort ſiege, ſurrendered by capitulation on the fourteenth of Auguſt. Dendermonde, Oudenarde, Newport, and Aeth, ſhared the ſame fate, while the allied army lay intrenched beyond the canal of Antwerp: and the French king having ſubdued the greateſt part of the Auſtrian Netherlands, returned to Paris, which he entered in triumph. On the twelfth of October, his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland returned to England, and ſoon after the combined forces took up their winter-quarters in Bruſſels, Antwerp, and Mechlin.

Many ſignal ſervices were performed by our navy in the courſe of this year. Admiral Rowley, who ſucceeded Matthews as commander of the fleet in the Mediterranean, carried on his operations with great ſpirit and ſucceſs. He bombarded Savona, Genoa, Final, St. Remo, and Baſtia, the capital of Corſica; took ſeveral Spaniſh ſhips, but could not prevent the galleons from arriving ſafe at Corunna. In the Eaſt Indies, commodore Barnet took ſeveral French ſhips richly laden; and commodore Townſhend cruiſing near Martinico, made himſelf maſter of thirty merchant ſhips, under convoy of four men of war, two of which were deſtroyed. Several valuable prizes were alſo taken by our privateers; but what crowned the ſucceſs of this year was the conqueſt of Louiſburgh, a town ſituated on the iſland of Cape Breton, fortified at a prodigious expence, and frequently termed the Dunkirk of North America; a place of the greateſt importance to France, being the center and defence of their fiſhery. The plan for taking this fortreſs is ſaid to have been laid by Mr. Auchmuty, judge-advocate of the court of admiralty in New England. It was recommended by their general aſſembly to our miniſtry here at home, and approved of by his majeſty, who ſent inſtructions to commodore Warren to ſail to Boſton, and aſſiſt the forces of New England in this expedition. Mr. Peppernel, a merchant of Piſcataway, of very extenſive influence in that country, but utterly unacquainted with military operations, was placed at the head of the American army, which conſiſted of ſix thouſand men. Commodore Warren arrived at Canſo, with ten ſhips of war, in the month of April, and the troops being embarked, in a few days after his arrival on board tranſports provided for that purpoſe, the whole fleet ſailed for the iſland of Cape Breton, where they landed without oppoſition. The enemy ſoon abandoned their grand battery, by which the ſucceſs of the enterprize was greatly facilitated. The commodore ſo effectually blocked up the place by ſea, that no ſuccours could be introduced; while the American forces, aſſiſted by eight hundred marines, carried on the approaches by land; and on the ſeventeenth of June, the town being conſiderably damaged by the bombs and bullets of the beſiegers, the governor, deſpairing of relief, thought proper to capitulate, by which Louiſburgh, and the whole iſland of Cape Breton, were ſurrendered to his Britannic majeſty. The garriſon and inhabitants engaged not to bear arms againſt Great Britain or her allies for twelve months; and being embarked in fourteen cartel ſhips, they were conveyed to Rochfort in France. A few days after the ſurrender of Louiſburgh, two French ſhips from the Eaſt Indies, and a third from Peru, ſailed hither for protection, and were taken by the Engliſh ſquadron.

We are now come to that period of time, when a new ſcene engaged the earneſt attention, and patriotic exertions of the whole nation, the riſe and progreſs of a ſecond rebellion, projected in France, under pretence of ſupporting the claims of a young Pretender; but, in reality, ſet on foot with no other view, than that of throwing the nation into confuſion by a political diverſion, of which the French intended to take a proper advantage. It is our deſign to give a faithful narration of facts; marking, at the ſame time, each memorable event with proper date and circumſtances. We ſhall here purſue our uſual aſſiduity in the ſelection of choice materials, and ſhall preſent our readers with a new ſuccinct account of this rebellion, with all its melancholy tranſactions, not to be found in any other hiſtory of this country. It is our peculiar pride, we hope a commendable quality in our favour, that we have not followed the example of our predeceſſors and competitors, by ſlaviſhly walking over the ſame ground. This we ſcorn. Others, who have diveſted themſelves of ſhame and remorſe, and who have neither character nor reputation to loſe, may meanly endeavour (though without ſucceſs) to imitate part of our plan, and ſome of our embelliſhments, with a view of depriving our publiſher of thoſe ſmall emoluments, which, we flatter ourſelves, a diſcerning public will pronounce a well earned, honeſt, and juſt reward of our induſtrious labours; but we alſo ſcorn ſuch a conduct, which certainly muſt be deteſted by a generous and diſcerning public. We reſt upon the juſtice of that public to decide upon our claim of ſuperiority in every reſpect; nor ſhould we have touched upon this delicate ſubject, but that we think it our incumbent duty to prevent their being impoſed on, by what they will ſoon find to be, a ſhameleſs deception and impoſition.——But to proceed with our Hiſtory.

Charles, the eldeſt ſon of the Chevalier de St. George, encouraged by the zealous partizans of his houſe in England, and flattered by France with a promiſe of powerful ſuccours, reſolved to make one more effort for aſcending the throne of theſe kingdoms. It was known in the ſummer of this year, that preparations were privately making for an expedition into Scotland, a principal officer in the French navy having raiſed a company of one hundred men, under pretence for the Eaſt-India Company's ſervice, which were ſtiled Graſſins de Mer, and were handſomely clothed in blue faced with red. They were put on board a ſmall frigate, carrying eighteen guns; and every thing being now ready, the young Pretender came privately from the houſe of the duke de Fitz-James to port Lazare in Brittany, where, on the fourteenth of June, he embarked with about fifty Scots and Iriſh, accompanied by the marquis of Tullibardine, Sir Thomas Sheridan, and a few other Scotch adventurers, with a view of ſailing round Ireland, and to land in the north-weſt of Scotland. This frigate of the Pretender's was joined off Belleiſle by the Elizabeth, a French ſhip of war of ſixty guns, taken from us by the French, and now extremely well manned for this ſervice. In their paſſage, ſhe fell in with a fleet of Engliſh merchantmen, under convoy of three men of war, one of which, the Lion, commanded by the gallant captain Brett, engaged the Elizabeth for nine hours; but the frigate bore away, and continued her intended voyage. The Elizabeth, when night came on, made the beſt of her way, and returned to Breſt quite diſabled, having had her captain and ſixty-four men killed, and one hundred and thirty dangerouſly wounded. She had on board a large ſum of money, and arms for ſeveral thouſand men, which were, no doubt, to be landed with the Pretender for the uſe of his adherents. As to the frigate, ſhe continued her courſe; and having cruized for ſome days between the weſtern iſlands of Bara and Uyſt, at laſt ſtood in for the coaſt of Lochabar, where, between the iſlands of Mull and Skie, the young chevalier, with his fellow adventurers landed, on the twenty-third of July. He went firſt to the houſe of Mr. Macdonald Kenlock Moidant, where he remained for ſome time before he ventured to ſhew himſelf in public.

About the middle of Auguſt, being joined by the Camerons of Lochiel, the Macdonals of Glengary, the Stuarts of Appin, and others of the clans, to the number of between fifteen hundred and two thouſand men, he reſolved to ſet up his ſtandard. This was accordingly done, and the motto he made choice of was *Tandem Triumphans*, "At length Triumphant." About the middle of Auguſt he appeared with his forces in the neighbourhood of Fort William, and about this time publiſhed ſeveral of his father's manifeſtos, among which one was dated in 1743, which plainly ſhewed that an invaſion was then intended, another in this year, declaring his ſon regent, and a third containing large promiſes to the people of Scotland. Soon after, two companies of St. Clair's regiment fell in with the rebels, whom they were ſent to reconnoitre, and were moſt of them taken priſoners, as captain Sweatnam of Guy's regiment was preſently after, but he was releaſed upon his parole; and it was from this gentleman that the firſt diſtinct accounts were obtained of the force, diſpoſition, and deſign of the rebels, who began then to think themſelves ſtrong enough to march ſouthward, which they very ſpeedily prepared to do.

Lieutenant-general Sir John Cope, knight of the Bath, at this time commander in chief of the king's forces in Scotland, drew together the troops then in that kingdom, armed the militia, and took ſuch other precautions as he thought requiſite; and at length judged it expedient to march northward in order to find out the enemy, ſuppoſing that they would either wait for him at the Chain, which is the name uſually given to the great road croſs the iſland from Inverneſs to Fort William, or endeavour to meet and fight him in his paſſage; but they did neither; for while the general made a long and fatiguing march to Inverneſs, the rebels gave him the ſlip, and inſtead of marching through the paſs of Corryerroch, they took the way over the mountains; and the firſt news heard of them was, that they had taken poſſeſſion of Perth on the fourth of September, and on the fifth the Pretender was publicly proclaimed there. It was now known that ſeveral perſons of diſtinction had declared for, and were in arms to aſſiſt the chevalier, particularly the perſon called duke of Perth, chief of the noble family of Drummond, and ſon to the earl of Perth, chancellor of Scotland, who followed the fortunes of the late king James, and was by him created a duke in France; the marquis of Tullibardine, now ſtiling himſelf duke of Athol, eldeſt ſon to the late duke, but attainted for the ſhare he had in the laſt rebellion; lord George Murray, his brother, and ſeveral others; by which their numbers ſo much increaſed, that on the eleventh they began their march towards the Forth, which river they paſſed at the Frews by fording it on the thirteenth, and ſeemed to direct their rout towards Glaſgow, which city the young chevalier ſummoned; but receiving no anſwer, they on the fourteenth diverted their march eaſtward towards Edinburgh.

In the mean time Sir John Cope marched with all poſſible expedition from Inverneſs to Aberdeen, where he embarked his men, and on the ſixteenth of September entered the harbour of Dumbar, where the next day the men landed, and on the eighteenth the artillery. They were ſcarce well aſhore, before they had advice of the city of Edinburgh being in the hands of the rebels; but general Gueſt had retired into the caſtle with a ſmall number of regular troops, the Bank, and moſt of the public offices, having been removed into that fortreſs before. Brigadier Fowke, with Gardiner's and Hamilton's dragoons, having joined Sir John Cope's army, they, on the nineteenth, marched from Dumbar, and encamped at night on the weſt ſide of Haddington; the next morning early they continued their march, and in the evening reached Preſton Pans, the highlanders appearing on the high grounds to the ſouth of them, ſo that they were very near each other, and ſome firing paſſed during the night.

It is not eaſy to ſay with certainty, of what number of men each army conſiſted; the regiments that Sir John Cope had with him were colonel Gardiner, and major-general Hamilton's dragoons, lieutenant general Guiſe's, colonel Lee's, colonel Murray's, colonel Laſcelles's, and the earl of Loudon's regiments of foot; but of theſe there was only one complete. As for the rebels, the largeſt number mentioned in any of our accounts was five thouſand, but they owned themſelves no more than three thouſand; and it is agreed, that not above one half of theſe engaged. They attacked the king's troops about three in the morning; and the dragoons breaking on the firſt fire, left the foot expoſed to the highlanders, by whom, after a ſhort diſpute, they were defeated, a conſiderable number killed, and the beſt part of the reſt made priſoners, the few field-pieces they had with them being likewiſe taken. The earls of Loudon and Hume having rallied the dragoons, retired with them to Lauder, and from thence the next day to Berwick; brigadier Fowke, and colonel Laſcelles came back to Dumbar, and Sir John Cope went to Berwick. This is, by ſome, called the battle of Preſton Pans; by others, the battle of Seaton, from two little towns near which it was fought; but it is more properly ſtiled the battle of Glaideſmuir, ſince that was the field of battle, being a wide barren heath, about ſeven miles eaſt from Edinburgh.

A liſt of the officers killed and wounded. Colonel Gardiner's dragoons: colonel Gardiner, killed; lieutenant-colonel Whitney, wounded. Hamilton's dragoons: lieutenant-colonel Wright, wounded; major Bowles, wounded. Laſcelles's foot: captain Steuart, killed; enſign Bell, much wounded. Murray's: captain Leiſlie, ſlightly wounded; enſign Haldane, dangerouſly wounded. Guiſe's: captain Pointz, dangerouſly wounded; captain Holwell, killed. Leigh's: captain Bromer, killed; captain Rogers, killed; lieutenant-colonel Whiteford, ſlightly wounded.

After this engagement, the rebels continued at Diddiſton and Muſſelburgh on the twenty-ſecond and twenty-third, and did not return to Edinburgh till the twenty-fourth. On the twenty-ninth in the evening, they began to take their meaſures for cutting off all communication between the caſtle of Edinburgh and the town; which, conſidering that they wanted heavy artillery, and indeed all other requiſites for a ſiege, was a very needleſs and ſtrange attempt, and ſerved only to expoſe themſelves to conſiderable loſs, as appeared by the event. On the firſt of October they opened their trenches on the caſtle hill, a little below the reſervoir, and by four in the afternoon they abandoned their works. The city of Glaſgow being ſummoned a ſecond time, and fifteen thouſand pounds being demanded by way of contribution, they were conſtrained to compound the matter for five thouſand guineas, which were immediately paid. On the ſeventh, the rebels demanded half a crown in the pound from the landlords of houſes in Edinburgh, under pain of military execution. About the middle of this month they were joined by conſiderable reinforcements, under the command of ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, particularly old Gordon of Glenbucket, Forbes lord Pitſligo, the earl of Kilmarnock, and others. They likewiſe received from abroad conſiderable ſupplies of ammunition, military ſtores, ſmall arms, and ſome field-pieces. There was alſo one Mr. Boyer came over in one of theſe veſſels from France, as an agent, whom they were pleaſed to dignify with the title of ambaſſador.

In the mean time, his majeſty had been pleaſed to declare field-marſhal Wade commander in chief of the army which was intended for the north. Our forces ſoon began to move that way, and the Dutch troops were landed at Newcaſtle, as alſo part of the Britiſh forces that were recalled from Flanders, under the command of the earl of Albemarle. The Tryal ſloop likewiſe brought into Briſtol a Spaniſh ſhip, on board of which were two thouſand five hundred fuſils with bayonets, and one hundred barrels of gunpowder, ſeven cheſts of money, &c. deſigned for the ſervice of the rebels. By this time likewiſe the militia in the northern counties were raiſed, and aſſociations and voluntary contributions ſet on foot in moſt parts of the kingdom. In the county of York, particularly, through the timely vigilance and zeal of the archbiſhop, aſſiſted by the nobility and gentry, four new regiments were raiſed, cloathed, and diſciplined, at the expence of the county. There was likewiſe a conſiderable body of gentlemen volunteers on horſeback, who ſerved at their own expence, put in motion under the command of major-general Oglethorpe, ſtiled the Royal Hunters. In Scotland, the lord-preſident of the court of ſeſſion, Duncan Forbes, Eſq; diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his zeal and activity in diſtributing commiſſions for raiſing ſeveral independent companies in the north, which were to be put under the command of the right honourable the earl of Loudon; ſo that by the end of the month, there was an army of fourteen thouſand men formed in the north of England, and a very conſiderable body raiſed in the north of Scotland, for the ſecurity of Inverneſs, Fort William, and other garriſons there; which military preparations, joined to the loyal ſpirit which ſhewed itſelf in all parts of the nation, and more particularly at London, very probably diſappointed the deſigns of the diſaffected, hindered many from joining the rebels, and even drew off ſome who had gone to Edinburgh with that reſolution.

On the firſt of November the young chevalier came to the camp at Dalkeith, and cauſed the noble palace there belonging to his grace the duke of Buccleugh, and which is reputed one of the fineſt houſes in Scotland, to be prepared for his reception, and there he fixed his head-quarters. On the fifth, their forces began their march ſouthwards in three columns. At this time the duke of Perth (as he ſtiled himſelf) had the title of general; lord George Murray had the poſt of lieutenant-general; lord Elcho, who is eldeſt ſon to the earl of Wemys, commanded thoſe that were about the perſon of the young Pretender, and were ſtiled his life-guards; the earl of Kilmarnock, an elderly man, and corpulent in his perſon, acted as colonel of huſſars; and lord Pitſligo had the command of the Angus horſe. At the head of his councils was Sir Thomas Sheridan, an Iriſh gentleman of a middle age, and reputed a man of capacity; colonel Sullivan, who had been a little while in the French ſervice, and was ſomewhat of an engineer; general Macdonald, an Iriſh officer, who was his aid-de-camp; Mr. Kelly, who was ſo long in the Tower on the affair of the late biſhop of Rocheſter; and Mr. Murray of Broughton, who acted all along as his ſecretary. The rebel chiefs continuing firm in their firſt reſolution, began to paſs the Tweed on the ſixth, and the ſame day their advanced guards entered England.

On the eighth they came to Langton, and on the ninth they appeared on a moor two miles from the city of Carliſle. The place in all probability might have made a defence; but the threats of the rebels had ſuch an effect, that the white flag was hung out, and the town capitulated on the fifteenth, and the caſtle too was given up; but the governor took care to withdraw as diſliking the terms, and perſiſted in his firſt opinion, that the place might have been defended. Thus this city fell into the hands of the rebels, who immediately cauſed the Pretender to be proclaimed, and put a garriſon into the caſtle under the command of the duke of Perth, who was declared governor of Carliſle, and ſo continued all the time the rebels were in England.

As ſoon as marſhal Wade had intelligence at Newcaſtle of the rout which the rebels had taken, he reſolved, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, to march from thence to the relief of Carliſle; and accordingly on the ſixteenth the army began to move for that purpoſe; but having intelligence that Carliſle had ſurrendered, he reſolved to march back to Newcaſtle; but the weather continuing bad, and the roads being become in a manner impaſſable, he did not arrive there with the army till the twenty-ſecond; and even then, the forces under his command were ſo exceſſively fatigued, that if it had not been for the great care taken of them by the people of Newcaſtle, who ſhewed the utmoſt zeal and affection in providing them quarters, they muſt have been in a great meaſure ruined by their fatiguing march.

This invaſion of the rebels having thrown all the northern and weſtern parts of the kingdom into great confuſion, directions were given for forming another army in Lancaſhire. The city of Cheſter was alſo put into a condition of defence, in a ſurpriſing ſhort ſpace of time, by the care and diligence of the right honourable the earl of Cholmondeley. At Liverpool likewiſe, all neceſſary precautions were taken, and the inhabitants of that town ſhewed the greateſt ſpirit and reſolution.

The rebels did not continue long at Carliſle. They were at Wiggan and Lee on the twenty-eighth, and in the afternoon of the ſame day an advanced party entered Mancheſter, where they began to beat up for volunteers, but with much leſs ſucceſs than they expected; no one of any rank or diſtinction came in, which, without doubt, was a great diſappointment, for they had flattered themſelves with the hopes of a conſiderable inſurrection in their favour. On the twenty-ninth the main body of their army moved towards Mancheſter, and about ten in the morning their horſe entered the town, and the bellman was ſent about to require all ſuch as had any public money in their hands to bring it in. About two in the afternoon the young Pretender, at the head of a conſiderable body of picked highlanders, and in their dreſs, marched into Mancheſter and was proclaimed. In the evening the bellman was again ſent about to order the town to be illuminated, and at night the rear of their army arrived; but though they had demanded quarters for ten thouſand men, it was judged they never had in Mancheſter above half that number. It is very remarkable, that in their whole progreſs no diſcoveries could be made of the routs they intended to take, becauſe they were never given out above an hour before their march began; and neither officers nor ſoldiers knew over night where they were to go, or what ſervice they were to perform the next morning: which ſecreſy in all probability preſerved them from deſtruction.

The duke of Cumberland's army was now forming in Staffordſhire: for upon the approach of the rebels it was reſolved, that his royal highneſs ſhould be ſent down to command the forces in that part of the kingdom; and accordingly he arrived at Litchfield on the twenty-eighth of November, his troops being at that time cantoned with a line of cavalry in the front, from Tamworth to Stafford, making a very fine appearance, and well furniſhed with artillery and whatever elſe was requiſite for the ſervice. As to the force of which his army conſiſted, we can only ſay that the following was looked upon at that time as the moſt authentic account that could be procured: ſeven thouſand five hundred veteran ſoldiers, three thouſand new raiſed ſoldiers, one thouſand four hundred veteran horſe, and eight hundred new raiſed horſe, amounting in all to twelve thouſand ſeven hundred men.

On the firſt of December, the young Chevalier, with the main body of his army and all his artillery entered Macclesfield; and on the fourth in the morning, Derby, with near five hundred horſe, and about two thouſand foot. In the evening the reſt of their forces, their artillery, and their baggage arrived there likewiſe; but with all the precaution poſſible, to hinder any exact account from being taken of their numbers, which was a point they laboured with the utmoſt diligence during their whole march. On their firſt coming into Derby it was judged both from the meaſures they took, and from the behaviour of their chiefs, that they were ſtill diſpoſed to march on. In the evening, however, they held ſeveral councils of war, in which the diſputes among their chiefs roſe ſo high that they could not be concealed; yet they agreed upon nothing that night, except levying the public money, which they did with unuſual circumſtances of terror and violence. The next day they continued at Derby, and about noon another great council was held in the preſence of the young Pretender, in which, it was afterwards known, a final reſolution was taken of returning back into Scotland. Notwithſtanding all the artifices uſed to prevent it, there was a very true and curious calculation made of their numbers during the time they ſtaid at Derby; which was the more eaſy, becauſe they remained there longer, and were more regularly quartered than in any other place during their whole march; it was made by the principal inhabitants of the town in all its pariſhes, and that it might be the more exact, it was taken both the firſt night and the ſecond, ſo that the ſmall difference between thoſe calculations plainly ſhows how much they may be depended on, ſince it is impoſſible that any conſiderable miſtake ſhould have happened therein, conſidering how near they approach each other.

Firſt night.	Pariſhes.	Second night.
1,590	St. Warburg's	1,641.
2,979	All Saints	3,027.
1,001	St. Peter's	1,001.
724	St. Michael's	724.
714	St. Alcmund's	755.
7,008.		7,148.

N. B. Women and boys excluded.

It was during their ſtay at Derby that the rebels firſt began to ſhew that kind of ſpirit, which appeared afterwards ſo plainly, and the effects of which made ſuch deep impreſſions on the minds of the people, as are not eaſily to be worn out. For having been informed during their ſtay here, that a ſubſcription had been ſet on foot in that town for the king's ſervice a little before their arrival, and that the money was paying in, they found means to procure a copy of this ſubſcription roll, and when they were thought to have quitted the place, ſent back a party to levy ſuch ſums as were mentioned in that roll, under pain of military execution. They were very aſſiduous in providing themſelves with cloaths, ſtockings, ſhoes, and other neceſſaries, while at Derby, and it cannot be believed that ſuch cuſtomers would pay the full value for all they had, ſo that the difference between their price and the juſt price of the commodities, and manufactures they took, might be conſidered as a ſecond contribution. They alſo endeavoured to levy men here, beat up publicly for that purpoſe, but with very little ſucceſs, ſince there were not above three who liſted in the town, and thoſe of the very loweſt of the people in point of morals as well as condition, which ſhews how low their credit was brought, and might poſſibly be amongſt the reaſons which altogether determined them to delay their retreat no longer.

His royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland, at the head of the king's forces, encamped on the ſixth on Meriden Common, between Coles-hill and Coventry. In the mean time his excellency field-marſhal Wade, had marched the army under his command to Wetherby, where he encamped on the fifth; and the ſame day orders were given for the horſe and dragoons to proceed to Doncaſter, whither the foot were to follow them. Theſe diſpoſitions afforded ſufficient reaſon for the rebels to retreat. Yet in North Britain the flame of rebellion began again to ſpread itſelf, by the aſſiſtance of the French; for lord John Drummond having landed with about five hundred men at Aberdeen, Peterhead and Montroſe, he was very ſoon joined by that body which lord Lewis Gordon had been raiſing in the North, as well as by other of the diſſaffected clans, ſuch as the Mackenzies, the Mackintoſhes, the Farquharſons, and the Frazers, to the number of between two and three thouſand men; with which forces he drew down towards Perth about the time the young Pretender was at Derby.

The rebels having executed their purpoſe of raiſing money on the town of Derby, they returned to their reſolution of endeavouring to retire by the ſame road they came into Scotland: and accordingly marched on the ſixth of December to Aſhburn, from whence they moved the next day to Leek, deſtroying in their paſſage whatever they judged might be of uſe to the king's forces that were in purſuit of them, and ſhewing a warm ſpirit of reſentment for the diſappointments they had met with. They carried with them a train of artillery, conſiſting of fifteen ſmall pieces of cannon and one mortar. On the eighth in the evening their van-guard reached Mancheſter, and the next morning the young Chevalier and the main of his forces came thither, where they were not received as they had been before, but on the contrary, the town's people, or at leaſt the mob, gave them ſome pretty viſible marks of their diſlike, which was puniſhed immediately by an order, or precept in the name of the Chevalier, and ſigned and ſealed by Mr. Murray his ſecretary, directed to the conſtables and collector of the land-tax for the towns of Mancheſter and Salford; requiring them to collect and levy, by the next day at noon, the ſum of two thouſand five hundred pounds, to be paid to the ſaid Mr. Murray, with a promiſe of repayment, however, when the country ſhould be ſettled under his government. On the tenth they continued their march by Pendleton Pole, towards Leigh and Wiggan, which laſt place they reached on the eleventh, and puſhed on from thence to Preſton, the next day; being extremely apprehenſive of finding themſelves ſurrounded in that neighbourhood. On the thirteenth in the morning they quitted Preſton, and continued their rout to Lancaſter; and on the fourteenth they moved from thence to Kendal, which they entered about ten in the morning, and where they met with a bad reception, for the town's people fired upon their huſſars, killed one, and took two priſoners. Their van-guard continued their march from thence to Shap in their way to Penrith; but ſeeing the beacons on every ſide lighted, and being informed that it was done to raiſe the country, and that the people were diſpoſed to fall upon them on every ſide, they thought proper to return to Kendal, which they accordingly did about two in the morning. On the fifteenth the Pretender with all his forces arrived there, and began to march from thence for Penrith on the ſixteenth by break of day; lord George Murray, commanding the rear-guard, as he had done during the whole march. They intended to have reached Penrith that night, but finding it impracticable, they thought fit to halt at Shap, where we ſhall leave them for the preſent, that we may the better give the reader an account of the motions of the king's forces, in order to overtake them.

His excellency field-marſhal Wade having received certain intelligence of the proceedings of the rebels, and of the ſituation of his majeſty's forces under the command of his royal highneſs, held on the eighth of December a great council of war at Ferry-bridge, to conſider of the moſt effectual means for cutting off the Highlanders in their retreat; and in this council of war it was reſolved, to march directly by Wakefield and Hallifax into Lancaſhire, as the moſt likely way of intercepting the rebels. But arriving at Wakefield on the tenth, and having advice that the main body of the rebels were at Mancheſter, and their van-guard moving from thence towards Preſton, his excellency finding that it was now impoſſible to come up with them, judged it unneceſſary to fatigue the forces by hard marches; and therefore detaching major general Oglethorpe on the eleventh, with the cavalry under his command, he began his march with the reſt of his forces for Newcaſtle. On the thirteenth a great body of the horſe and dragoons that were under major general Oglethorpe arrived at Preſton, having marched a hundred miles in three days, over ſnow and ice, which was a noble teſtimony of zeal and ſpirit eſpecially in the new raiſed forces. His royal highneſs arrived about one at the ſame place, and immediately gave his orders for continuing the purſuit of the rebels with the utmoſt diligence. On the fourteenth, accordingly general Oglethorpe advanced towards Lancaſter, which place the duke reached on the ſixteenth; general Oglethorpe continuing his purſuit at the heels of the rebels. On the ſeventeenth the major general was at Shap, and his royal highneſs entered Kendal, having now more hopes of coming up with the enemy than at any time during the march, and the diſpoſitions which were made by the duke for this purpoſe, were ſuch as ſhewed the utmoſt penetration and military capacity.

On Wedneſday, the eighteenth of December, in the evening, part of the cavalry with his royal highneſs came up with the rebels, after ten hours march, a little beyond Lowther-hall, which they had quitted on the approach of the king's forces, and threw themſelves into the village of Clifton, about three miles from Penrith; where they had great advantages from the ſituation of the place, and from ſome decayed broken walls. His royal highneſs, however, cauſed the village to be immediately attacked, by the firſt forces that came up, which were the king's own regiment of dragoons, and part of the duke of Kingſton's horſe, who behaved extremely well upon this occaſion; and in an hour's time drove them out of the place, though a very ſtrong and defenſible poſt. The loſs of the enemy could not be certainly known, becauſe it was quite dark before the affair was over. There were forty of the king's ſoldiers killed and wounded, and amongſt them four officers, viz. colonel Honeywood, captain Eaſt, cornet Owen and cornet Hamilton. On the ſide of the rebels, there was one captain Hamilton taken priſoner, who was much wounded. It was ſo dark and the country ſo covered that it was impoſſible to purſue them with any probability of ſucceſs that night; and the next morning about ſeventy of the rebels were made priſoners; nothing but the quickneſs of their retreat having ſaved the reſt and that too with great difficulty.

While their rear-guard was engaged with the king's forces at Clifton, the main body of the rebels were at Penrith, and ſo apprehenſive of being overtaken, that at ten o'clock at night they ordered their artillery and baggage to advance towards Carliſle; and on the nineteenth, in the morning, they entered that city, exceſſively fatigued and in much confuſion. The rebels did not continue long there, but contented themſelves with putting a ſort of garriſon into the place, compoſed of between four and five hundred men, moſt of them being thoſe that had joined them in England, and which they had formed into a corps, under the title of the Mancheſter regiment. The main body of their army continued their march towards Scotland, paſſing the river Eſk, though very high, which coſt many of them their lives: and on the twentieth and twenty-firſt, they again entered North Britain, leaving thoſe they had thrown into Carliſle to ſhift for themſelves as well as they could, and without any hopes of ſuccour. Theſe pretended at firſt that they would make an obſtinate defence; and having moſt of their artillery with them, they mounted them on the walls, took poſſeſſion of the caſtle, and carried into it all the proviſions they could find, leaving the inhabitants little or none to ſuſtain them; ſo that they were in the utmoſt diſtreſs, being able to draw no relief from the adjacent country, becauſe the people were ſenſible that whatever they ſent them, would be taken from them by the rebels. They did not however continue long in this deplorable condition, being relieved from it by the ſpeedy arrival of the king's forces, who ſoon put an end to the diſpute, and reſtored the people of Carliſle to the king's protection. On the twenty-firſt, about four in the morning, the whole army marched in four columns towards Carliſle, which was already inveſted, and in the evening they arrived before that city, and took up their quarters in the villages round it. Field marſhal Wade, having intelligence of what had paſſed at Clifton, detached a conſiderable body of foot to join the duke's army, and gave ſuch other orders as were requiſite for haſtening thither the artillery and ammunition that were wanting for carrying on the ſiege. On the twenty-ſixth, part of the cannon expected from Whitehaven, arrived, and the utmoſt diligence being uſed, they began on the twenty-eighth to play with ſix eighteen pounders upon the place. In the night of the twenty-ninth they raiſed a new battery of three pieces of cannon that began to play in the morning, upon which the rebels hung out a white flag, and offered to capitulate; but his royal highneſs would grant them no other terms than theſe, "that they ſhould not be put to the ſword but reſerved for his majeſty's pleaſure;" to which, about three in the afternoon, on the thirtieth, one John Hamilton, who ſtiled himſelf governor of Carliſle, agreed, and brigadier Bligh immediately took poſſeſſion of the town with a detachment of four hundred guards, ſeven hundred foot, and one hundred and twenty horſe. The rebel officers yielded themſelves priſoners immediately, and their men retired into the cathedral without arms, where they had a guard ſet over them, till his royal highneſs ſhould otherwiſe diſpoſe of them. Such was the iſſue of this wild undertaking, and ſo ſoon were thoſe who pretended to defend the place to the laſt extremity, reduced to ſurrender it and themſelves priſoners at diſcretion.

A liſt of the rebel officers, &c. taken at Carliſle. Engliſh: One colonel, five captains, five lieutenants, ſeven enſigns, one adjutant, and ninety-three non-commiſſioned officers, private men, &c. Scotch: The governor, one ſurgeon, ſix captains, ſeven lieutenants, three enſigns, and two hundred and fifty-ſix non-commiſſioned officers, private men, &c. Beſides French: Three officers, one ſerjeant, four private men. In all three hundred and ninety-four. Artillery: Braſs one and a half pounders with ſix carriages, braſs octagon with one carriage, braſs four pounders with three carriages, four braſs cohorns, and two royals. In all ſixteen.

As lord John Drummond, lord Lewis Gordon. and the reſt of the rebel chiefs in Scotland were all this time labouring with great diligence, as well as much violence, to draw together a conſiderable force in order to join the Pretender on his return into that country; the king's loyal ſubjects there ſhewed the greateſt zeal and ſpirit, in exerting their utmoſt force in order to oppoſe them. The city of Glaſgow particularly diſtinguiſhed itſelf on this occaſion, by levying fifteen companies of ſixty men each at their own expence, and having completed them by the beginning of the month of December, they marched from thence under the command of the right honourable the earl of Hume, for Stirling. The city of Edinburgh alſo having received his majeſty's licence for that purpoſe, raiſed one thouſand men for the king's ſervice; and the earl of Loudon with the forces under his command, marching from Inverneſs, obliged a body of the rebels to raiſe the blockade of Fort Auguſtus, which they had formed under the command of the ſon of lord Lovat; and at the ſame time the Macleods and Monroes ſcoured all the north of the rebel parties as far as to within twelve miles of Aberdeen. Such were the tranſactions in South and in North Britain to the cloſe of this year, when the rebels having been obliged to fly out of England, began again to gather ſtrength in the weſt of Scotland and to reſume their deſign of attacking Stirling caſtle. Having paſſed the river Eſke, they divided into two bodies; the leſſer, conſiſting of about two thouſand men, marched on the twentieth of December to Ecclefecan, and from thence the next day to Moffat. The larger body of about four thouſand proceeded to Annan, near the ſea-ſide, and on the twenty-firſt marched to Dumfries, where they continued all the next day, and about eight in the morning on the twenty-third, they moved northwards. At Dumfries they demanded two thouſand pounds immediately, and though this was remonſtrated againſt, as a thing not only hard, but impracticable, yet it was peremptorily inſiſted on, and at laſt eleven hundred was accepted in ready money, and two gentlemen were taken away as hoſtages for the other nine hundred. On the twenty-third they halted at Drumlanerig, and thence continued their march to Glaſgow, at which city they arrived on the twenty-fifth. In the mean time, the northern rebels were moving towards Perth under lord John Drummond, lord Lewis Gordon, and ſome other of their chiefs. This body had ſome artillery, ammunition, and money with them, which had been landed from on board ſome Spaniſh privateers, and brought from the weſt coaſt to Perth, which they fortified for a place of arms; fitting out an armed ſloop there, as they did the Hazard which they had taken, and a ſtout privateer at Montroſe.

A.D. 1746.

It is not at all ſurpriſing that the behaviour of the rebels at Glaſgow ſhould be rather worſe than in other places. They found themſelves in a very rich city, abounding in whatever they wanted, and therefore they conſidered it as a magazine, and began to furniſh themſelves immediately with broad-cloth, Tartan, linen, ſhoes and ſtockings, to the amount of ten thouſand pounds ſterling; ſo that by this means the Pretender in a manner new cloathed his army, which proved a great means of keeping them together, otherwiſe, in all probability, the greater part of them would have diſperſed. On the third of January, having finiſhed their buſineſs at Glaſgow, and gleaned up what they could, it was judged high time to remove, and accordingly they marched that day to Kilſyth. The next day they proceeded to Banockbourne, and on the fifth, having now the beſt part of their forces together, they ſummoned the caſtle and town of Stirling to ſurrender. General Blakeney anſwered, that he would defend the place to the laſt extremity, and as he had lived he was determined to die a man of honour. The town, which is indeed of no ſtrength, after ſome time ſpent in treaty, ſurrendered, and the rebels entered it upon the eighth, when having again ſummoned the caſtle to as little purpoſe as before, they took a final reſolution of beſieging it in form with what artillery they had, and accordingly prepared to put that reſolution in execution.

His majeſty having thought fit to appoint lieutenant general Hawley commander in chief of his forces in North Britain, and major general Huſke to command under him, the troops that were to form the army in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh marched thither with ſo much expedition, and whatever was requiſite for their uſe, or could contribute to facilitate their motions, was ſo readily ſupplied to them on their rout, that by the tenth it was judged expedient to diſpoſe things for advancing towards the relief of Stirling caſtle; not that this fortreſs, which from its ſituation is of ſome importance, was in any danger, for in truth, the rebels were but bungling engineers, but becauſe it would have given ſome reputation to their arms, in caſe they had continued this ſiege for any time without interruption. Things being thus diſpoſed, the field artillery ordered out, and all the neceſſary precautions taken, it was reſolved to begin the operations by detaching part of the forces under major general Huſke, to diſlodge the earl of Kilmarnock from Falkirk, where he lay with moſt of the cavalry belonging to the rebel army. On the thirteenth, accordingly, the forces appointed for this ſervice began to move towards Linlithgow, which they entered in the evening at the very inſtant the earl of Kilmarnock was marching in on the ſide next Falkirk with ſome of his people; but having early intelligence of the general's purpoſe and nearneſs, he retired with ſome precipitation. After general Huſke had taken poſt at Linlithgow, lord Kilmarnock thought proper to decamp the next day from Falkirk, and to retire to the main body of the rebel army before Stirling. On the ſixteenth, general Huſke, with the forces under his command, and the remains of Gardiner's and Hamilton's dragoons, took poſſeſſion of Falkirk, and were followed thither ſoon after by general Hawley, and the reſt of the army. Lieutenant general Hawley having conſidered the ſituation of affairs, and the ſeveral accounts he had received, reſolved to defer attacking the rebels until the next day, as well in regard to the foulneſs of the weather, as becauſe he was deſirous of obtaining ſuch intelligence as might enable him to make the moſt advantageous diſpoſitions for acting againſt them with his cavalry and artillery.

Some dragoons that had been ſent to reconnoitre, returned about noon with intelligence, that the rebels were actually in motion, in order to attack the king's forces, and by one they were ſeen in two columns, about two miles diſtance, endeavouring to gain ſome riſing grounds near the moor of Falkirk. Upon this the king's forces got under arms, and formed as ſoon as the ſmall time they had would allow, and immediately marched to gain the ground which the rebels were endeavouring to reach on the left of their camp. This, though the ground was above a mile diſtant, they performed, but were ſcarce in poſſeſſion of it, before the enemy came down in order of battle, out-ſtretching the king's forces in ſuch a manner, that the left of one army was oppoſite the center of the other. The king's army being once formed, advanced in good order, the dragoons on the left, and the foot in two lines. As ſoon as they came within a hundred yards of the enemy, the dragoons were ordered to fall on ſword in hand, and the two lines of infantry to advance. They began to move in purſuance of theſe directions, but before they could put them in execution, the rebels made a very ſmart fire, which threw the dragoons into ſome diſorder, and they the foot, who made only one irregular fire, Barrel's and Ligoniers battalions only excepted, who were preſently rallied by brigadier Cholmondeley, attacked afterwards by the rebels, whom they repulſed, and at length drove them fairly out of the field. In the mean time, major general Huſke, with wonderful prudence and preſence of mind, drew together and formed a body of foot in the rear of theſe two regiments, which the rebels ſeeing, did not venture to renew the attack. General Mordaunt taking advantage of this delay, rallied and formed the reſt of the troops, in which the officers, who in general behaved well, aſſiſted.

There were ſeveral unforeſeen and indeed inevitable accidents that contributed greatly to, or rather might be ſaid to have been the ſole occaſion of the rebels gaining this advantage; in the firſt place, there was ſome difficulty and confuſion in forming the king's troops, which was ſucceeded by another unlucky accident. Some of the battalions fired without orders, which occaſioned a great confuſion among the dragoons. But the great miſfortune of all was, that juſt as the army began to move, there came on a violent ſtorm of wind and rain, which hindered the men from ſeeing before them; and many of their firelocks were ſo wet, that it is thought ſcarce a fifth part of them were of uſe; add to this, that they had no uſe at all of their artillery, for the weather having been for two days very wet, and there being a ſteep hill to climb, they could not get up time enough to do any ſervice in the action; and the commander of the train having quitted it, moſt of the people who belonged to the horſes, rode away with them; ſo that when the troops retired to their camp, they found it extremely hard to carry off their cannon. This difficulty, however, very plainly proves that they were left maſters of the field, for the grenadiers of Barrel's regiment brought off one piece of cannon, and the horſes that were picked up at the town of Falkirk, drew away three more, which ſhews they had time enough, and were not at all moleſted by the rebels; ſo far from it that it was once reſolved to remain in the camp, and brigadier Mordaunt had orders to take poſt there; but the rain was ſo heavy, the tents ſo exceſſively wet, and ſo much of the ammunition ſpoiled, that it was judged altogether inexpedient to expoſe the men to the inclemency of the weather, and therefore it was at laſt determined to march them back to Linlithgow, purely to put them under cover.

The rebels returned to Stirling on the 18th in the afternoon; and as it was viſible that lieutenant general Hawley's deſign of relieving that fortreſs was diſappointed, they had a mind to try what effect another ſummons would have; but general Blakeney was ſtill in the ſame tone, and contented himſelf with repeating what he had before told them, that he had always been looked upon as a man of honour, and they ſhould find he would die ſo.

On the return of the king's army to Edinburgh, a very ſtrict enquiry was made into the loſs ſuſtained by the late action, which appeared to be, officers excepted, very ſmall. What was moſt regretted was the death of Sir Robert Monroe, bart. colonel of a regiment of foot, who died of his wounds in the hands of the rebels; and his brother, Dr. Monroe, an eminent man in his profeſſion, and who attended him to the field, merely out of fraternal affection.

There was no account of the killed and wounded publiſhed by authority, probably becauſe it was found difficult to collect ſuch an account, as many of the ſoldiers who were ſuppoſed either to have been ſlain or taken priſoners, came dropping in afterwards for ſeveral days. The officers, in general, diſtinguiſhed themſelves extremely, and ſome very particularly, ſuch as brigadier general Cholmondeley, who was dangerouſly wounded, and contracted a palſey, from the cold he caught in the field. Major general Huſke, by his great vigilance and preſence of mind ſhewn on this occaſion, acquired the higheſt reputation; and brigadier Mordaunt was allowed to have done all that could be expected from the moſt knowing and active officer; nay, even in the battalions where the men did not behave ſo well as might have been expected, their officers ſhewed themſelves to great advantage, and gave glorious examples of intrepidity, though they were but ill copied. It happened very luckily, that as this action proved fatal to ſo many officers, it proved as fortunate to a great many others; for the rebels having ſent moſt of the officers that were taken priſoners at Preſton Pans to Glames, Couper, and Liſlie, when they were drawing together their forces about Stirling, the loyal inhabitants of Dundee, and other places, formed a deſign of reſcuing them, and conducting them back to Edinburgh, which they executed with great ſpirit and diligence, and they arrived at that city on the nineteenth, the very next day after the army returned thither from Linlithgow.

When the news of this battle reached London, it made it neceſſary to provide for the immediate extinction of ſo dangerous a flame, by ſending down a ſufficient number of forces, not only to render the army in Scotland more formidable than before, but to increaſe its ſtrength to ſuch a degree, as to free the nation from any apprehenſions of its conſequences, in caſe the enemy ſhould grow more numerous, or the French and Spaniards perſiſt in their deſign of attempting an invaſion for their ſupport in any part of his majeſty's dominions. It was with this view, that a reſolution was taken of embarking the Heſſian troops in Britiſh pay, then in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, for Scotland; and it was alſo thought convenient, that to reſtore the ſpirit of the ſoldiers, to extinguiſh all animoſities, and encourage the well-affected in North-Britain, his royal highneſs the duke ſhould immediately go down thither. On the thirtieth, in the morning, to the great ſurprize and joy of the army, his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland arrived at Edinburgh, after a journey amazingly expeditious, conſidering the rigour of the ſeaſon. He was received with all the teſtimonies of loyalty and affection that could poſſibly be expreſſed, the army looking upon his preſence as a ſure omen of victory, and all ranks and degrees of people being delighted at beholding a prince with whoſe reputation they were ſo well acquainted, and from whom they had juſt reaſon to expect being reſtored to the peaceable poſſeſſion of thoſe bleſſings, which, under the mild government of the king his father, they had, till the breaking out of this rebellion, conſtantly enjoyed. The ſight of the duke baniſhed all remembrance of the late untoward accident; and the troops ſhewed uncommon ardour to be led, bad as the weather was, into the field again.

The very next day his royal highneſs reviewed the forces, and marched them in two columns, conſiſting of fourteen battalions, the Argyleſhire men, together with Cobham's and Mark Ker's dragoon's, in purſuit of the rebels. The next morning his royal highneſs made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for proſecuting his march, at which time all the officers and ſoldiers expreſſed the greateſt eagerneſs and alacrity imaginable. The march was hardly begun, before advice was brought that the rebels, inſtead of preparing for an engagement, were actually repaſſing the Forth with all the diligence imaginable; and what gave credit to this, was their advanced guards retiring every where with the utmoſt precipitation. This news was ſoon after put out of diſpute, by the noiſe they heard of two great reports like the blowing up of magazines; upon which brigadier Mordaunt was detached with the Argyleſhire men and the dragoons to harraſs the rebels in their retreat. The brigadier, with the troops under his command, arrived at Stirling late that evening, where they found the rebels had abandoned their camp, with all their artillery, and had blown up a great magazine they had of powder and ball in the church of St. Ninian, and that with ſo little care or diſcretion, that ſeveral of the country people were buried in the ruins. They likewiſe left behind them all the wounded men they had made priſoners in the late action, and about twenty of their own ſick men; but it was ſo late when the king's forces arrived, that it was judged needleſs to continue the purſuit.

On the ſecond of February, about one in the afternoon, his royal highneſs entered Stirling, and received the compliments of general Blakeney, and the officers of his garriſon, on that memorable occaſion; and at the ſame time, his royal highneſs was pleaſed to teſtify his entire ſatisfaction, with reſpect to the gallant defence the general had made, by which a place of ſo much importance had been preſerved, and the deſigns of the enemy defeated. In the mean time, the rebels were occupied in making all the diſpatch in their power, that they might be entirely out of reach before Stirling bridge could be repaired for the paſſage of the army. Part of them took the road by Tay bridge, towards the hills, the reſt conſiſting of lord Lewis Gordon's men, the remains of the French; thoſe commanded by lord Ogilvie, and the few horſe they had, got into Perth the very night that brigadier Mordaunt arrived at Stirling; and though they had taken a great deal of pains in throwing up ſeveral works for the ſecurity of that place, yet they began to abandon it, and to continue their march northwards the next morning; lord John Drummond, with the remains of the Scotch and Iriſh that came from France, made the beſt of their way towards Montroſe, and on the third of February the town of Perth was totally evacuated. They left behind them there thirteen pieces of iron cannon, eight and twelve pounders, nailed up, and threw a vaſt quantity of ammunition into the river, together with fourteen ſwivel guns that had been taken out of the Hazard ſloop; and ſet at liberty the ſailors that had been confined there from the time that veſſel was taken; but they thought fit to carry captain Hill, who commanded her, along with them, and ſome few other priſoners of the better ſort.

On the fourth, by ſix in the morning, the bridge of Stirling was repaired, ſo that the army paſſed over it, and the advanced guard, conſiſting of the Argyleſhire highlanders and the dragoons, marched that night as far as Crief; but the foot were cantoned in and about Dumblain, where the duke took up his quarters that evening, and the next day the advanced guards took poſſeſſion of Perth. Scarce any hiſtory can ſhew a more illuſtrious inſtance of the effects of a general's reputation than this before us, ſince in the ſpace of a ſingle week, his royal highneſs quitted the court of the king his father, put himſelf at the head of the forces in Scotland, and ſaw the enemy flying with precipitation before him. To endeavour to heighten this event by any ſtrains of compliment or panegyric, would be to obſcure it; the bare recital of the matter of fact is the nobleſt eulogium.

His royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland gave orders for the army to march by different roads (but in ſuch bodies as prevented all danger of ſurprize) to Aberdeen, where he propoſed to fix his head-quarters, to raiſe magazines, and to receive ſuch ſuccours and ſupplies as from time to time might be requiſite by ſea from the ſouth. As the Heſſian troops were now in Scotland, his royal highneſs took care to diſpoſe of them and ſome other bodies of Engliſh troops at Perth, Dunkeld, the caſtle of Blair, caſtle of Menzies, and other places, by which he effectually ſecured the paſſage into the lowlands, and put it out of the power of the rebels to return that way into the ſouth. General Campbell, with the Argyleſhire men, undertook the ſecurity of Fort William, a place at that time of infinite importance, as it ſecured another paſſage through the weſt of Scotland, by which the rebels might again have made their way into England. Theſe precautions taken, his royal highneſs ſet out in perſon for Aberdeen, where he arrived on the twenty-eighth of February. The neceſſary diſpoſitions having been made for continuing the operations of the war, it was judged expedient to make ſome examples of ſuch as had miſbehaved, for the better ſupport of diſcipline, at a time when it was ſo neceſſary for the ſecurity and reputation of the army; a court-martial was accordingly held at Montroſe, by which an officer in the artillery, who had deſerted the train in the action at Falkirk, was condemned to have his ſword broke over his head by the provoſt, his ſaſh thrown on the ground, and himſelf turned out of the army, which was executed accordingly at the head of the artillery. A lieutenant of Fleming's regiment was broke for diſobeying orders, forfeiting his word, and prevaricating before the court-martial, in relation to plundering the houſe of Mr. Oliphant of Gaſk, at that time with the rebels, ſo little colour there was for the reports ſpread that plundering was connived at, if not allowed; though nothing could be more incompatible with the diſcipline of a regular army, as well as the conſtitution of the country that army was employed to defend.

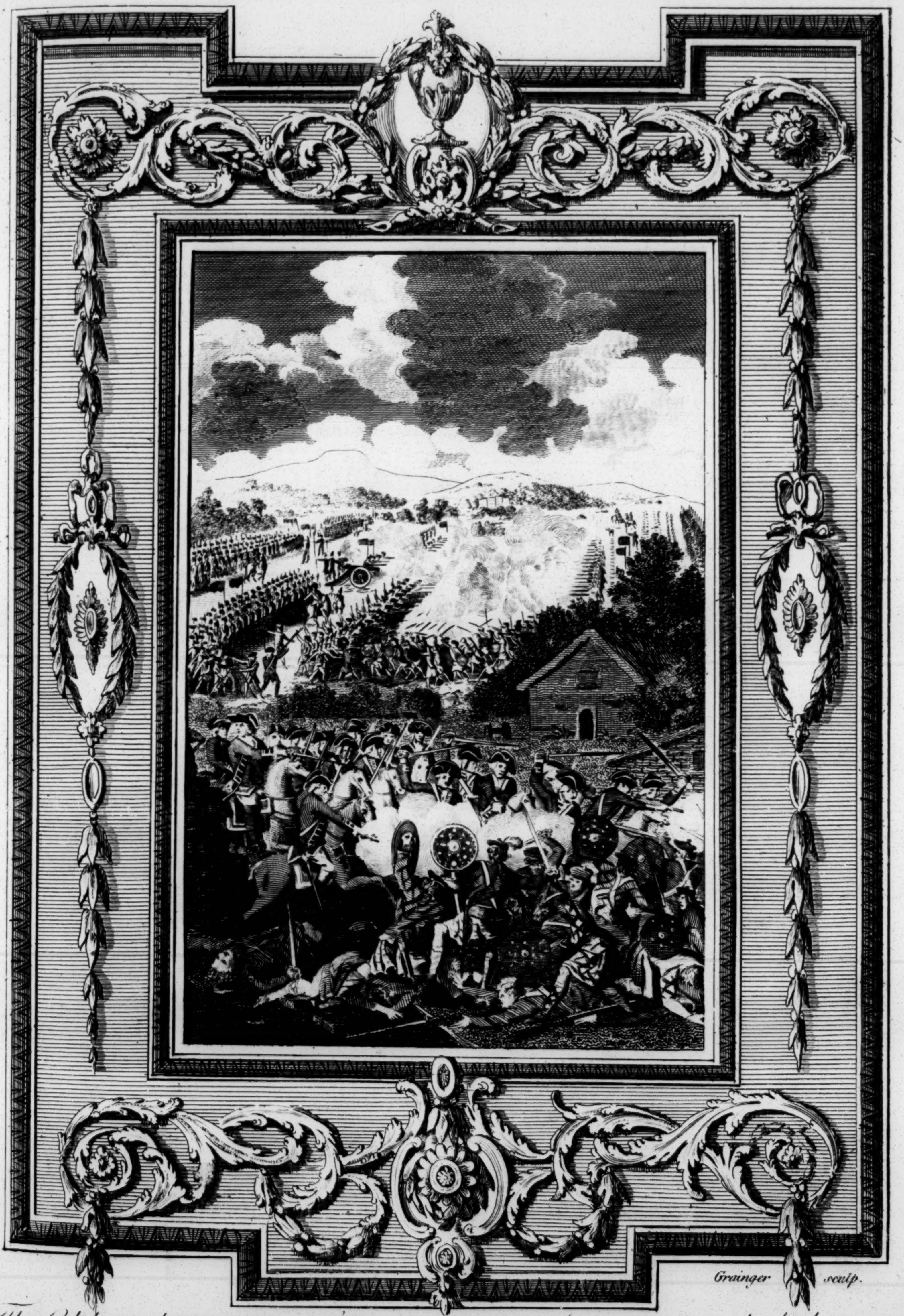
The rebels, in proſecution of their deſigns, made it their firſt care to become maſters of Inverneſs, a town of pretty conſiderable trade on the eaſt ſide of the highlands, with a good port, and a ſmall fortreſs, ſometimes called the caſtle of Inverneſs, but more properly Fort George, to defend it. The earl of Loudon was then there, with a body of about fifteen hundred men, moſt of them haſtily raiſed for the ſervice of the government, with whom, upon the approach of the rebels to within a very ſmall diſtance of the place, he marched out in order to act offenſively; but finding that impracticable, and that the enemy were much ſtronger than he expected, he judged it proper to retreat, which he did on the twentieth of February without the loſs of a man, leaving two independent companies under the command of major Grant in Fort George, with orders to defend it to the laſt extremity. But it ſeems theſe orders were but indifferently obeyed, for the place was ſoon after ſurrendered to the rebels; upon which the Chevalier removed his quarters thither, having with him about four thouſand men. They next attacked Fort Auguſtus, a very ſmall place, and only important by its ſituation between Inverneſs and Fort William, in which there was a very ſmall garriſon of no more than three companies of Guiſe's regiment, under the command of major Wentworth; ſo that it was ſpeedily reduced, and as ſpeedily demoliſhed, which was the ſame fate that Fort George had met with. As they were ſtill incommoded by the neighbourhood of the earl of Loudon, who lay at their back, with only the Frith of Murray between them, the duke of Perth, the earl of Cromarty, and ſome of the reſt of their chief commanders, reſolved to attempt the ſurprizing that earl by the help of boats, which they drew together on their ſide of the water; and taking the advantage of a fog, executed their ſcheme ſo effectually, that falling upon the king's forces under the earl's command unexpectedly, they cut off ſome, made a few officers priſoners, and obliged lord Loudon to retire with the reſt out of Sutherland. But though theſe little advantages ſerved to make a noiſe, and to keep up the ſpirits of their party, yet they did them little real ſervice; and their money beginning to run ſhort, and ſupplies both at home and abroad failing their expectations, cauſed great diviſions amongſt them.

On the ſixteenth of March, having intelligence that Roy Steuart, with about one thouſand foot, and ſixty huſſars, were at Strathbogie, his royal highneſs ordered major-general Bland to drive them from thence, and at the ſame time ordered brigadier-general Mordaunt, with four battalions, and as many pieces of cannon, to march and ſupport the major-general, if there ſhould be occaſion. On the ſeventeenth, the major-general advanced to Strathbogie, and was almoſt within ſight of the place, before the rebels had any notice of his approach; which alarmed them to ſuch a degree, that they quitted their poſt, and retired with great precipitation towards Keith; and though the evening was wet and hazy, yet the volunteers under the marquis of Granby, colonel Conway, and captain Halden, continued the purſuit till it was almoſt dark. But this ſucceſs was attended with ſome little check: for general Bland having detached a captain of highlanders with ſeventy of his men, and thirty of Kingſton's horſe, with orders to clear that place, and then rejoin the army, they, contrary to his directions, ventured to quarter there that night, which gave the rebels an opportunity of ſurprizing them; for returning from Fochabers, whither they had retired, they ſurrounded the village of Keith in the night, entered it at both ends, attacked the Campbells who were quartered in the church-yard, and after an obſtinate reſiſtance cut moſt of them to pieces; but the cornet who commanded Kingſton's horſe, retired with ſome of thoſe under his command; which accident made the troops more careful, ſo that nothing of that kind happened for the future. Indeed, the diſpoſition his royal highneſs immediately made, put all attempts of that ſort out of the enemy's power, the royal army being divided into three cantonments, in the following manner, viz. the whole firſt line, conſiſting of ſix battalions, the duke of Kingſton's horſe, and Cobham's dragoons, lay at Strathbogie, within twelve miles of the Spey, under the command of the earl of Albemarle, and major-general Bland. The reſerve, conſiſting of three battalions and four pieces of cannon, under the command of brigadier-general Mordaunt, were at Old Meldrum, half way between Strathbogie and Aberdeen; and the whole ſecond line, conſiſting of the ſix remaining battalions, and lord Mark Ker's regiment of dragoons, remained at Aberdeen.

The rebels being very well apprized of the great importance of Fort William, the taking of which would have made them maſters of the whole extent of country from eaſt to weſt, and from ſea to ſea, and would beſides have opened them a paſſage into Argyleſhire and the weſt of Scotland, reſolved to leave nothing unattempted that might contribute to the reduction of this fortreſs; and therefore ordered brigadier Stapleton, with a large body of their beſt men, moſt of their engineers, and as good a train as they could furniſh, that way in the beginning of March; and on the ſecond or third of that month, about one thouſand men arrived at Glenavis, which is within two miles of Fort William, and about this time they took a boat belonging to the Baltimore ſloop, which was employed in the ſervice of the garriſon. But captain Aſkew of the Serpent ſloop, detaching his own boat with another belonging to the Baltimore, and a third belonging to the garriſon of Fort William, with about ſeventy men in them, forced the rebels from the Narrows of Carron where they were poſted, and made themſelves maſters of all their boats. This was on the fourth of March, and was a very effectual and well-timed ſervice: but notwithſtanding this check, the rebels perſiſted in their deſign of attacking this fortreſs, and with very great labour and difficulty brought up their artillery, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for that purpoſe.

On the third of April the rebels ſuddenly raiſed their ſiege, deſerted their batteries, and with great precipitation marched for Inverneſs; upon which captain Scot detached a party of the garriſon, which ſecured eight pieces of cannon and ſeven mortars, the enemy had left behind them.

The reaſon of this ſudden and haſty retreat of the rebels from before this fortreſs, was the neceſſity the young Pretender was under of drawing together all his forces in the neighbourhood of Inverneſs, upon the approach of the king's army. But before we come to treat of the meaſures taken by them after this junction, it is requiſite that we ſhould give ſome account of another misfortune which



Grainger sculp.

The Celebrated **BATTLE** *of* **CULLODEN** *in* **Scotland**; *in which the* **Rebels** *were subdued (upwards of 1200 being killed in the space of only forty minutes) by the* **Late Duke of Cumberland.** *April 16.1746.*

BRITISH 29OC62 MUSEUM

befel them, which was no leſs fatal in its conſequences than the diſappointment of their deſign againſt Fort William. We have already obſerved, that they were in great diſtreſs for money and other neceſſaries, and waited impatiently for a ſupply from France; which they hoped, notwithſtanding the miſcarriage of ſo many ſmall veſſels that had been ſent them, would ſoon arrive on board the Hazard ſloop, to which they had given the name of the Prince Charles ſnow, and which they had intelligence was at ſea with a conſiderable quantity of gold on board, and a good number of experienced officers and engineers, who were very much wanted. On the twenty-fifth of March, this long-looked-for veſſel arrived in Tongue bay, into which ſhe was followed by his majeſty's ſhip the Sheerneſs, commanded by captain Obrien, who immediately attacked her. In the engagement, the Hazard ſloop had a great many men killed, and many more wounded; ſo that not being able to maintain the fight, ſhe ran aſhore on the ſhallows where the Sheerneſs could not follow her, and there ſhe landed her men and money. The place on which ſhe ran on ſhore (after being chaſed fifty-ſix leagues) was in the lord Rea's country; and it happened, there was then at his lordſhip's houſe his ſon captain Mackay, Sir Henry Monro, lord Charles Gordon, captain Macleod, and about eighty men of lord Loudon's regiment, that had retired thither when the rebels attacked them by boats, as has been before related. Theſe gentlemen having animated the ſoldiers to attack, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of numbers, thoſe who landed from the Prince Charles ſnow, obtained, after a ſhort diſpute, a complete victory, only three or four being killed on the ſide of the rebels, and with little or no loſs on their ſide. Beſides five cheſts of money, and a conſiderable quantity of arms, they took a hundred and fifty-ſix officers, ſoldiers, and ſailors priſoners, with whom they embarked on board the Sheerneſs man of war, and ſailed directly for Aberdeen, together with another prize captain Obrien had taken in the Orkneys. The money, beſides one cheſt that was miſſing, and what had been taken out of another that was broke, amounted to twelve thouſand and five hundred guineas; and amongſt the priſoners there were forty experienced officers, who had been long either in the French or the Spaniſh ſervice.

At the ſame time that the rebels employed ſo conſiderable a part of their forces in attacking Fort William, they ſent another body under the command of lord George Murray, to make a like attempt upon the caſtle of Blair, the principal ſeat of his grace the duke of Athol, but a place of no great force, and in which there was only a ſmall garriſon under the command of Sir Andrew Agnew; which ſiege, or rather blockade, they raiſed with the ſame hurry and precipitation on the approach of the earl of Crawford, as they did that of Fort William, upon the very ſame day, and from the ſame motives; ſo that we have run through all their operations in as clear and as ſuccinct a manner as poſſible, and have ſhewn, how all their ſeveral bodies were drawn off in order to join the young chevalier, and to enable him to make a ſtand at Inverneſs. We ſhall now therefore return to the king's forces under the command of his royal highneſs the duke, which we left properly diſpoſed to march as ſoon as the ſeaſon and roads would permit, to put an end to this unnatural rebellion by one general and deciſive action.

The troops, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the winter and the fatigues they had endured by making a double campaign, were in the beginning of April ſo well refreſhed, and in ſuch excellent order, that they were every way fit for ſervice; and ſo far from apprehending any thing from the impetuoſity of the highlanders, or the advantage they had in lying behind a very deep and rapid river, that they ſhewed the greateſt eagerneſs to enter upon action; which though his highneſs encouraged, and took every meaſure poſſible for keeping up this ardour in his army, yet he acted with great deliberation, and did not move till the weather was ſettled, and there was no danger that the cavalry ſhould ſuffer for want of forage. At length they moved on the eighth from Aberdeen, and encamped on the eleventh at Cullen, where lord Albemarle joined them, and the whole army was aſſembled; and next day marched to the Spey, and paſſed it with no other loſs than of one dragoon and four women, who were all drowned through hurry and indiſcretion. Major-general Huſke was detached in the morning with fifteen companies of grenadiers, the highlanders, and all the cavalry, and two pieces of cannon, and his royal highneſs went with them himſelf. On their firſt appearance, the rebels retired from the ſide of the Spey towards Elgin; whereupon the duke of Kingſton's horſe immediately forded over, ſuſtained by the grenadiers and highlanders, but the rebels were all got out of their reach before they could paſs. The foot waded over as faſt as they arrived; and though the water came up to their middles, they went on with great chearfulneſs. The rebels appeared to be between two and three thouſand; but they did not make any oppoſition, either while the king's troops were paſſing, or when part of them had paſſed and were on the other ſide the Spey; for which conduct of theirs it ſeems very difficult to aſſign any reaſon, unleſs it were that their officers, being ſenſible that the artillery of the king's troops would ſecure their paſſage, they were unwilling to run the riſk of diſpiriting their men by an unſucceſsful attempt of that kind; and therefore choſe not to diſpute the paſſage of the Spey, but to deceive their men into an opinion that they ſhould be well enough able to deal with them when they had paſſed.

The king's army marched on to Elginand Forres, and from thence to Nairn, where they halted on the fifteenth, and where the rebels thought to have ſurprized them; but the vigilance and ſtrict diſcipline his royal highneſs maintained, abſolutely diſappointed them; notwithſtanding which they ſet fire to and deſtroyed Fort Auguſtus, called in all their parties, and prepared for a general engagement, which followed the next day. We have had ſeveral accounts of this great and deciſive action; but the cleareſt and moſt diſtinct, as well as the moſt authentic, is that diſpatched by his royal highneſs, dated from Inverneſs, April the eighteenth, and to which therefore we think it beſt to adhere.

"We gave our men a day's halt at Nairn, and on the ſixteenth marched between four and five, in four columns. The three lines of foot (reckoning the reſerve for one) were broken into three from the right, which made three columns equal, and each of five battalions. The artillery and baggage followed the firſt column on the right, and the cavalry made the fourth column on the left.

"After we had marched about eight miles, our advanced guards, compoſed of about forty of Kingſton's and the highlanders, led on by the quartermaſter-general, perceived the rebels at ſome diſtance making a motion towards us on the left, upon which we immediately formed; but finding the rebels ſtill were a good way from us, and that the whole body did not come forward, we put ourſelves again upon our march in our former poſture, and continued it to within a mile of them, where we again formed in the ſame order as before. After reconnoitring their ſituation, we found them poſted behind ſome old walls and huts in a line with Culloden houſe. As we thought our right entirely ſecure, general Hawley and general Bland went

went to the left with the two regiments of dragoons, to endeavour to fall upon the right flank of the rebels, and Kingſton's horſe were ordered to the reſerve. The ten pieces of cannon were diſpoſed two in each of the intervals of the firſt line, and all our highlanders (except about one hundred and forty, which were upon the left with general Hawley, and who behaved extremely well) were left to guard the baggage.

"When we advanced within five hundred yards of the rebels, we found the moraſs upon our right was ended, which left our right flank quite uncovered to them. His royal highneſs thereupon immediately ordered Kingſton's horſe from the reſerve, and a little ſquadron of about ſixty of Cobham's, which had been patroling to cover our flank, and Pultney's regiment was ordered from the reſerve to the right of the royals.

"We ſpent about half an hour after that, trying which ſhould gain the flank of the other; and his royal highneſs having ſent lord Bury forward within one hundred yards of the rebels, to reconnoitre ſomewhat that appeared like a battery to us, they thereupon began firing their cannon, which was extremely ill ſerved and ill pointed. Our's immediately anſwered them, which began their confuſion. They then came running on in their wild manner; and upon the right, where his royal highneſs had placed himſelf, imagining the greateſt puſh would be there, they came down three ſeveral times within a hundred yards of our men, firing their piſtols, and brandiſhing their ſwords. But the royals and Pultney's hardly took their firelocks from their ſhoulders; ſo that after thoſe faint attempts they made off, and the little ſquadron on our right were ſent to purſue them. General Hawley had, by the help of our highlanders, beat down two little ſtone walls, and came in upon the right flank of their line.

"As their whole firſt line came down to attack at once, their right ſomewhat outflanked Barrel's regiment, which was our left, and the greateſt part of the little loſs we ſuſtained was there. But Bligh's and Sempil's giving a fire upon thoſe who had outflanked Barrel's, ſoon repulſed them; and Barrel's regiment, and the left of Munro's fairly beat them with their bayonets; there was ſcarce a ſoldier or officer of Barrel's, or in that part of Monro's which engaged, who did not kill one or two men each with their bayonets and ſpontoons.

"The cavalry, which had charged from their right and left, met in the center, except two ſquadrons of dragoons, which we miſſed, and they were gone in purſuit of the runaways. Lord Ancram was ordered to purſue with the horſe, as far as he could, and did it with ſo good effect, that a very conſiderable number were killed in the purſuit.

"As we were on our march to Inverneſs, and were near arrived there, major-general Bland ſent the annexed papers, which he received from the French officers and ſoldiers, ſurrendering themſelves priſoners to his royal highneſs. Major-general Bland had alſo made great ſlaughter, and took about fifty French officers and ſoldiers priſoners, in his purſuit. By the beſt calculation that can be made, it is thought the rebels loſt two thouſand men upon the field of battle, and in the purſuit."

We have omitted the liſts annexed to this account, as well for the ſake of keeping within bounds, as becauſe they could not be very exact at that time, but were afterwards much enlarged. All the French officers on the ſeventeenth ſigned a writing, acknowledging themſelves priſoners of war to his Britannick majeſty, and promiſing ſo to remain upon their parole of honour. Amongſt which were brigadier Stapleton, the marquis de Guilles, whom the highlanders called the French ambaſſador, lord Lewis Drummond, and about fifty more. The loſs on the ſide of the king's army was very inconſiderable; the only perſons of note killed were lord Robert Kerr, captain in Barrel's regiment, captain Groſſet of Price's, captain John Campbell of Loudon's, and captain Colin Campbell of the militia; beſides theſe, fifty private men killed, and two hundred and fifty wounded.

The number of all the perſons taken in this ſignal victory, were two hundred and twenty-two French, and three hundred and twenty-ſix rebels; all their artillery and ammunition, with other military ſtores, and twelve colours, likewiſe fell into the hands of the victors. The earl of Kilmarnock was taken in the action; lord Balmerino, at firſt reported to be killed, was taken ſoon after; and four ladies that had been very active in the rebellion, were likewiſe ſeized at Inverneſs, viz. lady Ogilvie, lady Kinloch, lady Gordon, and lady Mackintoſh. Immediately after the battle, brigadier Mordaunt was detached with the volunteers to the number of nine hundred into the Frazer's country, in order to reduce all who ſhould be found in arms there; and with the like view other detachments were made into other diſaffected parts of the country, which put it entirely out of the power of the rebels to aſſemble afterwards in any body capable of diſturbing the peace of the country, being reduced to the neceſſity of ſeparating into ſmall parties, in order to ſhift the better for themſelves. About the ſame time that the whole forces of the rebels were thus vanquiſhed at the battle of Culloden, the earl of Cromartie, his eldeſt ſon, a great many officers of diſtinction, and about one hundred and fifty private men, were ſurprized in the north, by a very ſmall party of his majeſty's loyal ſubjects, who ſent them priſoners on board his majeſty's ſloop the Hound, captain Dove, from Sutherland to Inverneſs, where they arrived about the time his royal highneſs made his ſecond diſpatch.

Thus the flame of this rebellion, which after being ſmothered for a time in Scotland, broke out at laſt with ſuch force as to ſpread itſelf into England, and not without reaſon alarmed the inhabitants of this metropolis, was in a ſhort ſpace totally extinguiſhed by him who gave the firſt check to its force; and who perhaps alone was capable of performing this ſervice to his country, his father, and his king. From his royal highneſs's courage, which he diſplayed in ſo diſtinguiſhed a manner, together with his prudence, and the exalted love he bore to his country, it ſeems that Providence particularly made uſe of him as its moſt proper inſtrument in performing this work. He it was who revived the ſpirits of the people by the magnanimity of his own behaviour. He, without ſeverity, reſtored diſcipline in the army. He prudently delayed at Aberdeen till the troops recovered their fatigue, and the ſeaſon opened a road to victory. He waited with patience, choſe with diſcretion, and moſt happily and glorioſly improved that opportunity which blaſted the hopes of the rebels, and has ſecured to us the preſent poſſeſſion and future proſpect of the wiſeſt and beſt-framed conſtitution Europe can boaſt. His royal highneſs continued in the north ſome time, to give proper orders for ſecuring the tranquillity of the country; having received the ſubmiſſion of almoſt all the clans and chieftains he at length returned to London, which he entered amidſt the acclamations of the people. As to the vanquiſhed adventurer, he eſcaped from the field of battle, forded the river Neſs, and with a few horſe retired to Aird, where he held a conference with ſome of his adherents; but finding his affairs deſperate, he deſired each of them to conſult his own ſafety; after which he aſſumed various diſguiſes, wandering from place to place among the mountains

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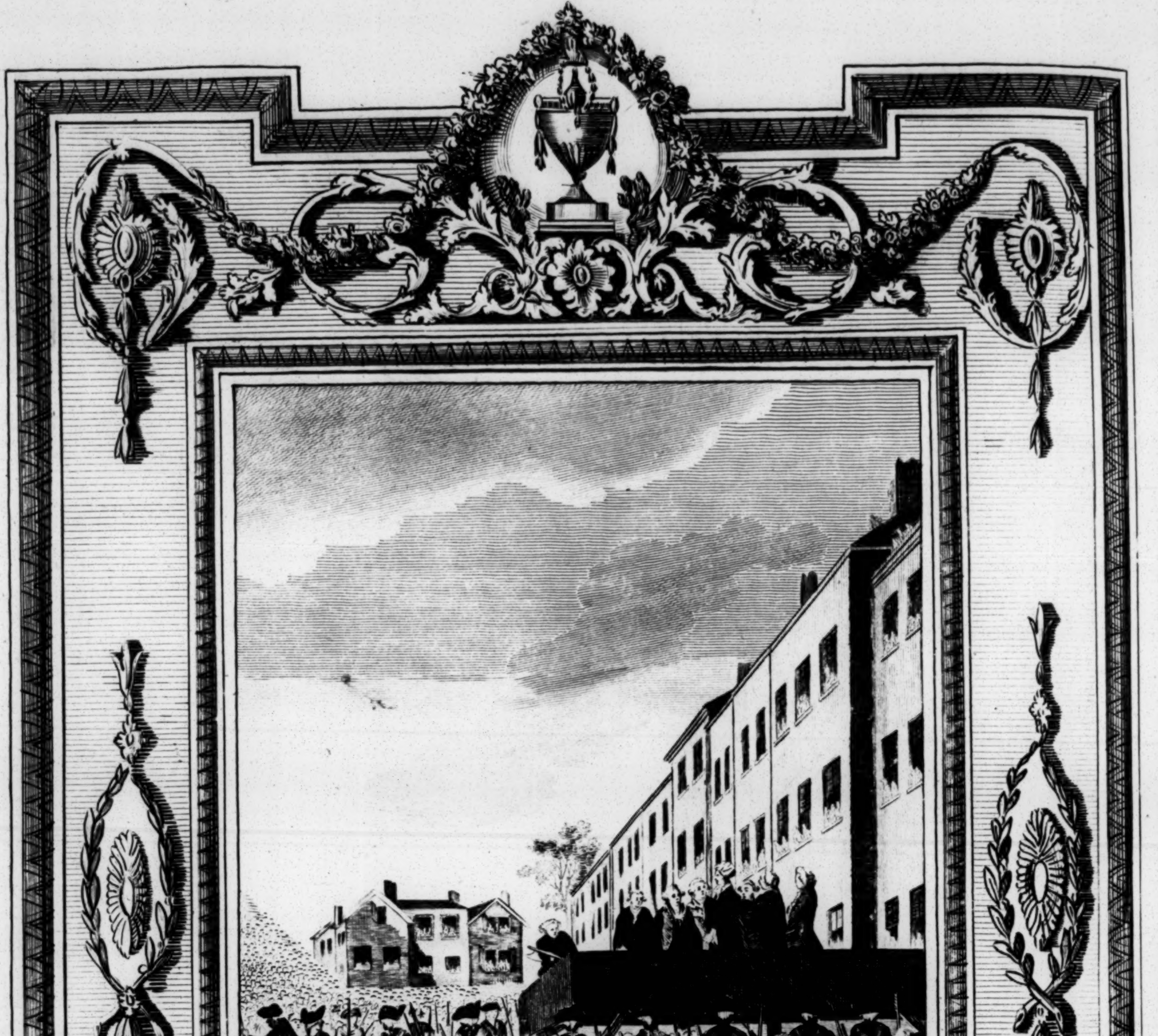


Dodd delin. Goldar sculp.

A View of the manner of Beheading the Rebel Lords on Tower Hill, London, in the Reign of **GEORGE II.**

tains and weſtern iſlands for four months, during which he underwent an amazing ſeries of dangers, hardſhips and miſeries: at laſt two ſhips, ſent on purpoſe from France to the coaſt, took him and about thirty of his followers on board, and in the middle of Auguſt landed him at Reſcourt, near Morlaix in Britany. Addreſſes were now preſented from all quarters to his majeſty, felicitating him upon the ſucceſs of his arms. The two houſes of parliament having ſet the example: they alſo voted their thanks to his royal highneſs for his great and eminent ſervices, and the commons, ſoon after, ſettled twenty-five thouſand pounds per annum on him and his male iſſue. At the ſame time it was reſolved by government, to make examples of ſome of thoſe who had involved their country in ſuch calamity and confuſion, the number, however, as few as poſſible. An act was paſſed for attainting the earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie; and the lords Balmerino and Lovat were tried and found guilty. Cromartie was afterwards pardoned as to life, but all his eſtates were confiſcated. On the eighteenth of Auguſt, Kilmarnock and Balmerino were executed on Tower-hill. The former died with marks of penitence and contrition; but the latter viewed the implements of death with the moſt careleſs air, and ſeemed to glory in his ſufferings. Lovat was not beheaded till the ſpring of the ſucceeding year. Courts were opened in different parts of the kingdom for the trial of the rebels of inferior rank, fifty of whom were condemned and executed, ſome were pardoned, and the greater number were tranſported to the plantations. In November following Mr. Ratcliff, the titular earl of Derwentwater, who had been taken in a ſhip bound to Scotland, was arraigned on a former ſentence paſſed againſt him in the year 1716. He refuſed to acknowledge the authority of the court, and pleaded, that he was a ſubject of France, honoured with a commiſſion in the ſervice of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty. The identity of his perſon being proved, a rule was made for his execution: and on the eighth day of December he ſuffered decapitation with great ſerenity and compoſure.

During the time England was engaged in cruſhing the rebellion at home, the French king and count Saxe took the field in the latter end of April, at the head of one hundred and twenty thouſand men, and advanced towards the allies, who, to the number of forty-four thouſand, were intrenched behind the Demer, under the conduct of the Auſtrian general Bathiani, who retired before them, and took poſt in the neighbourhood of Breda, the capital of Dutch Brabant. Saxe immediately inveſted Antwerp, which in a few days ſurrendered. He then ſat down before the ſtrong town of Mons in Hannault, with an irreſiſtible train of artillery, an immenſe quantity of bombs and warlike implements, and carried on his approaches with ſuch impetuoſity, that notwithſtanding a very vigorous defence, the garriſon was obliged to capitulate on the twenty-ſeventh of June, being about twenty-eight days after the place had been inveſted. St. Guiſlain and Charleroy met with the fate of Mons and Antwerp; ſo that by the middle of July, Lewis was abſolute maſter of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault.

The command of the confederate army at Terheyde, was now aſſumed by prince Charles of Lorrain, it being reinforced by ſome of the Heſſian troops and a freſh body of Auſtrians under count Palſi, amounted to eighty-ſeven thouſand men, including the Dutch forces commanded by prince Waldeck. Suppoſing the next ſtorm would fall upon Namur, theſe generals marched towards that place, and on the eighteenth of July poſted their troops in an advantageous ſituation, in ſight of the French army, which was encamped at Gemblours. Here they remained till the eighth of Auguſt, when a detachment of the enemy, commanded by count Lowendahl, took poſſeſſion of Huy, where they found a large magazine belonging to the confederates, whoſe communication with Maeſtricht was entirely cut off. This obliged prince Charles to abandon Namur to its own ſtrength, and quitting his advantageous poſt, he retired on the north ſide of the Maeſe. Namur was immediately inveſted with thirty-five thouſand French, under the count de Clermont, who cauſed the trenches to be opened on the ſecond of September, and the garriſon, conſiſting of ſeven thouſand Auſtrians, defended themſelves with great reſolution; but the ſiege was carried on with ſuch vigour, that on the twenty-third they were obliged to ſubmit, the town being reduced to a heap of ruins. Mean while the allied army lay encamped at Maeſtricht, where they were joined by Sir John Ligonier with ſome Britiſh and Bavarian battalions. Prince Charles now reſolved to give the enemy battle; for which purpoſe he paſſed the Maeſe on the thirteenth of September, and advanced towards them, but he found marſhal Saxe who had been informed of his deſign, ſo advantageouſly poſted at Tongres, that he thought proper to march back to Maeſtricht. On the twenty-ſixth his rear was attacked in their retreat over the Jaar by the enemy, who were repulſed. But count Saxe being reinforced by the body of troops under Clermont, determined to bring the confederates to an engagement. On the thirtieth he paſſed the Jaar, while the allies, perceiving his intention, took poſſeſſion of the villages of Liers, Warem, and Roucoux, drew up their forces in order of battle, and made preparations for giving him a warm reception. The enemy on the firſt of October advanced in three columns; and a terrible cannonading began about noon, which laſted till two o'clock. Prince Waldeck, who commanded the left wing, was then attacked with great fury; and, after a brave defence, overpowered by numbers. The villages were aſſaulted in columns, and as one brigade was repulſed another ſucceeded: ſo that the allies were obliged to abandon thoſe poſts, and retreat towards Maeſtricht, with the loſs of five thouſand men, and thirty pieces of artillery. This action terminated the campaign in the Netherlands. The allies paſſing the Maeſe took up their winter-quarters in the duchies of Limburgh and Luxemburgh; while the French cantoned their troops in the places which they had newly conquered. In the month of July, this year, died Philip, king of Spain, and Chriſtian VI. king of Denmark. The former was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Ferdinand; and the latter by his ſon Frederic V. who had married the princeſs Louiſa, youngeſt daughter to king George II.

A powerful fleet having been fitted out at Spithead, conſiſting of ſixteen large ſhips, and eight frigates, beſides bomb ketches, tranſports, and ſtore ſhips, the miniſtry, unwilling that this expenſive armament ſhould be wholly uſeleſs to the nation, diſpatched it under the command of admiral Leſtock to the coaſt of Britany, with orders for making himſelf maſter of Port l'Orient, which place was the repoſitory of all the ſtores and ſhips belonging to the French Eaſt India company. Six battalions, with a detachment of matroſſes and bombardiers were embarked in thirty tranſports, under the command of lieutenant general Sinclair. On the fourteenth of September, the whole failed from Plymouth and ſteered directly for the coaſt of Britany, which they made on the ſeventeenth; but the enterprize was rendered impracticable by delay. The ramparts were mounted with cannon from the ſhips in the harbour; additional works were raiſed; the garriſon was reinforced with ſeveral bodies of regular troops, and great numbers were aſſembling from different parts, ſo that the Britiſh forces were in danger of being ſurrounded in an enemy's country. However, they erected a ſmall battery againſt the town, which they ſet on fire in ſeveral places, with their bombs and red hot bullets, and repulſed a detachment, from the garriſon, which had made a ſally to deſtroy their works. But finding their cannon produced no effect upon their fortifications they deſpaired of ſucceſs, and the ſeaſon of the year rendering it dangerous for the ſhips to continue on the coaſt, general Sinclair, after burying two pieces of iron cannon, retreated to the ſea ſide, and embarked with a very inconſiderable loſs. In the beginning of October the fleet ſailed to Quiberon bay, where they deſtroyed a Spaniſh man of war, took poſſeſſion of a fort on the peninſula, and reduced the trifling iſlands of Hovat and Heydie, after which they returned to England.

November the eighteenth, the parliament met. Affectionate addreſſes were preſented by both houſes; and when the commons came to conſider the ſupply, they voted four hundred and thirty-three thouſand pounds to the empreſs queen of Hungary, and three hundred thouſand to the king of Sardinia: they granted four hundred and ten thouſand pounds for eighteen thouſand Hanoverians, and one hundred ſixty one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeven pounds for ſix thouſand Heſſians: they continued the ſubſidies to the electors of Cologne, Mentz, and Bavaria; and gave five hundred thouſand pounds to enable his majeſty to carry on the war with advantage. So that the whole of the ſupply this year amounted to nine millions four hundred and twenty-five thouſand, two hundred and fifty-four pounds. This was raiſed by a land-tax of four ſhillings in the pound, by transferable annuities, at an intereſt of four, and a premium of ten per cent. and by new duties on houſes and windows, on coaches and wheel carriages.

A. D. 1747. The allied powers determined to aſſemble a powerful army in the Netherlands. His royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland, had ſet out for Holland about the beginning of December, to concert with marſhal Bathiani the plan of operations for the enſuing campaign, in which he was to act as commander in chief of the confederate forces. In the latter end of March he took the field, and fixed his head quarters at the village of Filberg: the prince of Waldeck, with the Dutch troops, were poſted at Breda, and marſhal Bathiani near Venlo. The allied army conſiſted of one hundred and twenty thouſand men, but through the inexcuſable negligence of the Dutch and Auſtrians, they had neither forage nor proviſions, which obliged them, notwithſtanding their early appearance in the field to continue inactive for ſix weeks. About this time a treaty was ſigned between his Britannic majeſty and the empreſs of Ruſſia, whereby, in conſideration of an annual ſubſidy of three hundred thouſand pounds, ſhe engaged to keep on foot, during the war, upon the frontiers of Livonia, a body of fifty thouſand foot, and forty or fifty gallies upon the coaſt of that province, to act in ſuch a manner as his Britannic majeſty ſhould require in aſſiſting of his allies.

The States General, ſenſible of the danger to which their dilatory proceedings had expoſed them, were now willing to act vigorouſly, in concert with Great Britain, in proſecuting the war, but previous to their fully exerting themſelves, they inſiſted upon the diſſolution of the ſitting parliament of Great Britain, of which, from the various complexions it had worn, they had no very good opinion. In conſequence of this their declaration the parliament was diſſolved, and writs were iſſued for ſummoning a new one.

The confederates had formed a deſign for retaking Antwerp: but this city was ſo effectually covered by the grand army of the enemy, and ſo well fortified and garriſoned, that they ſoon found the enterprize impracticable. His royal highneſs then reſolved to take poſt between the Great and Little Nethes, by which he covered Bergen-op-Zoom and Maeſtricht. About the latter end of May the French king arrived at Bruſſels, and Saxe then determined to undertake the ſiege of Maeſtricht. For this purpoſe he advanced towards Louvain, and the confederates perceiving his intention, put their army into motion likewiſe, to take poſt between that town and the enemy. On the twentieth of July, the allies took poſſeſſion of their ground, and drew up in order of battle, with their right at Beilen, and their left extending to Wille, within a mile of Maeſtricht, having in the front of their left wing, the village of Laffeldt, in which they poſted ſeveral battalions of Britiſh infantry. The enemy had taken poſſeſſion of the heights of Herdeeren immediately above the allies; and both armies cannonaded each other till the evening. The next morning the enemy's infantry marched down the hill in one column and attacked the village of Laffeldt, which was defended with great obſtinacy. The aſſailants ſuffered terribly in their approach from the cannon of the confederates, and they met with ſuch a warm reception from the Britiſh muſketry that they could not ſtand it; but when theſe were broke and diſperſed, freſh brigades ſucceeded with aſtoniſhing perſeverence. The allies were driven out of the village; yet being ſuſtained by three regiments, they meaſured back their ground, and repulſed the enemy with great ſlaughter. Saxe, however, continued pouring in other battalions, and, the confederates being thus overpowered by numbers, the French regained and maintained their footing in the village, after it had been three times loſt and carried. At noon the duke of Cumberland ordered the whole left wing to advance againſt the enemy, whoſe infantry gave way: prince Waldeck then led up the center; and marſhal Bathiani made a motion with the right towards Herdeeren, to anoy the flanks of the enemy. Victory now ſeemed ready to declare for the confederates, when the fortune of the day took a ſudden turn; occaſioned by the cowardly behaviour of ſome Dutch ſquadrons, who perceiving the infantry before them was hard preſſed by the French, inſtead of ſupporting them, turned their backs, and flying at full gallop, overthrew five battalions of infantry belonging to the confederates corps de reſerve. The enemy's cavalry taking advantage of this confuſion ruſhed among the ſcattered troops, whom they trampled under foot, and penetrated through and divided the lines of the combined army. His royal highneſs had endeavoured, but in vain, to rally the Dutch cavalry, and it was with difficulty he rejoined the left wing. In all probability the defeat would have been total, had not Sir John Ligonier, at the head of three Britiſh regiments of dragoons and a few ſquadrons of Imperial horſe, charged the whole line of the French cavalry with ſuch intrepidity and ſucceſs that he put a ſtop to their career, and enabled the duke to effect an orderly retreat to Maeſtricht. Sir John himſelf was taken priſoner, but the regiments he commanded retired in excellent order. The allies did not ſuſtain much damage in the purſuit, and even brought off all their artillery, ſixteen pieces of cannon excepted. The loſs did not exceed ſix thouſand men killed and taken: theſe were chiefly Engliſh, Heſſians and Hanoverians, they having in a manner oppoſed the whole French army, the ſhare of the Dutch and Auſtrians in the engagement, as well as their loſs, being too inconſiderable to be mentioned. The enemy purchaſed this victory with the loſs of upwards of ten thouſand of their beſt troops, a number of ſtandards, and ſeveral pair of colours, with ſeven hundred priſoners taken, among whom were ſixty officers, ſome of them perſons of diſtinction.

The French army continued in the neighbourhood of Tongres; and marſhal Saxe having amuſed the confederates with marches and countermarches, at length detached count Lowendahl, with thirty-ſix thouſand men to beſiege Bergen-op-Zoom, the ſtrongeſt fortification of Dutch Brabant, and hitherto deemed impregnable. From the ſixteenth of July to the fifteenth of September, the ſiege produced an unintermitting ſcene of horror and deſtruction: deſperate ſallies were made, and mines ſprung with the moſt terrible effects: the works began to be ſhattered, the town was laid in aſhes, the trenches were filled with the bodies of the ſlain; nothing was ſeen but fire and ſmoak; nothing heard but one inceſſant roar of bombs and cannon. The damage, however, fell chiefly on the beſiegers, who were ſlain in heaps, while the garriſon ſuffered very little, and could be occaſionally relieved or reinforced from the lines. But ſome inconſiderable breaches being made in one ravelin and two baſtions, Lowendahl reſolved to ſtorm them: theſe Cronſtrom thought invincible, and, on that ſuppoſition, preſumed that the enemy would not attempt an aſſault: but the French general having regulated his diſpoſitions, about four o'clock in the morning, of the ſixteenth of September, the ſignal was given for the aſſault. A prodigious quantity of bombs being caſt into the ravelin, the French troops threw themſelves into the foſſe, mounted the breaches, forced open a ſally-port, and entered the place almoſt without oppoſition; for they had time to extend themſelves along the curtains and form in order of battle, before the garriſon could be aſſembled. The reduction of this important fortreſs was followed by the ſurrender of all thoſe in the neighbourhood, by which means the victors became maſters of the whole navigation of the Schelde. As ſoon as Lewis was informed of Lowendahl's ſucceſs, he promoted him to the rank of marſhal of France. He likewiſe appointed count Saxe governor of the conquered Netherlands; after which he returned in triumph to Verſailles; and in a little time both armies retired into winter quarters, when his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland embarked for England, where he arrived on the thirteenth of November.

An expenſive armament was fitted out this year by the French king, Lewis being reſolved to renew his efforts againſt the Britiſh ſettlements in North America and the Eaſt Indies. Accordingly two ſquadrons were fitted out at Breſt: that deſtined to act in America was commanded by de la Jonquiere, and the other by M. de St. George. The Engliſh miniſtry being informed of theſe meaſures determined to fruſtrate them, by intercepting both ſquadrons, which were to ſail at the ſame time. Vice admiral Anſon and rear admiral Warren were ordered out with a powerful fleet to cruize off Cape Finiſterre. On the third of May they fell in with the French ſquadrons, conſiſting of ſix large men of war, the ſame number of frigates, and four armed veſſels, which had been equipped by their Eaſt India company, having under their convoy thirty merchant ſhips richly laden. The enemy's ſhips of war immediately drew up in line of battle, while the merchantmen under the protection of the ſix frigates, continued their courſe with all the ſail they could carry. The Britiſh fleet was by this time formed, and the engagement began with great fury; but the enemy was ſoon compelled to ſtrike their colours. The loſs on both ſides was nearly equal. Immediately after the battle three ſhips were diſpatched in purſuit of the merchantmen, and their convoy, nine ſail of which were taken. Our fleet then returned with their prizes in triumph to Spithead. A conſiderable ſum was found in bullion, on board the French merchant ſhips, which was conveyed to London in waggons, amidſt the acclamations of the populace. By this victory we not only put a ſtop to the deſigns of France againſt our poſſeſſions in North America and the Eaſt Indies, but likewiſe diſtreſſed them by having upwards of four thouſand of their beſt ſailors locked up in our priſons. Soon after this tranſaction admiral Anſon was created a peer, and admiral Warren honoured with the order of the Bath. About the middle of June, commodore Fox, with ſix ſhips of war, cruizing off Cape Ortugal in Galicia fell in with a fleet of homeward bound St. Domingo men, conſiſting of one hundred and ſeventy ſail, under the convoy of four large ſhips of war, commanded by commodore de la Motte. On diſcovering the Britiſh ſquadron, La Motte abandoned his convoy, forty-ſix ſail of which fell into our hands, having on board one thouſand four hundred and twenty-eight ſailors, together with a very valuable cargo of ſugar, indigo, cotton, &c.

In the beginning of Auguſt, rear admiral Hawke ſailed from Plymouth, with fourteen ſhips of the line, to intercept a fleet of French merchant ſhips bound for the Weſt Indies; and after cruiſing for ſome time upon the coaſt of Britany, about eight in the morning of the fourteenth of October, being then in the latitude of Belleiſle, he ſaw a great number of ſhips, which proved to be the fleet he was in queſt of, under convoy of nine ſhips of the line, beſides frigates commanded by M. de l'Eſtanduaire. As ſoon as the French commodore could diſtinctly make the Britiſh ſquadron, he ordered one of his great ſhips and a frigate to proceed with the merchantmen, while he formed the line of battle and waited the attack. At eleven in the forenoon, admiral Hawke diſplayed the ſignal to chace, and in about half an hour both fleets engaged. The battle laſted till night, when all the French ſquadron except the Intrepide and Tonant, had ſtruck to the Engliſh flag. Theſe two ſhips eſcaped in the dark, and returned to Breſt in a very ſhattered condition. The loſs of the enemy amounted to eight hundred men, while that of the Engliſh did not exceed two hundred. Admiral Hawke conducted his prizes to England, and ſoon after his arrival was created a knight of the Bath.

The belligerent powers now began to think ſeriouſly of peace. Notwithſtanding the rapid conqueſts France had made, ſhe drooped in the midſt of her triumphs; her trade being in a manner deſtroyed by a war with the Dutch; Auſtria ſaw her finances almoſt exhauſted, her armies ill ſupplied, and moſt of her provinces laid waſte. Spain, who carried on the war with equal inactivity and ill ſucceſs, and found the evils it had intended Great Britain were all fallen on herſelf, began to adopt more moderate meaſures. England, which of all the contending powers, had ſuſtained by far the greateſt expence, was not able to carry on another campaign without loading the people with taxes, and the Dutch, who were much fonder of negociating than fighting, ardently wiſhed to ſee their barrier freed from the French yoke, and themſelves delivered from friends, who under the pretence of protecting them, laid waſte their moſt fruitful provinces, and ſtopped the ſources of their commerce. When the new parliament met on the tenth of November, the commons having again choſen Arthur Onſlow eſq; for their ſpeaker, his majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, wherein he gave them to underſtand, that a congreſs would ſpeedily be opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, to concert the means for obtaining a general pacification; and obſerved, that nothing would more conduce to the ſucceſs of the negotiation than the vigour and unanimity of their proceedings.

A. D. 1748. The allies encamped in the neighbourhood of Ruremonde, to the number of one hundred and ten thouſand men. Marſhal Saxe had received poſitive orders from the French king to form the ſiege of Maeſtricht, and, accordingly, on the third of April he inveſted that city. The garriſon conſiſted of Imperial and Dutch troops, under the command of the baron d'Alva, who defended the place with great ſpirit and reſolution; but the beſiegers, though annoyed with frequent ſallies, determined to ſurmount all oppoſition, and therefore carried on their approaches with aſtoniſhing bravery and reſolution. After a furious aſſault, in which every inch of ground was diſputed, they effected a lodgement in the covered way; and the fate of Maeſtricht began to be doubtful, when a courier arrived there from the duke of Cumberland, with advice that the preliminary articles of peace had been ſigned at Aix-la-Chapelle on the nineteeth of April, upon which all hoſtilities were ſuſpended; and on the thirteenth of May, the king put an end to the ſeſſion, after having in his ſpeech acquainted both houſes, the preliminaries of a peace were actually ſigned at Aix-la-Chapelle; and that the baſis of this accommodation, was a general reſtitution of all the conqueſts which had been made during the war. On the ſeventh of October, the definitive treaty of peace was ſigned at Aix-la-Chapelle, by which all the former treaties, from that of Weſtphalia to the laſt concluded at London and Vienna, were expreſsly confirmed.

A. D. 1749. The buſineſs of the ſeſſion being brought to a concluſion, on the thirteenth of June, his majeſty put an end to it by a ſpeech, in which he told them, That the terms and conditions of the definitive treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle had been carried into execution by the ſeveral contracting parties with great punctuality and good faith, ſo far as the time and diſtance of the places would admit. He expreſſed his ſatisfaction at ſeeing the public credit in ſo flouriſhing a condition, at the end of an expenſive, though neceſſary war, and then having returned them thanks for their ſupplies, and recommended unanimity among them, he prorogued the parliament.

The earl of Halifax, at this time firſt lord of trade and plantations, formed a ſcheme, in which he was aſſiſted by many perſons of diſtinction, for the ſettlement of a new colony in Nova Scotia, in order to extend the power of Great Britain in that large track of country, diffuſe the benefits of population and agriculture, and improve the fiſhery of that extenſive coaſt. This excellent and patriotic ſcheme met with the ſucceſs it deſerved; for his majeſty having been pleaſed to honour it with his royal approbation; the lords of trade and plantation, gave notice in the Gazette, and other public papers, on the ſeventh of March, that proper encouragement would be given to ſuch of the officers and private men lately diſmiſſed his majeſty's land and ſea ſervice, as were willing to accept of grants of land, and to ſettle with, or without their families in the province of Nova Scotia. In conſequence of this advertiſement, by the beginning of May, no leſs than three thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty perſons, with their families had engaged themſelves to go to this new ſettlement, and fix their habitations there. The honourable Edward Cornwallis was appointed governor of this infant colony, and accordingly accompanied the ſettlers thither. The whole fleet, after a pleaſant voyage, arrived ſafely at Nova Scotia, and anchored on the twenty-firſt of June, in the bay of Chebucto, ſituated in the center of the ſouthern part of the province; Annapolis being on the ſouth, and Canſo on the north. Soon after their arrival a town was planned out at the head of Chebucto harbour, and ſoon finiſhed; when it was divided into lots, and called Hallifax. It ſoon wore a pleaſing aſpect; and is now in a very flouriſhing condition. During the courſe of this year, died Charles Seymour, the great and magnificent duke of Somerſet; the humane and generous John duke of Montague; field-marſhal, Richard Temple, viſcount Cobham; John Lindſey, the brave earl of Crawford; Sir John Norris, admiral of England; and Sir Watkin Williams Wynn.

On the ſixteenth of November the parliament met at Weſtminſter, and the commons voted one hundred eighty-three thouſand two hundred and thirty-two pounds, for making good the engagements into which his majeſty had entered; one million, forty-five thouſand, five hundred and ninety pounds, towards diſcharging the national debt; four hundred and ſixty-three thouſand and fifty-two pounds, for ſupplying deficiences; two hundred forty-nine thouſand, nine hundred and thirty pounds, for defraying extraordinary expences; one hundred twenty-two thouſand two hundred forty-ſix pounds, for reimburſing the inhabitants of North America, the money they had expended in making preparations for an expedition againſt Canada, and for ſupporting the colony of Nova Scotia; thirty-ſix thouſand, four hundred and ſeventy-ſix pounds, towards maintaining the above coloniſts during twelve-months; and two millions, one hundred and ninety-nine thouſand, eight hundred and fifty-five pounds, for the ſervices of the enſuing year: the whole ſupply amounted to upwards of four millions. The number of land forces were fixed at eighteen thouſand eight hundred and ſixty-ſeven men; and the number of marines at fifteen thouſand.

A. D. 1750. His majeſty, on the twelfth of April, repaired to the houſe of peers, and, after thanking the commons for the ſupplies they had granted, and the attention they had ſhewn to the good of the public, prorogued the parliament; and ſoon after ſet out for his German dominions. About two months before this prorogation, the inhabitants of the metropolis were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation by two ſhocks of an earthquake: the firſt happened on the eighth of February, between twelve and one at noon, and was felt throughout the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and the parts adjacent; ſome chimnies were thrown down, and the waters, in ſeveral places were agitated in a very extraordinary manner; the ſecond on the eighth of March, at half after five in the morning. The latter was far more ſevere than the former, though providentially no lives were loſt. It was attended with a hollow ruſtling noiſe, reſembling that of wind. In ſome places the ſhock was ſo violent that the people left their beds and houſes and ran into the ſtreets almoſt naked. For ſome time before the ſhock happened, a continual, confuſed lightening, which darted with great ſtrength and very low, was obſerved. The ſhock was felt in ſeveral parts of Eſſex, Surry, and Kent, as well as in Middleſex, ſo that the panic became univerſal in all the four counties; and was ſtill farther increaſed by the ridiculous prediction of a wild enthuſiaſtical ſoldier, who boldly propheſied that a third ſhock would happen in the night between the ſeventh and eighth of April, and lay the whole cities of London and Weſtminſter in ruins. Though this prognoſtication ſeems, when viewed in the eye of reaſon, too ridiculous to merit the leaſt attention, yet it produced the moſt aſtoniſhing effect on the credulous and already terrified vulgar. Multitudes of the inhabitants abandoned their houſes and retired into the country; and in the evening of the ſeventh of April, the fields adjacent to the metropolis were crouded with people, who waited there during the whole night in the moſt alarming ſituation, till the light of the morning put an end to their apprehenſions, by convincing them that the prophecy they had been weak enough to credit, had no other baſis than that of falſehood. A no leſs extraordinary event happened at the ſeſſions at the Old Bailey. The putrefied air adhering to the cloaths of the malefactors, ſpread a peſtilential fever among the audience. The lord-mayor of London, one alderman, two of the judges, ſeveral lawyers, and the greater part of the jury loſt their lives by this peſtilential vapour. This melancholy cataſtrophe occaſioned orders to be given for thoroughly cleanſing the jail of Newgate, and erecting a ventilator on the leads, in order to extract the foul air out of the priſon, and cauſe a circulation of freſh, to prevent, if poſſible, the like accident for the future.

A. D. 1751. His majeſty being returned from his German dominions, opened, on the ſeventeeth of January, the ſeſſion of parliament, with a ſpeech; when the ſupplies demanded by the miniſtry, amounted to nearly five millions; ſeveral of the motions were oppoſed, with the utmoſt force of argument by Mr. Pitt, Sir George Lyttleton, and Mr. Grenville; but the force of numbers prevailed, and the miniſtry carried every thing they propoſed. On the twentieth of March, about ten at night, the nation ſuffered a ſevere loſs by the death of Frederick prince of Wales, in the forty-ſixth year of his age. His royal highneſs had catched cold in his garden at Kew, about three weeks before; and having neglected it, his diſorder increaſed by his coming very warm from the houſe of peers in his chair, with the windows open. This brought on a pleuriſy, which his phyſicians were far from thinking mortal; and proper applications being made, he was thought in a fair way of recovery, till the very hour before his death; when a large abſceſs upon the lungs, which had long been gathering, was ſuppoſed to burſt, and to have been the immediate cauſe of his death. This amiable prince had carefully ſtudied the conſtitution and intereſt of Great Britain, with the ſpirit of the laws of England. He was at great pains to acquire a taſte in the fine arts, eſpecially thoſe in which the Engliſh excelled, and was a generous patron of ſeveral eminent poets, and other writers of merit. He was a pattern of conjugal tenderneſs, and was uſed to tell thoſe he was moſt intimate with, that he thought it the greateſt happineſs of his life, that his princeſs was every thing he could wiſh, and that he believed he ſhould have loved her, had ſhe been of the humbleſt ſtation. Towards the latter part of his life, he had applied with great aſſiduity to the ſtudy of commerce, and embraced every opportunity of patronizing the plans formed for its advantage. He left five ſons and three daughters; and at the time of his death his princeſs was far advanced in her pregnancy. The remains of his royal highneſs were, on the thirteenth of April depoſited, with great pomp and ceremony, in a vault, in Henry the ſeventh's chapel, Weſtminſter-abbey. On the twentieth letters paſſed the great ſeal for creating the prince's eldeſt ſon, George William, his preſent majeſty, prince of Wales, and earl of Cheſter, and on the twenty-ſecond of May, his majeſty gave the royal aſſent to a bill for providing for the adminiſtration of the government, in caſe it ſhould deſcend to any of the children of his late royal highneſs, while under eighteen years of age. This year was alſo fatal to the prince of Orange, who had married the princeſs royal of England, and died in the forty-firſt year of his age; and about the ſame time Louiſa, the king's youngeſt daughter, and queen of Denmark, expired at Copenhagen, in the twenty-ſeventh year of her age. Among the acts paſſed this ſeſſion, was one for altering the ſtile, and regulating the commencement of the year. By this ſtatute the year was to commence from the firſt of January, and eleven days were dropped, to bring the year nearer the true courſe of the ſun, On the twenty-fifth of June the king prorogued both houſes to the thirteenth of Auguſt; and on the fourteenth of November the parliament was again opened at Weſtminſter.

A. D. 1752. The commons after having preſented very affectionate addreſſes to the king, proceeded to ſettle the ſupplies; the whole amounting to near four millions ſterling. On the twenty-ſixth of March his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and, after having given his aſſent to ninety-five public and private bills, put an end to this ſeſſion of parliament: upon which the king ſet out for Hanover, in order to concert the moſt proper meaſures for executing the great ſcheme he had formed, for electing the archduke Joſeph king of the Romans. In the mean time, his Pruſſian majeſty diſcontinued the payment of the Sileſian loan, with which he had charged himſelf, by an article in the treaty of Breſlaw. He alſo publiſhed a paper in juſtification of his conduct; but every article of the charge being clearly and fully confuted, his Pruſſian majeſty withdrew his claim, and iſſued orders for continuing the payment of the loan as before. In North America, the French had been for ſome time labouring to acquire large tracts of land belonging to the Engliſh; while their Indians committed the moſt inhuman barbarities on our out-ſettlers; and to effect their ambitious projects, they ſent nine thouſand ſoldiers with their wives and children to Canada. In the Eaſt Indies a war was carried on between the French and Engliſh companies. Colonel Clive, an officer in the ſervice of the latter, had obliged the French to retire from before Arcot; and had gained many other conſiderable advantages over the enemy. This year was ſo barren of events at home, that not one happened deſerving of notice: the affairs of the parliament, with regard to their granting the yearly ſupplies, conſtitute the main buſineſs of this period.

A. D. 1743. His majeſty having returned from his German dominions, opened the parliament on the ſecond of January. The commons proceeded immediately to conſider the ſupplies, which, by the oeconomy of the miniſters, amounted to very little more than two millions; and on the ſeventeenth of June, the buſineſs that lay before them being finiſhed, the king put an end to the ſeſſion. Several unpopular acts were paſſed by this parliament, particularly an act to permit perſons profeſſing the Jewiſh religion, to be naturalized. A petition from the lord mayor, aldermen and common council, expreſſed their apprehenſions, that ſhould the bill paſs into a law, it would greatly tend to the diſhonour of religion, endanger our excellent conſtitution, and be highly prejudicial to the intereſt and trade of the kingdom in general. Several other petitions, both for and againſt the bill, were preſented; and a ſpirit of animoſity againſt the Jews was ſpread throughout the whole nation, notwithſtanding which the bill paſſed; but it was repealed the enſuing ſeſſion. In this ſeſſion alſo a bill paſſed to prevent clandeſtine marriages; by which ſtatute it was enacted, that no minors ſhould be ſuffered to contract marriage without the conſent of their parents or guardians; that the banns of marriage ſhould be regularly publiſhed three ſucceſſive Sundays in the church of the pariſh where both parties reſided, for one month at leaſt before the ceremony: that the marriage ſolemnized without this previous publication, or a licence obtained from the biſhop's court, ſhould be void; and the perſon who ſolemnized it, ſhould be tranſported for ſeven years. This act was then,, and by many, is now thought to be replete with conſequences injurious to ſociety; having a tendency to impede that ardour which impels numbers to marry, and to clog a ceremony of infinite advantage to the nation, with procraſtination and delay. Among theſe and other acts, was likewiſe one for purchaſing the famous collection of Sir Hans Sloane, who now paid the debt of nature. That celebrated naturaliſt and antiquarian directed, by his laſt will, that his whole muſeum ſhould be offered to the parliament for the uſe of the public, on condition of their paying to his executors the ſum of twenty thouſand pounds. The offer engaged the attention of the whole kingdom; and when it was made in form to the houſe of commons, they readily embraced it; they accordingly prepared a bill for making the purchaſe; together with the Harleian collection of manuſcripts, now alſo offered by the ducheſs of Portland. In order to increaſe ſtill more, theſe treaſures of literature, it was likewiſe reſolved to join with them the famous Cottonian library, and to provide a proper place for them, together with the king's collection of books, which had long lain expoſed to the injuries of the weather, in the old dormitory at Weſtminſter. Theſe reſolutions being taken, a bill was paſſed for completing ſo noble a purpoſe: governors and truſtees were appointed, and Montague-houſe, one of the moſt magnificent edifices in the kingdom, was purchaſed for a repoſitory of theſe famous collections.

The French in Canada had, as we have already obſerved, during the courſe of the laſt year, procured a ſtrong reinforcement from Europe. This additional ſtrength flattered them with the pleaſing hopes of being able to engage the Engliſh to advantage, and they accordingly made the neceſſary preparations for taking the field early in the ſpring. They were not ignorant that the Engliſh were building forts and raiſing plantations on the banks of the Ohio, which they conſidered as too near their own ſettlements to be diſregarded, and therefore determined to oppoſe them in their ſcheme for eſtabliſhing a colony in that country. Accordingly the French pretended they had a prior right to theſe lands, and therefore erected forts of their own, on the ſame banks of that river. The Engliſh were now convinced that vigorous meaſures were the only reſource they could adopt for any hopes of ſucceſs, and the colonies accordingly determined to oppoſe the enemy to the utmoſt of their power. Theſe tranſactions took up the greater part of the current year; the reſult of them will be hereafter related. Nor did the French confine their ambitious deſigns to America; they were alſo extended to the Eaſt Indies, where they had omitted nothing in their power, to embroil the Engliſh with the nabobs, or vice-roys of the great Mogul, in different parts of the peninſula on this ſide the Ganges. But the French army being defeated in ſeveral engagements, it was at laſt agreed, that the two companies ſhould reciprocally reſtore the territories taken by the troops of either ſince the commencement of theſe diſputes, except certain diſtricts retained for the convenience of their trade; that the nabobs advanced by the influence of either party ſhould be acknowledged by both, and that, for the future, neither ſhould interfere in any differences that might happen between any of the Indian princes. On the fifteenth of November the parliament aſſembled at Weſtminſter, and the ſeſſion was opened by his majeſty, who, in his ſpeech from the throne obſerved, that the public tranquillity and the ſtate of Europe, remained on the ſame footing, as at the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion; and that they might be aſſured of his ſteadineſs in purſuing the moſt effectual meaſures for preſerving to his people the bleſſings of peace. When the commons were returned to their houſe, a motion was made for an addreſs to his majeſty; but it did not paſs without ſeveral ſevere animadverſions on the inconſiſtency between this ſpeech and the real ſituation of affairs in Europe; nor did the French eſcape without many ſpirited declarations againſt their perfidious conduct both in America and Aſia.

This year an incident of an inconſiderable kind was in its conſequences, carried to ſuch a height, as to endanger the peace of the public. Elizabeth Canning, a young woman, declared, that on new-year's day ſhe was met, when going home at night, by two men, under Bedlam-wall, in Moorfields; that they pulled off her cap, gown, and apron, gagged her, and threatened to cut her throat if ſhe made the leaſt noiſe. That theſe men hurried her along on foot, when, about four in the morning, they came to the houſe of mother Wells, near Enfield Waſh, where a woman cut off her ſtays, and forced her into a room. Here this girl, by her own account, lived for a whole month, on no other ſuſtenance than about the quantity of a quartern loaf, in ſtale cruſts, and a jug of water; and all this ſeverity was practiſed to induce her to turn proſtitute. She, however, at length, found means to break through a window that had been boarded up, almoſt naked; and, notwithſtanding her long faſt, ran home to London, in the night of the twenty-ninth of January. Improbable as this ſtory is, it had ſuch an effect upon the paſſions of the people, that large ſubſcriptions were inſtantly ſet on foot for the uſe of the girl, and for bringing the delinquents to juſtice. By Canning's deſcription, the houſe was found out; warrants were iſſued for apprehending the miſtreſs, the maid, and one Mary Squires, an old gipſey, whom Canning charged with robbing her of her ſtays. The miſtreſs who did not appear to be guilty of the felony, was ſentenced by the court as a common bawd. The maid, whoſe name was Hall, being intimidated by the juſtice who examined her, turned evidence for Canning, and the gipſey was indicted and tried for a felony. Upon her trial ſhe brought the ſtrongeſt proofs of her being at Abbotſbury, in Dorſetſhire, the very night the felony was ſaid to be committed; and many contradictions on Canning's part, and that of her friends, appeared in the courſe of the trial. But the prepoſſeſſion of the people ran ſo high againſt the gipſey, that ſhe was found guilty, death. Sir Criſpe Gaſcoyne, the then lord mayor, and ſome other gentlemen intereſted themſelves in her favour. A great number of affidavits from perſons of unqueſtionable credit were ſent up, proving the alibi of Squires; and applications were made to the throne for mercy. The king referred the affair to the attorney and ſolicitor-general, who having examined the evidence on each ſide, made their report to the king and council in her favour, and his majeſty was pleaſed to pardon her. The people were now divided into two parties, each of which were men of ſenſe and humanity. Subſcriptions were advertiſed, and immediately raiſed for proſecuting the Abbotſbury men, upon whoſe evidence the pardon had been granted. On the other hand the gentlemen who had engaged againſt Canning, were reſolved upon the puniſhment of one whom they thought to be an impoſtor. Bills of perjury were preferred on both ſides. After a full and impartial trial, the Abbotſbury men were acquitted; and Canning abſconding, warrants were iſſued for apprehending her. In the beginning of the following year ſhe ſurrendered to take her trial, which was carried on to an extraordinary length. The mob, inflamed, inſulted Sir Criſpe Gaſcoyne, and on his coming out of the ſeſſion-houſe, he was obliged to draw his ſword in his defence. The jury brought in their verdict, "guilty of perjury, but not wilful and corrupt." This diſtinction being objected to by the court, they, at laſt, with great difficulty, brought her in guilty; and ſhe was ſentenced to be tranſported to one of the Engliſh colonies in America. The zeal of her numerous friends did not end here. They gave her recommendations to perſons of fortune in New England; and ſhe had a ſervant hired to attend her in the voyage. After all that has been advanced by each party, an impenetrable cloud of difficulties has involved in obſcurity this intricate affair, which even time itſelf, the revealer of truth, has not yet diſpelled.

A. D. 1754. On the ſixth of April his majeſty, after giving the royal aſſent to ſeveral bills which had paſſed both houſes, prorogued the parliament; and ſoon after it was diſſolved by proclamation, and writs iſſued for calling a new one. The right honourable Henry Pelham, chancellor of the exchequer, died in the beginning of March, and was ſincerely regretted by his majeſty and the nation in general. On his death, the duke of Newcaſtle was placed at the head of the treaſury, and was ſucceeded in his poſt of ſecretary of ſtate by Sir Thomas Robinſon; Mr. Legge was appointed chancellor of the exchequer; Sir George Lyttleton cofferer, and the earl of Hilſborough comptroller of the houſhold; Mr. George Grenville, brother to earl Temple, was appointed treaſurer of the navy; and Mr. Charles Townſhend a lord of the Admiralty, in the room of lord Barrington, removed to the poſt of maſter of the wardrobe; lord Hardwicke, the chancellor, was created an earl; and the place of lord-chief-juſtice of the King's-bench, vacant by the death of Sir William Lee, was conferred on Sir Dudley Rider, who was ſucceeded in his poſt of attorney-general by Mr. Murray. The new parliament met at Weſtminſter on the tenth of May, and the ſeſſion opened by the duke of Cumberland, and ſome other noblemen, acting by commiſſion from the king. This ſhort ſeſſion continued only to the fifth of June, when it was cloſed, and the parliament prorogued to the eighth of Auguſt, and afterwards to the month of November.

The miniſtry, alarmed at the progreſs of the French in America, and convinced from the evaſive anſwers they received from that court that nothing could be effected by negotiation, ſent peremptory orders to the governors of the American colonies to repel force by force, and drive the French from their ſettlements on the Ohio, provided they refuſed to retire in a peaceable manner. Theſe meaſures being taken, colonel Waſhington was detached to the banks of the Ohio at the head of four thouſand men. On his arrival he threw up ſome works, and erected a kind of occaſional fort, in hopes of being able to defend himſelf till he ſhould be joined by a reinforcement from New York. But in this he was miſtaken, a ſmall party of the French being ſent to demand the ſurrender of the fort, which they pretended was built on their lands; but Waſhington took the whole detachment priſoners. This ſo provoked de Villar, governor of Canada, that he marched to the attack; which Waſhington, who laboured under many diſadvantages, ſuſtained for a conſiderable time; but being overpowered by numbers, he ſurrendered the fort upon capitulation, and marched towards the frontiers of Virginia. In the mean time the Indians, who paid no regard to the treaty, harraſſed the Engliſh in their retreat, plundered their baggage, and maſſacred every individual that fell into their hands. This tranſaction rendered a rupture between the two nations inevitable; nor were either wanting in their preparations for obtaining the deſired ſucceſs. Two regiments were ordered to be levied in America, under the command of Sir William Pepperel, and governor Shirley.

On the fourteenth of November the Britiſh parliament met at Weſtminſter, when his majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, wherein nothing was mentioned of an approaching rupture; but being perſuaded that the king was determined to humble the inſolence of the French court, both houſes of parliament preſented very dutiful and loyal addreſſes, well knowing that nothing could be more agreeable to the nation, nor any expence too great, for humbling the pride of that inſidious people.

A. D. 1755. Sir Thomas Robinſon, ſecretary of ſtate, came to the parliament houſe on the twenty-ſecond of March with a meſſage from the king, importing, "That his majeſty finding it requiſite, from the preſent ſituation of affairs, to augment his forces by ſea and land, and to take ſuch other meaſures as may beſt tend to preſerve the general peace of Europe, and to ſecure the juſt rights and poſſeſſions of his crown in America, as well as to repel any attempts whatever which may be formed againſt his majeſty and his kingdoms, doubts not but that his faithful parliament will enable him to make ſuch augmentations in his forces by ſea and land, as the emergency of affairs in this critical juncture may require." Upon which, both houſes preſented loyal addreſſes, expreſſing the utmoſt zeal and affection for his majeſty's perſon and government. Nor were theſe mere compliments; the commons immediately voted a million for enabling his majeſty to augment his forces. This alacrity in parliament to aſſiſt his majeſty, cauſed ſuch remarkable diſpatch in every part of the marine, that by the middle of April there was a very powerful fleet at Spithead well manned, and ready to put to ſea; and admiral Boſcawen, with ten ſhips of the line and ſix frigates, having ſix thouſand land forces on board, ſailed to obſerve the motions of the French. Theſe were reinforced by admiral Holborne, with ſix ſhips of the line and one frigate.

The French fleet, commanded by Mr. Macnamara, an Iriſh officer, ſailed from Breſt on the ſixth of May, directing their courſe towards the gulph of St. Lawrence; but as ſoon as they arrived in a certain latitude, Macnamara returned to Breſt with nine of the capital ſhips, leaving the reſt of their ſquadron to continue their courſe under M. Bois de la Mothe, and M. de Salvert. On the tenth of June, two of the French fleet, the Alcide and Lys, both of ſixty-four guns, though the latter had only twenty-two mounted, fell in with the Dunkirk and the Defiance off the banks of Newfoundland, in a very thick fog. On their firſt appearance, captain Howe in the Dunkirk coming cloſe along ſide of the Alcide, ordered her to ſtrike, and come into the Engliſh fleet. The French captain aſked if it was peace or war? but not receiving a ſatisfactory anſwer, he repeated the queſtion, adding, he ſhould obey no orders but thoſe of his own admiral. Captain Howe, obſerving a great number of land officers on the quarter-deck, generouſly deſired them to withdraw, as it was not their duty to defend the ſhip. This being done, he poured in a broadſide; and the two ſhips being yard-arm and yard-arm, his ſhot did dreadful execution. Howe continued his fire with ſuch alacrity, that the French officers ſoon found it impoſſible to keep the men to their quarters, and therefore ſtruck their colours in leſs than three quarters of an hour. In the mean time the Lys ſtruck to the Defiance; but the Dauphin Royale, another French ſhip that was juſt in ſight at the beginning of the engagement, eſcaped by means of the fog. In theſe ſhips were ſix hundred ſoldiers with their officers, and fifty thouſand crowns. This action was not the only event that was favourable to Great Britain. An expedition had, by his majeſty's command, been concerted between general Lawrence and governor Shirley, againſt the French in Nova Scotia; and was now carried into execution by the aſſiſtance of two thouſand of the New England troops. The important fort of Beauſejour, now Cumberland fort, ſurrendered to lieutenant-colonel Monckton by capitulation, on the ſixteenth of June, after four days bombardment; and the next day a ſmall fort on the river Gaſpereau, followed the example. In the latter was the enemy's principal magazine for ſupplying the French ſoldiers and Indians with proviſions and ſtores. By this ſucceſs, colonel Monckton was enabled to diſarm fifteen thouſand rebel neutrals, conſiſting of Acadians and Indians.

In January, commodore Keppel ſailed from Ireland with a conſiderable fleet of men of war and tranſports, having on board a body of land forces, under the command of general Braddock, and landed the whole corps ſafely at Virginia in the month of April. Soon after their arrival a council was held by the general, at which the governor of that province, and ſeveral of the neighbouring colonies, aſſiſted. After ſeveral debates it was agreed, that in order to preſerve Oſwego, and reduce the French fort at Niagara, Shirley's and Pepperel's regiments ſhould march to the lake Ontario: general Braddock undertook the reduction of Fort du Queſne, a French fortreſs on the river Monongahela: and general Johnſon, at the head of the provincial troops, ſhould inveſt Crown Point, a ſtrong fortreſs on the banks of Lake Champlin.

Braddock, at the head of two thouſand men, croſſed the Allegany mountains on the twelfth of June, and continued his march towards the enemy, but met with many difficulties in his route: he was detained for ſome time at Willis's Creek, and greatly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions and forage, the Virginians not having provided either, nor were there any baggage waggons to be procured in the province. He was, indeed, promiſed one hundred and fifty waggons, and three hundred horſes, together with a large ſupply of forage and proviſions, to be furniſhed from the back ſettlements of Penſylvania; but after a tedious and anxious expectation of theſe ſuccours, only fifty waggons, and one hundred horſes, arrived. In the mean time, Sir John Sinclair advanced towards Fort du Queſne, to reconnoitre the fortreſs and adjacent ground. In this view, he remarked a ſmall eminence within cannon ſhot of the fort, which was built of wood, and garriſoned with a thouſand men. This diſcovery he imparted to the general, and it was propoſed to erect a battery on the eminence, and ſet the fort on fire with red-hot balls.

Braddock, for want of ſupplies, continued at Willis's Creek in the utmoſt perplexity: but was ſoon relieved from his fears, and immediately began his march towards the enemy. On his arrival in the Little Meadows, he found it neceſſary to leave behind him the greater part of his baggage waggons, &c. under the care of colonel Dunbar, with a detachment of eight hundred men. His corps now conſiſted of twelve hundred men, and by this expedient he was enabled to proceed with much greater expedition, and accordingly encamped within ten miles of Fort du Queſne on the eighth of July. The French garriſon quitted the fort; and having choſe a very advantageous ſpot of ground, about ſix miles ſouth therefrom, they entrenched themſelves in a very maſterly manner, having a thick wood on each ſide of them, extending along the route which they knew muſt be taken by the Engliſh general. When Braddock left his camp in the Little Meadows, he continued his march, without even endeavouring to procure the leaſt intelligence of the ſituation and diſpoſition of the enemy, or to reconnoitre the roads and thickets, though his army was almoſt encompaſſed by the latter. Having advanced within three miles of the enemy's entrenchments, the French left their lines, placing their irregulars in the front, with three hundred regulars behind to ſupport them. The greater part of the Indians were poſted in the wood, where they effectually concealed themſelves behind the trees and buſhes. About noon, Braddock appeared with his troops, and was immediately ſaluted by a general diſcharge upon his front, and all along his left flank: upon this, the Engliſh general gave orders to puſh forwards, as the enemy were in ſight, though not within muſket-ſhot; and ſoon after the attack was begun. The war-whoop was now given by the Indians, who riſing from their ambuſh in the thickets, flanked the Engliſh in vollies; among whom they did incredible execution. Diſmayed at being expoſed to three different fires, the vanguard, after making one general fire on the enemy, retreated in the utmoſt confuſion, and threw colonel Dunbar's regiment, which was behind them, into great diſorder. They were, however, rallied by their officers, many of whom were killed as they were uſing their endeavours to induce them to return to the charge, but in vain; they obſtinately refuſed to attack the enemy. In the mean time the general, who exerted himſelf in a very remarkable manner, after having five horſes killed under him, was mortally wounded. On his dropping from his horſe, both regiments fled in the utmoſt terror, diſorder, and precipitation, deſerting their officers, who, though alone, kept their ground, till only five out of ſixty remained, the reſt being either killed or wounded. The provincials, however, who compoſed the rear, ſtood firm, and continued the engagement, on very unequal terms, for near three hours, when they were obliged to retire. But to this noble ſtand the ſafety of the regulars was principally owing. Seven hundred of the Engliſh fell in the engagement, with the greater part of the officers. Colonel Dunbar, after collecting the remains of the army at Fort Cumberland, retired to the frontiers of Penſylvania, and the troops were afterwards ſent to Albany in New York. Meanwhile, governor Shirley and general Johnſon were employed in their reſpective undertakings. Johnſon had long reſided on the Mohawk river, and was greatly beloved both by the inhabitants and the native Indians, for his faithful and humane behaviour towards them.

About the latter end of Auguſt he encamped in a ſtrong ſituation to wait for his batteaux, in order to proceed to Ticonderago, at the other end of Lake George, and from thence to Crown Point. Whilſt in this ſituation, ſome Indian ſcouts brought him advice, that two thouſand of the enemy, under the command of the baron de Dieſkau, were on their march to attack Fort Edward. Hereupon it was determined in a council of war, to ſend one thouſand men, with a number of Indians, in order to intercept the enemy in their return. Accordingly, on the eighth of September, this detachment began their march under the command of colonel Williams. They ſoon met the enemy, who had reſolved to ſurprize general Johnſon's camp, previous to their attack on Fort Edward. Williams and his party were obliged to retreat back to their camp, and the general immediately made the beſt diſpoſition he was able for the reception of the enemy, who preſently appeared in ſight, and halted about one hundred and fifty yards from the camp. Their regular troops began the attack in the center, the Indians and Canadians in their ſervice being placed on our flanks. Their fire did no execution, while ours ſoon diſperſed the ſavages, who fled into the adjacent woods for ſhelter. The engagement then became general, and the French regulars kept their ground, till the inceſſant fire from our artillery put them into ſome diſorder, which our troops perceiving, immediately jumped over the breaſt-work, and attacked them on all ſides. Between ſeven and eight hundred were killed, thirty taken priſoners, among whom was the baron Dieſkau, and the reſt fled with the utmoſt precipitation. In this engagement, the colonels Williams and Titcomb, major Aſhley, ſix captains, and many ſubalterns were killed; and general Johnſon and major Nichols were wounded. The former recovered in a ſhort time, and the plan for attacking Crown Point was formed; but from want of proviſion, or ſome other cauſe, this attempt was deferred till the next year, and the whole army returned to Albany. The brave conduct of general Johnſon met with its juſt reward; for his majeſty was pleaſed to create him a baronet, and the parliament made him a preſent of five thouſand pounds.

The expedition which governor Shirley had undertaken againſt Niagara, was not carried into execution this year; and that officer, having left colonel Mercer with a garriſon of ſeven hundred men at Oſwego, returned with the greateſt part of the troops under his command to Albany, where a quarrel aroſe between him and Sir William Johnſon, which arrived to ſuch a height, that his majeſty thought proper to interpoſe, and Shirley received orders to return to England and anſwer for his conduct. In the month of September it was reſolved in council, that the lords of the admiralty ſhould iſſue orders, authorizing the captains and commanders in the royal navy to ſeize and bring into port all ſorts of French ſhips, whether men of war or merchantmen. Previous to this, ſeveral new ſhips were built, and others repaired; and theſe maritime preparations were carried on with ſuch diligence and alacrity, that before the end of the year our navy conſiſted of one ſhip of an hundred and ten guns, five of an hundred guns each, thirteen of ninety, eight of eighty, five of ſeventy-four, twenty-nine of ſeventy, four of ſixty-ſix, one of ſixty-four, thirty-three of ſixty, three of fifty-four, twenty-eight of fifty, four of forty-four, thirty-five of forty, and forty-two of twenty; four ſloops of war of fourteen guns each, two of ſixteen, eleven of fourteen, thirteen of twelve, and one of ten; beſides a great number of bomb-ketches, fire-ſhips, and tenders. The miniſtry alſo had ſent, in the preceding year, rear-admiral Watſon, and rear-admiral Pocock, with a ſquadron of capital ſhips, having Aldercorn's regiment on board, to the Eaſt Indies, in order to ſupport our intereſts there; and on the twenty-ſixth of December 1754, articles of a provincial treaty, and articles and ſtipulations of a truce were ſigned between governor Saunders and M. Godehew; ſoon after which the latter of theſe gentlemen was recalled home, and M. de Leyrit appointed to ſucceed him, whoſe conduct ſoon convinced the Engliſh, that the tranquillity which they hoped would have been permanent, was founded on an uncertain baſis. They were not miſtaken; for early in the year it was found, that the French were endeavouring, though in direct contravention of the proviſional treaty, to make themſelves maſters of all Decan. At the ſame time they alſo took poſſeſſion of Golconda, and ſent aſſiſtance to the Polygor of Vellour, then in actual rebellion againſt his ſovereign Mahomed Ally Khan, our ally.

Admiral Watſon, with the fleet under his command, ſailed to reduce Tullagee Angria, a piratical prince in the neighbourhood of Bombay, whoſe chief reſidence was at Geriah. His city was well fortified, and he was now become formidable to all the trading ſhips of Europe. The pirate himſelf had quitted his capital; but his wife and family were ſtill there, under the protection of his brother-in-law, whom he had left governor of the place. As ſoon as the admiral came before the town, he ſent a meſſage to the governor commanding him to ſurrender; but he haughtily anſwered, that he would defend the place to the laſt extremity. This demand was a ſecond time refuſed, and the ſhips began once more to batter the place with redoubled vigour. About one o'clock the magazine of the fort blew up, and at four the garriſon hoiſted a white flag for a capitulation; but the parley that enſued proving abortive, the bombardment began afreſh, and continued till after five, when the white flag was again diſplayed, and the governor ſubmitted to the terms impoſed by the Engliſh. The flag of Angria was ſtruck; and two captains from Clive's army, at the head of a detachment, took poſſeſſion of the fort, and immediately hoiſted the Britiſh colours. They found in the place two hundred pieces of cannon, ſix braſs mortars, a large quantity of ammunition, beſides money and effects, amounting to one hundred and thirty thouſand pounds. But this loſs, however fatal it might prove to Angria, was not the greateſt; his whole fleet, conſiſting of eight grabs, one ſhip finiſhed, two upon the ſtocks, and a great number of gallivots were totally deſtroyed. Among a great number of priſoners were Angria's wife, children, and mother, towards whom the admiral behaved in the moſt humane manner. During theſe tranſactions in India, his majeſty returned from his German dominions, and reached his palace at Kenſington on the fifteenth of September. On the thirteenth of November he opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech from the throne; and a few days after, Sir Thomas Robinſon, ſecretary of ſtate, thought proper to reſign the ſeals, which his majeſty delivered to Mr. Fox. Mr. Legge alſo, about the ſame time, from a diſguſt at the meaſures purſued with foreign princes, reſigned his poſt as chancellor of the exchequer, which was conferred on Sir George Lyttleton, and the poſt of ſecretary at war was given to lord Barrington; while Mr. Pitt was diſmiſſed from his employment, and the earl of Darlington and Mr. Hay, were appointed joint pay-maſters general in his ſtead; the privy-ſeal was given to earl Gower; and the duke of Marlborough made general of the ordnance.

A. D. 1756.

War, though not yet formally, was now openly declared againſt France; for the commons, in adjuſting the ſupplies for this year, had voted fifty thouſand ſeamen, including nine thouſand one hundred and thirty-eight marines, together with two millions ſix hundred thouſand pounds for their maintenance. Early in the ſpring, advice was received that the French were employed in equipping a formidable ſquadron of ſhips at Breſt: recourſe was therefore had to the landgrave of Heſſe for ſuccours, who readily granted them; which, together with twelve battalions of Hanoverians, arrived in England in the month of April. In the mean time the French landed a body of troops in the iſland of Minorca; and the Britiſh miniſtry detached a ſmall ſquadron of ten ſhips of the line to the Mediterranean, under the command of admiral Byng. He reached Gibraltar on the ſecond of May, where he found captain Edgecumbe, with the princeſs Louiſa and a ſloop. Here Byng learned that the French fleet, commanded by M. Galiſſoniere, conſiſting of thirteen ſhips of the line, and a numerous fleet of tranſports, having fifteen thouſand land forces on board, had ſailed on the tenth of April from Toulon, and made a deſcent on the iſland of Minorca. Strengthened by captain Edgecumbe, and reinforced from the garriſon of Gibraltar, Byng ſailed for Minorca on the eighth of May. Captain Harvey in the Phœnix, joined the admiral off the iſland of Majorca. Soon after they ſaw the Engliſh colours flying on the caſtle of St. Philip, and ſeveral bomb-batteries playing upon the works from various parts of the enemy's camp. The admiral continued his courſe in order to aſſiſt or relieve the caſtle, till he perceived the French fleet at a conſiderable diſtance to the ſouth-eaſt. Early the next morning both fleets were formed ready for the attack; and about two o'clock admiral Byng threw out a ſignal to bear away two points from the wind, and engage the enemy. But the diſtance from the French fleet was ſo great, that rear-admiral Weſt, finding it impoſſible to comply with both orders, bore away with his diviſion ſeven points from the wind, and cloſing with the enemy, attacked them with ſuch impetuoſity, that the ſhips which oppoſed him were ſoon driven out of the line; had he been properly ſuſtained by the van, the Britiſh fleet would, in all probability, have gained a complete victory. But the other diviſion not bearing down, and the enemy's center keeping their ſtation, Weſt could not purſue his advantage without running the riſk of being ſeparated from the reſt of the fleet. At the beginning of the engagement, the Intrepid, one of the Engliſh fleet, was ſo diſabled, that ſhe fell on board the next ſhip, which for ſome time retarded the engagement. The French admiral, in the mean time, who perceived he was not able to engage in a cloſe fight with the Engliſh, took the advantage of joining his van, which had been defeated, and of edging away with a flowing ſail. Byng gave chace to the enemy; but his ſhips being foul, and thoſe of the French clean, he could not come up with them; and the next morning not one of the whole fleet could be ſeen. Three of the Engliſh ſhips were ſo damaged in their maſts, that they could not, with any ſafety, keep the ſea; many of the ſailors were ill, nor was there one ſhip that could be converted into an hoſpital for the reception of the ſick and wounded. It was therefore determined, in a council of war, to return to Gibraltar. The news of this engagement threw the whole Britiſh nation into a violent ferment; and the miniſtry immediately ſent Sir Edward Hawke and admiral Saunders to ſuperſede Byng and Weſt, in their commands of the Mediterranean ſquadron. The latter met with a very gracious reception from his majeſty; but the former was committed a cloſe priſoner, to an apartment in Greenwich hoſpital.

The Engliſh garriſon, notwithſtanding this diſappointment of relief, ſtill defended Fort St. Philip, though the French preſſed them on every ſide with the utmoſt vigour. Numbers, however, at laſt prevailed, and the caſtle was delivered up to the French on the ſeventh of July. Not many days after the ſurrender of St. Philip's, admiral Hawke's fleet, augmented with five ſhips of the line, appeared off the iſland of Minorca. But the French ſquadron was returned to Toulon, and Sir Edward had the mortification to ſee the French colours flying on St. Philip's caſtle. The Engliſh admiral, thus diſappointed in not meeting with Galiſſoniere, blocked up the port of Toulon; and after ſcouring the Mediterranean, and inſulting the enemy's coaſts, he returned with the homeward-bound merchantmen to Gibraltar, and about the latter end of the year ſailed for England, where war had been declared againſt France, and great preparations made for carrying it on with the utmoſt vigour.

General Abercrombie, who ſucceeded general Shirley, aſſembled the Britiſh forces at Albany in the month of June; they conſiſted of two regiments who had ſerved under Braddock; two battalions raiſed in America; two regiments lately ſent from England; four independent companies from New York; the Jerſey regiment; four companies levied in North Carolina; and a body of provincial forces raiſed by the government of New England.

Colonel Bradſtreet, at the head of a convoy of proviſions and ſtores for the garriſon of Oſwego, on his arrival at Albany, informed general Abercrombie, that he had received certain intelligence from the priſoners, that a large body of the enemy was encamped on the eaſtern ſide of the Lake Ontario, provided with artillery, and all other neceſſaries for beſieging the Fort of Oſwego. In conſequence of this information, Abercrombie ordered a regiment of regulars, under the command of general Webb, to march to the relief of that garriſon; but before he ſet out, the earl of Loudon, who had been appointed commander in chief of all the forces in America, arrived at Albany; and although he approved of every meaſure which general Abercrombie had taken, yet, ſuch was the obſtinacy of the people of New England, New York, and other provinces, who inſiſted that the army they had raiſed ſhould, previous to all other operations, be employed in the reduction of Crown Point, that it was the twelfth of Auguſt before they would give their conſent to general Webb's march. On his arrival at the carrying-place between the Mohawk's river and Wood's-creek, he received the diſagreeable news of Oſwego's being taken, and the garriſon made priſoners of war: therefore, after having rendered Wood's-creek impaſſable to canoes, by felling trees, and throwing them into the ſtream, Mr. Webb returned to Albany, where lord Loudon, finding the ſeaſon was too far advanced to admit of any important enterprize againſt the enemy, cauſed barracks to be built for his forces; after which he provided the forts of Edward and William Henry with numerous garriſons.

In the Eaſt Indies, major Lawrence had obtained ſeveral advantages over the enemy, and proſecuted his ſucceſs with ſuch vigour, that, in all probability, a ſhort time would have put a period to the war, had not the progreſs of his arms been interrupted by the taking of Calcutta by Surajah Dowla, viceroy of Bengal, who having been irritated by ſome tranſactions of the company levied a numerous army, and marching to Calcutta inveſted the place, which was then in no poſture of defence. Mr. Drake, the governor, who was a quaker, left the defence of it to Mr. Holwell, his ſecond in command, and accompanied by the ladies and principal perſons in the ſettlement, embarked on board a ſhip in the river, having taken with them their moſt valuable effects, and the books of the company. Mr. Holwell, with the aſſiſtance of a few gallant officers, and a very weak garriſon, repulſed ſeveral attacks of the enemy with uncommon courage and reſolution; but being overpowered by numbers he was obliged to ſubmit, having firſt obtained a promiſe from Surajah, that no injury ſhould be done to any one of the garriſon. This promiſe, however, was very little regarded; for the garriſon and inhabitants, conſiſting of one hundred and forty-ſix perſons of both ſexes, were all driven into a place called the Black-hole, being a room of about eighteen feet ſquare. Here they were confined during the whole night, and deprived of the freſh air, by which means no more than twenty-three ſurvived, the reſt having periſhed in the utmoſt agony: among thoſe who eſcaped ſuffocation was Mr. Holwell, who, with his companions, was ſent priſoners to Muxadabad.

Our loſſes and diſgraces both in the Mediterranean and North America, occaſioned great murmurings at home among all ranks of people, who imagined they ſaw great miſmanagement as well in the directive as in the executive part of government. In the month of November, therefore, his majeſty thought proper to make the following alterations in the miniſtry; the duke of Devonſhire was appointed firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, in the room of the duke of Newcaſtle; the right honourable Bilſon Legge was made chancellor of the exchequer, in the place of Sir George Lyttleton; earl Temple was appointed firſt lord of the admiralty; the right honourable George Grenville was made treaſurer of the navy; lord chancellor Hardwicke having reſigned the ſeals, they were put into commiſſion; and Mr. Pitt was appointed one of the ſecretaries of ſtate in the room of Mr. Fox. The dread of an invaſion being now perfectly ſubſided, and Hanover thought in more danger than Great Britain, orders were iſſued for ſending home the Heſſian and Hanoverian troops.

The parliament met on the ſecond of December; and addreſſes having been preſented by both houſes, the committee of ſupply, and of ways and means, were appointed, who proceeded to conſider the public eſtimates, when it was reſolved to augment the land-forces from thirty-five thouſand, to forty-nine thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-nine effective men, including four thouſand and eight invalids. The ſeamen were ſettled at fifty-five thouſand men, including eleven thouſand four hundred and nineteen marines, with a ſufficient proviſion for their maintenance. They alſo enabled his majeſty to perform his agreement with, and provide for, his Heſſian and Hanoverian forces; beſides which they granted ample ſums for garriſons, for the ordnance, for levying new regiments, for forming and maintaining an army of obſervation in Germany, and fulfilling his majeſty's engagements with the king of Pruſſia; for the ſupport of the Britiſh forts on the coaſt of Africa; for the relief of South Carolina and Virginia; the ſupport of Nova Scotia and Georgia; for enabling the Eaſt-India Company to keep a military force in their ſettlements; and for ſeveral other uſes and contingencies; which ſupplies, in the whole, amounted to eight millions three hundred and fifty thouſand, three hundred and twenty-five pounds.

A.D. 1757. The parliament having enquired into the loſs of Minorca, a court-martial was appointed for the trial of admiral John Byng; which, after examining witneſſes for the crown and priſoner, came to ſeveral reſolutions, importing on the whole their opinion, that admiral Byng, during the engagement between the Engliſh and French fleets, did not do his utmoſt endeavours to take, ſeize, and deſtroy the ſhips of the French king, which it was his duty to have engaged, nor to aſſiſt ſuch of his majeſty's ſhips as were engaged, which it was his duty to have aſſiſted; and that he did not exert his utmoſt power for the relief of St. Philip's caſtle. They therefore unanimouſly agreed, that he fell under part of the twelfth article of an act of parliament; and as that article preſcribed death, without any alternative left to the diſcretion of the court, adjudged the ſaid admiral to be ſhot to death, at ſuch a time, and on board ſuch a ſhip, as the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty ſhould pleaſe to direct. But as it appeared by the evidence of the officers who were near the admiral's perſon, that no backwardneſs was diſcernible in him during the action, nor any mark of fear or confuſion, either in his countenance or in his behaviour, but that he delivered his orders coolly and diſtinctly, without ſeeming influence of intimidity; and as they had reaſon, from other circumſtances, to believe, that his miſconduct did not ariſe from cowardice or diſaffection, they unanimouſly and earneſtly recommended him as a proper object of mercy. His majeſty, in conſequence of the repreſentation made by the lords of the admiralty, referred the ſentence to the conſideration of the twelve judges, who unanimouſly averred its legality. This report being tranſmitted from the privy-council to the admiralty, their lordſhips iſſued a warrant for executing the ſentence of death, which was accordingly done on the fourteenth of March on board the Monarque, a third rate ſhip of war, then at anchor in Portſmouth harbour.

Though the people were pleaſed with the promotion of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge, upon whoſe virtues and abilities they had the moſt perfect reliance, the old junto found them very unfit for their purpoſes. Theſe patriot miniſters could neither be perſuaded, cajoled, nor intimidated into meaſures, which they thought repugnant to the true intereſt of their country. They oppoſed, both in council and parliament, every thing which they deemed inconſiſtent with the honour of the crown, and prejudicial to the rights of the people. They nobly maintained, even in office, their independency and candour; and greatly evinced, that he is the beſt miniſter to the ſovereign, who acts with the greateſt probity to the ſubject. Thoſe who immediately ſurrounded the throne, were ſuppoſed to have concealed from, or miſrepreſented, the characters of theſe faithful ſervants, to their royal maſter; and to have declared, that with ſuch colleagues it would be impoſſible to conduct the machine of ſtate. Theſe ſuggeſtions, frequently repeated, produced the deſired effect; and on the ninth of April, Mr. Pitt, by his majeſty's command, reſigned the ſeals as ſecretary of ſtate, and Mr. Legge, the office of chancellor of the exchequer. The board of admiralty was changed, and ſeveral other removals made in different parts of the adminiſtration. Nothing could tend more to perpetuate the memory of theſe diſcarded patriots, than the honours conferred on them by the people in general. The whole nation ſeemed to riſe up as one man in vindication of their integrity; every tongue declared their praiſe; and a great number of reſpectable cities and corporations preſented them the freedom of their reſpective ſocieties, incloſed in golden boxes, as teſtimonies of their peculiar veneration. The people conceived the moſt violent antipathy againſt thoſe, who, by their inſidious repreſentations had baniſhed from the councils of their ſovereign, and the ſervice of their country, gentlemen, who were ſo well qualified to direct the one, and promote the other. A great number of addreſſes, dutifully and loyally expreſſed, ſolicited the king to reſtore M. Pitt and Mr. Legge to their former employments. Accordingly, his majeſty was pleaſed to re-deliver the ſeals to the former on the ninth of June, and in five days the latter was reſtored to his former office. Sir Robert Henley was made lord-keeper of the great-ſeal; and the cuſtody of the privy-ſeal was committed to the earl Temple. The duke of Newcaſtle, Mr. Legge, Mr. Nugent, lord Duncannon, and Mr. Grenville, were appointed commiſſioners of the exchequer; lord Anſon, the admirals Boſcawen and Forbes, Dr. Hay, Mr. Weſt, Mr. Hunter, and Mr. Elliot, were placed at the board of Admiralty; Mr. Fox was made receiver and pay-maſter of all his majeſty's land forces; and the earl of Thomond treaſurer of his majeſty's houſhold.

At this time the king of Pruſſia, who had conquered the electorate of Saxony, found himſelf oppoſed by the forces of the empreſs queen of Hungary, thoſe of the czarina, and the whole power of France. The latter had taken poſſeſſion of the duchy of Cleves, and the county of Mark, belonging to his Pruſſian majeſty, in the neighbourhood of the Low Countries. The rendezvous of the French army was appointed at Neuſs, in the electorate of Cologne, where, before the firſt of April, a large body was actually aſſembled under the prince de Soubize. To guard againſt the ſtorm with which Hanover now ſeemed threatened, orders were ſent to recruit the troops of that electorate; and to furniſh the magazines with all things neceſſary for fifty thouſand men. His royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland was appointed commander in chief of theſe forces, which were to be raiſed in Germany. Accordingly in the beginning of April he ſet out for Hanover, and arrived there on the ſixteenth of the ſame month. Before he joined the army it had been reinforced by three Pruſſian regiments, and now conſiſted of thirty-ſeven battalions and thirty-four ſquadrons. The duke, immediately on his arrival, removed the camp to a convenient ſpot of ground between Bielefeldt and Hervorden; and took poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Retberg, where he fixed his head-quarters. Having received advice on the thirteenth of June, that the enemy had cauſed a large body of troops to file off on his right to Burghotte, he cauſed the allied army to march that evening towards Hervorden. The next day he encamped at Cofeldt, and finding the intention of the enemy was either to oblige him to come to an engagement, or to repaſs the Weſer; he choſe the latter, and encamped in a very advantageous ſituation, having that river in front, and his right and left covered with eminences and marſhes. On the eleventh of July the French army alſo paſſed the Weſer; it not being in the power of the allies to prevent them; and having laid part of the electorate of Hanover under contribution, they poſted themſelves on the heights, oppoſite the duke of Cumberland's camp; who immediately changed his ſituation, and drew up his army on an eminence between the Weſer and the wood, having the river Hamelen on his right, and the wood on his left, and the village of Haſtenbeck in his front. A battery of twelve pounders and howitzers, was erected in the wood, and on the left of it, major general Schulenbourg was poſted with the hunters, and two battalions of grenadiers. In the morning of the twenty-fifth of July, the French advanced in columns, and began a very ſevere cannonade, which continued the whole day, but nothing more was done. The allied army received orders to lay on their arms all night. His royal highneſs then cauſed the battery at the end of the wood to be repaired, and reinforced by four more battalions of grenadiers, under the command of major-general Hardenburgh. A battery was alſo erected behind the village of Haſtenbeck, and every precaution taken to give the enemy a warm reception. Between five and ſix in the morning the French began a very ſmart cannonading upon the battery behind the village, which was defended by the Heſſian infantry and cavalry with great ſteadineſs and reſolution. About eight the firing of the ſmall arms began on the left of the allies, and the French ſeemed to gain ground; upon which his royal highneſs detached the colonels Darkenhauſen and Bradenbach, with three Hanoverian battalions and ſix ſquadrons round the wood by Afforde, who towards the cloſe of the day drove ſeveral ſquadrons of the enemy back to their army. At length the grenadiers in the wood, apprehenſive of being ſurrounded by the enemy, thought it prudent to retire nearer the left of the allied army, by which unfortunate motion the French got poſſeſſion of that battery without oppoſition. The hereditary prince of Brunſwic immediately put himſelf at the head of a battalion of Wolfenbuttle guards, and another of Hanoverians, who, animated by the courage of their leader, with their bayonets fixed, repulſed a much ſuperior force of the enemy, and retook the battery. But the French being by this time in poſſeſſion of a height which commanded and flanked both the lines of the infantry and the battery of the allies, which attack they could ſupport under cover of a hill, and his royal highneſs finding he could not diſlodge them without expoſing his troops greatly, he ordered a retreat to Hamelen, which was effected without the leaſt moleſtation on the part of the enemy. The loſs of the allies in this engagement was five hundred and forty-ſeven killed and miſſing, and nine hundred and ſeven wounded; while that of the French, according to their own account, amounted to upwards of two thouſand men. His royal highneſs having left a ſmall detachment at Hamelen for its defence, continued his march, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Hoya, in order to cover Bremen and Verden, and to preſerve a communication with Stade, to which place the archives and moſt valuable effects of Hanover had been removed. The French ſoon reduced Hamelen, and during their ſtay there, M. d'Etrées received orders from his court to reſign his poſt of commander in chief of the French forces to the duke de Richlieu; who, on his arrival at the camp, detached the duke de Chevreuſe to take poſſeſſion of Hanover, with the title of governor of that city. Finding all oppoſition would be vain, the inhabitants ſubmitted to the enemy, and the Hanoverian garriſon, after being diſarmed was left at liberty to go where they pleaſed. Richlieu himſelf, at the head of his army followed the duke of Cumberland ſtep by ſtep, as far as the Aller, where many ſkirmiſhes happened between the two armies. That of the duke, however, though in a ſtrong ſituation, was by far too weak to think of holding out againſt the numerous forces of the French, which in a manner ſurrounded the allies; and had made themſelves maſters of a little fort at the mouth of the river Zwinga, whereby they cut off the duke's communication with the Elbe. In this diſagreeable ſituation his royal highneſs was in a manner compelled to come to ſome ſort of terms with the enemy; and the king of Denmark having offered his mediation, it was accepted by the commanders in chief of both armies, and on the eighth of September, the duke of Cumberland ſigned the convention of Cloſter Seven, by which thirty-eight thouſand Hanoverians laid down their arms, and were diſperſed into different quarters of cantonment. His royal highneſs having thought proper to reſign the command of the electoral army, it was conferred on prince Ferdinand of Brunſwic, who, about the latter end of November, put the troops in motion. On the fourth of December, they overtook a body of two thouſand men, which formed the enemy's rear; theſe they attacked and totally routed. On the fourteenth of the ſame month, another action happened upon the Aller, between a body of ſeven or eight thouſand Hanoverians, under general Raſtrow, and one of about ten thouſand French, in which the former remained maſters of the field. Theſe advantages animated the Hanoverians, and ſtruck ſuch a panic into the enemy, that they were almoſt incapable of reſiſtance, ſo that the former recovered poſſeſſion of Lunenburgh, Zell, and all that part of the Brunſwic dominions next to Pruſſia. The enemy, however, had committed the moſt terrible outrages in every place; the ſuburbs of Zell were reduced to aſhes, and, by the orders of Richlieu, the orphan houſe was ſet on fire, and many of the poor innocents periſhed in the flames. The ſeverity of the weather prevented prince Ferdinand from perſuing his advantage: he therefore marched to Ultzan and Lunenburgh, where his army was put into winter quarters.

After the new miniſtry had been ſettled, a deſcent upon the coaſt of France was reſolved on, in order to deſtroy the enemy's ſhipping, which were to carry ſuccours to America, and draw part of the French forces from Germany, to the defence of their own coaſt. A powerful fleet was accordingly fitted out with great expedition, and ten regiments were marched to the Iſle of Wight. The naval armament, conſiſting of ſixteen ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, fire-ſhips, bomb-ketches, and tranſports, were put under the command of Sir Edward Hawke. Sir John Mordaunt was placed at the head of the land-forces, and both ſtrictly enjoined to act with the utmoſt unanimity. On the eighth of September, this powerful fleet ſailed from Spithead; and on the twentieth of the ſame month made the iſle of Oleron, from whence they proceeded to Baſque-road. On the twenty-third, the van of the fleet, led by captain Howe in the Magnanime, ſtood towards the Iſle of Aix, ſituated in the mouth of the river Charente, leading up to Rochfort. The fortifications of this iſland were but half finiſhed, being mounted with only thirty cannon and mortars, and the garriſon conſiſted of ſix hundred men. After an engagement which laſted about an hour, the fort ſurrendered, and ſome forces were landed to take poſſeſſion of the iſland and demoliſh the fortifications This conqueſt, though inconſiderable in itſelf, greatly elated the forces, as it promiſed them future ſucceſs, but inſtead of improving this advantage, the commanders ſpent ſeveral days in councils of war, and ſounding the coaſt, which having alarmed the enemy, they took ſuch precautions, as rendered every other attempt of our fleet abortive; upon which it was reſolved to return to England. Thus finiſhed an expedition which had coſt the nation near a million of money, thrown the inhabitants of the French coaſt into the utmoſt confuſion, and attracted the notice of all Europe. Sir John Mordaunt was tried by a court-martial for not performing his orders, and diſmiſſed from his majeſty's ſervice.

In America affairs wore but a gloomy aſpect this year. The enemy remained maſters of all the lakes, which gave them an opportunity of gaining moſt of the Indians over to their ſide. By the loſs of Oſwego, the whole country of the five nations was abandoned to the mercy of the French; and by the imprudent demolition of the forts we poſſeſſed at the Great Carrying-place, a free paſſage was opened to our ſettlements on the German flats and along the Mohawk's river, which, before the end of the campaign, the enemy deſtroyed with fire and ſword. The ſcheme for an attempt on Crown Point was now laid aſide, as was alſo an expedition to Louiſburgh.

The departure of lord Loudon gave the French general an opportunity of improving the ſucceſſes of the former campaign. He reduced Fort William Henry, the garriſon of which, nowithſtanding the articles of capitulation, were cruelly uſed by the ſavages, and many of them murdered in a moſt ſhocking manner. The enemy demoliſhed the fort, carried off the effects, proviſions and artillery, together with the veſſels on the lake, and then returned to Montreal, without making further attempts on the frontiers of the Britiſh colonies.

Admiral Holbourn being freed from the care of tranſports, ſailed for Louiſburgh, with fifteen ſhips of the line, four frigates and a fire-ſhip. On the twentieth of Auguſt they appeared before that harbour, and perceived the French admiral make the ſignal to unmoor; upon which Mr. Holbourn, who was greatly inferior in ſtrength to the enemy, not chuſing to hazard an engagement, returned to Halifax. But having been reinforced with four ſhips of the line, he, in the middle of September, again proceeded to Louiſburgh, with intention, if poſſible, to draw the enemy to an engagement. La Mothe was, however, too prudent to hazard a battle, the loſs of which muſt have expoſed all the French colonies to the attempts of the Engliſh. Here the Britiſh ſquadron continued cruizing till the twenty-fifth, when they were overtaken by a terrible ſtorm. When the hurricane began the fleet was about forty leagues diſtant from Louiſburgh, but, in twelve hours, were driven within two miles of the rocks and breakers on the coaſt of that iſland: juſt at that inſtant the wind providentially ſhifted, and ſaved the whole ſquadron, except the Tilbury, which was loſt upon the rocks, and about half her crew periſhed. Eleven ſhips were diſmaſted, others threw their guns overboard, and the whole returned to England in a very ſhattered condition.

But in the Eaſt Indies the ſcene changed greatly in our favour; for there the bravery of admiral Watſon and colonel Clive re-eſtabliſhed the military honour of the Engliſh. That admiral ſailed from Madraſs with no more than three ſhips of the line; and arrived at the port of Balaſore in the kingdom of Bengal, where ſtrengthening himſelf with all the troops he could draw together, he entered the Ganges; and after a ſhort reſiſtance, made himſelf maſter of the fort of Buſbudgia, which opened a paſſage to the foot of Calcutta, the late principal ſettlement of the company in Bengal, and the ſcene of the deplorable ſufferings of ſo many of our unfortunate countrymen. Animated with revenge at the ſight of this place, our ſhips and land forces attacked it with ſuch ſpirit, that the Indians ſurrendered it before night; and a few days after, Hughly, ſituated higher up the Ganges, was reduced with as little difficulty. The nabob finding the feeble reſiſtance made by forts defended by Indians, advanced with an army of ten thouſand horſe and twelve thouſand foot. Infinitely inferior as our troops were in number, Clive did not heſitate to attack the nabob's army; and though he did not entirely rout them, yet the ſlaughter he made among them was ſo great, and he had ſo much the advantage in the field, that the nabob was glad to agree to a peace, by which the Engliſh Eaſt India company was reſtored to all its antient privileges: an immunity was granted them from all taxes, and reſtitution promiſed for all that they had ſuffered by the taking of Calcutta. The admiral and colonel having ſettled the company's officers in the poſſeſſion of their eſtabliſhments, turned their arms againſt the French. They reſolved to attack Chandenagore, a place of conſiderable ſtrength, ſituated at a diſtance from Calcutta, higher up the river, and the principal ſettlement of the French in that part of India. In this expedition, colonel Clive commanded ſeven hundred Europeans, and ſixteen hundred black ſoldiers, while Watſon and Pocock commanded a ſquadron of ſhips which conſiſted only of the Kent, the Tyger, and Saliſbury. The French prepared to receive them, by ſinking ſeveral large veſſels both above and below the fort; but the admirals, by carefully ſounding, found a ſafe paſſage, and made ſo ſevere a fire upon the fort, in which they were ſeconded by colonel Clive's batteries on ſhore, that the place capitulated in leſs than three hours. Here five hundred Europeans and ſeven hundred blacks, ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war; one hundred and eighty-three pieces of cannon were found in the place, beſides a conſiderable value in money and goods.

The nabob from the time of his ſigning the above treaty, ſhewed himſelf little inclined to adhere to the ſtipulations made; and though he was not ſparing in his promiſes, he always deferred the performance upon ſuch frivolous pretences, as evidently ſhewed his ill deſigns. The Engliſh commanders reſolved to take no notice of his proceedings, till they had broken the power of the French in this province; and having accompliſhed it, by the taking of Chandenagore, they deliberated whether they ought not to commit hoſtilities againſt him; and an incident happening, which promiſed to enſure their ſucceſs, they reſolved to attempt it. The nabob, Surajah Doula, who had the laſt year taken Calcutta, had treated his own ſubjects with the ſame perfidy which he had formerly ſhewn, and ſtill continued to diſtreſs the Engliſh; hence moſt of his generals were diſcontented, and ſome of them entered into a conſpiracy againſt him. At the head of this conſpiracy was Jaffier Ali Cawn, one of his principal officers, a man of great power and influence. Their deſigns were no ſooner ripened, than they communicated them to the Engliſh government at Calcutta, deſiring their aſſiſtance. The gentlemen there did not long heſitate with what party they ſhould ſide; they concluded a treaty with Jaffier

Ali Cawn, and the other conſpirators; in conſequence of which the Engliſh troops immediately took the field under colonel Clive. The admiral undertook to garriſon the fort of Chandenagore with his ſeamen; and a detachment of fifty men with their officers, were added to the land forces, to ſerve as gunners; while a twenty gun ſhip was ſtationed above Hughly, in order to preſerve a communication between colonel Clive and the admiral. Theſe preliminary meaſures being taken, they advanced up the river, and in a few days brought the nabob's army, of about twenty thouſand men, excluſive of thoſe who favoured the conſpirators, to an action which was deciſive in favour of the Engliſh; when the nabob ſeeing himſelf ruined by the treachery of his officers, and the cowardice of his troops, fled with the few who remained faithful. Jaffier Ali Cawn now declared himſelf openly; and entering Muxadavad, the capital of the province, with an army of his friends and victorious allies, was placed by colonel Clive on the antient ſeat of the nabobs, and received the homage of all ranks of people as Suba of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa. Soon after, the depoſed nabob was made priſoner, and put to death in his priſon by him who now ſat on his throne. Thus this great revolution was accompliſhed within about thirteen days, and the government of a vaſt kingdom was transferred to an uſurper; a kingdom which yielded in its dimenſions to few in Europe, and to none in the fertility of its ſoil, the number of its inhabitants, and the richneſs of its commerce. By this revolution the territories of the Engliſh Eaſt India company were enlarged, and upwards of two millions ſterling were to be paid them as an indemnification to the ſufferers, by the taking of Calcutta. The new elevated nabob gave alſo about ſix hundred thouſand pounds, ſterling, as a gratuity to the ſeamen and troops. However, the joy of the Engliſh was not a little damped by the death of admiral Watſon, who, on the ſixteenth of Auguſt, loſt his life by the unwholſomeneſs of the climate.

The parliament, on the firſt of December, met at Weſtminſter. Addreſſes of thanks having been preſented by both houſes, the commons proceeded to ſettle the ſupply; the whole of which amounted to ten millions four hundred eighty-ſix thouſand four hundred and fifty-ſeven pounds. The buſineſs of this ſeſſion was not finiſhed till the firſt of June, in the following year, when, his majeſty being indiſpoſed, an end was put to it by the lords commiſſioners.

A. D. 1758. In the month of February, admiral Boſcawen ſailed with a fleet for St. Helens, deſtined to act againſt the enemy in North America. Sir Edward Hawke alſo directed his courſe, with another ſquadron, to the Bay of Biſcay, in order to intercept any ſupplies from France, deſigned for cape Breton or Canada. On the twenty-eighth of March, admiral Oſborne, cruizing off Carthagena on the coaſt of Spain, fell in with a ſquadron of the enemy, commanded by the marquis du Queſnè, conſiſting of the four following ſhips: the Foudroyant of eighty guns; the Orphée of ſixty four; the Oriſlamme of fifty; and the Pleiade a frigate of twenty-four, in their paſſage from Toulon to reinforce M. de la Clue, who had for ſome time been blocked up by admiral Oſborne in the harbour of Carthagena. The enemy no ſooner perceived the Britiſh ſquadron than they diſperſed, and ſteered different courſes, upon which the Engliſh admiral detached ſeveral ſhips in purſuit of each, while he himſelf, with the principal part of his fleet, ſtood into the bay of Carthagena, to watch the motions of the French ſquadron in that port. Captain Storr, in the Revenge, came up with the Orphée, about ſeven in the evening, and took her: The Monmouth, captain Gardiner, engaged the Foudroyant, and obliged her to ſtrike. The Oriſlamme was driven on ſhore under the caſtle of Aiglais, and the Pleiade frigate made her eſcape. Sir Edward Hawke, in the beginning of April, diſcovered a French fleet at anchor off the iſle of Aix, conſiſting of five ſhips of the line, ſix frigates, and forty tranſports, having on board three thouſand troops, and a large quantity of ſtores and proviſions, for their ſettlements in North America. As ſoon as they ſaw the Engliſh admiral advancing, they ſlipped their cables, and fled with the utmoſt precipitation. Some of them eſcaped, but the far greater number ran into ſhallow water, where they could not be purſued, and by throwing their guns, ſtores, and ballaſt overboard, got into the river Charente; but their loading was loſt and the end of their equipment totally defeated. Another covoy of merchant ſhips, under the protection of three frigates, had, a few days before, been chaſed by Sir Edward Hawke into the harbour of St. Martin's on the iſle of Rhé; and a third conſiſting of twelve ſail, under convoy of a frigate and armed veſſel, was encountered at ſea by one Britiſh ſhip of the line, and two fire ſhips, which took the frigate and armed veſſel; and two of the convoy afterwards met with the ſame fate. A terrible accident befel the Prince George of eighty guns, commanded by rear-admiral Broderick, in his paſſage to the Mediterranean. On the thirtieth day of April, between one and two in the afternoon, a dreadful fire broke out in the fore part of the ſhip, and raged with ſuch violence, that notwithſtanding all the efforts of the officers and men for ſeveral hours, the flames increaſed; and the ſhip being conſumed to the water-edge, ſunk about ſix o'clock in the evening. When all endeavours proved ineffectual, and no hopes of preſerving the ſhip remained, the barge was hoiſted out for the preſervation of the admiral, who accordingly entered it; but all diſtinction being now forgot, the ſailors ruſhed into it in ſuch crowds, that in a few moments it overſet. The admiral, who foreſaw what muſt be the conſequence, had ſtripped off his cloathes, and committed himſelf to the mercy of the waves. In this ſituation he remained a full hour, when he was taken up by a boat belonging to a merchant ſhip, beſides the admiral, the captain, four lieutenants, the purſer, the chaplain, the maſter, two lieutenants of marines, the boatſwain, three paſſengers, fourteen petty officers, and about three hundred men were ſaved, while the reſt, amounting to five hundred, periſhed,

Schemes for a deſcent on the coaſt of France were now again renewed. Two powerful ſquadrons, the one conſiſting of eleven large ſhips, commanded by lord Anſon and Sir Edward Hawke, and the other compoſed of four ſhips of the line, two fire-ſhips, two bombs, twenty tenders, ten ſtore-ſhips, and one hundred tranſports, was put under the direction of commodore Howe. On board the latter was embarked a body of troops, conſiſting of ſixteen regiments, nine troops of light horſe, and ſix thouſand marines, under the command of the duke of Marlborough. The two fleets failed, in the beginning of June, from St. Helens for the coaſt of Bretagne. The ſquadron commanded by lord Anſon ſtanding to the weſtward, and the other ſteering right athwart the channel. On the fourth about five in the afternoon, being entirely becalmed, they came to an anchor within three miles of St. Malo; the next morning they weighed before it was day, and ſtood along the coaſt till they opened the bay of Cancalle, where they intended to diſembark the forces. About eight in the morning the commodore made a ſignal for the ſhips with the grenadiers on board to make ſail, and about four in the afternoon the whole fleet came to an anchor; four frigates excepted, which were ordered to continue their courſe towards a battery that might impede the landing of the forces. Ten companies of grenadiers, under the command of general Moſtyn, were immediately put into flat-bottomed boats, and as ſoon as the frigates had ſilenced the battery, they landed without any oppoſition. Lord Down, at the head of twenty men, was ordered to march through a very narrow paſs up to the village, where they were met by the marquis de Landal, intendant of the coaſt, and one of his ſervants. Lord Down inſtantly called to him, and aſſured him, that if he would ſurrender he had nothing to fear; but this he fooliſhly refuſed to do, upon which he, together with his ſervant, and horſes were ſhot dead on the ſpot. After taking poſſeſſion of the village of Cancalle, the grenadiers lay on their arms all night. The next day the diſembarkation was entirely completed, and the whole encamped: the head quarters being fixed at Cancalle. The day following, as ſoon as it was light, the whole army except the third brigade, ſtruck their tents, and began to march in two columns. The firſt, conſiſting of the brigade of the guards, two battalions of grenadiers, and the firſt brigade, commanded by lord George Sackville marched from the left, till they fell into the great road leading to St. Malo. The ſecond column conſiſting of the ſecond and fourth brigades, commanded by the earl of Ancram, marched alſo from the left through a country wholly encloſed, and the road ſo remarkably narrow, that two hundred pioneers, who marched at the head of the diviſion were frequently obliged to continue their route in ſingle files. At the ſame time the fields on each ſide the road ſo intercepted their view, that they often could not ſee more than forty yards beyond their flanks. The inhabitants of the villages had deſerted their houſes, and ſtripped them of every thing they could remove, ſo that the country appeared a mere deſart to the ſoldiers. This march was conducted with great order and without beat of drum: but though the diſtance was no more than ſix miles, they did not reach their ground till it was late in the evening. St. Malo was now reconnoitred by the general officers, and a camp marked out about a mile from the city. Parties of horſe were immediately detached to different parts of the country, to ſcour the road, and make good diſcoveries. One of theſe detachments perceived a large baſon behind the town, into which all the ſhipping belonging to the place were collected, and concealed from the ſight of the Engliſh fleet by a prodigious ſtorehouſe, built in the form of a rotunda, near the rope-walk. Marlborough, on being informed of this diſcovery, detached all the cavalry, with a foot ſoldier mounted behind each of the horſemen, furniſhed with hand-grenades, matches, &c. Theſe, concealed by the night, paſſed under the enemy's cannon on the walls to the harbour, where they found a large fleet, conſiſting of men of war, privateers, and merchantmen. Fire was immediately ſet to the neareſt ſhips, and alſo the magazines of pitch, tar, ropes, &c. all which, in the ſpace of a few hours, became ſuch a dreadful ſcene of conflagration, that even imagination itſelf is unable to paint. The ſhips were all faſt aground, and ſo cloſe together that it was impoſſible for any of them to eſcape. Two men of war, one of fifty, the other of thirty guns, thirty-three privateers, from thirty to eighteen guns each, and above ſeventy ſail of merchant ſhips were by this conflagration, reduced to aſhes, together with an amazing quantity of naval ſtores. The conflagration continued during the whole night; and the next morning foraging parties were detached from the camp, the army having landed with only two days proviſions. While encamped near St. Malo, one of the battalions of the guards marched under the command of general Cæſar, to the town of Doll, ſituated about twelve miles up the country, where they were politely entertained by the magiſtrates; and as their deſign was nothing more than to reconnoitre the country, they continued one night in the town without committing the leaſt act of hoſtility, and in the morning returned to their camp. A party of the light horſe advancing ſtill farther, fell in with the vedets of a French camp, two of whom, after a long chaſe, they took, and brought them priſoners to the Engliſh army. By this time it was evident that the town of St. Malo was too well fortified to hope for ſucceſs, all thoughts of attacking it were therefore laid aſide; and the general having received repeated advices, that the French were buſily employed in aſſembling forces to attack his camp, he returned to Cancalle, where commodore Howe had made ſuch a maſterly diſpoſition of the boats and tranſports, that the re-embarkation of the troops was performed with ſurprizing eaſe and expedition. The ſoldiers, while they continued in the enemy's country, were reſtrained from committing the leaſt outrage, by the ſevereſt diſcipline; and all the houſes which the inhabitants had abandoned were left untouched. When the troops were all embarked the fleet left Cancalle bay, and after encountering the fury of a tempeſtuous ſea for near a fortnight, came to an anchor near Cherburgh; and on the firſt of July, arrived in the road of St. Helens; the ſoldiers were landed on the Iſle of Wight, and a conſiderable part of them ſent, under the command of the duke of Marlborough and lord George Sackville, to reinforce the allied army in Germany. The fleet ſailed from St. Helens on the firſt of Auguſt; and after a tedious paſſage, anchored before Cherburgh. The enemy had for ſome time expected the Engliſh would ſoon attack this place: nor had they been idle during the interval. They had thrown up an intrenchment, extending near four miles along the coaſt from the fort de Ecourdeville, ſituated about two miles to the weſt of Cherburgh, and fortified it with ſeveral batteries at proper diſtances. Behind this intrenchment, a body of horſe and infantry appeared, dreſſed in red and blue uniform. But as they did not advance to the open beach, the landing of the Engliſh forces was attended with little danger. A bomb ketch was ſent to anchor near the town, and throw a few ſhells into the place, as a feint to amuſe the enemy, with regard to the ſpot, where they intended to land, which was near a league to the weſtward of Querqueville, the weſtermoſt fort in the bay. The other bomb ketches being poſted along the ſhore, conſiderably galled the intrenchment by not only throwing ſhells, in the uſual manner, but alſo by loading the mortars with great quantities of balls, which were thrown to a very conſiderable diſtance, and, by ſcattering as they flew, did an infinite deal of miſchief. While theſe veſſels kept up an inceſſant fire on the trenches, the grenadiers and guards were landed without oppoſition, and formed immediately on the beach, having a natural breaſtwork in their front. The enemy advanced upon them in good order from the left, where the ground was interſected with hedges. On perceiving the approach of the enemy, the Britiſh troops marched towards them, and a ſtraggling fire began; but the French declined the engagement, and took poſſeſſion of a hill, whence they diſcharged a few random ſhot on the Engliſh advanced poſts, and took advantage of the night to retire. General Blythe, who now commanded the Britiſh forces, encamped at the village of Erville, and the next morning marched towards Cherburgh. An advanced party took poſſeſſion of Querqueville, which the enemy had abandoned, together with the lines and batteries along the ſhore. When the Engliſh reached Cherburgh, they found the place entirely deſerted by the enemy, the gates were open, and they entered it without the leaſt oppoſition, while the inhabitants received them with great civility. The famous baſon, harbour, and ſluice of Cherburg being deſtroyed, on the ſixteenth of Auguſt the forces marched down to the beach, and were re-embarked at Fort Galet, without the leaſt diſturbance from the enemy. The next day the fleet ſet ſail for the coaſt of England, and anchored in the road of Weymouth, under the high land of Portland. Two days after it again weighed and ſtood to the ſouthward, but was obliged by contrary winds to return to the ſame ſtation. The ſecond effort, however, was more effectual; and ſteering to the French coaſt, they arrived in the bay of St. Lunaire, two leagues to the weſtward of St. Malo, upon which place it was determined to make another attempt. The ſloops and ketches being poſted along ſhore to cover the landing, the troops were diſembarked on an open beach, and a ſmall party detached to the harbour of St. Briac, above the town of St. Malo, where they deſtroyed about fifteen ſmall veſſels: but St. Malo itſelf being carefully reconnoitred, appeared to be impregnable either by the land forces or ſhipping, which obliged the deſign againſt it to be laid aſide. The general unwilling to re-embark without attempting ſome ſtep for the farther annoyance of the enemy, reſolved to penetrate into the country, regulating his motions, however, by thoſe of the fleet, which, by this time, had quitted the bay of St. Lunaire, where it could not ride in ſafety, and anchored in the bay of St. Cas, about three leagues to the weſtward. On the eighth of September the army began its march to St. Guildo, which they reached in the evening, and the next day continuing their rout, they encamped in the open ground, about three miles from the bay of St. Cas, which was immediately reconnoitred for re-embarkation, the general having received certain intelligence that the duke d'Aiguillon had advanced from Breſt to Lambale, within ſix miles of the Engliſh camp, at the head of twelve regular battalions, ſix ſquadrons, two regiments of militia, eight mortars and ten pieces of cannon. Had our troops decamped in the night in ſilence, they might poſſibly have reached the beach before the enemy had received the leaſt notice of their deſign: but inſtead of this cautious method of proceeding, on the eleventh, at two in the morning, the generale was beat, and the army began to march in one column, conſiſting of ſix thouſand, five hundred men, ſo diſpoſed, as to be capable of forming before an attack could be made. In the mean time, the Brilliant, Roſe, Active, Pallas, and Tartar frigates, ſtood into the bay of St. Cas, to cover the re-embarkation of the troops, who were drawn up near a wind-mill, on a hill, about three quarters of a mile from the beach. At nine in the morning the army began to march down to the boats, which lay ready to receive them. By eleven, two thirds of the army with the light horſe and artillery, being on board, a body of the enemy's horſe appeared on the hill, and a little afterwards a much larger one of infantry, occupying the ground round the wind-mill. Upon a motion made by the French to deſcend, the bomb-ketches began to play upon them with great ſucceſs. The firſt ſhell fell upon a body of horſe, which rendered them ſo ungovernable, that the men were obliged to diſmount. Several alſo fell among the enemy's infantry. At half after eleven, the French opened a battery of ſix pieces of cannon, near the wind-mill, from which they maintained a cloſe fire on the troops while embarking. At twelve the enemy opened a battery of cohorns, behind the hedge, on the right of the mill; but the ſhips and ketches kept ſo inceſſant a fire upon it, that they threw only two ſhells among the troops, which did ſome damage. They then filed off a ſecond time to the left, and got poſſeſſion of the village of St. Cas; upon which the grenadiers of the whole army, amounting to eleven hundred men, with four companies of guards, under general Drury, drew up on the beach to cover the battalions while embarking. In the mean time, the enemy, to avoid the fire of the ſhips, left the village, and endeavoured to get poſſeſſion of a hollow way, which entirely covered them. This they accompliſhed, but when they began to deſcend, the grenadiers formed into two diviſions, and marched to the attack. The bay of St. Cas was covered by an intrenchment, which the enemy had thrown up to prevent or oppoſe the diſembarkation; and on the out-ſide of this work there was a range of ſand hills, extending along the ſhore, which would have ſerved as a cover to the enemy, from whence they might have annoyed the troops in re-embarking; a propoſal was therefore made to the general, that the forces ſhould be taken on board from an open beach on the left, between St. Cas and Guildo; but this was rejected. The intrenchment would have been of great uſe to the grenadiers, had not general Drury, by ſome miſtake, inſtead of waiting behind the dyke for the enemy, marched the diviſion over it, and attacked the enemy, who were ready prepared on the other ſide. Indeed he twice repelled them; but the continual ſuccours pouring down from the hollow way, brought them back to the charge; and then they repelled general Drury in his turn. He was now convinced of his error; for the ſecond diviſion could not get over the breaſt-work time enough to ſuccour the firſt, which was entirely broken, and with great difficulty got back. The enemy having now got poſſeſſion of the dyke, kept a continual fire upon the grenadiers, and the general ſeeing that a retreat was the only remedy, ordered the whole body immediately to wheel to the right, and make to the boats as faſt as poſſible. Some embarked, but a battery which the French had erected on the middle of the hill, played ſo furiouſly, that many of the boats were beat to pieces. The enemy ſeeing no retreat left to the grenadiers, mounted the dyke, and by a great ſuperiority of numbers, drove thoſe that remained into the ſea, where the greateſt part of them were cut to pieces or drowned. During the laſt attack, the fire from the ſhips was rendered ineffectual, becauſe the Engliſh would have ſuffered equally with the French. General Drury was ſhot in the breaſt, but by the help of a grenadier, he ſtripped off his cloaths, and plunged into the water, where he periſhed. Sir John Armitage, a volunteer, was killed on a rock to which he had ſwam. The whole loſs, including the ſlain, and thoſe taken priſoners, amounted to about a thouſand men.

Miniſtry had for ſome time determined to attack the French ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, and the deſign was this year carried into execution. The plan was concerted by Mr. Cumming, a quaker, a man of acute penetration, and happy invention. This perſon, who as a private merchant, had made a voyage to this part of the coaſt of Africa, obſerved the extenſive trade carried on by the French, and even contracted a perſonal acquaintance with Amir, the Mooriſh king of Legibelli; in whoſe dominions the moſt important branches of trade are carried on. The French, beſides other articles of commerce, were in poſſeſſion of the whole trade of gum-ſenega, a great quantity of which is uſed in the manufactures of Great Britain, and which could only be procured at an exorbitant price from the Dutch, who had taken care to purchaſe the whole from the French. A ſmall ſquadron was now equipped for this expedition, under the command of captain Marſh, having on board a body of marines, commanded by major Maſon, with a detatchment of artillery, ten pieces of cannon, eight mortars, and a conſiderable quantity of warlike ſtores and ammunition. Captain Walker was appointed engineer, and Mr. Cumming was concerned as principal director and promoter of the expedition. In the beginning of March this little armament ſailed, and in their paſſage touched at the iſland of Teneriffe; and, while the ſhips were taking in their wine and water, Mr. Cumming proceeded in the Swan Sloop to Portenderrick, charged with a letter of credence to his old friend the king of that country. But on his arrival he had the mortification to find this prince engaged in a new war with a neighbouring nation, and at that time headed his army at a very conſiderable diſtance from his capital. One of the chiefs, however diſpatched a meſſenger to the king, with advice of Mr Cumming's arrival and deſign; declaring at the ſame time, that he would uſe the utmoſt expedition in aſſembling three hundred warriors to join the Engliſh troops, adding, that he was perſuaded the king would ſend a detachment from his army to reinforce them. Captain Marſh, with the reſt of the armament, had by this time arrived at Portenderrick, and without waiting for the Indian forces, which were not yet ready, they ſailed again on the twenty-ſecond of April, and the next day, at four in the afternoon, diſcovered the French flag flying upon fort Louis. Captain Marſh having taken a large Dutch ſhip richly laden with gums, which lay without the bar, came to an anchor in Senegal road, at the mouth of the river; where he perceived the enemy had poſted ſeveral armed ſloops to defend the paſſage of the bar, which is extremely dangerous. The captain, however, immediately prepared for landing. All the boats of the fleet were employed to carry the ſtores into the ſmall craft, notwithſtanding the enemy's veſſels kept firing on them. As ſoon as every thing was ready, and the channel diſcovered, the ſhips weighed anchor; and at that inſtant the wind, which generally blows down the river, veering about, captain Miller, in the London buſs ſeized the opportunity, and paſſing the bar with a full ſail, caſt anchor on the inſide, where he lay all night expoſed to the whole fire of the enemy. Next morning he was joined by the other ſmall veſſels, upon which a regular engagement enſued, and was warmly ſupported on both ſides. At laſt the buſſes and one of the ſmall veſſels running a-ground immediately bulged, and were filled with water. This misfortune obliged the troops they contained to take to their boats, and with great difficulty they reached the ſhore, where they formed in a body, and were ſoon after joined by their companions from the other veſſels; ſo that the whole now amounted to three hundred and ninety marines, beſides the detachment of artillery. Expecting to be attacked by the natives who lined the ſhore at ſome diſtance, as if reſolved to oppoſe the deſcent, they threw up an intrenchment, and began to diſembark the ſtores, great part of which lay under water. While they were thus employed the negroes came down in great numbers, and ſubmitted to them: and on the following day they were reinforced by three hundred and fifty ſeamen, who paſſed the bar in ſloops with their enſigns and colours flying. They intended to make an immediate attack on Fort Louis, but this deſign was prevented by the arrival of two French deputies at the intrenchment, with propoſals from the governor for a capitulation. The Engliſh forces began their march for Fort Louis, accompanied by a number of long boats, in which the artillery and ſtores had been embarked. On ſeeing them advance, the French immediately ſtruck their flag, and major Maſon took poſſeſſion of the caſtle, where he found ninety-two pieces of cannon, with a very conſiderable quantity of treaſure and merchandize. The corporation and burghers of the town of Senegal readily ſubmitted and ſwore allegiance to the king of Great Britain: the neighbouring princes, attended by numerous retinues, viſited the commander, and concluded treaties with the Engliſh nation; and the king of Portenderrick, or Legibelli, ſent an ambaſſador from his camp to major Maſon, with compliments of congratulation and aſſurances of friendſhip.

The miniſtry being ſenſible that the Engliſh ſettlements on the cooſt of Africa could never be ſecure while the French kept poſſeſſion of Goree, they fitted out a ſquadron, the command of which was given to commodore Keppel, conſiſting of four ſhips of the line, ſeveral frigates, two bomb ketches, and ſome tranſports, having on board ſeven hundred regular troops, commanded by colonel Worge. On the eleventh of November this armament ſailed from Cork in Ireland, and, after a dangerous paſſage, they arrived at Goree the latter end of December; when the commodore immediately made a diſpoſition for attacking the iſland. A ſhell being fired from one of the bomb-ketches, which was the ſignal for the engagement to begin, the great ſhips poured in their broadſides without intermiſſion, and their fire was returned with equal vivacity from all the batteries of the iſland. At length the cannonading from the ſhips became ſo ſevere and terrible, that the French ſoldiers fled from their quarters, in ſpite of all the efforts of the governor, who endeavoured to keep them to their duty; which obliged him to ſtrike his colours, and ſurrender at diſcretion; upon which the commodore ſent a detachment of marines on ſhore, who diſarmed the garriſon, and hoiſted the Britiſh flag upon the caſtle of St. Michael. Two trading veſſels which happened to be at anchor in the road, likewiſe fell into the hands of the Engliſh, with ſtores, money, and merchandize, to the value of twenty thouſand pounds. This important conqueſt coſt the victors only one hundred men killed and wounded. Commodore Keppel having left a garriſon at Goree, and reinforced that of Senegal, returned home with his ſquadron.

During theſe tranſactions, events of much greater conſequence happened in America; where, excluſive of the fleet and marines, the government had aſſembled about fifty thouſand men, including twenty-two thouſand regular troops. Lord Loudon having returned to England, the chief command devolved on major-general Abercrombie: but as the objects of operation were various, the forces were divided into three ſeparate bodies, under three diſtinct commanders. Twelve thouſand were deſtined for an attempt on Cape Breton, under the command of major-general Amherſt. The general himſelf reſerved near ſixteen thouſand for the reduction of Crown Point; and eight thouſand, under brigadier-general Forbes, were allotted for the conqueſt of Fort du Queſne. On the twenty-eighth of May, major-general Amherſt embarked his troops at Halifax in Nova Scotia, and ſailed for Louiſburgh with the Engliſh ſquadron, commanded by admiral Boſcawen, the whole fleet conſiſting of one hundred and fifty-ſeven ſail. On the ſecond of June they came to an anchor in Gabarus bay, about ſeven miles to the weſtward of Louiſburgh. Our troops amidſt innumerable difficulties made good their landing; after which the ſiege was carried on with ſuch vigour and reſolution, that the French governor finding it impoſſible to withſtand the fury of the aſſault, thought proper to capitulate on the twenty-ſeventh of July, by which he, and the garriſon, became priſoners of war. Major Farquhar, with three companies of grenadiers, immediately took poſſeſſion of the weſtern gate; and brigadier Whitmore was ſent into the town, to ſee the garriſon lay down their arms, and to poſt the neceſſary guards on the ramparts, and at the doors of the magazines. In this town the victors found two hundred and twenty-one pieces of cannon, and eighteen mortars, together with a very large quantity of ſtores and ammunition. The merchants and inhabitants were ſent to France in Engliſh ſhips:

but the garriſon, ſea-officers, marines, and mariners, amounting in all to five thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-ſeven priſoners, were tranſported to England. This important conqueſt was obtained with the loſs of four hundred men only, the wounded included. The enemy's ſhips, which were in the harbour at the time our troops arrived there, were all either burnt or taken, two frigates excepted, which on the day of the diſembarkation ſailed from thence undiſcovered. All things being properly ſettled at Cape Breton, ſeveral ſhips were detached, with a body of troops under the command of lieutenant-colonel lord Rollo, to take poſſeſſion of the iſland of St. John, a ſmall but fertile place in the gulph of St. Laurence. The inhabitants, amounting to four thouſand one hundred, made no oppoſition, but readily delivered up their arms. Lord Rollo then repaired to the governor's quarters, where he found ſeveral ſcalps of Engliſhmen, whom the ſavages had butchered, in conſequence of the encouragement given them for ſuch inhuman proceedings by their French patrons and allies.

The forces under the immediate command of general Abercrombie, conſiſting of about ſeven thouſand regular troops, and ten thouſand provincials, embarked in the beginning of July, at the mouth of Lake George, on board batteaux and whale boats, with proviſion, artillery and ammunition; ſeveral pieces of artillery being mounted on rafts to cover the propoſed landing, which was effected the next day without oppoſition. The general's ſcheme was to inveſt Ticonderoga, a fort ſituated on a point of land between Lake George and a narrow gut communicating with Lake Champlin. Three ſides of this fortification were ſurrounded with water, and nature had ſecured the front by a moraſs. The troops being landed, were immediately formed into three columns, and began their march towards the advanced guard of the enemy, conſiſting of one battalion, encamped behind a breaſt-work of logs, which on the approach of the Engliſh, they abandoned with great precipitation. The rout from this breaſt-work to the fort lay through a thick wood, which would admit of no regular paſſage: and the guides proving extremely ignorant, our forces were bewildered, and the columns thrown into the utmoſt diſorder. A French detachment alſo met with the ſame embarraſſment, and falling in with lord Howe, at the head of one of the Britiſh columns, an engagement enſued, wherein the enemy were totally defeated. But this trifling advantage was dearly purchaſed by the loſs of lord Howe, who fell in the beginning of the action, univerſally lamented, being a young nobleman of approved courage and moſt promiſing talents. The troops were now ſo much fatigued and diſordered, that general Abercrombie thought it adviſeable to return to the landing place, which they reached about eight in the morning. The general having made his approaches, and ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts, was convinced that a retreat was neceſſary to prevent a total overthrow. Having, therefore, re-embarked the troops, he returned to lake George, from whence he had taken his departure. He now detached lieutenant-colonel Bradſtreet with a body of three thouſand men, to execute a plan that officer had formed againſt Fort Frontinac, ſituated on the north ſide of the river St. Lawrence, juſt where it takes its riſe from the Lake Ontario. Having advanced with his detachment to the ſide of this lake, he embarked in ſome ſloops and batteaux provided for the purpoſe, and landed within a mile of Fort Frontinac, the garriſon of which, conſiſting of one hundred and ten men, with a few Indians, immediately ſurrendered priſoners of war. Bradſtreet then made himſelf maſter of all the enemy's ſhipping on the lake, amounting to nine armed veſſels, ſome of which carried eighteen guns. After deſtroying the fortifications, the colonel returned to Oſwego, with the veſſels, artillery, ſtores, ammunition and merchandize. It has been already obſerved, that eight thouſand men, under brigadier-general Forbes were appointed for the reduction of Fort du Queſne. That general began his march on the thirteenth of June, from Philadelphia for the river Ohio. The difficulties and fatigues he met with were aſtoniſhing: but he ſurmounted them all, and, at length arrived at Ray's town, at the diſtance of ninety miles from fort du Queſne, from whence he detached colonel Grant, at the head of eight hundred men, to reconnoitre the fort and its out-works. On his approach the enemy ſent out a large body of forces to meet him. An engagement enſued, which the Engliſh maintained with their uſual courage for three hours; but at length being overpowered by numbers, they were obliged to retreat with the loſs of three hundred men killed or taken; among the latter were major Grant, and nineteen officers. Far from being diſpirited by this misfortune, brigadier Forbes immediately advanced with his whole army, reſolved to make himſelf maſter of the fort or periſh in the attempt. But before his arrival the French had thought proper to abandon the place, and retire down the river Ohio, to their ſettlements on the Miſſiſſippi. On the twenty-fifth of November the Engliſh entered the fort, and after repairing the fortifications, which the enemy had diſmantled, he changed its name from Fort du Queſne to Pitſburg; after which he concluded a treaty of friendſhip and alliance with the Indian tribes, and then returned to Philadelphia.

Nothing material occurred in the Weſt-Indies, except the protection of our commerce, and two gallant actions performed by captain Tyrrel, who in the Buckingham aſſiſted by the Cambridge, demoliſhed a ſmall fort in Grand Ana bay, in the iſland of Martinico, and took four privateers, three of which were deſtroyed, and one converted into a tender. But what moſt redounds to the honour of captain Tyrrel, is the following inſtance of humanity. When the fort was demoliſhed, the men fluſhed with victory, warmly ſolicited leave to deſtroy a village ſituated near it, but their valiant commander replied, "Gentlemen, it is beneath us to render a number of poor people miſerable, by deſtroying their habitations; brave Engliſhmen ſcorn to diſtreſs even their enemies, when not in arms againſt them." This ſpeech had the deſired effect on the brave tars, and ſaved the habitations of the poor and innocent villagers. A few months after being detached in the Buckingham on a cruize, he fell in with the Weazel ſloop, commanded by lieutenant Bowles, between the iſlands of Montſerrat and Guadaloupe; and ſoon after diſcovered a fleet of nineteen ſail under the convoy of a French man of war called the Floriſſant, and two frigates. The brave Tyrrel, undiſmayed by their ſtrength and number, immediately gave chace with all the ſail he could carry. The enemy were prepared to receive him; but after a ſhort engagement became intimidated by his briſk fire, with which he ſoon diſabled the two frigates, and preſſed hard on the Floriſſant, which now made ſail in order to eſcape; but Tyrrel prevented her deſign by getting within piſtol ſhot, and pouring into her a whole broadſide, which did great execution. Both ſides now became deſperate, and captain Terryl received a wound in his face, and loſt three fingers of his right hand, which obliged him to leave the command of his ſhip to Mr. Marſhal his firſt lieutenant, who continued the action with great bravery until he loſt his life: the charge then deſcended to the ſecond lieutenant, who behaved with equal intrepidity, and maintained a moſt deſperate engagement. At length the fire of the Floriſſant ceaſed, and confuſion, terror, and uproar prevailed among her officers and men, till ſhe ſtruck her colours. At this time the ſea ran ſo high, and the Buckingham was in ſo ſhattered a condition, that they could not immediately board the enemy; which being perceived by the commander, he ſpread all the ſail he could, and made his eſcape. But though the gallant Tyrrel was diſappointed of his prize, the action will always be remembered with honour. The Buckingham had twenty men killed and wounded; but the Floriſſant had above one hundred and eighty killed, and three hundred wounded; ſhe was alſo ſo greatly diſabled in her hull, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty they kept her above water till they reached Martinico.

The war in the Eaſt Indies was carried on with vigour, though not always with ſucceſs. Vice-admiral Pocock being joined by commodore Stephens in Madraſs Road with the reinforcements from England, ſailed on the twenty-ſeventh of March with the Yarmouth, Elizabeth, Tyger, Weymouth, Cumberland, Newcaſtle, Saliſbury, Queenborough, and Protector ſtoreſhip, in order to get to windward of St. David's, to intercept the French ſquadron, which he had reaſon to expect. On the twenty-ninth in the morning he ſaw ſeven ſhips in St. David's Road getting under ſail, and two cruizing in the offing, and immediately gave chace. The ſeven ſhips ſtood off under their topſails, and being joined by the two ſhips in the offing, formed the line of battle a-head. The enemy began to fire upon the Engliſh as they were going down; but the admiral did not make the ſignal to engage, till he was within half a muſket ſhot of the Zodiaque, which was about three o'clock. A few minutes after, perceiving his ſhips were not cloſe enough to the enemy, he made the ſignal for a cloſer engagement, which was immediately complied with by the ſhips in the van. At half an hour paſt four, obſerving the rear of the French line had drawn up pretty cloſe to the Zodiaque, the admiral made the Cumberland, Newcaſtle, and Weymouth, ſignals to make up and engage cloſe. Soon after M. d'Aché broke the line, and put before the wind; his ſecond a-ſtern, which kept on the Yarmouth's quarter moſt part of the action, then came up along ſide, gave his fire, and bore away. The other two ſhips in the rear came up in like manner, and then bore away; and a few minutes after obſerving the enemy's van to bear away alſo, the admiral hauled down the ſignal for the line, and made the ſignal for a general chace. At ſix, obſerving the enemy join two ſhips about four miles to leeward, and at the ſame time hauling their wind to the weſtward, and ſeeming to form the line a-head; and the Yarmouth's maſts, yards, ſails, and rigging, as well as the Elizabeth's, Tyger's, and Saliſbury's, being ſo much damaged as to prevent their keeping up with the ſhips that were in the rear during the engagement, and night approaching, the admiral followed the enemy as well as he could, ſtanding to the S. W. in order, if poſſible, to keep to windward of them, in hopes of being able to engage them next morning; but as they ſhewed no lights, nor made any night ſignals that could be obſerved, he did not ſee them in the night nor next morning; and therefore concluding they had weathered him in the night by being able to carry more ſail, he continued his endeavours to work up after them until ſix in the morning of the firſt of May, when finding he loſt ground conſiderably, he came to an anchor about three leagues northward of Madraſs, and ſent an officer to the chief of that ſettlement for intelligence, who informed him, that the Bien-Aimé of ſeventy-four guns had received ſo much damage in the action, that they were obliged to run her on ſhore a little to the ſouthward of Alemparve, where the French ſquadron was at anchor. The admiral had not any certain account of the enemy's loſs; but according to the reports of the Dutch, and ſeveral French officers, they had ſix hundred men killed in the action, and many more wounded. The loſs on our part was only twenty-nine killed, and eighty-nine wounded. The action was about ſeven leagues W. by N. of Alemparve. The admiral obſerved, that commodore Stephens, the captains Latham and Somerſet who were in the van, and alſo captain Kempenfelt, the commodore's captain, behaved as became gallant officers; and that captain Harriſon's behaviour, as well as that of all the officers and men belonging to the Yarmouth, gave him ſenſible ſatiſfaction; and that had the captains in the rear done their duty as well, he ſhould have commanded them with great pleaſure: but their manner of acting in the engagement appeared ſo faulty, that on his return to Madraſs he ordered a court-martial to aſſemble, and enquire into their conduct. In conſequence of this, captain Nicholas Vincent was ſentenced to be diſmiſſed from the command of the Weymouth; captain George Legge of the Newcaſtle, to be caſhiered from his majeſty's ſervice; and captain William Brereton of the Cumberland, to loſe one year's rank as a poſt captain.

Pocock, having repaired the moſt material damages of his ſhips, put to ſea the tenth of May, with an intent to get up to Fort St. David, but was not able to effect it. He got ſight of Pondicherry on the thirtieth; and the next morning the French ſquadron, which had been there ever ſince the fifth, ſtood out of the road and got away, notwithſtanding the admiral's utmoſt endeavours to come up with them. On the ſixth of June, upon receiving an account that Fort St. David had ſurrendered to the French, he judged it prudent to return immediately to Madraſs to refreſh his ſquadron. The admiral ſailed again on the twenty-fifth of July in queſt of the enemy, and on the twenty-ſeventh in the evening got within three leagues of Pondicherry Road, where he perceived their ſquadron at anchor, conſiſting of eight ſail of the line and a frigate. They got under ſail the next morning, and ſtood to the ſouthward. The admiral made the ſignal to chace, and endeavoured to weather them, as the moſt probable means of bringing them to action, which however he was not able to accompliſh till the third of Auguſt, when taking the advantage of the ſea breeze he got the weather-gage, and brought on the engagement about one o'clock. M. d'Aché ſet his foreſail, and bore away in about ten minutes, his ſquadron following his example, and continuing a running fight in a very irregular manner till three o'clock. The admiral then made the ſignal for a general chace; upon which the French cut away their boats, and made all the ſail they could; he purſued them till it was dark, when they eſcaped by out-ſailing him, and got into Pondicherry Road. The admiral anchored with his ſquadron the ſame evening off Carrical, a French ſettlement. The loſs of men in this action was only thirty-one killed, and one hundred and ſixteen wounded; among the latter were commodore Stephens, and captain Martin. The behaviour of the officers and men in general on this occaſion, was entirely to the admiral's ſatiſfaction. The French ſquadron continued in Pondicherry Road until the third of September, when they ſailed for the iſlands to clean and refit, two of their ſhips being in a very bad condition, and the others conſiderably damaged. By the beſt accounts, their loſs in this laſt amounted to five hundred and forty killed and wounded.

We paſs on to exhibit a ſummary view of the operations performed by the allied army during this campaign on the continent of Europe, where the war was proſecuted with the utmoſt virulence. A farmer of the revenue arrived at Hanover from Paris about the cloſe of laſt year, in order to receive the revenues of that electorate, together with thoſe of all other countries, as ſhould be reduced by the armies of the moſt Chriſtian king. At the ſame time a decree was publiſhed at Paris, by which it appeared that the court of Verſailles had determined the government and ſyſtem of the electorate, contrary to an expreſs article of the capitulation granted to the city of Hanover, when it ſurrendered. The French, therefore, had no right to complain of the infraction of articles, as they themſelves had ſet the example. The landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, alarmed at theſe proceedings, ſolicited a treaty with the French king, whereby the former was enjoined not to act directly or indirectly againſt his moſt Chriſtian majeſty; and the latter to afford him the moſt ſpeedy and effectual ſuccours, if his eſtates ſhould be attacked in conſequence of this treaty. Nor was the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel the only prince alarmed by the progreſs of the French arms. The duke of Brunſwic, though now nearly connected with his Britannic majeſty, in order to detach himſelf from the deſperate fortune of Hanover, concluded a treaty with the courts of Vienna and Verſailles, ten days after the former convention was ſigned.

About the middle of February, prince Ferdinand, being joined by a body of Pruſſian horſe under the command of the prince of Holſtein-Gottorp, the whole army was put in motion, and advanced to the country of Bremen. The enemy were ſoon diſlodged from Rottenburg, Otterſburg, and Verden; they alſo abandoned the city of Bremen on the approach of the Hanoverian army, who took poſſeſſion of it without oppoſition. In the mean time the duke de Richlieu had been recalled, and the count de Clermont now commanded the French forces. The appointment of this general was at once agreeable to the army, and the ſubjects of Hanover, Richlieu having treated them with great inhumanity. The count, perceiving that it would be impoſſible for him with the wretched remnant of the French army, to oppoſe prince Ferdinand in the field with ſucceſs, or even maintain the footing his predeceſſor had gained, retreated as the allies advanced with ſuch precipitation, as frequently to leave his ſick, and the greater part of his baggage and artillery behind. The inhabitants of Hanover, perceiving the French were not able to face the allies, were convinced they muſt ſoon abandon their city, and dreaded the abuſes and cruelties they had reaſon to fear would be practiſed on that occaſion. But they were happily diſappointed by the ingenuous behaviour of their governor, the duke of Randan, who not only kept the ſoldiers within the bounds of the moſt rigid diſcipline, but even ordered the large magazine of proviſions to be ſold at a low rate, after diſtributing a conſiderable quantity to the poor. An inſtance of humanity more honorary to that nobleman, than titles of dignity, or laurels of victory. The French army now retired to Hamelen, leaving a conſiderable detachment under count Chabot at Hoya, a ſtrong fort upon the Weſer, and a place of ſo much importance, that prince Ferdinand determined to drive the enemy from it. The hereditary prince of Brunſwic was appointed for this ſervice, with four battalions of foot, and a detachment of light horſe. The prince, pleaſed with an opportunity of diſplaying his military talents, undertook the expedition with alacrity. He had a broad and deep river to paſs, and no means of tranſporting his men but a ſingle float; and even this was ſoon rendered uſeleſs by a ſtrong wind, which aroſe about the time that one half of his troops had paſſed over. By this accident, all communication was cut off between the prince and a large part of his detachment; while the party he was going to diſlodge, was ſuperior to his whole force. Thus embarraſſed, the prince formed and executed a plan, worthy the moſt renowned of warriors: he determined not to ſpend any time in bringing over the reſt of his troops, but to puſh on with ſuch reſolution as could not fail of intimidating the enemy, and giving him an opportunity of attacking them with ſucceſs, notwithſtanding the ſmall number of his forces. Accordingly, the detachment was in motion before five in the morning, and marched with the utmoſt expedition directly to Hoya. When they were only a mile and a half diſtant from the place, another accident had nearly defeated the ſucceſs of the enterprize. The detachment fired, by miſtake, upon four of the enemy's dragoons, who were patrolling in the neighbourhood of the place. The fire was caught from man to man, till at length it became general, and could not fail of alarming the enemy. An intrepid reſolution was now the only reſource, and was accordingly aſſumed. They marched with the utmoſt expedition to the town, and attacked the enemy at the bridge; a fierce fire enſued, without any apparent advantage reſulting to either party; and the ground was ſo uneven, that the prince could not bring up his whole detachment. Senſible of this difficulty, he formed the deſign of attacking the enemy in the rear; but to carry this ſcheme into execution, it was neceſſary to make a circuit about the town. Every thing ſucceeded to his wiſh: the attack was made with fixed bayonets, and a terrible ſlaughter enſued. The French abandoned the bridge, and fled in confuſion; and the prince, having diſlodged the enemy, rejoined the other part of his detachment. The count de Chabot threw himſelf, with two battalions, into the caſtle, and determined to defend the place to the laſt extremity; but ſoon after capitulated, by which his garriſon marched out with all the honours of war; but their cannon, ſtores, and ammunition, were ſurrendered to the victor. The prince had about an hundred men killed and wounded, but took ſix hundred and ſeventeen priſoners. By this action a place of the utmoſt importance, and which opened a paſſage over the Weſer, was ſecured to the Hanoverian army. This was the firſt exploit of the hereditary prince, whoſe military conduct afterwards ſhone with diſtinguiſhed luſtre.

The hereditary prince now inveſted Minden, which was defended by a garriſon of four thouſand men, who in nine days ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. About the ſame time, ſeveral ſkirmiſhes happened between the advanced parties of the Hanoverian and French armies, but always to the advantage of the former. The latter, ſurrounded with difficulties and diſtreſs, marched towards the Rhine in three columns. Prince Ferdinand finding it impracticable to attack the French camp, found means to turn their left flank towards the convent of Campe, which obliged the enemy to quit a very advantageous poſt, and retire to Nys, a little higher up the river, whence the count de Clermont detached a conſiderable corps, under the command of the count de St. Germain, to take poſt at Creveldt, ſituated in a plain between his army and the camp of the allies, which fronted the town of Meurs. Prince Ferdinand having made a diſpoſition for attacking the enemy, and carefully reconnoitred the ſituation of their camp, aſſigned the command of his whole left wing, conſiſting of eighteen battalions, and twenty-eight ſquadrons, to lieutenant-general Sporcken; the conduct of the right wing, compoſed of ſixteen battalions, and fourteen ſquadrons, was conferred on the hereditary prince and major-general Wagenheim; the ſquadrons, with the addition of two regiments of

Pruſſian dragoons, were under the immediate direction of the prince of Holſtein, while the hereditary prince commanded the infantry. The light troops, conſiſting of five ſquadrons of Heſſians, were divided between the prince of Holſtein and general Sporcken. Major Buckner's ſquadron, together with Scheither's corps, were ordered to obſerve the flank of the enemy's right, and were accordingly poſted in the village of Pandendeike; and a battalion of the troops of Wolfenbuttle was left in the town of Hulſte, to cover the rear of the army. The intention of prince Ferdinand was to attack the left flank of the enemy; but the woods and ditches that interſected this part of the country, rendered the execution extremely difficult. However, he continued his march at the head of the grenadiers to the valley of Anrath, where he fell in with an advanced party of the French, who, after a few diſcharges of muſquetry retired to the camp, and gave the alarm. About one in the afternoon, the action began with a ſevere cannonading on the part of prince Ferdinand, which, though well ſupported, did not drive the French from their cover; he therefore determined to diſlodge them by a cloſe attack of the infantry. The hereditary prince accordingly advanced with the whole front, and an obſtinate action enſued. In the mean time, the cavalry on the right attempted in vain to penetrate through the wood on the other ſide, where the enemy had raiſed two batteries, which were ſuſtained by forty ſquadrons of horſe. In this manner the action continued till five in the afternoon, when the grenadiers collecting all their ſtrength, forced the intrenchments in the wood, which were lined with the French infantry. Theſe giving way, they abandoned the wood in the utmoſt diſorder; but the purſuit was checked by the conduct and reſolution of the enemy's cavalry, which maintained their ground, and covered the foot in their retreat to Nuys, notwithſtanding a dreadful fire from the artillery of the allies, and the vigorous attacks of the Hanoverian horſe, who had by this time found means to regain the plain. The ſucceſs of the day was in a great meaſure owing to the artillery on the left and in the center, which did great execution, while prince Ferdinand proſecuted his attack on the other quarter. In this action, ſeven thouſand of the French troops were killed, wounded, and taken priſoners; and ſeveral ſtandards, colours, and pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the allies, who loſt about fifteen hundred men. Soon after the count de Clermont reſigned his command, which was conferred on M. de Contades, and the army was conſiderably reinforced. This general threatened to attack prince Ferdinand in his turn, and made ſome motions in conſequence of this reſolution; but was prevented in his purſuit by the little river Erff, behind which the prince reſolved to continue quiet, till he ſhould be joined by the body of Britiſh troops under the command of the duke of Marlborough, the firſt diviſion of which had juſt landed at Embden.

M. de Chevert, one of the ableſt commanders in the French army, formed a plan, which, if it had ſucceeded, muſt have greatly embarreſſed the ſituation of prince Ferdinand. Chevert had projected a ſcheme for diſlodging baron Imhoff, who was poſted on the right of the Rhine; burning the bridge at Rhees, making himſelf maſter of the magazine, and preventing the junction of the Britiſh and Hanoverian forces. To execute this plan, he united ſeveral detachments from the garriſon of Weſel to a conſiderable corps, originally intended for the ſiege of Duſſeldorp. His whole force amounted to twelve thouſand men; while the troops under Imhoff did not exceed three thouſand. As ſoon as the Hanoverian general was apprized of the deſign of Chevert, he did all that could be done to defeat it. Perſuaded that the ſwell of the river had rendered it impoſſible for him to receive any aſſiſtance from prince Ferdinand, and that he had nothing to rely on but his own genius, and the valour of his troops, he reſolved to quit his poſt, and meet the enemy. Obſerving that the French were paſſing through very difficult ground, he did not loſe a moment in beginning the action. He ordered a ſmall party, poſted in a little coppice, to fall upon the enemy's left, which he perceived to be uncovered; and appointed the fire of this party as a ſignal for all the reſt to advance, and begin the attack with fixed bayonets. The French being attacked in ſo vigorous and unexpected a manner, fell into confuſion, and in leſs than half an hour fled from the field of battle, leaving eleven pieces of cannon, and all their baggage, to the Hanoverians, who took three hundred and fifty-four priſoners, and drove them under the cannon of Weſel. This ſignal advantage obtained over ſo great a ſuperiority, was not more bravely obtained than wiſely improved. Imhoff, having taken proper meaſures for procuring his magazine, quitted his poſt at Meer; and being reinforced by ſeveral parties who had paſſed the river in boats, he marched with the utmoſt expedition towards the route of the Engliſh forces, and happily effected a junction, which had hitherto been attended with ſo many difficulties. Prince Ferdinand now retired into Weſtphalia, and fixed his head-quarters at Munſter; while Contades encamped near Ham upon the Lippe, and extended his troops in ſuch a manner, as to command the whole courſe of the Rhine on both ſides. The campaign was ſo far advanced before the Britiſh troops joined the army, that they had no opportunity of ſignalizing themſelves in the field. The effects of a long and tedious march, however, were ſeverely felt by them in general, and proved fatal to their commander, the duke of Marlborough, who died of a dyſentery at Munſter.

The time of prorogation being expired, the ſeſſion of parliament was opened by commiſſion on the twenty-third of November, his majeſty being indiſpoſed. The miniſtry reſolved to proſecute the war in every quarter with the utmoſt vigour; and the houſe of commons, ſeconding their deſire of reducing the enemy to reaſon, voted the ſum of twelve millions, ſeven hundred, ſixty-one thouſand, three hundred and ten pounds, nineteen ſhillings and five-pence.

A. D. 1759.

All the French ports were filled with preparations for invading the Britiſh diminions: men of war, tranſports, and flat-bottomed boats, were prepared with the greateſt diligence; and nothing leſs than a triple embarkation now filled the mouths of the French. But the Engliſh were not now to be intimidated; they ſmiled at the vain boaſts of the enemy, and ridiculed a pretended invaſion, threatened by a people incapable of defending their own coaſts. M. de Thurot was appointed to command one of theſe embarkations; and he accordingly found means of ſailing from Dunkirk with a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips and ſeveral tranſports, directing his courſe towards Scotland. This commander, from the maſter of a merchant ſhip, became the captain of a privateer, and, in that capacity, greatly annoyed the Engliſh commerce; and diſplayed ſo many accompliſhments, both with regard to courage and conduct, that he was choſen to command this ſquadron. But the principal embarkation for invading England, was to be made at Havre de Grace, and other ports of Normandy, in flat-bottomed boats. While the third embarkation, intended againſt Ireland, was to be made at Vannes, in lower Brittany, where a very conſiderable body of troops were aſſembled, under the command of the duke d'Aguillon, governor of that province. M. de Conflans was appointed commander of the fleet then fitting out at Breſt for covering the embarkation. Such was the plan formed by the French for invading the Britiſh territories. But all theſe pleaſing ideas they had formed, with regard to the ſucceſs of theſe embarkations, were ſoon diſſipated by the meaſures taken by the Engliſh. Commodore Boys, with his ſquadron, was ſtationed before Dunkirk; while admiral Hawke, with a ſtrong ſquadron, blocked up the French fleet in Breſt, and a ſmaller ſquadron, under the command of captain Duff, cruized off the port of Vannes. Nor were the preparations at Havre forgotten: admiral Rodney, with a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips and bombs, ſailed for that port, in order to prevent the flat-bottomed boats from ſailing, and even to bombard the town. On the ſecond of July, Rodney arrived before Havre, and anchored in the great road. The neceſſary diſpoſitions for the bombardment being made, the bomb-ketches placed themſelves in the narrow channel of the ſtream leading to Honfleur. About ſeven in the evening the bombardment began, and continued fifty-two hours without the leaſt intermiſſion, and with ſuch ſucceſs, that the town was ſeveral times on fire, and the magazine of ſtores, collected for the uſe of the army intended for invading England, burnt with the utmoſt fury for ſix hours, notwithſtanding the continual efforts of above four hundred men to ſtop the violence of the flames. This bombardment threw the inhabitants into the utmoſt conſternation; they abandoned the town, and ſought for ſafety in the adjacent country. The troops, in the mean time, were continually employed in throwing up intrenchments, and erecting batteries, in order to defend themſelves againſt the Engliſh, ſhould they attempt to land on the coaſt. But they had no forces on board for that purpoſe, nor indeed was there occaſion for any; they had done enough to convince the enemy that their ſcheme was ridiculous, and that before they attempted an embarkation, it was neceſſary to collect a fleet ſufficient to defeat every attempt that might be made by the Engliſh to prevent it.

Admiral Boſcawen continued cruizing off Toulon, to watch the motions of a fleet then fitting out there, under the command of M. de la Clue. He often ſtood in near the ſhore, diſplaying the Engliſh flag, by way of defiance, hoping, by that means, to provoke M. de la Clue to leave the harbour, and venture a fair engagement on the open ſea. But in this he was miſtaken; the Frenchman was too well acquainted with the courage and conduct of Boſcawen, to riſk his fleet againſt the efforts of ſo experienced and intrepid a commander. Boſcawen therefore detached three men of war of the line, to burn two ſhips lying in the mouth of the harbour. Accordingly they advanced with the utmoſt reſolution, and were warmly received by ſeveral batteries erected near the ſhore, and which they had not till then perceived. They attempted to deſtroy two ſmall forts, and cannonaded them for ſome time with the utmoſt fury; till finding them too ſtrong, they endeavoured to return, but were prevented by the wind ſubſiding into a calm; and were at laſt, with great difficulty, towed off in a very ſhattered condition. This obliged the admiral to return to Gibraltar to refit his fleet; and M. de la Clue ſeized the opportunity of ſailing from Toulon, hoping to paſs the Streights mouth unobſerved by the Engliſh.

The Gibraltar being ordered to hover between Eſtapona and Ceuta Point on the coaſt of Barbary, to give notice in caſe the enemy ſhould attempt to ſail, about eight in the morning of the ſeventeenth of Auguſt ſhe diſplayed a ſignal, that fourteen ſail appeared on the Barbary coaſt, to the eaſtward of Ceuta. In conſequence of this, admiral Boſcawen got under ſail with all poſſible expedition, and at day-break the next morning, he deſcried ſeven large ſhips lying to. The Engliſh fleet, conſiſting of fourteen ſail of the line and two fire-ſhips, ſtood after the enemy, and came up with them about noon; but the wind dying away, the battle did not begin till after two o'clock; nor was admiral Boſcawen able to get up to the Ocean, M. de la Clue's ſhip, till about four, when the action was ſupported on both ſides with great fury. In about half an hour the mizen-maſt, and both top-ſail-yards of the Namur were ſhot away, in conſequence of which the admiral hoiſted his flag on board the Newark; after which the Ocean ſtood away with all the ſail ſhe could crowd. Preſently after, the Centaur, of ſeventy-four guns, ſtruck on a rock; and the Engliſh purſued the flying enemy till morning, when only four ſail were to be diſcovered, and they were ſtanding in for the land. The Engliſh were now at a diſtance of more than three miles from the enemy, and not more than five leagues from the ſhore. About noon, the Ocean ran among the breakers, as did the Redoubtable a ſhort time after, and the utmoſt endeavours were uſed for landing the men from both ſhips; but the ſea being exceedingly rough, this proved a taſk of great difficulty and danger. The Temeraire and the Modeſte, anchored as near the ſhore as they could be brought with ſafety. The Engliſh admiral ſtood in as near the ſhore as prudence would permit, and he diſpatched the Intrepid and America to deſtroy the Ocean; the former, by coming to an anchor, could not get in, but the latter performed the ſervice with little difficulty; for, upon throwing into her a broad-ſide the Ocean ſtruck, and ſhe was immediately taken poſſeſſion of by the conquerors. About half an hour before the Ocean ſtruck, M. de la Clue, who had one leg broke and the other wounded, was put on ſhore; but M. le compte de Came, her captain, and many other officers, were made priſoners. No probability appearing of getting the Ocean off, ſhe was ſet on fire. Captain Bentley of the Warſpight, was ordered againſt the Temeraire, carrying ſeventy-four guns; and he was fortunate enough to bring her off with very little damage. In the mean time, admiral Broderick, with his diviſion, burnt the Redoubtable, which had been bulged and deſerted by the crew; and he brught off the Modeſte, of ſixty-four guns, which had ſuſtained but little damage. In this action the Engliſh had fifty-ſix men killed, and one hundred and ninety-ſix wounded: but the loſs of the enemy was much more conſiderable; for in his letter to the French ambaſſador at Liſbon, M. de la Clue acknowledged, that one hundred men were killed, and ſeventy dangerouſly wounded, on board the Ocean. But the moſt important injury the French ſuſtained, was in the loſs of four capital ſhips, two of which were deſtroyed, and the others brought in triumph to England. Captain Bentley was ſent with advices to the admiralty, of the victory of the Engliſh fleet over that of France; and he experienced a moſt gracious reception from his majeſty, who was pleaſed to confer upon him the honour of knighthood, as a reward for his bravery during the engagement.

Notwithſtanding the projected invaſion of Great Britain was retarded by the defeat of M. de la Clue, the preparations for the enterprize were ſtill continued. Thurot was ordered to avail himſelf of the firſt opportunity of ſailing from Dunkirk, and to proceed round the northern coaſt of Scotland, in order to alarm the coaſt of Ireland, and make a diverſion from that part where Conflans was to diſembark his troops. A great number of ſhips of war and tranſports were aſſembled at Breſt, having on board a train of artillery, with accoutrements for the cavalry; which was intended to be mounted in Ireland. A body of French troops, including the Iriſh brigade, were in readineſs to embark; and the young Pretender remained in the neighbourhood of Vannes *incognito*, with a view of giving countenance to a revolt in Great Britain. To fruſtrate theſe deſigns, Sir Edward Hawke, with a fleet of twenty-three capital ſhips, blocked up the harbour of Breſt; while a ſmall ſquadron, commanded by captain Duff, continued cruizing along the coaſt of France, from Port l'Orient in Bretagne, to the point of St. Giles in Poictou; and theſe operations entirely defeated the deſign of invading England. In November the Engliſh fleet, under the command of Sir Edward Hawke, Sir Charles Hardy, and admiral Young, was driven from the coaſt of France by ſtreſs of weather, and on the ninth day anchored at Torbay. Immediately upon receiving intelligence of the Engliſh fleet being driven from their ſtation, the French admiral ſailed from Breſt with twenty-one ſail of the line, in order to deſtroy the ſquadron commanded by captain Duff, before the larger fleet could return from the coaſt of England. Sir Edward had no ſooner received intelligence of the departure of the French fleet, than he put to ſea, with a deſign of deſtroying them; and in the mean time orders were iſſued by government for defending all thoſe parts of the coaſt that were expoſed to a deſcent; and all the ſhips of war that were in a condition of going to ſea, were ordered to ſail with all poſſible expedition. The troops quartered along the coaſts of Kent and Eſſex were put in motion; and the miniſtry purſued every meaſure for defeating the deſigns of the enemy, that ſound policy could dictate, and true patriotiſm inſpire. In the mean time admiral Hawke directed his courſe for Quiberon Bay, where he ſuſpected the French fleet would rendezvous: but he was driven by a hard gale to the weſtward, where he was joined by two of his majeſty's frigates, named the Coventry and Maidſtone; theſe veſſels the admiral ordered to keep a-head of the ſquadron, one on the ſtarboard, and the other on the larboard-bow. In the morning of the twentieth of November, the Maidſtone made a ſignal that ſhe deſcried a fleet; and thereupon the admiral diſplayed a ſignal for forming the line a-breaſt, in order to collect all his ſhips together; and about ten o'clock the ſhips deſcried by the Maidſtone were found to be the French ſquadron, ſailing in chace of the ſquadron under captain Duff; but upon ſeeing the Engliſh fleet, they made off with all the ſail they could croud; and captain Duff, with ſome difficulty, effected a junction with Sir Edward, who diſplayed a ſignal for ſeven of his ſhips which were neareſt to the enemy to chace, and endeavour to detain them till a reinforcement ſhould arrive; and in order to ſave as much time as poſſible, the admiral ordered the reſt of the fleet to uſe the utmoſt expedition in forming a line a-head. About half an hour after two o'clock the engagement began in the neighbourhood of Belleiſle, by the van of the Engliſh attacking the rear of the French. The purſuit, however, was not ſtopped; but having poured a broadſide into the ſternmoſt of the French ſhips, they continued their courſe towards the van, leaving the rear to the ſhips that followed. In paſſing through the rear in the Royal George of one hundred and ten guns, admiral Hawke reſerved his fire, and ordered the maſter to put him along-ſide the French admiral, who commanded on board the Soleil Royal, carrying eighty guns, and twelve hundred men. The pilot, remonſtrating on the danger of running upon a ſhoal, the gallant Hawke ſaid, "You have done your duty in pointing out the danger, now you are to act in obedience to my order; therefore lay me along-ſide the French admiral." The maſter immediately complied; and the brave veteran ſoon ſaw the Royal George range up with the Soleil Royal. The danger of Conflans being obſerved, a large ſhip, called the Theſee, ran in between the two admirals, and received the fire intended for the Soleil Royal; but this ſpirited manœuvre proved fatal to her; for the ſea ruſhing in at the lower-deck ports, ſhe went to the bottom in a ſhort time. Though the weather was exceedingly tempeſtuous, ſeveral of the ſhips on both ſides maintained the conteſt with great fury, and for ſome time it was doubtful in whoſe favour the battle would terminate; but at laſt victory declared in favour of the Engliſh. About four in the afternoon the Formidable ſtruck her colours; and the Superb met with the ſame fate as the Theſee. The Hero ſtruck, and came to an anchor; but the ſea was ſo violently agitated, that no boats could go on board her. Preſently after, the retreat of the French, covered by the obſcurity of the evening, put an end to the conteſt. This was a circumſtance exceedingly unfortunate to England, as one more hour of day-light would, in all probability, have enabled admiral Hawke to have obtained a complete victory.

Darkneſs coming on apace, and the ſtorm continuing to increaſe, with a view to prevent his ſhips from running on the unknown ſhoals and iſlands, the admiral made a ſignal for coming to an anchor on the weſt ſide of the ſmall iſland Dumet, where the ſhips remained the whole night in a moſt dangerous ſituation, being continually alarmed by the firing of guns of diſtreſs, and uncertain whether they were ſignals proceeding from their own ſhips or thoſe of the enemy. Under cover of the night, the Soleil Royal came to an anchor in the midſt of the Engliſh fleet: but upon the appearance of the dawn, M. de Conflans ordered her cable to be cut, and ſhe drove aſhore to the weſtward of Croize; and this event was no ſooner perceived by the Engliſh admiral, than he made a ſignal for the Eſſex to ſlip her cable, and purſue the flying enemy. In performing this ſervice, the Eſſex unfortunately ran on a ſand bank called Lefour, where another of the Engliſh fleet, named the Reſolution, was already aground. Notwithſtanding they received every aſſiſtance that it was in the power of the reſt of the fleet to afford, both theſe ſhips were irrecoverably loſt. All the men, and the greateſt part of the ſtores were ſaved; and leſt the wrecks ſhould fall into the hands of the enemy, they were ſet on fire. The Soleil Royal lay beating on the ſhore; but ſhe was ſet fire to by the French, upon their perceiving that the Portland, Chatham, and Vengeance, were approaching to deſtroy her. When they ſaw the Soleil Royal in flames, the three men of war returned and deſtroyed the Hero, which was alſo aground; and another large French ſhip, named the Juſtè, periſhed in the river Loire.

Perceiving ſeven ſhips of the line riding at anchor between Point Penva and the river Vilaine, the Engliſh admiral made a ſignal, on the morning of the twenty-third, to weigh, in preparation for attacking them; but the ſtorm increaſed to ſuch violence, that he was under the neceſſity of remaining at anchor, and of ſtriking top-gallant maſts. In the interim the French ſhips threw their guns and ſtores overboard, and the weather being leſs tempeſtuous under the land, took advantage of the flood to paſs the bar at the mouth of the river Vilaine, where they lay within half a mile of the entrance, defended by ſome occaſional batteries erected on the ſhore, and by two large frigates, moored acroſs the mouth of the harbour. In this engagement, only one lieutenant and thirty-nine men were killed, and about two hundred wounded; a trifling loſs, when put in competition with the amazing victory obtained; by which the projected invaſion, that had ſo long alarmed the apprehenſions of Great Britain was rendered abortive, and a finiſhing blow given to the naval power of France. Sir Edward continued cruizing off the coaſt of Bretagne for a conſiderable time after he had defeated Conflans, taking particular care to block up the mouth of the river Vilaine, that the French ſhips might not come out and join the ſhattered remains of their ſquadron, which had found means to reach Rochfort. At laſt the Engliſh admiral was recalled home, and gratified by his ſovereign with a conſiderable penſion, for the courage and conduct he had ſo often and ſo eminently diſplayed in the ſervice of his country.

A ſcheme having been projected for improving the ſucceſs of our arms in North America, by carrying them up the river St. Lawrence, and attacking Quebec, the capital of Canada, a fleet deſtined for this important undertaking, ſailed from St. Helen's on the twelfth of November in the preceding year, under the command of captain Hughes, conſiſting of eight ſail of the line, one frigate, four bomb-ketches, and a fleet of tranſports, having on board ſix regiments of infantry, and a detachment of artillery, beſides eight hundred marines diſtributed among the ſhips of war; the whole force being under the command of major-general Hopſon, aſſiſted by major-general Barrington, the colonels Armiger and Haldane, and the lieutenant-colonels Trapand and Clavering, acting in the capacity of brigadiers. After a voyage of ſeven weeks and three days the fleet arrived at Barbadoes, and anchored in Carliſle bay, where they joined commodore Moore, who had received orders to aſſume the command of the united ſquadrons, amounting to ten ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and bomb-ketches. Having ſpent ſome time in ſupplying the fleet with wood and water, and taking in a number of negroes to aſſiſt in drawing the artillery, they ſailed from Carliſle bay on the thirteenth of January; but by this time the troops, unaccuſtomed to a hot climate, were conſiderably weakened and reduced by fevers, diarrhœas, the ſcurvy, and the ſmall pox, which laſt diſorder had unfortunately broke out on board the tranſports. Next morning the ſquadron came within ſight of Martinico, the place of its deſtination; and on the fifteenth day of the month, entered the great bay of Port Royal. The general found that he ſhould meet with much greater obſtruction from the nature of the ground, than from the ſtrength of the enemy; the whole country being interſected with a number of gullies, incloſed by ſteep and almoſt perpendicular precipices, which rendered it extremely difficult for the troops to advance, and abſolutely impoſſible for them to tranſport their artillery: he therefore informed the commodore that he could not maintain his ground, unleſs the ſquadron would ſupply him with heavy cannon, landed near the town of Port Royal, or aſſiſt him in attacking the citadel by ſea, while he ſhould make his approaches by land: but both theſe expedients were deemed impracticable; the attempt upon Port Royal was given up: and the troops being recalled from their advanced poſts, were re-imbarked without moleſtation. A council of war being held, it was reſolved to make an attack upon St. Pierre; and the fleet proceeding to that part of the iſland, entered the bay on the nineteenth, when the commodore told the general, that he could undoubtedly reduce the iſland; but as the ſhips might be diſabled in an attack, ſo as not to be in a condition to proceed immediately on any other material ſervice; and as the reduction of the iſland of Guadaloupe would be of great benefit to the ſugar colonies, he thought it would be moſt adviſeable for them to conduct the armament to that iſland. The general having agreed to this propoſal, they immediately ſteered for Guadaloupe, which lies about thirty leagues to the weſtward of Martinico.

The Britiſh ſquadron being arrived at Baſſeterre, the chief engineer reconnoitered the town, and pronounced it abſolutely impregnable to ſhipping; notwithſtanding which, the commodore reſolved to attack it early next morning. At nine, the engagement was begun by captain Trelawney, in the Lyon, and the reſt of the ſhips continuing to draw up abreaſt of the citadel and batteries, the action ſoon became general, and was maintained with equal vivacity on both ſides for ſeveral hours. About five in the afternoon the fire of the citadel was exhauſted; and at ſeven, all the batteries were ſilenced. Four bomb-ketches were then anchored, near the ſhore, and began to ply the town with ſhells and carcaſes; ſo that in a little time the houſes were in flames, the magazines of gunpowder blew up, and about ten at night the whole place was involved in one general conflagration. Next day part of the troops took poſſeſſion of an advantageous poſt on an eminence, and part entered the town, which ſtill continued burning with great violence. At day-break the enemy, to the number of two thouſand, appeared about four miles from the town, and began to throw up intrenchments near a houſe where the governor had fixed his head-quarters, declaring he would maintain this poſt to the laſt extremity. Finding it would be impoſſible to conquer the inhabitants on the ſide of Guadaloupe, the general reſolved to make an attempt on Grand-terre, in conſequence of which the great ſhips were ſent round to that place, and on the thirteenth of February attacked Fort Louis. After a ſevere cannonading, which laſted ſix hours, a body of marines, and one of highlanders, were landed, who, ſword in hand, drove the enemy from their intrenchments, took poſſeſſion of the fort, and hoiſted the Britiſh colours. General Barrington now ſucceeded to the chief command, in the place of general Hopſon, who died at Baſſeterre a few days after Fort Louis was taken, and he determined to proſecute the entire reduction of the iſland with the utmoſt vigour and diſpatch. This, however, he was not able to effect till the firſt of May, on which day the inhabitants, thinking it in vain to hold out any longer, ſurrendered the whole iſland of Guadaloupe by capitulation. A fortunate circumſtance for the Engliſh forces: for the agreement was but juſt ſigned, when a meſſenger arrived to inform the natives, that M. de Beauharnois, general of the French iſlands, had landed at St. Ann with a reinforcement from Martinico, under convoy of a ſquadron commanded by M. de Bompart, who no ſooner heard that the capitulation was ſigned, than he reimbarked his troops with all poſſible expedition, and ſailed back to Martinico. The iſlands of Deſeada, Los Santos, and Marigalante were now ſummoned to ſurrender, and they accordingly ſubmitted upon the ſame terms as were granted to Guadaloupe. General Barrington having made the tour of Guadaloupe, ordered that the fortifications which he thought neceſſary to be maintained, ſhould be immediately repaired. He then finiſhed every thing requiſite for the ſupport of the iſland, and ſettled the affairs relating to the inhabitants; after which he ſent the highlanders, with a body draughted out of other regiments to North America, under convoy; garriſoned the principal towns of the iſland, and left the chief command to colonel Crump. Colonel Melville was appointed governor of the citadel at Baſſaterre, and the command at Grand-terre was given to colonel Delgarno. Three regiments were aſſigned as a guard for the whole iſland, and the other three were embarked for England. In the latter end of June, general Barrington himſelf went on board the Roebuck, and with the tranſports,

ports, under convoy of a ſmall ſquadron, ſet ſail for Great Britain, while commodore Moore, with the greater part of the fleet, directed his courſe to Antigua.

During the above tranſactions in the Weſt Indies, the moſt dreadful devaſtations and ravages of war raged in North America. The inſidious arts of the French had prevailed upon moſt of the Indian nations to revolt, and inſtigated the ſavages to commit the moſt horrid barbarities upon the ſubjects of England. In conſequence of theſe proceedings, the miniſtry deemed it prudent to ſet on foot a treaty at Eaſton, about ninety miles from Philadelphia, where a peace was negociated between Great Britain and fifteen Indian nations. A junction being formed between the Indians and their old friends and allies the Engliſh, every meaſure was purſued for reducing the French ſettlements in Canada, and terminating a war in that part of the world, where innocent people of both ſexes, and all ages and conditions, had been long expoſed to the moſt excruciating tortures that could be inflicted upon them by brutal ferocity. To effect this great purpoſe, it was reſolved to divide the forces in North America, and make ſeveral attacks at the ſame time; that by employing the attention of the enemy in different quarters, the reduction of the whole country of Canada might be effected in the courſe of one campaign. In purſuance of the above deſign, three different expeditions were concerted in ſuch a manner, as to aſſiſt and promote the ſucceſs of each other. Without any oppoſition from the enemy, general Amherſt, whoſe ſeparate army was firſt in motion, paſſed Lake George. Upon the arrival of the Engliſh army in the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga, which the enemy at firſt ſeemed diſpoſed to defend, the neceſſary preparations, were made for beſieging that important fortreſs; but the enemy, after having in ſome meaſure diſmantled the fortifications, abandoned the fort, and retreated towards Quebec, in the neighbourhood of which lay the center of all the great military operations. General Amherſt, immediately after the departure of the enemy, took poſſeſſion of the important fortreſs of Ticonderoga, and having appointed a ſtrong garriſon for the defence of the place, he ordered the neceſſary repairs to be made to the fortifications. On the firſt of Auguſt, one of the ſcouting parties brought intelligence, that the French had abandoned the fort of Crown Point; and hereupon, a body of rangers was diſpatched to take poſſeſſion of the place; and in the mean time the general embarked with the reſt of the army, and on the fourth landed at the fort, where the rangers were already encamped. Having thus obtained poſſeſſion of the moſt important fort in that part of the country, he determined immediately to erect a new fort, in order to ſecure the Britiſh territories in that quarter, and prevent the incurſions of ſcalping parties, who had already committed upon the Engliſh innumerable barbarities, too ſhocking for deſcription. Soon after, general Amherſt received intelligence of the ſtrength of the enemy, who had retreated to an iſland ſituated near the north extremity of Lake Champlain; upon which he ordered captain Loring to uſe the utmoſt expedition in building a ſloop of ſixteen guns, and a radeau of eighty-four feet in length, capable of carrying ſix pieces of large cannon, being determined to have the ſuperiority on the lake. Theſe veſſels being built and manned the general embarked, and made ſeveral attempts to attack the enemy; but the winter coming on, he deemed the accompliſhment of his deſign a matter of impoſſibility, and returned to the bay. Having landed his troops, he marched towards Crown Point, where he arrived on the twenty-firſt of October. His attention was now wholly engroſſed in erecting the new fortreſs at Crown Point; in opening roads of communication with Ticonderoga; and in forming ſuch diſpoſitions for the winter quarters of his troops, as were neceſſary for ſecuring the back colonies from the inroads of the foe.

General Prideaux being reinforced by a conſiderable body of Indians, commanded by Sir William Johnſon, advanced without oppoſition to the camp at Niagara. General Prideaux inveſted the French fortreſs about the middle of July; but after carrying on his approaches for ſome days with great vigour, he was, while viſiting the trenches, unfortunately killed by the burſting of a cohorn. General Amherſt being informed of this diſaſter, he ſent brigadier-general Gage from Ticonderoga, to ſucceed the deceaſed Prideaux in command. In the interim, the command of the army devolved upon Sir William Johnſon, who carried on the plan of his predeceſſor with great ſucceſs. The French, being alarmed by the apprehenſion of loſing a place of ſo much importance, were exceedingly induſtrious in collecting a body of regular troops, amounting to twelve hundred men; and theſe, together with a large body of Indians, were ſent, under the command of M. d'Aubry, to reinforce the garriſon of Niagara. Sir William Johnſon was no ſooner apprized of this, than he made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for intercepting them in their march. About eight in the morning, the French came in ſight of the adverſe army, which was drawn up in order of battle. Upon perceiving the enemy, the Indians advanced to ſpeak to their countrymen, who ſerved under M. d'Aubry; but the latter declining a conference, ſounded the war-whoop, and began the battle with great fury. The Britiſh troops gave the enemy a very warm reception; and the Indians attacked their flanks, and galled them ſo ſeverely, that in about half an hour their whole army was routed; the French general, and many of his officers were ſlain, as were a great number of the fugitives in endeavouring to eſcape through the woods. The Engliſh general now ſent major Hervey to the commander of the fort, with a liſt of the ſeventeen officers who had been made priſoners, and to exhort him to ſurrender, while the ferocity of the Indians could be reſtrained; adding, that he would be allowed the liberty of ſending ſome perſon to view the officers, and thereby ſatisfy himſelf with regard to the fact. An officer was accordingly diſpatched from the fortreſs, and he was permitted to converſe with M. d'Aubry and the other priſoners. On his return, the commander agreed to ſurrender, and in a few hours the capitulation was ratified. The garriſon were permitted to march out with all the honours of war, in order to embark in veſſels on the lake, and be conveyed to New York in the moſt expeditious manner. At their own requeſt, all the women were ſent to Montreal; and the ſick and wounded, who could not bear the fatigue of travelling, were treated with the utmoſt tenderneſs.

Signal advantages reſulted to the Engliſh colonies in North America, from the reduction of Crown Point and Niagara; but the conqueſt of Quebec was a matter of much greater importance, and the expedition againſt this place was attended with much greater danger. The fleet deſtined for this important expedition, ſailed from England about the middle of February, under the command of the admirals Saunders and Holmes, who had afforded repeated proofs of their courage and military ſkill. On the twenty-firſt, they arrived within ſight of Cape Breton; but the harbour being frozen over, they bore away for Halifax in Nova Scotia. It was deemed expedient to detach admiral Durell, with a ſmall ſquadron, to the river St. Lawrence, with orders to penetrate as far as the Iſle de Coudres, in order to intercept any ſupplies that might be ſent from France for Quebec. In the interim, admiral Saunders arrived at Louiſburgh; and the troops being embarked on board the tranſports, he purſued every neceſſary meaſure for executing his plan of operations upon the river St. Lawrence. The land forces were commanded by major-general Wolfe, aſſiſted by the brigadiers Monckton, Townſhend, and Murray. Near the latter end of June, the troops were landed on the iſle of Orleans, ſituated a little below Quebec. The general publiſhed a manifeſto, importing that the king of Great Britain, his maſter, for equitable cauſes, had equipped an armament, for the purpoſe of reducing the moſt conſiderable of the French ſettlements in America; that he intended not to offer any acts of hoſtility to the induſtrious peaſants, their families, or the miniſters of their religion; but that he would maintain them in their temporal poſſeſſions, as well as in the exerciſe of their religion, provided they would not intereſt themſelves in the diſpute between the kings of France and England. Notwithſtanding the liberality of ſentiment on which this manifeſto was founded, it failed of producing the deſired effect; for the Canadians could repoſe no reliance on the faith of a nation, which their prieſts had repreſented as treacherous, heretical, and implacably cruel. Their prejudices and bigotry induced them to reject the offers of the Engliſh general, and to expoſe themſelves to deſtruction, by joining the ſcalping parties of Indians, who attacked the Engliſh ſtraggling parties, and put them to death with circumſtances of horrid cruelty. Shocked and exaſperated by theſe inhuman tranſactions, the generous Wolfe diſpatched a letter to the French general, complaining of the frequent enormities committed, as wholly repugnant to the rules of war obſerved by civilized people, diſhonourable to the French nation, and diſgraceful to humanity; and ſaying, that if the Canadians and Indians were not reſtrained from ſuch horrid proceedings, he ſhould be under the diſagreeable neceſſity of retaliating upon the perſons of ſuch priſoners as then were, or might afterwards become, ſubject to his power. Notwithſtanding the above remonſtrance, they ſtill perſiſted in their infernal practices; and general Wolfe judged it prudent to connive at ſome irregularities committed by his own people, in order that what could not be effected by lenient methods, might be accompliſhed by intimidation. M. de Montcalm, the French general, had taken the field at the head of five regular regiments, and formed his encampment in a very advantageous ſituation. The city of Quebec was ſtrongly fortified, well ſupplied with proviſions and ammunition, and defended by a ſtrong garriſon. General Wolfe, upon receiving intelligence that a detachment of the enemy, with a train of artillery, had taken poſt at Point Levi on the ſouth ſhore, oppoſite the city of Quebec, he reſolved to diſlodge them before they ſhould have time to intrench themſelves. He diſpatched general Monckton, at the head of four battalions, and in the night theſe troops paſſed the river; and the following morning, after ſkirmiſhing with ſome of the enemy's irregulars, compelled them to abandon that poſt, of which the Engliſh took immediate poſſeſſion.

M. de Montcalm was now convinced of his error, in not fortifying Point Levi; and foreſeeing the effect of the battery raiſed by the Engliſh, he detached ſixteen hundred men acroſs the river to deſtroy the works, which were not yet completed; but this attempt proved unſucceſsful. Upon their landing the detachment fell into diſorder, fired upon each other, and retreated in confuſion, before the Engliſh could come up to ſhare in the action. The battery was now finiſhed, and the cannon was employed with ſuch ſucceſs, that in a ſhort time the upper town received conſiderable damage, and the lower one was entirely demoliſhed.

The fleet, all this time, was expoſed to the moſt imminent danger. The troops were no ſooner landed on the iſland of Orleans, than the wind increaſed to a furious ſtorm, which blew with ſuch violence, that many of the tranſports ran foul of each other, and were diſabled; a number of boats and ſmall craft foundered, and ſeveral large ſhips loſt their anchors. The enemy, ſuppoſing this ſtorm muſt have produced great confuſion among the Britiſh ſquadron, reſolved to take advantage of it; for which purpoſe they prepared ſeven fire ſhips, and at midnight ſent them down from Quebec among the tranſports. This ſcheme, however, was entirely defeated by the vigilance of the Engliſh admiral, and the courage of the ſailors, who undauntedly boarded the fire-ſhips, and towed them faſt on ſhore with incredible expedition, where they lay burning to the water's edge, without having done the leaſt part of that execution for which they were deſigned. A ſecond attempt of that kind was ſoon after made, and with as little ſucceſs as the former. The works for the ſecurity of the hoſpital, and the ſtores on the iſland of Orleans, being now completed, the Britiſh forces croſſed the north channel in boats, and landing under the cover of two ſloops, encamped on the ſide of the river Montmorenci, which ſeparated them from the left of the enemy. Next morning a company of rangers, poſted in a wood to cover ſome workmen, were attacked by the French Indians and put to flight; but our neareſt troops advancing, the Indians were, in their turn, repulſed with great loſs. General Wolfe now thought it would be moſt adviſeable to defer attacking the French army till he had ſurveyed the river St. Lawrence above Quebec, where he hoped to find a place more favourable for a deſcent. Having made the admiral acquainted with his deſign, two men of war, two armed ſloops, and ſeveral tranſports with troops on board were ſent up the river, and they paſſed the city without receiving any damage. The general himſelf being on board of this little armament, carefully ſurveyed the banks on the ſide of the enemy, which the nature of the ground rendered extremely difficult; and theſe difficulties were farther increaſed, by the works which the French general had cauſed to be thrown up. Thus diſappointed in his expectation, the general returned to Montmorenci.

A continual ſucceſſion of care, watchfulneſs, and fatigue, produced a fever and dyſentery, by which this truly great man was for ſome time rendered incapable of performing his duty. His mind, however, was not in a ſtate of inactivity; for during the whole time of his confinement he held conſultations with his officers for the public utility. They agreed in opinion, that any farther attempts at Montmorenci would be of no effect, and that their principal operations ought to be carried on above the town, in order, if poſſible, to draw the enemy to an engagement. In conſequence of this reſolution, as ſoon as the general was ſomewhat recovered, the troops quitted their camp at Montmorenci, and, with the artillery, were re-imbarked, and landed at Point Levi. They then paſſed up the river in tranſports, while admiral Holmes made a movement with his ſhips, to amuſe the enemy, poſted on the north ſhore. The weather being extremely bad, and the tranſports very much crowded, the general ordered half of the men to be landed on the ſouth ſhore for refreſhment. The plan of operations was now entirely changed, there appearing no poſſibility of attacking the enemy above the town. A ſcheme was formed and preſented by the three brigadiers, for conveying the troops farther down in boats, and landing them in the night within a league of Cape Diamond, in hopes of aſcending the heights of Abraham, which riſe abruptly with a ſteep aſcent from the banks of the river, that they might take poſſeſſion of the ground on the back of the city, in which place the fortifications were but indifferent. Hazardous as this undertaking was, Wolfe reſolved to attempt it; accordingly the time was fixed, and the neceſſary preparations made. Admiral Holmes, with his ſquadron, was ordered to move about three leagues farther up the river than the place appointed for the diſembarkation, in order to amuſe M. de Bougainville, whom Montcalm had detached to attend the motions of this ſquadron; but as ſoon as night came on he was to return down the river, that he might be ready to protect the landing of the forces. On the twelfth of September, about one in the morning, the firſt embarkation, conſiſting of four complete regiments of light infantry, commanded by colonel Howe, a detachment of highlanders, and the American grenadiers, was made in flat-bottomed boats, under the immediate command of the brigadiers Monckton and Murray, though general Wolfe accompanied them, and was one of the firſt who landed. They then fell down with the tide to the intended place of diſembarkation, rowing cloſe to the north ſhore, in order to find it the more eaſily; but by the rapidity of the tide, and the darkneſs of the night, the boats overſhot the mark, and the troops landed a little below the place intended. This was no ſooner accompliſhed, than the boats were ſent back for a ſecond embarkation, which was ſuperintended by brigadier Townſend. In the mean time, colonel Howe, with the light infantry and highlanders, aſcended the precipices with amazing courage and activity; and in their way diſlodged a captain's guard, which defended a paſs, by which alone the reſt of the troops could reach the ſummit. The whole army then mounted without moleſtation, and the general drew them up in order as they arrived. The French general, M. de Montcalm, was no ſooner informed that the Engliſh had gained the heights of Abraham, than he reſolved to give them battle; and, having collected his whole force from the ſide of Beauport, immediately ſet forward on his march. General Wolfe perceived them croſſing the river St. Charles, upon which he began to form his own line, which conſiſted of ſix battalions and the Louiſburgh grenadiers; the right commanded by brigadier Monckton, and the left by brigadier Murray. Colonel Howe, with his light infantry, was poſted in the rear of the left. The manner in which Montcalm advanced, plainly ſhewed that his deſign was to flank the left of the Engliſh; and accordingly brigadier Townſend was ſent thither with the regiment of Amherſt, which he formed, preſenting a double front to the enemy. He was afterwards reinforced by two battalions; and the reſerve conſiſted of one regiment, drawn up in eight ſubdiviſions, with large intervals. About nine in the morning, the enemy advanced to the charge with great order and reſolution, though their fire was both irregular and ineffectual. The Engliſh reſerved all their ſhot till the French approached within forty yards of their line, when they poured in a violent diſcharge, and continued the fire with ſuch ſpirit and activity, as could not fail of doing terrible execution. The general had fixed himſelf where the attack was moſt warm; and ſtanding conſpicuous in the very front of the line, he was aimed at by the enemy's markſmen, and received a ſhot in the wriſt, which did not, however, oblige him to quit the field; for wrapping his handkerchief about it, he continued to give his orders without the leaſt emotion, and advanced at the head of the grenadiers with their bayonets fixed, when another ball unfortunately entered the breaſt of this young hero, who fell at the moment when victory was crowning all his labours with ſucceſs; for at this very inſtant every regiment of the Britiſh army ſeemed to exert itſelf for the honour of its own peculiar character. While the right puſhed on with their bayonets, brigadier Murray advanced briſkly with the troops under his command, and ſoon broke the center of the enemy; the highlanders then drawing their broadſwords, fell in among them with irreſiſtible fury, and drove them with great ſlaughter into the town and works they had raiſed at the bridge over the river St. Charles. The command now devolved on brigadier Townſhend, who haſtened to the center; and finding the troops diſordered by the purſuit, formed them again with great expedition. This taſk was ſcarce accompliſhed, when M. de Bougainville, with a body of two thouſand freſh men, appeared in the rear of the Engliſh. He had begun his march from Cape Rouge, as ſoon as he had received intelligence that the Britiſh troops had gained the heights of Abraham; but could not arrive time enough to have any ſhare in the action. Two battalions, with two pieces of artillery, were immediately ordered to advance againſt him, who at their approach retired among woods and ſwamps, where general Townſhend did not think it prudent to follow them. M. de Montcalm was mortally wounded in the battle, and taken to Quebec, where he died. His ſecond in command was left wounded on the field, and next day expired on board an Engliſh ſhip, to which he had been conveyed; about one thouſand of the enemy were made priſoners, including a great number of officers, and about five hundred were ſlain on the field of battle. The remains of their army, after they had reinforced the garriſon of Quebec, retired to Port au Tremble, from whence they proceeded to Jaques Quartiers, where they remained intrenched, till the ſeverity of the weather compelled them to make the beſt of their way to Trois Riviéres and Montreal.

The Engliſh, in this memorable action, had only fifty men killed, and about five hundred wounded. But the death of general Wolfe was a national loſs, as he might be juſtly placed among the greateſt generals of the age. When the fatal ball which put a period to his life firſt ſtruck his breaſt, he was carried to a ſmall diſtance in the rear, where, ſupported by an Engliſh grenadier, and a particular friend, he received the welcome news by his ſervant who had long attended him, that the French were defeated, and even ſeeking their ſafety by a precipitate flight. Rouzed by this chearing information, the young hero, though then in the agonies of death, opened his eyes, replying with a trembling accent, "Then I die contented," and expired immediately. This gallant youth ſeemed formed by nature, for reaching the ſummit of military greatneſs; and by the moſt aſſiduous application had ſo greatly improved the talents he had received, that he may be conſidered as the wonder of his age. Nor was he the leaſt deficient in the ſocial virtues of life; he ſought for deſerving objects, and relieved their wants. Firm and ſincere in his friendſhips, gentle and conciliating in his manners; a friend to juſtice, and a warm champion for the honour and liberties of his country, he was beloved and eſteemed by every man of virtue, probity, and honour. Perhaps it will be unneceſſary to add, that he died univerſally lamented.

This glorious battle was fought on the twelfth of September; and on the eighteenth, the enemy perceiving that the communication between the town and the army was cut off, and that the Engliſh fleet and troops were preparing for a vigorous ſiege, ſurrendered Quebec upon very advantageous terms; by which they were allowed the free exerciſe of their religion, and the poſſeſſion of their civil rights, till a general peace ſhould determine their future condition. A garriſon of five thouſand men under general Murray, was put into the place; and the fleet ſoon after ſailed for England, where the news of this important conqueſt of the capital of Canada, was received with extraordinary marks of joy by all ranks of people; at the ſame time that the death of the brave general Wolfe ſpread a univerſal concern through the nation.

The Britiſh arms were not leſs ſucceſsful in the Eaſt Indies, than on the other ſide the Atlantic. Colonel Ford, who had the command of the troops in Bengal, obtained a complete victory near Muſulipatam, over M. Conflans, the French commander, and entered the place in a triumphant manner. At the ſame time colonel Maitland was detached from Bombay with fifteen hundred ſeapoys, and nine hundred European troops, to inveſt the town and caſtle of Surat; which places he attacked with ſo much vigour that they both ſurrendered, on condition that the inhabitants ſhould be allowed to ſecure their property. In the mean time, the Engliſh and French commanders warmly contended for ſuperiority at ſea. On the ninth of September, vice-admiral Pocock deſcried the French fleet, and at ſix o'clock the following morning a ſpirited engagement commenced, which was continued till four in the afternoon, when the rear of the French gave way; and this example was ſoon followed by the van. The Engliſh having ſuſtained very conſiderable damage in their maſts and rigging, were not in a condition to purſue. Captain Mitchie, who commanded the Newcaſtle, captain Gore of the marines, five inferior officers, and upwards of three hundred fore-maſt men were ſlain; and the Captains Somerſet and Brereton, with about two hundred and fifty men, were wounded. The French, in order that their ſhips might undergo neceſſary repairs, directed their courſe towards the iſland of Mauritius, leaving the Engliſh maſters of the Indian coaſt; and this ſuperiority was confirmed by the arrival of four ſhips of the line, commanded by rear-admiral Corniſh, who, on the eighteenth of October, joined admiral Pocock at Madras.

The only profeſſed enemies with whom the Engliſh had to contend in this quarter, were the French; but the Dutch, inſtigated by envy and avarice, and countenanced by the governor of Batavia, ſeized ſeveral ſmall veſſels, on pretence of retaliating affronts offered to them by the ſubjects of Great Britain. In a ſhort time after, the Calcutta Eaſt Indiaman, commanded by captain Wilſon, ſailed down the river, the Dutch commodore ſignified to him, that he would fire upon him if he attempted to paſs. Not being in a condition to oppoſe the Dutch commander, captain Wilſon returned to Calcutta, where two other Indiamen were laying at anchor, and reported his adventure to colonel Clive. Hereupon the colonel ordered the three ſhips to prepare for offering battle to the Dutch commodore; and having each taken on board two additional twelve pounders, they fell down the river, and on their approach the Dutch drew up in a line of battle. Three of the Dutch ſhips carried thirty-ſix guns each; the ſame number carried twenty-nine; and the other nineteen. The Duke of Dorſet being neareſt the enemy, captain Wilſon, who acted as commodore, fired a gun as a ſignal for her to begin the engagement, and ſhe immediately came to an anchor cloſe to the enemy. A dead calm unfortunately coming on, the Duke of Dorſet was, for a conſiderable time, expoſed to the whole fire of the enemy; but a breeze ſpringing up, the Hardwick and Calcutta advanced to her aſſiſtance, and a ſmart conteſt was for ſome time maintained. Two of the Dutch ſhips at length ſlipped their cables and bore away, and a third was driven on ſhore. The Dutch commodore being thus weakened, his remaining four ſhips ſtruck to captain Wilſon. In this ſharp conteſt the Engliſh had not a ſingle man ſlain; a circumſtance the more remarkable, as the Duke of Dorſet was almoſt torn to pieces, about ninety ſhot having penetrated her hull. Having taken poſſeſſion of the prizes, captain Wilſon ſent the priſoners to Calcutta to be diſpoſed of by colonel Clive. The Engliſh were alſo ſucceſsful on the coaſt of Coromandel. Colonel Coote inveſted and reduced the Fort of Wandewaſh, and defeated the French army under the command of general Lally. The atchievements performed by colonel Coote during a long and laborious campaign, were productive of great advantages to his country, and proportionable honour to himſelf.

We ſhall now leave the eaſtern quarter of the globe, to take a ſurvey of the ſcene of war on the continent of Europe. The apprehenſion of the ſpeedy death of the king of Spain, had very materially affected the political ſyſtem in general. Yielding to the force of conjugal affection, this ſovereign had, ſince the deceaſe of his conſort, indulged a melancholy, which operated ſo powerfully upon him, that the inevitable conſequence was expected to be his ſpeedy diſſolution, or a total extinction of the rational faculties. The next in ſucceſſion to the crown of Spain was Don Carlos, king of Naples; and it had been ſtipulated by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, that the duchies of Parma, Guſtalla, and Placentia, ſhould be reſtored to the houſe of Auſtria. The affairs of England and France were connected with the general ſyſtem, yet partly diſtinct and independent. France perceived from the increaſing power of the Engliſh in America, and the feeble condition of her own navy, that all farther attempts in that quarter of the world muſt neceſſarily fail, and that her efforts were therefore to be made in Europe, with two objects principally in view, the recovery of Hanover, and the invaſion of England. In the firſt of theſe projects they could not reaſonably promiſe themſelves any very capital advantage, even in caſe of every poſſible ſucceſs; and with regard to the ſecond, the threats of a deſcent had ſerved to increaſe the internal ſtrength of Great Britain, without producing the leaſt apprehenſion or alarm in the kingdom; and at this time the meaſures of the Engliſh miniſtry, and the mode of proſecuting the war were ſo popular, that the utmoſt harmony prevailed among people of all ranks and conditions. Ferdinand, who ſtill commanded the allied army, had been now ſtrengthened by reinforcements from England, and recruits from different parts of Germany. He had already concerted a plan of operations for the enſuing campaign, the principal object of which was, the extirpation of the enemy from Frankfort, before the reinforcements which they expected could arrive. Having reſolved to undertake this enterprize, he collected all his forces in the neighbourhood of Fulda; and on the tenth of April, he began his march at the head of an army amounting to forty thouſand men. On the thirteenth he came in ſight of the enemy, whom he found ſtrongly encamped about the village of Bergen, between Frankfort and Hanau. The duke of Broglio, the general of the French army, who was eſteemed one of the beſt officers in the ſervice, upon gaining intelligence of the deſign of prince Ferdinand, took poſſeſſion of this poſt on the twelfth, the right of his army being at Bergen, and his center and flanks ſo ſecured, that the allies could only attack them by the village. But notwithſtanding the advantageous ſituation of the enemy, prince Ferdinand reſolved to give them battle, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for that purpoſe. After being repulſed in three ſeveral attacks, he made a new diſpoſition, and brought up his artillery, by means of which he ſeverely cannonaded the village, and damaged ſeveral parts of the French lines. But the ſituation of the enemy was ſuch, as to ſecure them from very eſſential injury; they were, however, ſo effectually amuſed by the artful diſpoſition of prince Ferdinand, that inſtead of taking meaſures for harraſſing him in his retreat, they were only ſolicitous to maintain their ſituation, and to prepare for repelling another attack.

The allies now began to experience the ill conſequences of the miſcarriage at Bergen. In the neighbourhoods of Duſſeldorp and Crevelt, the French obtained plenty of proviſions, while a great dearth of all kinds of neceſſaries prevailed in the allied army, that part of the country which they occupied being already exhauſted, and their ſupplies being conveyed from a great diſtance. The article of forage alone was attended with an expence ſo enormous as to alarm the Britiſh miniſtry, who judged it prudent to appoint an inſpector, to prevent all kinds of frauds and extortions in future. The French army being encamped at Stadburg, the duke de Broglio, who commanded the right wing, advanced from Caſſel into the territories of Hanover, where he took poſſeſſion of Gottingen without oppoſition; and as the enemy advanced, prince Ferdinand was under the neceſſity of retiring; but he left ſtrong garriſons in Lipſtadt, Retherg, and Minden. Yet ſo rapid was the progreſs of the French arms, that there appeared every reaſon to believe they would be attended with ſucceſs. Prince Ferdinand, however, kept himſelf unmoved, and ſteadily attentive to the proſecution of his deſigns. After taking Minden, the body of the French army poſted themſelves in the neighbourhood of that city, to which the right of their forces extended; their left was protected by a very ſteep hill, an extenſive moraſs was in their front, and their rear was covered by a rivulet. The allied army advanced to Peterſhagen, where they pitched their camp in a very advantageous ſituation. An immediate engagement now appeared to be the only event which could diſappoint the French in their intention of eſtabliſhing their winter-quarters in the electorate of Hanover; and the allies could not attack them in the camp they at preſent occupied, with any proſpect of advantage. In this critical ſituation of affairs, prince Ferdinand diſplayed ſuch quick penetration, ſteady fortitude, and undaunted valour, as proved him to be qualified for the moſt important military enterprizes. On the twenty-ninth of July he marched from his camp on the Weſer, towards a village at a conſiderable diſtance on the right, named Hillen, at the head of the greater part of his army. On the preceding day he diſpatched the hereditary prince, with ſix thouſand men, to make a compaſs towards the left flank of the enemy, and to poſt himſelf in ſuch a manner, as to cut off the communication of their convoys from Paderborn. He had alſo left, on the banks of the Weſer, a body of troops, under the comman of general Wangenheim, extending to the town of Thornhauſen, where they were intrenched, and ſupported by a conſiderable train of artillery. Theſe motions being obſerved by the generals of the adverſe army, they ſummoned a council of war, and the reſult of their deliberations was to purſue meaſures which precipitated them into the ſnare prepared for them. They imagined that the allied army was divided and disjointed, and therefore reſolved not to neglect ſo favourable an opportunity for attacking general Wangenheim, who they knew was at the head of only a ſmall body of forces, and ſuppoſed to be at too great a diſtance from the main body of the army to receive any relief. Broglio was to lead the attack, by falling upon the body of troops laying near the river. The duke advanced in full confidence of ſucceſs; but he had no ſooner gained an eminence which lay along his front, than he was ſtruck with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment; for, inſtead of a few poſts weakly guarded, he beheld the whole army of the allies drawn up in moſt excellent order, and extending from the banks of the Weſer to the moraſs, directly in the front of the French camp. The motions of the enemy were for a time entirely ſtopped by this unexpected diſcovery; they were hemmed in between the allies, the moraſs, and the river; and from this diſagreeable ſituation, they found no poſſibility of receding. An obſtinate engagement enſued. The weight of the battle was, in a great meaſure, ſuſtained by the Engliſh infantry, and ſome corps of Hanoverians, who, with a degree of intrepidity that has never been exceeded, ſtood the reiterated charges of the ſeveral bodies of the enemy's cavalry, which they at length completely routed. Two brigades of foot attempted to ſupport the French horſe, but they ſoon fled before the Engliſh infantry. The regiments under Waldegrave and Kingſley, diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion in a very honourable manner. The enemy's cavalry, which compoſed their center, being entirely defeated; and their right wing, which had attacked Wangenheim, unable to maintain the conteſt, a retreat evidently appeared to be their deſign. At this very critical juncture, prince Ferdinand diſpatched orders to lord George Sackville, who commanded the whole Britiſh, and ſeveral brigades of German cavalry, to advance. But lord George urged, that his orders were not ſufficiently explicit, and deſired an explanation: the delay conſequent hereon, deprived the Britiſh cavalry of an opportunity of ſharing in the glory of the action, and at the ſame time enabled the enemy to retreat with ſome regularity, favoured by the circumſtances of being in poſſeſſion of Minden, and under the command of ſo brave and prudent a general as the duke de Broglio. Though the French loſt the honour of the day, and were diſappointed in their expectations, their loſſes and diſgraces were not irreparable, nor could the battle of Minden be deemed deciſive; nor would the iſſue of this encounter have proved ſo favourable to the Engliſh, had not prince Ferdinand detached the hereditary prince in the manner above recited. At five in the morning of that memorable day, the young hero attacked a large body of French forces commanded by the duke de Briſac; and theſe troops he entirely defeated, and compelled to fly to Minden for refuge. This event enſured ſucceſs to the allies, over an enemy of great ſuperiority in point of numbers. All the paſſages through which the French could receive either reinforcements or proviſions, were taken poſſeſſion of by the allies; and therefore the enemy was under the neceſſity of abandoning their ſtrong poſts. They fled through Minden, and paſſing the Weſer, advanced to the eaſtward of that river. Thus they retreated, under a variety of diſagreeable circumſtances, and loſt every advantage they had acquired during the preceding part of the campaign. The loſs of the allies in this action did not exceed two thouſand men; but the enemy had about ſeven thouſand killed, wounded, and taken priſoners. The Engliſh troops, who acquired the greateſt ſhare of glory, ſuſtained the greateſt loſs, twelve hundred of them being among the number of killed and wounded.

The day following that on which the battle was fought, prince Ferdinand paid due honours to thoſe gallant corps of both Engliſh and Hanoverians, having iſſued immediate orders for returning his thanks to ſuch regiments and officers, as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the action: but theſe orders contained ſome expreſſions, which ſeemed to convey a very ſevere reflection on the commander in chief of the Britiſh forces; the conſequence of which was, that in a few days after the battle his lordſhip reſigned his command, and returned home, where, in a ſhort time, he was deprived of all his military employments, and declared incapable of ſerving his majeſty in any military character; a ſentence, to a man of honour, worſe than death itſelf. He was ſucceeded in his command by the marquis of Granby.

The brave prince Ferdinand having ſupplied Minden with a ſufficient garriſon, proceeded to Hervonden; and the hereditary prince croſſed the Weſer at Hamelin in order to purſue the enemy, who kept retreating before him, while he ſeized every opportunity of attacking their rear, took the greateſt part of their baggage, and drove them from every place they occupied in Weſtphalia. The allied army in the mean time, advanced by regular marches; and prince Ferdinand having ſecured Caſſel, the garriſon of which had ſurrendered to the hereditary prince, detached general Imhoff with a body of troops to reduce the city of Munſter, which he accordingly began to batter with great fury; but M. d'Armentieres advanced to its relief, and obliged general Imhoff to abandon the ſiege; who being ſoon after reinforced, marched back to Munſter, and obliged the French commander to retreat in his turn: but the ſiege of this important place was not regularly undertaken till November, when it was formally inveſted, and the operations carried on with ſuch vigour, that, in a few days, the city ſurrendered on capitulation. After this, prince Ferdinand proceeded with the army to Neidar-Weimar, and there fixed his camp; while Contades remained at Gieſſen, on the ſouth ſide of the river Lahne, where he was joined by the marſhal d'Eſtrées. Contades and Broglio had mutually accuſed each other of miſconduct; but the latter ſeemed to gain credit at the court of Verſailles, and in a little time he aſſumed the command of the French army; while Contades, d'Eſtrées, with ſeveral other general officers who were ſeniors to Broglio, received orders to return to Paris. In the mean time the duke of Wirtemberg having occupied the town of Fulda, the hereditary prince reſolved to beat up his quarters. In conſequence of this reſolution, on the twenty-eighth of November he began his march from Marpurg, at the head of a ſelect body of forces, and on the thirtieth, about one in the morning, arrived before Fulda. The troops of Wirtemberg, who were detached about in ſmall parties, retired haſtily into the town, whither they were followed by the hereditary prince, who purſued them to the other ſide of it, where four battalions were routed and taken; while the duke himſelf, with the reſt of his forces, filed off on the other ſide of Fulda, and the prince advanced to Rupertenrade, ſituated on the right of the French army. This motion obliged the duke de Broglio to relinquiſh Gieſſen, and retire to Friedberg, where he fixed his head-quarters. The allied army immediately took poſſeſſion of his camp at Kleinlinnes and Heuchelem, where they began to make preparations for the ſiege of Gieſſen; but the ſeverity of the ſeaſon rendered the deſign abortive; prince Ferdinand therefore thought proper to detach the hereditary prince at the head of twelve thouſand men to the aſſiſtance of the king of Pruſſia, who ſuffered greatly this campaign by the Auſtrian and Ruſſian armies. The allied army being thus weakened, Broglio thought it a favourable opportunity for attacking them to advantage. Accordingly, on the twenty-fifth of December, he advanced towards their camp, but found them ſo well diſpoſed to receive him, that he thought proper to abandon his enterprize, and return to his former quarters. The allies then quitted Kleinlinnes and proceeded to Coſdorf, where they were cantoned till the beginning of January, when they fell back as far as Marpurg, where prince Ferdinand eſtabliſhed his head quarters.

Having thus given a particular detail of the operations of this campaign, as far as they relate to us, we ſhall return to our domeſtic concerns. The parliament, on the fourteenth of November, met at Weſtminſter, when the ſeſſion was opened by commiſſion, and the lord-keeper made a ſpeech to both houſes, recapitulating our uncommon ſucceſſes in every part of the globe this campaign, and, in his majeſty's name, congratulated the parliament thereon. Addreſſes from both houſes being preſented, the commons proceeded to ſettle the ſupply, which this year amounted to ſixteen millions one hundred thirty thouſand, five hundred and ſixty-one pounds, nine ſhillings and eight-pence. On the eleventh of January in this year, died the princeſs-dowager of Orange and Naſſau, governante of the United Provinces, and eldeſt daughter of his Britannic majeſty, who was informed of this melancholy event by a letter from the ſtates-general, wherein they condoled with him on the irreparable loſs which he, as well as they had ſuſtained; and aſſured him they would employ all their care and attention in ſecuring and defending the rights and intereſts of the young ſtadtholder, and the princeſs his ſiſter, whom they conſidered as children of the republic. The death of this amiable princeſs was ſoon followed by that of the princeſs Elizabeth Caroline, ſecond daughter of his royal highneſs Frederic, prince of Wales, who departed this life at Kew, in the nineteenth year of her age.

A. D. 1760.

In January, M. de Thurot, after having alarmed the coaſts of England and Scotland, arrived on the coaſt of Ireland, and threw that kingdom into great conſternation. On the twenty-firſt of February he made a deſcent at Carrickfergus with ſix hundred men; and notwithſtanding the ſpirited defence of colonel Jennings, whoſe ſoldiers were raw and undiſciplined, got poſſeſſion of the town and caſtle; but the country crouding in from all parts to oppoſe their invaders, Thurot haſtily embarked, and near the Iſle of Man was met by captain Elliot of the Æolus, captain Logie of the Pallas, and captain Clements of the Brilliant, who, after a ſmart engagement, in which Thurot was ſlain, took his little ſquadron, the Belleiſle of forty-four guns, La Blond of thirty-two guns, and the Terpſichore of twenty-ſix guns, at the expence of about forty men killed and wounded; but the loſs of the French exceeded three hundred. Early this year, the Ramilies, a fine ſecond rate, was wrecked on the Bolt head near Plymouth, in her return with admiral Boſcawen from Quiberon Bay; and all her officers and men, amounting to ſeven hundred, periſhed, a midſhipman and twenty-five marines only being ſaved. On the twenty-ſecond of May the parliament continued ſitting, when a great number of bills were paſſed into laws by commiſſion, after which the lord-keeper cloſed the ſeſſion.

In North America, the Cherokee Indians on the back of Carolina, being inſtigated by the French, broke the peace with the Engliſh, having plundered, maſſacred, and ſcalped many Britiſh ſubjects. Upon this, Mr. Lyttleton, governor of South Carolina, raiſed a body of forces, and marched into their country, with ſuch ſpirit and reſolution, that they being intimidated ſued for peace; and a new treaty was agreed upon, in which it was ſtipulated, that ſatisfaction ſhould be made for the damages ſuſtained by the Engliſh, and that the delinquents ſhould be puniſhed. But no ſooner was the governor returned, than the Indians attempted to ſurprize Fort George, and butchered all the Engliſh traders in their country; after which, they maſſacred forty of the defenceleſs inhabitants of the back ſettlements. Upon this, general Amherſt detached colonel Montgomery with a body of twelve hundred men to chaſtize the Cherokees, who marching into their country deſtroyed every village and houſe in the lower nation, put a great number to death, and brought off forty women and children priſoners to Fort George. They afterwards made an irruption into their middle ſettlements, deſtroying all before them with fire and ſword. The Indians, in revenge, attacked Fort Loudun, and after granting a capitulation, maſſacred the greateſt part of the garriſon in their march to Carolina. While our arms were thus employed in the ſouthern parts of America, M. de Levis, with twelve thouſand men, reſolved to attempt the recovery of Quebec; and approaching that city, general Murray, on the twenty-eighth of April, marched out againſt him with about three thouſand men. A warm engagement enſued, in which the Engliſh loſt a thouſand men killed and wounded; and being overpowered by numbers, retreated into the city. Levis laid ſiege thereto, and the governor with his garriſon made a vigorous defence. But at this time lord Colville, with a fleet from Halifax, arriving in the river St. Lawrence, deſtroyed and took the French veſſels that attended their army; on which Levis inſtantly raiſed the ſiege, leaving behind him all his artillery, with a great part of his ammunition and baggage. Vaudreuil, the French governor of Canada, after Levis had been compelled to raiſe the ſiege, fixed his head-quarters at Montreal, and there collected the whole regular force that remained in Canada. Brigadier-general Murray had orders to advance towards Montreal, with all the troops which could be ſpared from the garriſon of Quebec. Colonel Haviland ſailed thither from Crown Point; and Amherſt, with an army of about ten thouſand men, proceeded by the way of Lake Ontario, into the river St. Lawrence. At length, after a fatiguing voyage of two months and ſeventeen days, they reached Montreal almoſt at the ſame time; when Vaudreuil, ſeeing himſelf entirely incloſed by three armies, ſurrendered the garriſon of Montreal and all Canada on the eighth of September, on condition that the inhabitants ſhould enjoy their religion and effects; and that thoſe of the French, who ſhould chuſe to return to France, ſhould be tranſported thither. Thus was the conqueſt of Canada completed to the great honour of the Britiſh arms; and that vaſt country reduced to the obedience of the king of England. In the courſe of this ſummer, captain Byron, with three of his majeſty's ſhips, deſtroyed a French ſettlement in the bay of Chaleur. He there took three frigates, and nineteen ſmaller veſſels, and burned the town of Chaleur. Nothing now remained to be done in North America, but the demolition of the fortifications of Louiſbourg on the iſland of Cape Breton; for which purpoſe ſome able engineers had been diſpatched from England. By means of mines artfully diſpoſed, the fortifications were reduced to a heap of rubbiſh, the glacis was levelled, and the ditches were filled. All the artillery, ammunition, and implements of war, were tranſported to Halifax; but the barracks were repaired, ſo as to accommodate three hundred men occaſionally; and the hoſpital, with the private houſes, were left ſtanding.

In the Eaſt Indies, the Britiſh arms were alſo ſucceſsful. After the reduction of Arcot, the garriſons of Permacoil and Allumparva ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war in the beginning of May. The important ſettlement of Carical was reduced by the ſea and land forces commanded by rear-admiral Corniſh and major Monſon, and the French garriſons made priſoners of war. Colonel Coote having defeated the French general Lally in the field, and ſubdued ſeveral of the enemy's ſettlements on the coaſt of Coromandel, at length ſhut them up within the walls of Pondicherry, which was well fortified; and defended by a numerous garriſon. Five ſhips of the line, commanded by captain Haldane, blocked it up by ſea, while colonel Coote carried on the ſiege by land, which was delayed for ſome time by the exceſſive rains; but on the eighth of December, four batteries which colonel Coote had erected were all opened at midnight, and though placed at a conſiderable diſtance, they did great execution. The garriſon defended the town with aſtoniſhing reſolution till about the middle of January, when all the inhabitants, being in danger of periſhing by hunger, the principal of the Jeſuits, accompanied by two civilians, came out, and offered terms of capitulation, which conduct the governor was far from approving of; for he ſent out at the ſame time a paper full of invectives againſt the Engliſh, for the breach of treaties relative to India; adding, that theſe breaches rendered him incapable of propoſing any conditions. It may therefore be ſaid, that he rather ſuffered the Engliſh forces to take poſſeſſion of the place, than that he ſurrendered it; as he refuſed to capitulate, the propoſals of the inhabitants were little regarded; and the city of Pondicherry, with a garriſon of about fourteen hundred European ſoldiers, a vaſt quantity of military ſtores, and great riches, were given up at diſcretion to the conqueror.

In Germany, this year, the enemy's corps, under M. Broglio, conſiſted of near one hundred thouſand effective men; beſides thirty thouſand, drawn out of their quarters in Duſſeldorp, Cleves, Cologn, and Weſel; which being completed by draughts from France, formed a ſeparate army on the Rhine, under the count de St. Germain. At the opening of this campaign, we had in Germany twelve regiments of heavy, and one of light horſe; and twelve regiments, with two highland battalions of foot, the whole amounting to about twenty-two thouſand men; but in the courſe of the ſummer they were further reinforced to near twenty-five thouſand. The allied fell very ſhort of the French army in numbers, but they exceeded it in quality of the troops; thoſe newly arrived from England were freſh, but not undiſciplined; and the old, though harraſſed, were accuſtomed to victory. The campaign was opened very late; for the allied army did not march from their cantonments till the fifth of May.

Prince Ferdinand having received advice that the count de St. Germain was in motion, began his march from Ziegenheim, and on the ninth of July reached the heights of Brunau, in the neighbourhood of Wildurgen; while the hereditary prince, at the head of the advanced corps, reinforced with ſome battalions and ſquadrons under major-general Griffin, was ſent forwards to Saxenhauſen, whither the army followed the next morning. The hereditary prince continuing to advance, found the enemy already formed at Corbach; but ſuppoſing their whole force did not exceed ten thouſand infantry and ſeventeen ſquadrons, he reſolved to give them battle. Accordingly he attacked them, and the action became very warm and obſtinate; but the ſuperiority of the enemy rendered all the efforts of the prince ineffectual, and prince Ferdinand was at too great a diſtance to aſſiſt him. He therefore made the proper diſpoſitions for a retreat, which proved a very difficult taſk; for ſome bodies of the German troops, both horſe and foot, fell into great confuſion, which the enemy perceiving, puſhed forward upon them with irreſiſtible fury, and in all probability, the whole infantry of the allies would have been cut off, had not the hereditary prince put himſelf at the head of Bland's and Howard's regiments of dragoons, and charged the enemy with ſuch impetuoſity as ſoon ſtopped their career, and enabled the allies to make an undiſturbed retreat to Saxenhauſen. In this engagement the hereditary prince was wounded; about five hundred men were killed, and fifteen pieces of cannon taken. On the ſixteenth of July prince Ferdinand attacked the enemy near the village of Exdorff, and, after a warm diſpute, victory declared for the allies. Five battalions of the enemy, including the commander in chief, and the prince of Anhalt Cothen, were taken, with ſix pieces of cannon, and all their arms, baggage, and artillery. All this time the duke de Broglio remained encamped on the heights of Corbach, during which, ſome detachments he had ſent for that purpoſe reduced the caſtles of Marpurg and Dillemburg, the garriſons of both theſe places being obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. About this period, ſeveral of the French generals threw up their commiſſions in diſguſt; among theſe was the count de St. Germain, who was ſucceeded by the chevalier de Muy. On the thirteenth of July the troops were again put in motion; and both armies having paſſed the Dymel, prince Ferdinand reſolved to give the French corps under M. de Muy battle. The proper diſpoſitions were accordingly made; and almoſt at the ſame inſtant the enemy were attacked both in flank and in rear with equal ſucceſs; and unable to withſtand the fury of the Britiſh cavalry they betook themſelves to flight, leaving about fifteen hundred men killed or wounded in the field of battle, with ten pieces of cannon; and the ſame number were taken priſoners. On the evening of the battle, the marquis of Granby, with twelve battalions and ten ſquadrons, received orders to paſs the river in purſuit of the enemy; but they had retired to Wolfſhagen, and the marquis encamped at Wilda, about four miles from Warbourgh, the heights of which were occupied by the enemy's grand army. Prince Ferdinand, by this victory, was enabled to maintain his communication with Weſtphalia, and prevent the enemy from approaching Hanover; but at the ſame time he was obliged to ſacrifice the country of Caſſel; for prince Xavier of Saxony, at the head of a detached body, advanced towards that city, which he made himſelf maſter of; he then reduced Munden, Gottingen, and Elmbeck, in the electorate of Hanover; and it was not long before the garriſon of Ziegenheim, conſiſting of ſeven hundred men, were obliged, after a vigorous reſiſtance, to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. In the mean time prince Ferdinand employed himſelf in ſecuring poſts and paſſes, in order to retard the progreſs of the enemy, and in ſending detachments to harraſs and ſurprize their advanced parties, which ſervice was performed with the greateſt ſucceſs.

The prince now perceived, that whilſt the enemy's communication with the Rhine, and with Frankfort on the Maine, continued open, it would be to very little purpoſe to attempt any thing either for the relief of Gottingen or Caſſel. He had, indeed, checked their progreſs into Hanover; but while they continued in ſo advanced a poſition, it was evidently impoſſible to prevent their making very ruinous inroads into that country. He did not think it prudent to force them to a battle; ſo that the only reſource left, was to make frequent and ſtrong detachments into the ſouthern parts of Heſſe and Wetteravia, and thus render the enemy's communication with the Rhine and Maine, from whence they drew the greateſt part of their ſupplies of all kinds, precarious. In the month of September the hereditary prince quitted the grand army of the allies, and with twenty battalions and ten ſquadrons having traverſed Weſtphalia, he appeared on the Lower Rhine, marching by Schermbech and Duſſeldorp. On the twenty-ninth he ſent a large detachment over the river at Rocroot, which ſurprized part of the partizan Fiſcher's corps at Rhynberg, and ſcoured the country. Some other parties croſſing at Rees and Emerick, the next day took poſſeſſion of ſome redoubts which the French had raiſed along the banks of the river; and here they found a ſufficient number of boats to tranſport the reſt of the forces. The prince then advanced to Cleves, the garriſon of which he obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war on the third of October. In the mean time the French, being informed of his motions, detached M. de Caſtres after him, with thirty battalions and thirty-eight ſquadrons, and on the fourteenth of October they arrived at Rhynberg, where the prince's light troops were poſted. Theſe they immediately attacked, and compelled them to retreat, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the prince who commanded in perſon. Leaving five battalions at Rhynberg, the enemy proceeded by the left, and encamped behind the convent of Campen, where de Caſtres intended to wait for ſome reinforcements then on their march. But the hereditary prince reſolved to attack his camp that very night; and having left four battalions and five ſquadrons under generel Bock, with orders to obſerve Rhynberg, and attack that poſt in caſe his attempt ſhould prove ſucceſsful, he began his march at ten in the evening. Before the allied forces could reach the enemy's camp, they were under the neceſſity of overpowering Fiſcher's corps of irregulars. This ſervice occaſioned ſome firing, the noiſe of which alarmed the French army: upon which their commander formed them with amazing expedition, and poſted them in a wood, where they were inſtantly attacked, and at firſt obliged to give ground; but they ſoon recovered their ranks, and ſuſtained an unceaſing fire of muſquetry from five in the morning till nine at night, when the hereditary prince thought proper to retreat. His loſs on this occaſion amounted to ſixteen hundred choice men, killed, wounded, and taken priſoners; and the chief of theſe were troops of Great Britain. Several Engliſh officers were dangerouſly wounded, and thoſe of lord Downe, an amiable young nobleman, proved mortal. By this time the Rhine was ſo exceedingly ſwelled by the rains, and the banks of it were overflowed in ſuch a manner, that it was judged neceſſary to repair and move the bridge, which had been thrown over the river lower down. This work was accordingly performed in the preſence of the enemy; and the prince paſſing over without moleſtation, proceeded to Brynen, where he fixed his head-quarters. Here he received advice that a body of the enemy intended to ſurprize him; upon which he called in his advanced poſts, and made preparations for giving them a warm reception. He abandoned the tents that were in front of his camp, and poſted his infantry in ambuſcade behind thoſe that were in the rear: at the ſame time he ordered ſome regiments of horſe and huſſars to take a compaſs, and fall upon the back of the enemy. The deſired ſucceſs attended this ſtratagem; for the French detachment thinking the allies had actually abandoned their camp, broke all order, and began to pillage the tents. The infantry then ſallied from their places of concealment, and fell upon them with irreſiſtible fury; the artillery opened, and the cavalry charged them in flank; and of twelve hundred of the enemy who marched from Weſel, ſcarce two hundred eſcaped. During theſe tranſactions, the duke de Broglio endeavoured to take advantage of the allied army on the other ſide the Weſer, while it was thus weakened by the abſence of the troops under the hereditary prince; but he found it impoſſible to ſurprize prince Ferdinand, and he was too ſtrongly ſituated to be attacked with any proſpect of ſucceſs. He therefore employed himſelf in waſting the country by detachments. Prince Ferdinand then withdrew into winter-quarters, leaving the enemy in full poſſeſſion of Heſſe, and the whole country eaſtward of the Weſer to the frontiers of the electorate of Hanover.

We muſt not omit recording here a remarkable tranſaction which happened in England, during the courſe of this year. Laurence, earl Ferrers, a nobleman of a moſt violent ſpirit, and who, in the opinion of all who knew him had given evident proofs of inſanity, at laſt committed a premeditated murder on Mr. Johnſon, his ſteward. Lord Ferrers had ſome time before married a very amiable lady, but behaved to her in ſo brutal a manner, that application was made to the houſe of peers, and a ſeparation was effected by act of parliament. In conſequence of this ſtatute truſtees were appointed, and Johnſon was to receive the revenues of the earl's eſtate. This act of parliament exaſperated him to the higheſt degree; and ſuſpecting Johnſon to have joined with the reſt of his family in a conſpiracy againſt his intereſt, he laid a plan for his deſtruction. Accordingly he ſent for him to his houſe, under pretence of conſulting with him on buſineſs of importance. Johnſon, ſuſpecting nothing of miſchief from the earl, readily obeyed his command, and was received with great appearance of friendſhip and complaiſance. But ſoon after, the earl ſhot the unfortunate victim with a piſtol he had before loaded for that very purpoſe. A deliberate deſign of this horrid nature alarmed the whole nation, and the people, with one voice, cried aloud for juſtice. Nor did they implore in vain. He was tried before the houſe of peers, found guilty, and, on the fifth of May hanged at Tyburn, purſuant to his ſentence.

In England, great murmurs were now raiſed againſt the commander of the allied army, as if, upon all occaſions, he had wantonly expoſed the lives of the Britiſh ſoldiers, in order to preſerve thoſe of the Germans; but the Engliſh always deſired the poſt of honour, and with equal ſpirit purchaſed it more cheaply than on the whole might have been expected; for the only actions in which they ſuffered any thing worthy of notice, were thoſe of Warburg and Campen; and it has been aſſerted, that the whole Engliſh army, which amounted to twenty-five thouſand men, loſt, during the whole campaign, only two hundred and ſixty-five killed in battle, and eight hundred and ſeventy wounded. While the minds of the people were agitated by theſe reflections, and began to exclaim againſt being burthened with new loads of taxes for conqueſts they could neither preſerve nor enjoy, their thoughts took a different turn, by the ſudden death of the king at his palace in Kenſington, on the twenty-fifth of October, in the ſeventy-ſeventh year of his age, and the thirty-third of his reign. He had riſen at his uſual hour, drank his chocolate, and obſerved to his page, that the weather being fine, he intended to walk in the gardens. In a few minutes after he had ſignified his intention, and being alone in his chamber, his majeſty was heard to fall on the floor. The noiſe of his fall brought in ſeveral attendants, who lifted him on the bed, where, in a faint voice, he deſired that Amelia might be ſent for; but before her arrival the king expired. The immediate cauſe of his death is ſaid to have been a rupture of the right ventricle of his heart, which occaſioned an inſtantaneous ſtoppage of the whole circulation; an unexpected ſtroke from the king of terrors, which filled the hearts of all his ſubjects with unfeigned ſorrow. An event of this kind is never preceded with any apparent illneſs; ſo that it is no wonder his majeſty had enjoyed for ſome time an uncommon degree of ſtrength and health conſidering his advanced age; and what is no leſs extraordinary, he never more perfectly poſſeſſed the love of his ſubjects than in the laſt years of his life.

The family of George II. are, Frederic, his eldeſt ſon, prince of Wales, and earl of Cheſter, father to his preſent majeſty; who married the twenty-ſeventh of April, 1736, Auguſta, only ſurviving daughter of Frederic II. duke of Saxe Gotha, and died the twentieth of March, O. S. 1750-1, in the forty-ſixth year of his age.

William Auguſtus, duke of Cumberland, K. G. and K. B. born the fifteenth of April, 1721, and died, univerſally lamented by the Engliſh nation, the thirty-firſt of October, 1765.

Anne, princeſs royal of England, born November the ſecond, 1709, married to the late prince of Orange, March the twenty-fifth, 1734, and mother to the preſent ſtadtholder. Died 1759.

Amelia Sophia Eleonora, born June the ſixteenth, 1711, and enjoying at this time the bleſſing of an honourable old age.

Elizabeth Caroline, who died unmarried in 1758.

Mary, fourth daughter, born March the ſixteenth, 1723, married the hereditary prince of Heſſe Caſſel, May the ſeventeenth, 1740, and died 1771.

Louiſa Anne, late queen of Denmark, and mother of the preſent king, born in 1724, and died December the eighth, 1751.

The family of his royal highneſs Frederic, prince of Wales, are, Auguſta, married to the hereditary prince of Brunſwic, 1764, born O. S. thirty-firſt July, 1737.

George William Frederic, his preſent majeſty, born the twenty-fourth of May, 1738, O. S.

Edward Auguſtus, duke of York, and ſecond ſon, born the fourteenth of March, 1738-9, died at Monaco in Italy, on the ſeventh of September, 1767.

Elizabeth Caroline, ſecond daughter, born the thirtieth of December, 1740, died September the fourth, 1759.

William Henry, duke of Glouceſter and Edinburgh, &c. K. G. and third ſon, born the fourteenth of November, O. S. 1743, and now living.

Henry Frederic, duke of Cumberland, &c. K. G. fourth ſon, born the twenty-ſeventh of October, O. S. 1745, and now living.

Louiſa Anne, third daughter, who died 1768.

Frederic William, the youngeſt ſon, born the thirteenth of May, 1750, died on the twenty-ninth of December, 1765, aged ſixteen.

Caroline Matilda, fourth daughter, married to Chriſtian VII. king of Denmark, but was divorced in 1772; born the eleventh of July, 1751, and died at Zell, May the eleventh, 1775.

The following family are excluded from the ſucceſſion to the crown of Great Britain, by act of parliament.

James Stuart, chevalier de St. George, pretended ſon of James II. born June the twenty-firſt, 1688, O. S. married September the third, 1719, to Maria Clementina Sobieſki of Poland; widower, January the eighteenth, 1735.

Charles Edward Lewis Philip-Caſimir, his eldeſt ſon, born at Rome, December the thirty-firſt, 1720.

Henry Benedict Maria Clement, his ſecond ſon, born March the ſixth, 1725, created a cardinal in 1747, and biſhop of Corinth, 1758.

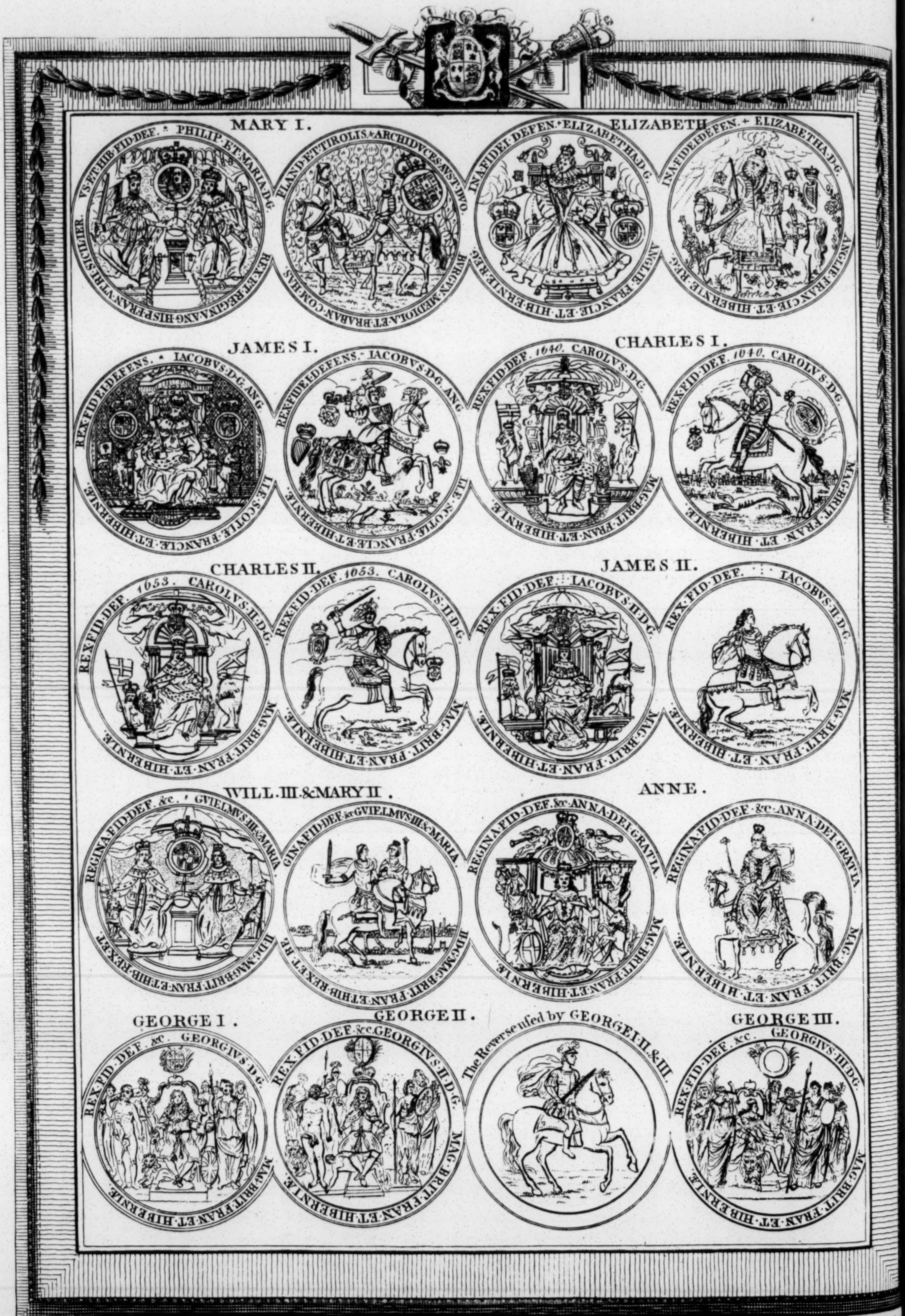
During this period, there was a conſiderable increaſe in the agriculture, commerce, and manufactures of the nation, which daily improved under its internal tranquillity, and the wiſe regulations of parliament: but the national debt was alſo immenſely increaſed by the rage of waſteful war, in which England had ſo conſiderable a ſhare, and acquired ſuch glory.

Among the poets of this reign were Addiſon, who alſo as a proſe writer, deſerves the higheſt regard. Sir Richard Steel, Mr. Addiſon's friend and admirer, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his comedies; and his other works have great merit. Dean Swift, the antagoniſt of both Addiſon and Steel, deſcribed nature in all its deformities, and delighted to diſplay his poetic genius on filthy images, and ſubjects which others would have thought beneath their notice. His proſe writings, which are pretty numerous, are ſevere and ſarcaſtic; but his ſtile conciſe and nervous. Prior diſtinguiſhed himſelf by an eaſy elegance. Rowe and Parnel, as poets, had great merit. Gay acquired an equal reputation for his fables and paſtorals. Pope had obtained a ſeat in the temple of the Muſes by his harmonious verſification, and the correctneſs of his numbers; and Dr. Young, by his ſolemn thoughts, expreſſed with amazing energy in his night pieces.

In this reign, our philoſophy was adopted by all in every part of Europe who would reaſon for themſelves; and the learned of other nations turned to the Engliſh writers for inſtruction. Church preferments were beſtowed on men of abilities; bigotry loſt ground; and ſentiments of benevolence more generally prevailed than in any former period. The wealthy ſhewed their humanity and pity for the diſtreſſes of their fellow creatures. Infirmaries were founded in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, and many of them in the capital, for the relief of thoſe afflicted with any of the diſeaſes and calamities to which the human frame is ſubject. The deſerted infant was in this reign firſt received into an hoſpital founded for its education and ſupport; an aſylum was raiſed to receive young friendleſs females, and another for repenting proſtitutes. Poor married women had foundations eſtabliſhed for their relief in the time of their greateſt difficulty, diſtreſs, and danger; thoſe in the ſame circumſtances, with the additional pangs of guilt, have alſo a receptacle, in which they may be delivered and ſupported during their lying-in, without the leaſt expence. In this reign were likewiſe erected hoſpitals for thoſe under the ſmall-pox, who were formerly ſent to peſt houſes, and treated as if they had the plague; and an hoſpital was now erected for inoculating the young who never had this formidable diſeaſe, in order to prevent the fatal effects which commonly attend its being caught in riper age. In this reign was likewiſe formed the marine ſociety for increaſing our mariners, by clearing the ſtreets of vagabond boys, and men deſtitute of the means of procuring an honeſt ſupport: thus making thoſe contribute to the public good, who were in danger of ſubſiſting by plunder, and who would probably have terminated their wretched lives with ignominy.

Character of king George II.

This wiſe and good prince was not diſtinguiſhed by very ſhining abilities; but his virtues afford ſufficient matter for juſt panegyric. If his natural genius was not of the firſt water, his general conduct evinces the ſolidity and extent of his judgment. If his temper was rather warm and impetuous, it never hurried him into meaſures ſubverſive of his own true intereſts, or thoſe of his people, to which he inflexibly adhered. He was plain and direct in his intentions; true to his word; ſteady in his favour and protection to his ſervants, whom he never willingly changed; and thoſe who immediately attended on his perſon, grew old with him, or died in their places. In his early part of life he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his bravery, and was preſent as a volunteer under the great duke of Marlborough at the battle of Oudenarde, in which he put himſelf at the head of a ſquadron of Hanoverian horſe, ſword in hand, and fighting with the greateſt intrepidity, had his horſe killed under him. He alſo ſhewed his perſonal courage at the battle of Dettingen. His domeſtic happineſs was, for many years, complete. He lived with his queen in a felicity ſeldom experienced in the more humble walk of private life. His ſubjects, except in the time of the rebellion, enjoyed a long interval of domeſtic tranquillity. Peace extended her wings over this happy iſle; commerce flouriſhed in a very remarkable manner; and riches were continually flowing into the ports of the Britiſh empire; agriculture and manufactures were daily improving, aſſiſted by the wiſe regulations of the parliament, which greatly contributed to make theſe noble acquiſitions. Having baffled the machinations of his enemies to ſubvert the government, through the wiſdom of his councils, the affection of his people, and the bravery of his ſon, he had the happineſs to ſee the clamours of party in a great meaſure extinguiſhed; he ſaw his ſubjects contented at home, and acquiring abroad the greateſt military glory; and he had the ſingular felicity of having a prime miniſter who entered into all his views, and who was at the ſame time the favourite of the people. He was well acquainted with the ſyſtem of Germany, and was, during his whole reign, a zealous aſſertor of the liberties of his native country: nor was he leſs acquainted with the true intereſts of the ſeveral princes of Europe; and always oppoſed to the utmoſt of his abilities, every attempt that tended to ſhake the balance of power. Deſirous not only of keeping, but alſo of enlarging the acquiſitions of his father, he had recourſe to œconomy; by which he was enabled to maintain a conſiderable body of troops in Hanover. He ſurvived ſeveral of his children; and died at that period of time, when the terror of his arms, the power of his kingdoms, and the wiſe meaſures of his government, were all raiſed to the higheſt point of proſperity and renown. He has been cenſured as being too fond of money; and in ſome trivial matters, this cenſure does not appear to be entirely without foundation; but it never ſhewed itſelf in one rapacious act, or influenced his conduct on any important occaſion; ſo that at his death his private wealth was far inferior to what was expected. He ſhewed a remarkable affection alſo for his native country: but when the intereſts of England and Hanover were ſeparated, and the war broke out in which Hanover muſt ſuffer much, and could hope for no advantage, he did not heſitate to expoſe his German dominions to almoſt inevitable ruin, rather than to abate of the juſt claims of the Engliſh in America. He was ever more attentive to the intereſt of his ſubjects, than that of his own; manifeſting at the ſame time a uniform regard to the laws of this country, which he never violated; nor did he, in a ſingle inſtance, attempt to demoliſh the barriers of liberty, or to incroach on one privilege of his people. None of his predeceſſors on the throne of England lived to ſo great an age; few of them enjoyed ſo long and glorious a reign.


MARY I.
ELIZABETH
JAMES I.
CHARLES I.
CHARLES II.
JAMES II.
WILL. III. & MARY II.
ANNE.
GEORGE I.
GEORGE II.
The Reverse uſed by GEORGE I. II. & III.
GEORGE III.

Drawn by Hamilton. *Engraved by Thornton*

The GREAT SEALS *of* ENGLAND, *from* Mary I. *to* George

Accurately taken from the Original Impreſsions.

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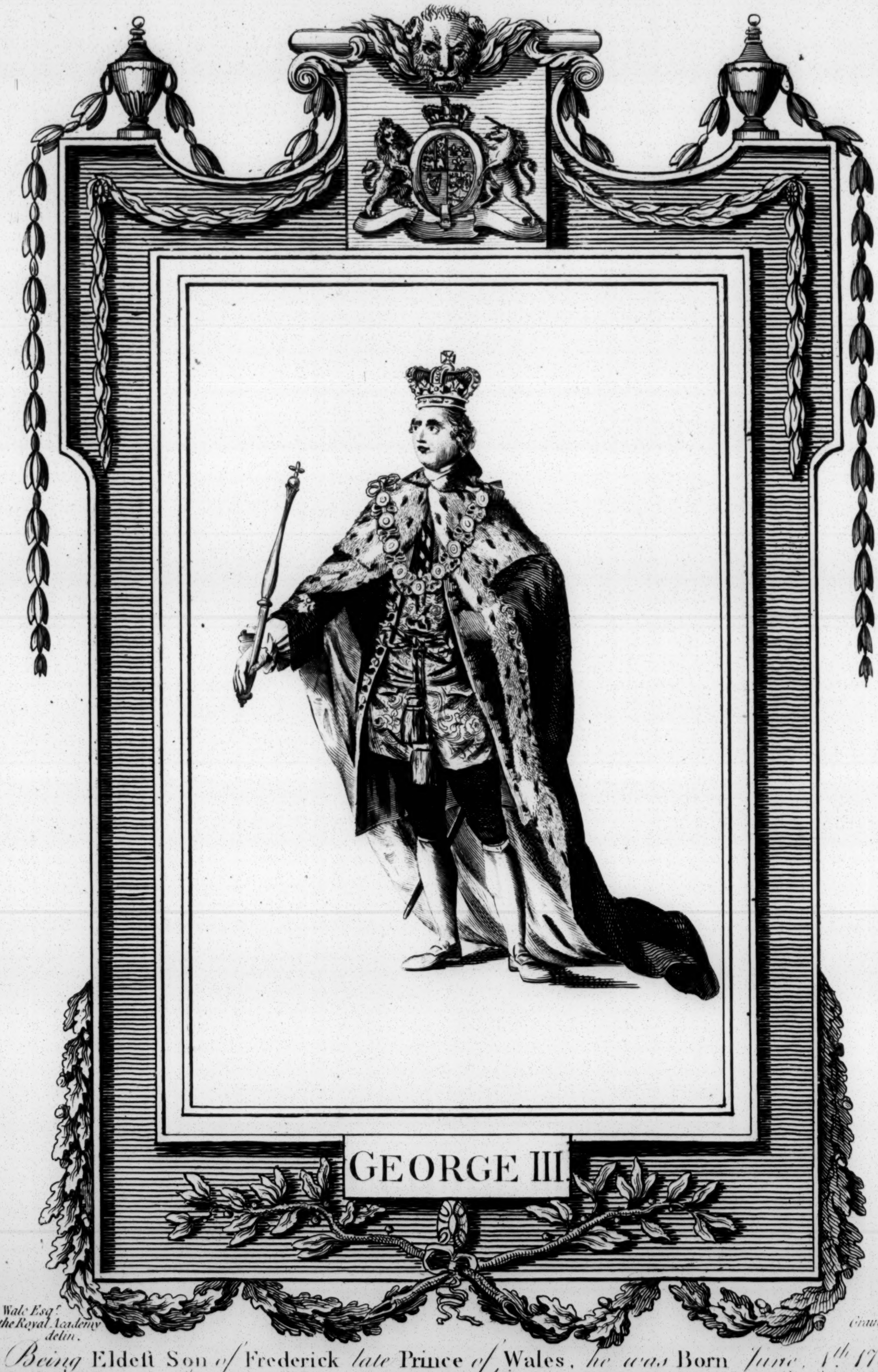


GEORGE III

S. Wale Esq.r of the Royal Academy delin.

Grainger sculp.

Being Eldeſt Son *of* Frederick *late* Prince *of* Wales, *he was* Born *June, 4th 1738*
Created Prince *of* Wales, *1751* — Succeeded *his* Grandfather, George II. *Oct.r 25 1760*
was Proclaimed *the next day* Married Charlotte Sophia, Princeſs *of* Mecklenburgh Strelitz,
September, 8. 1761 *and* both *were* Crowned *September 22.nd 1761.*

BOOK XIII.

From the acceſſion of George III. to the time of the general peace between the contending powers of Great Britain, France, Spain, and America, concluded and ratified A. D. 1783; to which it is ſuppoſed Holland, an unnatural confederate with the enemies of Great Britain, will accede.

CHAP. I.

GEORGE III.

Aſcends the throne under very favourable circumſtances—His firſt ſpeech, which gives great ſatisfaction to the whole nation—Continuation of the war in Germany—Military tranſactions in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies—A remarkable naval engagement—Belleiſle taken by the Engliſh—Hoſtile declarations of Spain—Mr. Pitt's political ſentiments on this occaſion over-ruled by the miniſtry and council; in conſequence of which he reſigns his poſt of ſecretary of ſtate, and the direction of public meaſures—The marriage and coronation of the king and queen—War declared againſt Spain—Martinico, and its dependent iſlands, taken from the French—Havannah and the Manillas from the Spaniards—Affairs on the continent—The war in Germany continued—A definitive treaty of peace concluded and ratified between Great Britain, France, and Spain, on the tenth of February, 1763; to which on the ſame day, Portugal acceded—The cyder tax—Proceedings againſt John Wilkes, Eſq; -An inſtance of Engliſh beneficence in the affair of the Palatines—Occurrences in the Eaſt Indies, and in North America.

A. D. 1760. GEORGE III. who, at the time of his acceſſion was in the twenty-third year of his age, aſcended the throne of his anceſtors under the moſt promiſing circumſtances. The lords of the council, as ſoon as the death of the late king was notified, aſſembled at Charlton houſe, and iſſued orders for proclaiming his majeſty, which was accordingly done at the uſual places, and with the accuſtomed ceremonies. While the council was ſitting, his majeſty arrived from Kew, and addreſſed them in the following terms: "the loſs the nation and I have ſuſtained by the death of the king, my grandfather, would have been ſeverely felt at any time; but coming at ſo critical a juncture, and ſo unexpected, it is by many circumſtances augmented; and the weight now falling upon me is much increaſed: I feel my own inſufficiency to ſupport it as I wiſh; but animated by the tendereſt affection for this my native country, and depending on the advice, experience, and abilities of your lordſhips, the ſupport and aſſiſtance of every honeſt man, I enter with chearfulneſs into this arduous ſituation; and ſhall make it the buſineſs of my life to promote, in every thing, the glory and happineſs of theſe kingdoms; to preſerve and ſtrengthen the conſtitution both in church and ſtate: and as I mount the throne in the midſt of an expenſive, but juſt and neceſſary war, I ſhall endeavour to proſecute it in a manner the moſt likely to bring about an honourable and laſting peace, in concert with my allies."

His majeſty then took and ſigned the oath relating to the ſecurity of the church of Scotland, and ſubſcribed two inſtruments thereof; one of which was tranſmitted to the court of ſeſſion, to be recorded in the books of *Sederunt*, and afterwards lodged in the public regiſter of Scotland; the other remained among the records of the council. Both houſes of parliament were now aſſembled, in order to ſwear in the members, whoſe oaths of allegiance were diſſolved by the death of the late king. The duke of Rutland being conſtituted high-ſteward, ſwore in all the commons; and the lord-keeper adminiſtered the oaths to the peers. Theſe acts of government were followed by addreſſes of condoleance and congratulation, filled with the warmeſt profeſſions of duty and attachment, and preſented to his majeſty from moſt parts of the kingdom. The two houſes of parliament led the way. The magiſtrates, merchants, clergy, diſſenters, &c. followed their example. Perhaps ſo great a number of addreſſes were never before ſent on any ſimilar occaſion. The clergy of London and Weſtminſter, with the archbiſhop of Canterbury at their head, waited on his majeſty with their compliments on his acceſſion to the throne; and were followed by the two univerſities, and moſt of the bodies politic and corporate in the three kingdoms. In a word, the whole people ſeemed to vie with each other in expreſſions of loyalty and affection to their new ſovereign, who increaſed the pleaſing idea they had formed of him, by the condeſcending and affable manner in which he received them. On the tenth of November in the evening, the body of the late king was removed from Kenſington to the prince's chamber, where it lay in ſtate till next day, when it was interred with great funeral pomp in the chapel of Henry VII. the duke of Cumberland appearing in the character of chief mourner. On the eighteenth the parliament aſſembled to tranſact buſineſs; when his majeſty, after being conducted to the houſe of peers amidſt the univerſal acclamations of his people, opened the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech from the throne:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"The juſt concern which I have felt in my own breaſt, on the ſudden death of the late king my royal grandfather, makes me not doubt but you muſt all have been deeply affected with ſo ſevere a loſs. The preſent critical and difficult conjuncture has made this loſs the more ſenſible, as he was the great ſupport of that ſyſtem, by which alone the liberties of Europe, and the weight and influence of theſe kingdoms can be preſerved, and give life to meaſures conducive to thoſe important ends.

"I need not tell you the addition of weight which immediately falls upon me, in being called to the government of this free and powerful country at ſuch a time, and under ſuch circumſtances. My conſolation is in the uprightneſs of my own intentions, your faithful and united aſſiſtance, and the bleſſing of heaven upon our joint endeavours, which I devoutly implore.

"Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton; and the peculiar happineſs of my life will ever conſiſt in promoting the welfare of a people, whoſe loyalty and warm affection to me I conſider as the greateſt and moſt permanent ſecurity of my throne; and I doubt not but their ſteadineſs in thoſe principles will equal the firmneſs of my invariable reſolutions to adhere to and ſtrengthen this excellent conſtitution in church and ſtate, and to maintain the toleration inviolable. The civil and the religious rights of my loving ſubjects are equally dear to me with the moſt valuable prerogatives of my crown; and as the ſureſt foundation of the whole, and the beſt means to draw down the divine favour on my reign, it is my fixed purpoſe to countenance and encourage the practice of true religion and virtue.

"I reflect with pleaſure on the ſucceſſes with which the Britiſh arms have been proſpered this laſt ſummer. The total reduction of the vaſt province of Canada, with the city of Montreal, is of the moſt intereſting conſequence, and muſt be as heavy a blow to my enemies, as it is a conqueſt glorious to us; the more glorious becauſe effected without effuſion of blood, and with that humanity which makes an amiable part of the character of this nation.

"Our advantages gained in the Eaſt Indies have been ſignal, and muſt greatly diminiſh the ſtrength and trade of France in thoſe parts, as well as procure the moſt ſolid benefits to the commerce and wealth of my ſubjects.

"In Germany, where the whole French force has been employed, the combined army, under the wiſe and able conduct of my general, prince Ferdinand of Brunſwic, has not only ſtopt their progreſs, but has gained advantages over them, notwithſtanding their boaſted ſuperiority, and their not having hitherto come to a general engagement.

"My good brother and ally the king of Pruſſia, although ſurrounded with numerous armies of enemies, has, with a magnanimity and perſeverance almoſt beyond example, not only withſtood their various attacks, but obtained very conſiderable victories over them.

"Of theſe events I ſhall ſay no more at this time, becauſe the nature of the war in thoſe parts has kept the campaign there ſtill depending.

"As my navy is the principal article of our naval ſtrength, it gives me much ſatisfaction to receive it in ſuch good condition; whilſt the fleet of France is weakened to ſuch a degree, that the ſmall remains of it have continued blocked up by my ſhips in their own ports: at the ſame time the French trade is reduced to the loweſt ebb; and with joy of heart I ſee the commerce of my kingdoms, that great ſource of our riches, and fixed object of my never failing care and protection, flouriſhing to an extent unknown in any former war.

"The valour and intrepidity of my officers and forces, both at ſea and land, have been diſtinguiſhed ſo much to the glory of the nation, that I ſhould be wanting in juſtice to them if I did not acknowledge it. This is a merit which I ſhall conſtantly encourage and reward; and I take this occaſion to declare, that the zealous and uſeful ſervice of the militia, in the preſent arduous conjuncture, is very acceptable to me.

"In this ſtate I have found things at my acceſſion to the throne of my anceſtors: happy in viewing the proſperous part of it; happier ſtill ſhould I have been, had I found my kingdoms, whoſe true intereſts I have entirely at heart, in full peace; but ſince the ambition, injurious encroachments, and dangerous deſigns of my enemies, rendered the war both juſt and neceſſary, and the generous overture made laſt winter towards a congreſs for a pacification, has not yet produced any ſuitable return, I am determined, with your chearful and powerful aſſiſtance, to proſecute this war with vigour, in order to that deſirable object, a ſafe and honourable peace. For this purpoſe it is abſolutely incumbent upon us to be early prepared; and I rely upon your zeal and hearty concurrence to ſupport the king of Pruſſia, and the reſt of my allies, and to make ample proviſion for carrying on the war, as the only means to bring our enemies to equitable terms of accommodation."

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"The greateſt uneaſineſs which I feel at this time, is in conſidering the uncommon burthens neceſſarily brought upon my faithful ſubjects. I deſire only ſuch ſupplies as ſhall be requiſite to proſecute the war with advantage; be adequate to the neceſſary ſervices; and that they may be provided for in the moſt ſure and effectual manner. You may depend upon the faithful and punctual application of what ſhall be granted. I have ordered the proper eſtimates for the enſuing year to be laid before you; and alſo an account of the extraordinary expences which, from the nature of the different and remote operations, have been unavoidably incurred.

It is with peculiar reluctance that I am obliged to mention any thing which perſonally regards myſelf. But as the grant of the greateſt part of the civil liſt revenues is now determined, I truſt in your duty and affection to me, to make the proper proviſion for ſupporting my civil government with honour and dignity. On my part you may be aſſured of a regular and becoming œconomy."

"My lords and gentlemen,

"The eyes of all Europe are upon you. From your reſolutions the proteſtant intereſt hopes for protection, as well as all our friends for the preſervation of their independency; and our enemies fear the final diſappointment of their ambitious and deſtructive views. Let theſe hopes and fears be confirmed and augmented by the vigour and diſpatch of our proceedings.

"In this expectation I am the more encouraged by a pleaſing circumſtance, which I look upon as one of the moſt auſpicious omens of my reign: that happy extinction of diviſions, and that union and good harmony which continue to prevail amongſt my ſubjects, afford me the moſt agreeable proſpect. The natural diſpoſition and wiſh of my heart are to cement and promote them; and I promiſe myſelf that nothing will ariſe on your part to interrupt or diſturb a ſituation ſo eſſential to the true and laſting felicity of this great people."

It is impoſſible to expreſs the ſatisfaction and joy with which this ſpeech was received by the people: not the leaſt murmur of diſcontent was heard; but every one endeavoured to exceed each other, in expreſſions of zeal and affection for his majeſty. The ſpeech was printed in an ornamental manner, framed and glazed; and was with pleaſure hung up as a piece of ornamental furniture throughout the kingdom.

Both houſes preſented on this occaſion the moſt dutiful and loyal addreſſes; and the commons, as a proof of their affection, granted the ſum of eight hundred thouſand pounds to defray the expences of the civil liſt. They then proceeded to grant the ſupplies for the ſervice of the current year, the whole of which amounted to upwards of nineteen millions.

A. D. 1761.

The parliament, on their meeting after the holidays, agreeable to antient cuſtom upon a king's acceſſion, paſſed an act of grace in favour of inſolvent debtors, who, in conſequence of giving up all their effects, were to be diſcharged by the juſtices at the quarter-ſeſſion. No act was ever paſſed at a more ſeaſonable juncture; for the priſons were filled with poor unfortunate creatures, whoſe wives and children were ſtarving. This act, however, had in it a clauſe, attended with ſuch conſequences, that it was found neceſſary to repeal it. It was imagined that every creditor might compel a debtor to give up his effects, and if he concealed any of them to the amount of twenty pounds, he was to ſuffer death as a felon. This clauſe was laid hold of by many of the lower ſorts of tradeſmen, who, in order to cheat their creditors, got one of their own relations to compel them to account; ſo that a door was opened for perjury, and many perſons were deprived of their property under the proſtituted authority of an act of parliament. Indeed, the abuſe became ſo glaring, that the city of London preſented a petition to have it repealed; but it did not take place till the meeting of the new parliament. In the beginning of March the king ſent a meſſage to both houſes, importing, that as nothing could contribute more towards promoting the intereſts of the people than that of rendering the judges independent, ſo he deſired they would grant him leave to advance their ſalaries, and that they ſhould hold their places by patent for life; for by the act of ſettlement at the Revolution, they were to expire within ſix months after the death of the king. In conſequence of this meſſage, the ſalaries of the nine puiſne judges in England were advanced from fifteen hundred to two thouſand pounds. and the three chiefs in proportion. In Scotland, the lord-preſident, inſtead of one thouſand pounds a year, was allowed thirteen hundred; the lords of ſeſſion ſeven hundred pounds, inſtead of five hundred; and the lords juſticiary one thouſand pounds, inſtead of five hundred.

Mr. Onſlow, who had ſo long filled the ſpeaker's chair with equal candour and capacity, having ſignified his intention to retire from buſineſs, in conſequence of age, infirmities, and other motives of a private nature, the commons determined to beſtow upon him ſome ſignal marks of their eſteem and regard. They accordingly reſolved that the thanks of the houſe ſhould be given to Mr. Speaker, for his conſtant and unwearied attendance in the chair, during the courſe of above thirty-three years, in five ſucceſſive parliaments; for the unſhaken integrity, and ſteady impartiality of his conduct there; and for the indefatigable pains he had, with uncommon abilities, conſtantly taken to promote the honour and dignity of parliament, and to preſerve inviolable the rights and privileges of the commons of Great Britain. At the ſame time the houſe reſolved to preſent an addreſs to the king, humbly to beſeech his majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to beſtow ſome ſignal mark of his royal favour upon the right honourable Arthur Onſlow, Eſq. This application was very agreeable to the king's own generous diſpoſition. He expreſſed a proper ſenſe of the ſpeaker's great ſervices and unblemiſhed character; and that gentleman was gratified with an annual penſion of three thouſand pounds, payable out of his majeſty's treaſure at the Exchequer, for his own life and that of his ſon. All the public buſineſs being diſpatched, the king repaired to the houſe of lords on the nineteenth day of March, and having ſigned ſuch bills as were ready, cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne. Soon after which the parliament was diſſolved, and writs were iſſued for a new one to be choſen. We ſhall now take a view of what paſſed between the contending armies on the continent.

Soon after the commencement of this year the French king's ambaſſador at the court of Stockholm delivered a declaration to the Swediſh monarch, importing, that the moſt Chriſtian king, moved by the calamities of war, ſo widely diffuſed, and ſo ſeverely felt in different parts of the world, thought it his indiſpenſible duty to declare, that his humanity in general, and his regard to his own ſubjects in particular, prompted him to expreſs his deſire that his allies would concur with him in reſtoring the tranquillity of Europe; that in adjuſting the differences between France and England, he would abundantly ſhew his moderation, whenever Great Britain ſhould be inclined to acquieſce in reaſonable terms; that common humanity required his allies to concert with him a plan of pacification, and he hoped every member of the alliance would labour to ſtrengthen, if poſſible, the bands of amity with which they were connected; that, in the mean time, an accumulation of diſtreſs among his unhappy ſubjects; an additional depopulation of countries; a diſorder in the finances of ſeveral powers; and the greateſt doubt whether an advantageous peace could be made in Germany, induced him to declare, that as the war had conſiderably diminiſhed his reſources, he was conſtrained to leſſen his ſubſidies, and even to give notice, that ſhould the war continue, he could no longer promiſe an exact compliance with the letter of his engagement. In conſequence of this declaration, four others were made by the courts of Peterſburgh, Vienna, Sweden, and Poland, which were ſigned at Paris on the twenty-fifth of March, and delivered at London on the thirty-firſt of the ſame month. The counter declaration of Great Britain and Pruſſia appeared on the third of April; and a congreſs was appointed to be held at Augſburgh, as the moſt proper ſituation for the powers at war: yet, promiſing as theſe ſeeming diſpoſitions for peace appeared, the war in Germany was continued with great ſpirit.

In the beginning of February prince Ferdinand aſſembled his army, and began his march towards Caſſel, on the eleventh day of that month, in four columns. The command of the vanguard being aſſigned to the marquis of Granby, he advanced to Kerkberg and Metze. In the mean time the hereditary prince having received intelligence that the French garriſon of Fritzlar was not prepared for a defence, he marched thither with a few battalions, in hopes of carrying the place by a ſudden aſſault with muſquetry only; but he met with ſuch a warm reception, that he was obliged to wait for the arrival of ſome artillery, which was made uſe of with ſuch ſucceſs, that the governor of the place was compelled to capitulate on honourable terms. In the interim, general Briedenback took poſſeſſion of a large magazine at Rothenſal, and made an unſucceſsful attempt upon Marpurg, in which he loſt his life; but this place was afterwards abandoned by the French at the approach of the marquis of Granby, who took poſſeſſion of it. It was now reſolved to reduce Ziegenheim and Caſſel before the duke de Broglio ſhould receive his reinforcements; and theſe two places were accordingly inveſted. The allied army was cantoned in two lines, with the right extending to Lahne, and the left ſtretched towards Fulda; while prince Ferdinand fixed his head-quarters at Schwienſberg. Having left a garriſon at Marpurg, lord Granby marched into the neighbourhood of Lohr. Another body, under general Hardenberg, advanced to Kircham, where the detachment employed at the ſiege of Caſſel proceeded very ſlowly in their operations, and received ſome ſevere rebuffs from ſallies made by the garriſon. By this time the duke de Broglio was joined by all the detachments he expected from the Lower Rhine, and advanced towards the army of the allies, which at this time was unable to meet him in the field. On the twenty-firſt day of March, the detachment under the hereditary prince was, in its march from Heinbach, encountered by a numerous body of the enemy, near the village of Stangerode, in the neighbourhood of Grunberg. The attack was made by the enemy's dragoons, the very firſt ſhock of which broke the whole foot of the allies, conſiſting of nine regiments of Hanoverians, Heſſians, and Brunſwickers. Two thouſand were either killed or taken, together with eighteen pair of colours, and twelve pieces of artillery.

After this blow, the allied army could no longer think of making head againſt the French, or of maintaining their ground in Heſſe. They broke up the blockade of Zeigenheim, and ſoon after raiſed the ſiege of Caſſel, after the trenches had been opened twenty-ſeven days. They now evacuated the whole country of Heſſe, retiring behind the Dymel, and falling back nearly to the quarters they poſſeſſed before this attempt. The enemy was now once more in poſſeſſion of the whole landgraviate of Heſſe Caſſel; they were alſo maſters of Munden and Gottingen in Hanover, and at liberty to penetrate into the heart of that electorate. The ſituation of the allies appeared the more dangerous, as the prince de Soubiſe, at the head of a ſecond French army, was encamped on the Lower Rhine. About the middle of May, the hereditary prince of Brunſwic, at the head of a ſeparate body, advanced to Nettolen, in the neighbourhood of Munſter, to watch the motions of this army. Soubiſe had by this time formed three different camps at Duſſeldorp, Burich, and Rees, though part of his forces ſtill continued in cantonment. The army of the duke de Broglio, having, about the latter end of June, croſſed the Dymel, diſlodged general Sporcken from his poſt on the left of that river, with the loſs of eighteen hundred men taken priſoners, nineteen pieces of cannon, four hundred horſes, and two hundred waggons. The French next took poſſeſſion of Warburg, Padeborn, and Dringlebroen, and on the ſecond of July compelled prince Ferdinand to paſs the Lippe. Theſe ſucceſſes, however, were balanced by the atchievements of ſmall parties of the allies, who, at different times were diſpatched to harraſs them in their motions, and cut off their convoys of proviſion.

General Luckner, on the thirteenth of July in the morning, advanced with his detachment to Salme, where the count de Chabot was poſted with a ſtrong body of horſe and foot, which he attacked with ſuch fury, that they were forced to repaſs the Lippe in haſte, having loſt about two hundred men, and as many horſes in their retreat. Other parties intercepted the French convoys in the neighbourhood of Caſſel, and did ſuch conſiderable damage to the enemy, that they reſolved to unite their armies and give battle to prince Ferdinand. At Hohenover, the camp of the allies was formed. The right wing, at the extremity of which the hereditary prince was poſted, extended as far as the village de Buderich, and this was guarded by a detachment. The body of the army occupied the heights of Wambeln, and the prince of Anhalt poſſeſſed the ground between the Illengen and Hohenover. The marquis of Granby maintained his poſition on the heights of Kirck-Denckern, lieutenant-general Wiltgeneau advancing from the heath of Untrup, marched by his right in order to reach the village of Kirck-Denckern; the avenues and poſts on the little rivers Aſte and Sultzbah, were defended by the piquets of the army.

On the fifteenth of July, the army of Soubiſe having ſtruck their tents, advanced on the left of the allies, and diſlodged the advanced poſt of lord Granby, againſt whoſe corps their chief efforts were directed. Prince Ferdinand now commanded the marquis of Granby to maintain his ground to the laſt extremity. Wutnau was ordered to make a motion to the left, to block up the high road from Lipſtadt to Ham, and act in concert with the marquis, whoſe right was likewiſe ſuſtained by the left of the body commanded by the prince of Anhalt, and this general's own right extended to the Aſte, above Kirck-Denckern. Lieutenant-general Conway replaced the prince of Anhalt, between Illengen and Hohenover. The hereditary prince ordered lieutenant-general Boſe to ſecure the heights of Wambeln, leaving count Kilmanſiegge on the ſide of Buderich. The greateſt part of the artillery was placed on the front of the left. General Sporcken, who encamped with a ſeparate body at Hortzfeld, was ordered to detach ſix ſquadrons and as many battalions over the Lippe, to ſupport M. Wutnau, and to co-operate with the reſt as he ſhould judge moſt effectual for the advantage of the whole. In the evening, the enemy made a furious attack on lord Granby's poſt, which was ſuſtained with the moſt intrepid bravery and reſolution till the arrival of Wutnau, who advancing on his left, and charging them in flank, obliged them to retire into the woods with precipitation. The priſoners having informed prince Ferdinand, that marſhal Broglio had decamped from Erwite by break of day, in order to join Soubiſe, and give battle to the allies, concluded that the ſtrongeſt efforts would be made upon his left, and formed his diſpoſitions accordingly. General Howard was ordered to bring up the brigade of infantry, commanded by lord Frederick Cavendiſh, and the cavalry of lord Pembroke. Colonel Grevendorff was detached with two battalions to barricade and fortify the village of Kirck-Denckern, and to be there, in caſe of neceſſity, ſupported by general Howard. At three in the morning the whole French army advanced again to the attack on the ſide where Wutgenau was poſted, and a terrible fire of cannon and muſquetry was maintained on both ſides for five hours, during which the enemy was not able to gain one inch of ground. About nine, prince Ferdinand received advice that Broglio's deſign was to cannonade lord Granby's camp, from an oppoſite eminence; he therefore ordered immediately a body of troops to anticipate this operation, by making a vigorous charge. Accordingly they advanced with the greateſt intrepidity, and attacked the enemy with ſo much fury, that the French were ſoon obliged to give way, and abandon the field. Their left, however, ſtill maintained a ſevere cannonade on the ſide where the hereditary prince commanded; but were no ſooner informed of their defeat on the right, than they deſiſted from the attack, and retreated in good order. They were purſued as far as Hiltrup, about a league from the field of battle, and would in all probability have ſuffered a total defeat, had the nature of the ground permitted the artillery to act; but this being impoſſible, the French ſuſtained very little loſs. They had, however, about five thouſand men killed and taken priſoners in this attack, ſome colours, and a few pieces of artillery. Prince Ferdinand's loſs did not exceed five hundred men.

This action did immortal honour to the commander in the diſpoſition, and to the bravery and intrepidity of the troops in the execution. It was, however, far from being deciſive; the French, notwithſtanding the conſiderable loſs they had ſuſtained, were ſtill ſuperior in number. After this defeat, the miſunderſtanding between the two French generals revived, and the army was again divided. Broglio, with his diviſion, marched towards Caſſel, and Soubiſe retreated to Dortmund, and croſſed the Roer, in order to ſecure a great number of barges then paſſing down the Rhine with proviſions for his army. He did not, however, take this ſtep, before he had ſent off two large detachments to reinforce Broglio. Nor did he continue any longer on the other ſide of the Roer, than was neceſſary to receive his proviſions, when he repaſſed both that river and the Lippe, advancing as far as Dulmen. In the mean time Broglio penetrated ſtill farther into the electorate of Hanover, took poſſeſſion of Keſter, and fortified the place. Upon this, prince Ferdinand retired to Dumolt, and called in moſt of his detachments. The French general encamped near him on the heights of Neim, and ſeveral ſkirmiſhes happened between the two armies, in one of which prince Henry, brother to the hereditary prince, was mortally wounded. In the mean time, general Luckner gained a conſiderable advantage at Caſſel. He attacked and routed a large body of the enemy, took many priſoners, and a number of horſes. Nor were the French idle. Broglio, having croſſed the Weſer with his whole army, prince Ferdinand made a forced march, paſſed the Dymel, and advanced to Caſſel. Broglio perceiving that he could not now advance to the city of Hanover, without bringing on a general engagement with the allied army, thought proper to retreat. The French being thus retired, prince Ferdinand proceeded to Paderborn, and eſtabliſhed his head-quarters at Buhne. On this movement of the allies, Broglio thought proper to croſs the Weſer, and encamped at Eimbeck, where he laid the whole country under contribution. Soubiſe in the mean time having erected his ovens at Dorſten, and garriſoned the place with one battalion, the hereditary prince found means to attack and reduce the town. The garriſon were made priſoners; the ovens demoliſhed; and large quantities of proviſions deſtroyed. This ſucceſs obliged Soubiſe to retreat to the other ſide of the Lippe. But he ſoon after repaſſed that river, and advanced again to Coesfelt, ravaging, with his detachments, all the northern parts of Weſtphalia.

Near the end of September, a detachment from the army of Soubiſe, under the command of the count de Conflans, advanced to the gates of Embden, which was garriſoned by two companies of Engliſh invalids, who obtained an honourable capitulation, and embarked for Bremen. The French did not, however, continue long in the town; they laid the neighbouring country under contribution, and immediately evacuated the place. But the country people flying to arms, and ſinking the pontoons on which the enemy had paſſed the river, it was ſome time before the detachment could return to their camp. Another party of the army entered the city of Oſnabrug, and pillaged the place, the inhabitants not being in a condition to pay the enormous contributions demanded by the enemy. A third party made an attempt upon Bremen; but the inhabitants joining the garriſon, the French were obliged to retire with the utmoſt precipitation. All this time Broglio lay inactive in his camp at Eimbeck, without attempting any thing of importance: nor was he at all diſturbed till the beginning of November, when prince Ferdinand formed a plan for attacking him unexpectedly, before he could call in his detachments. In order to this, he ordered the hereditary prince and general Luckner, reinforced by the garriſon of Wolfenbuttle, to advance from their reſpective poſts, ſo as to be in the neighbourhood of Eimbeck by a certain hour on the fifth of November. He commanded the marquis of Granby to force the French poſt at Cappelnhagen on the fourth; to proceed next day to Wickenſen, and block up a defile in that neighbourhood, on the road from Eſcherſhauſen to Eimbeck. He ſent general Hardenberg with a detachment to paſs the Weſer at Badenwerder, that he might, at the appointed time, take poſſeſſion of a defile at Amelunxhorn, on the other road from Eſcherſhauſen to Eimbeck. On the fourth, he himſelf, with the main body of his army, croſſed the river near Haſtenbeck, and advanced towards Eimbeck. When he approached Wickenſen, he found part of his orders already executed, the road being occupied by a ſtrong body of Britiſh grenadiers and highlanders; for the marquis of Granby had bravely forced the enemy's poſt at Cappelnhagen, and, by the hour appointed, blocked up the defile. In the mean time, M. de Chabot finding he was intercepted, immediately retreated towards Eſcherſhauſen, and ſtruck into the other road to Eimbeck, which general Hardenberg had been ordered to ſecure: but unfortunately for that officer, ſome of his pontoons were overturned, and this accident retarded him ſo long, that he did not arrive at the place appointed till ſeven in the morning; by which time Chabot had paſſed the defile on his way to Eimbeck, and by noon reached that place without farther interruption. Notwithſtanding this diſappointment, prince Ferdinand advanced towards the French camp, which he found too ſtrong to be attacked with any probability of ſucceſs. He then reſolved to turn their flanks, as if he deſigned to cut off their communication with Gottingen; a motion which, he was well aſſured, would either bring Broglio to an engagement on equal terms, or oblige him to retreat. He choſe the latter; and on the ninth the whole French army retired. After this, no tranſaction of conſequence happened in Germany. The duke de Broglio quartered his forces in and about Caſſel; while thoſe of Soubiſe were diſtributed at Duſſeldorp, and along the Lower Rhine. The allies fixed their quarters at Hilderſham, Munſter, Hamelen, and Eimbeck. The Britiſh cavalry wintered in Eaſt Frieſland, and the infantry in the biſhopric of Oſnabrug.

This year ſeveral ſucceſsful exploits were performed in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies. After the reduction of Pondicherry, an armament was equipped againſt the French ſettlement of Mahie, ſituated on the coaſt of Malabar, about thirty miles to the northward of Tillicherry. A body of forces for this expedition was embarked at Bombay, under the command of major Hector Monro, who acted with ſuch ſpirit, that in the beginning of February, M. Loner, the French governor at Mahie, was obliged to ſurrender the place with all its dependencies. But the French officers in the Eaſt Indies had exerted themſelves with ſo much induſtry, as to intereſt in their cauſe a prince of the Mogul empire, named Shah Zadda, who, at the head of eighty thouſand men, took the field againſt the forces of the Eaſt India company, commanded by major John Carnack, and reinforced by the ſuba of Bengal. This army conſiſted of five hundred Europeans, two thouſand five hundred ſeapoys, and twenty thouſand black troops, with twelve pieces of cannon. Both armies advanced to the neighbourhood of Guya, where, on the fifteenth of January, the Mogul's troops were routed in a pitched battle. All their artillery was taken, together with part of their baggage, and a number of French officers. About this time a revolution happened in favour of Mir Coſſim Ali Kawn, who was placed on the throne of Bengal in the room of his father-in-law Jaffier Ali Kawn, raiſed to that dignity by lord Clive, and now depoſed for his cruelty and mal-adminiſtration. This change, however, did not affect the intereſt of the Engliſh Eaſt India company; on the contrary, the new nabob confirmed and enlarged their privileges.

The iſland of Dominique, in the Weſt Indies, which the French had ſettled and fortified, was, in the month of June, attacked by a party of Engliſh forces under the command of lord Rollo, and aſſiſted by commodore Sir James Douglas, with four ſhips of the line. At firſt, the inhabitants would have ſubmitted; but M. de Longprie, the governor, ſtirred them up to hold out, under pretence that ſome ſhips would ſoon arrive to their aſſiſtance. Lord Rollo, finding him obſtinate, landed with a party of grenadiers, commanded by colonel Melville, and drove the enemy from their advanced poſts; after which they proceeded to the head-quarters of the governor, whom they took priſoner, with all his officers. Next day the magiſtrates, and indeed all the inhabitants of the iſland, except the ſoldiers, took the oaths to our government. The forts that had been damaged were repaired, and every thing ſettled in a proper manner; after which, lord Rollo and Sir James Douglas ſet ſail for the iſland of Guadaloupe.

In the courſe of this year the Engliſh navy was remarkably ſucceſsful; ſeveral engagements happened in different parts of the ſeas, and many of the enemy's ſhips were taken. But the following is juſtly eſteemed one of the moſt remarkable and gallant actions which diſtinguiſhed this war, and fully evinced the vaſt ſuperiority poſſeſſed by the Engliſh navy over that of France. On the tenth of Auguſt, captain Faulkner of the Bellona, a ſhip of the line, and the Brilliant, a frigate of thirty guns, ſailed from the river Tagus for England, having on board a conſiderable ſum of money for the merchants of London. On the thirteenth in the afternoon, being then off Vigo, they deſcried three ſail of ſhips ſtanding in for the land, one of the line of battle, and two frigates. As ſoon as they perceived captain Faulkner, they bore down upon him, till within the diſtance of ſeven miles, when they took both the Bellona and frigate for two decked ſhips, and not chuſing to ſtand an engagement, they ſuddenly wore round, filled all their ſails, and crouded away. Captain Faulkner being by this time convinced of their ſize, and from the intelligence he had received, conjecturing that the large ſhip was the Courageux, as it actually proved to be, he hoiſted all the ſail he could carry, and gave chace till ſun-ſet, when one of the French frigates hauling out in the offing, he threw out a ſignal for the Brilliant to purſue in that direction, which order was immediately obeyed. They did not loſe ſight of the enemy all night; but at ſun-riſe had gained only two miles upon them in a chace of fourteen hours, ſo that the French commodore might ſtill have avoided an engagement had he thought proper; but he no longer declined the action; for by this time he plainly perceived that one of the Engliſh ſhips was a frigate, and the Bellona, at that diſtance, appeared to him much ſmaller than ſhe really was. He now hoiſted a red enſign on the mizen ſhrouds, as a ſignal for his two frigates to cloſe with, and engage the Brilliant; at the ſame time he hauled down his ſtudding ſails, wore round, and ſtood for the Bellona under his topſails, while captain Faulkner advanced towards him with an eaſy ſail, and ordered his quarters to be manned. The two ſhips were equal in burthen, in number of guns, and in weight of metal. The crew of the Courageux amounted to ſeven hundred men, commanded by M. du Guy Lambert. The Bellona's complement conſiſted of five hundred and fifty men; all the officers were perſons of known merit; and the commander had, on ſeveral occaſions, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his bravery and conduct. The fire on both ſides was ſuſpended till they were within muſquet ſhot of each other, when the engagement began with a terrible diſcharge of fire arms and artillery. In leſs than nine minutes all the Bellona's braces, bowlings, ſhrouds and rigging, were cut and ſhattered by the ſhot, and the mizzen-maſt fell over the ſtern, with all the men on the round-top, who nevertheleſs ſaved their lives by clambering into the port-holes of the gun-room. Apprehenſive that the enemy might ſeize this opportunity of eſcaping, captain Faulkner gave orders to board them immediately; but this attempt was ſoon rendered impracticable by the poſition of the two ſhips. The Courageux was now fallen athwart the bows of the Bellona, in which ſituation ſhe muſt have raked the latter fore and aft with great execution. The haul yards, and moſt of the other ropes by which the Bellona could be worked, were already ſhot away. Captain Faulkner, however, with the aſſiſtance of his maſter, made uſe of the ſtudding-ſails with ſuch ſucceſs, as to wear the ſhip quite round, and fall upon the oppoſite quarter of the Courageux. The officers and men now flew to the guns on that ſide of the ſhip oppoſed to the enemy, from whence they poured in a moſt dreadful diſcharge, and maintained it without intermiſſion or abatement. Every ſhot took place. The ſides of the Courageux were terribly ſhattered, and her decks ſtrewed with carnage. The enemy ſuſtained this fire for about twenty minutes, when the enſign was hauled down, and the engagement ceaſed; but in a ſhort time after a ſhot was fired from the lower tier of the Courageux; upon which the Britiſh ſeamen ran to their quarters, and, without waiting for orders, poured in two broadſides upon the enemy, who now called out for quarter, which was granted them. The Bellona ſuffered greatly in her rigging, but very little in the hull; and her number of killed and wounded did not exceed forty. The caſe was very different with the Courageux. Nothing was left ſtanding but her foremaſt and bowſprit; large breaches were made in her ſides; her decks were torn up in ſeveral parts; many of her guns were diſmounted; and her quarters were filled with mangled bodies of the dying and the dead. Above two hundred and twenty were killed outright; and half that number were brought aſhore wounded, at Liſbon, to which place the prize was conducted. This ſucceſs of the Bellona, was in a great meaſure owing to the brave conduct of captain Logie, who finding it would be impoſſible for him to acquire any thing but laurels from two ſhips, the leaſt of which was equal in ſtrength to the frigate he commanded, he reſolved to amuſe them in ſuch a manner, as to prevent either from aſſiſting the Courageux. Accordingly he began the attack on the Malicieuſe; but the other coming up immediately, he ſtood their whole fire all the time the great ſhips were engaged, and near an hour after ſhe had ſtruck her colours; when they both thought proper to ſeek for ſafety in flight, having ſuffered conſiderable damage in their maſts and rigging.

The miniſtry were this year determined to attempt the reduction of Belleiſle. It contained one ſmall city called Le Palais; had three country towns, one hundred and three villages, and about five thouſand inhabitants. A ſquadron was accordingly equipped under the command of commodore Keppel, conſiſting of ten ſhips of the line, ſeveral frigates, two fire-ſhips, and two bomb-ketches, beſides tranſports. The troops deſtined for this expedition amounted to ten battalions, under the command of major-general Hodgſon, aſſiſted by major-general Crawford, with proper engineers, ſome troops of light horſe, and a detachment of artillery. On the twenty-ninth of March the whole armament ſailed from Spithead; and on the ſeventh of April came to an anchor in Belleiſle road. The firſt attempt miſcarried; which was attended with the loſs of major Purcel, captain Oſborne, ſeveral other officers, and near five hundred men. It was ſome time before the weather would permit a ſecond to be made; but when it did, the prince of Orange man of war ſailed round the iſland in order to ſurvey the coaſt, and diſcover, if poſſible, ſome other place more favourable for a deſcent; but the whole ſeemed to be ſecured in ſuch a manner by rocks and batteries, as precluded all acceſs. Far from being diſcouraged by theſe difficulties, the commanders only thought of the moſt proper methods to remove them; and at length fixed on the following, which met with all the ſucceſs they could wiſh. On the twenty-ſecond in the morning the troops were diſpoſed in the flat-bottomed boats, and rowed to different parts of the iſland, as if they intended to land in ſeveral places; by which means the attention of the enemy was ſo diſtracted, that they knew not where to expect the deſcent, and were obliged to divide their forces at random. In the mean time, brigadier Lambert pitched upon the rocky point of Lomaria, where captain Paterſon, at the head of Beauclerk's grenadiers, and captain Murray with a detachment of marines, climbed the precipice with amazing intrepidity, and ſuſtained the fire of a ſtrong body of the enemy, till they were ſupported by the reſt of the troops, who now landed very faſt, when the French were obliged to abandon their batteries. But this advantage was not gained without loſs. About forty men were killed, and many more wounded, among whom were colonel Mackenzie, and the captains Murray and Paterſon.

The French governor, finding that the Engliſh troops were diſembarked to the number of eight thouſand men, recalled all his detachments to Palais, and prepared for a vigorous defence. On the twenty-third of April the Engliſh troops were formed in columns, and began their march towards the capital. On the ſecond of May the beſiegers broke ground; but next night the garriſon made a ſally, and attacked the trenches with ſuch vigour, that the piquets on the left were put into diſorder. Major-general Crawford, who commanded the trenches, rallied the troops, and endeavoured, by his own example, to animate them; but on this occaſion they did not act with their uſual ſpirit; ſome hundreds were killed, and the major-general, with his two aids du camp, fell into the hands of the enemy. The engineers giving it as their opinion that the works could not be properly advanced till the enemy's redoubts ſhould be taken, the general made the proper diſpoſitions for the attack, which began on the thirteenth at day-break. A terrible fire from four pieces of cannon, and above thirty cohorns, was poured into the redoubt on the right of the enemy's flank; after which a detachment of marines, ſupported by part of Loudon's regiment, advanced to the parapet, drove the French from the works, and, after a very obſtinate diſpute, took poſſeſſion of the place. The other five redoubts were all reduced in the ſame manner, and great ſlaughter was made of the enemy, who withdrew into the citadel; and ſuch was the ardour of the aſſailants, that they entered the ſtreets of Palais with the fugitives, a great number of whom were made priſoners, and took poſſeſſion of the town, in which they found the French hoſpital, and ſome Engliſh priſoners who had been taken in different ſallies. Every endeavour was now exerted for the reduction of the citadel, and by the end of May a breach was made, which by the ſeventh of June became practicable, when M. de St. Croix, the governor, being apprehenſive of a general aſſault, demanded a capitulation. This being granted him on the moſt honourable terms, the articles were immediately ſigned and executed, and Beauclerk's grenadiers took poſſeſſion of the citadel.

While the war was thus raging in almoſt every quarter of the world, the congreſs already mentioned at Augſburg was intended to be opened for a general peace; but the Engliſh miniſtry finding in the mean time that no faith could be placed in the proceedings of the French; and at the ſame time the Spaniſh ambaſſador preſenting a very unſeaſonable, and even unprecedented interpoſition of Spain, the intention was rendered abortive, and the intended congreſs at Augſburg never took place. The Spaniſh ambaſſador was called upon to diſavow ſo ſtrange a proceeding; but he returned a verbal, and was ſoon after authorized by his court to return a written anſwer, in which he openly avowed and juſtified the ſtep taken by the French agent, as entirely agreeable to the ſentiments of his maſter. He declared, that the kings of France and Spain were united, not only by the ties of blood, but by a mutual intereſt. He applauded the humanity and greatneſs of mind, which his moſt Chriſtian majeſty demonſtrated in the propoſition that was complained of. He inſiſted much on the ſincere deſire of peace, the only motive which influenced the conduct of the two monarchs; and he haughtily added, "That if his maſter had been governed by any other principles, his catholic majeſty, giving full ſcope to his greatneſs, would have ſpoken for himſelf, and as became his dignity." It appeared from the whole of this paper, that the court of Spain was regularly apprized of every ſtep that was taken in the negotiation; that her judgment was appealed to upon every point, and her authority called in aid to force the acceptance of the terms offered by France; that there was a perfect union of affections, intereſts, and councils between thoſe two courts; and the miniſter of the former, ſo far from denying or palliating this conduct, ſeemed to glory in it.

Mr. Pitt, from theſe circumſtances, was fully ſatisfied the intentions of Spain were by no means equivocal, and that this partiality, which they ſtrongly avowed, not only by declarations but by facts, would drive them into all the meaſures of France. That a war on that account was abſolutely inevitable; and if, for the preſent moment, the Spaniards had rather have delayed their declaration of war, than laid aſide their hoſtile intentions, it was in order to ſtrike the blow at their own time, and with the greater effect; that therefore their reaſons for delaying to act, were the very motives which ought to induce us to act with the utmoſt ſpeed and vigour; that we ought to conſider the evaſions of that court as a refuſal of ſatisfaction, and that refuſal as a declaration of war; that we ought from prudence, as well as from ſpirit, to ſecure to ourſelves the firſt blow; and to be practically convinced, that the early and effective meaſures which had ſo large a ſhare in reducing France to the dependence upon Spain, would alſo be the fitteſt for deterring or diſabling Spain from affording any protection to France; that to carry on this war with vigour, it was only neceſſary to continue our preſent efforts; no new armament would be neceſſary; and that, if any war could provide its own reſources, it muſt be a war with Spain; that their flota had not yet arrived, and that the taking of it would at once diſable their hands and ſtrengthen ours. This procedure, ſo ſuited to the dignity of the nation, and the inſults it had received, would be a leſſon to Spain, and to every other power, how they preſumed to dictate in our affairs, and to intermeddle with a menacing mediation, and an officiouſneſs as inſidious as it was audacious; and that we would allow our enemies, whether ſecret or declared, no time to think and recollect themſelves.

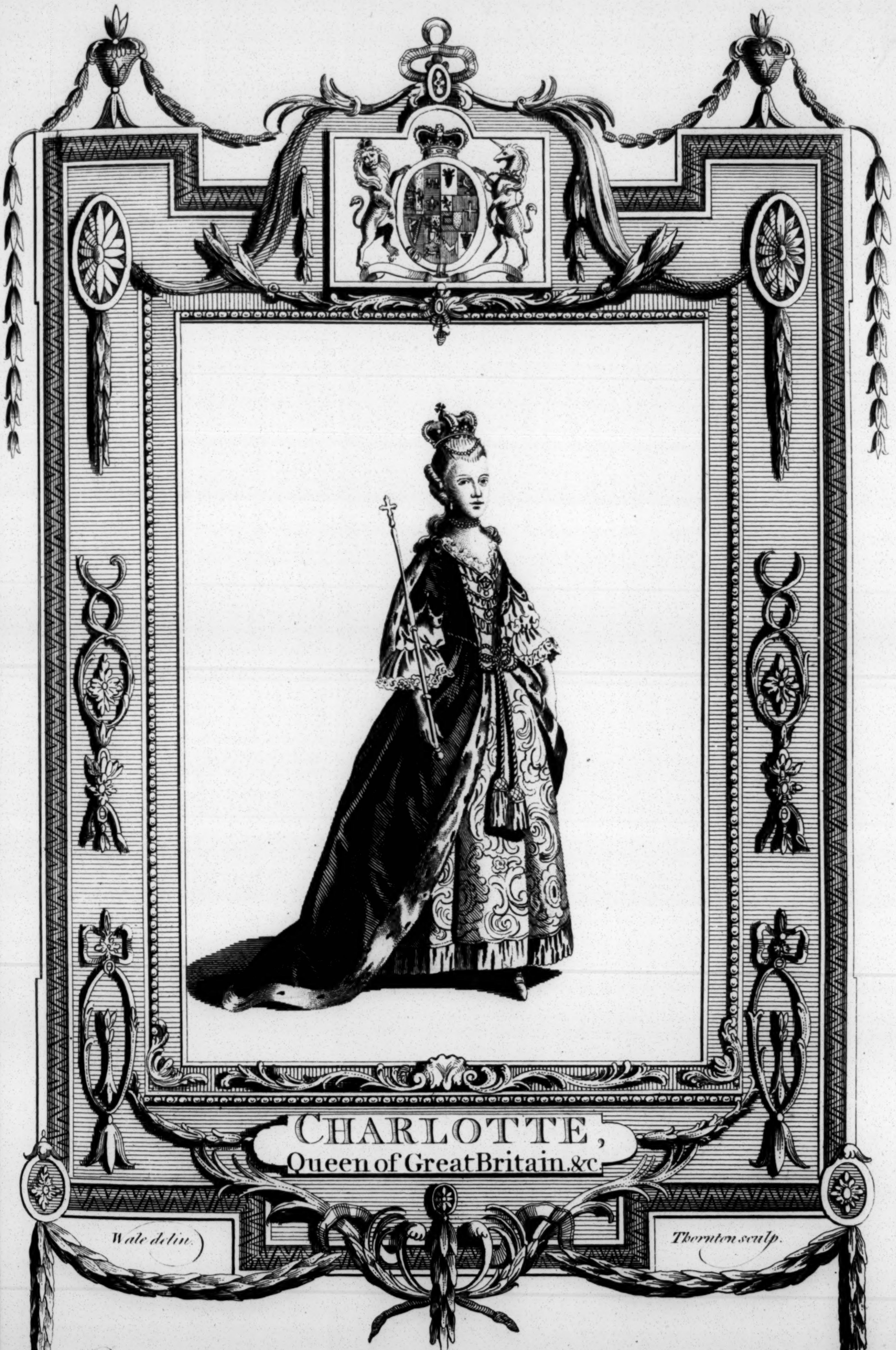
It is neceſſary here to obſerve, in juſtification of the conduct of this great ſtateſman, that he had received private intelligence of a ſecret alliance having been formed between France and Spain; for the laſt mentioned power had actually entered into a family compact with France, by which both nations engaged to carry on the war in conjunction. Hence it was that the Engliſh ſecretary propoſed in the privy-council to anticipate the deſigns of Spain, by an immediate declaration of war againſt that power; but they were determined to act with more deliberation, and deſired a certainty of an offence before they demanded a reparation; alledging, that Spain had yet given no proofs of her hoſtile intentions; and that the Engliſh miniſter at the court of Madrid, ſtill continued to aſſure them of her pacific diſpoſition. Fired with indignation at this oppoſition of ſentiment, Mr. Pitt declared, "That this was the time for humbling the whole houſe of Bourbon; that if this opportunity was let ſlip, it might never be recovered; and if he could not prevail in this inſtance, he was reſolved it ſhould be the laſt time of his ſitting in that council. He thanked the miniſters of the late king for their ſupport; ſaid he was himſelf called to the miniſtry by the voice of the people, to whom he conſidered himſelf accountable for his conduct; and that he would no longer remain in a ſituation which made him reſponſible for meaſures he was no longer allowed to guide." On the diviſion, Mr. Pitt and lord Temple were the only voices in favour of the immediate declaration of war againſt the Spaniards; upon which, having declared their reaſons in writing, they reſigned their employments.

When Mr. Pitt reſigned, the king received him with an eaſy firmneſs, without deſiring him to reſume his office; but expreſſed his concern for the loſs of ſo able a ſervant, and made him an unlimited offer of any rewards in the power of the crown to beſtow; at the ſame time obſerving, that he ſhould have found himſelf under the greateſt difficulty how to have acted, had the council concurred as fully in ſupporting the meaſure propoſed by Mr. Pitt, as they had done in rejecting it. Mr. Pitt, ſenſibly touched at his majeſty's generous condeſcenſion, anſwered, "I confeſs, Sir, I had but too much reaſon to expect your majeſty's diſpleaſure. I did not come prepared for this exceeding goodneſs. Pardon me, Sir,—it overpowers, it oppreſſes me."——He then burſt into tears. The next day the king ſettled on him a penſion of three thouſand pounds a year for life, and the life of his ſon; his lady being, at the ſame time, created a peereſs in her own right: a penſion well beſtowed; nobility honourably acquired, and juſtly merited. The gazette immediately gave notice to the public of all theſe tranſactions; which were followed by a letter from our ambaſſador in Spain, containing an account of the pacific language of that court, and of the ſtrong aſſurances they gave of a deſire to accommodate all differences in an amicable manner. This was intended by the miniſtry to oppoſe that torrent of popular rage, which it was apprehended would proceed from Mr. Pitt's reſignation; and it for ſome time perfectly anſwered their purpoſe.

It may be aſſirmed with the utmoſt truth and impartiality, that no man was ever better fitted than Mr. Pitt, to be the prime miniſter in a great and powerful nation. He was called to the miniſtry by the voice of the people; and, what is more rare, he held it with their approbation; and under him, for the firſt time, adminiſtration and popularity were united. Under him, Great Britain carried on the moſt important war in which ſhe was ever engaged, with greater ſplendour, and with more ſucceſs than ſhe had ever enjoyed at the head of the moſt powerful alliance. He never ſuffered the enemy to breathe, but overwhelmed them with reiterated blows, and kept up the alarm in every quarter. If one of his expeditions were not ſo well calculated, or ſo ſucceſsfully executed, amends were made by a ſecond, and by a third. The ſpirit of the nation was not ſuffered for a moment to ſubſide; and the French, daunted by the multitude and celerity of his enterprizes, ſeemed to have almoſt loſt all power of reſiſtance. In ſhort, he revived the military genius of the people, ſupported ably our allies, extended our trade, raiſed our reputation, and augmented our dominions.

In the month of July, the members of the privy-council being aſſembled, his majeſty acquainted them, "That, having nothing ſo much at heart as to procure the welfare and happineſs of his people; and to render the ſame ſtable and permanent to poſterity, he had, ever ſince his acceſſion to the throne, turned his thoughts towards the choice of a princeſs for his conſort; and now with great ſatisfaction acquainted them, that, after the fulleſt information, and mature deliberation, he had come to a reſolution to demand in marriage the princeſs Charlotte of Mecklenburgh Strelitz; a princeſs diſtinguiſhed by every eminent virtue and amiable endowment, whoſe illuſtrious line had conſtantly ſhewn the firmeſt zeal for the proteſtant religion, and a particular attachment to his family; that he had judged proper to communicate to them theſe intentions, in order that they might be fully apprized of a matter ſo highly important to him and to his kingdoms, and which he perſuaded himſelf would be moſt acceptable to all his loving ſubjects." This declaration was ſo agreeable to the council, that they unanimouſly requeſted it might be made public for the ſatisfaction of the nation in general. The earl of Harcourt was appointed ambaſſador plenipotentiary to the court of Mecklenburgh Strelitz to demand the princeſs, and ſign the contract of marriage; and the royal yachts were prepared, under convoy of a ſquadron commanded by lord Anſon, to convey the future queen to England. The ducheſſes of Ancaſter and Hamilton, together with the counteſs of Effingham, were appointed ladies of the bedchamber, in order to attend her from the court of Mecklenburgh to that of England. On the ſeventeenth of Auguſt, the princeſs, accompanied by the reigning duke, her brother, ſet out for Mirow. Next day ſhe arrived at Perleberg. From thence ſhe continued her journey by Leutzen to Gourde, and on the twenty-ſecond reached Stade, under a general diſcharge of cannon, and public joy was expreſſed by every poſſible demonſtration; on the twenty-third, ſhe embarked in the yacht at Cuxhaven, where ſhe was ſaluted by the Britiſh ſquadron appointed for her convoy. After a tedious voyage of ten days, the princeſs landed on the ſeventh of September in the afternoon at Harwich. She advanced with her attendants by the way of Colcheſter to Witham, and lodged at a houſe belonging to the earl of Abercorn. When arrived at the garden gate of St. James's palace, ſhe was handed out of her coach by the duke of Devonſhire, in quality of lord-chamberlain. At the gate ſhe was received by the duke of York, whom ſhe took for his majeſty; and in the garden, this amiable princeſs was met by the king himſelf with the greateſt marks of affection, and welcomed to England by the loudeſt and moſt general acclamations of the people, who flocked in crouds to meet and welcome their new queen. The nuptial ceremony was performed on the eighth, the ſame evening of her arrival, in the chapel royal, which was, on this occaſion, very magnificently decorated. All the great officers of ſtate, the nobility, peers and peereſſes, and the foreign miniſters, as well as the royal family, were preſent at the ſervice. Addreſſes, containing expreſſions of real joy and ſincerity on this auſpicious event, flowed from every part of the Britiſh dominions.

The ceremony of the nuptials was ſoon ſucceeded by that of the coronation, on the twenty-ſecond. Weſtminſter hall was prepared for the royal banquet, by removing the courts of judicature, boarding the floor, erecting canopies, and building three rows of galleries for the accommodation of ſpectators. A platform was laid between the hall and Weſtminſter abbey, where the king is crowned. All the houſes and ſtreets within ſight of the proceſſion were faced and crouded with benches and ſcaffolding, which extended on both ſides within the abbey from the weſtern entrance almoſt up to the choir. Theſe occaſional erections were ſurpriſingly calculated for ſecurity and convenience; but when they were occupied by above two hundred thouſand people of both ſexes, arrayed in gay apparel, they filled the mind with an aſtoniſhing idea of the wealth and populouſneſs of Great Britain, and almoſt outvied the proceſſion, notwithſtanding the incredible profuſion of jewels and finery, and all the other circumſtances of pomp by which it was diſtinguiſhed. The principal objects, however, ſtill maintained their importance in the eyes and boſoms of all the ſpectators, who could not, without the moſt lively emotions of admiration and joy, behold the royal pair. This ceremony was followed with the anniverſary pageants that celebrate the election of a new lord-mayor in the city of London. As the kings and queens of Great Britain are always entertained at Guildhall by the magiſtrate who happens to be choſen in the year of the coronation, extraordinary preparations were made



CHARLOTTE,
Queen of Great Britain &c.

Wale delin.

Thornton sculp.

Born May 19. 1744. Landed in England Sepr 7. Married Sepr 8.
and Crowned at Westminster Abbey Sepr 22. 1761.

BRITISH 29OC62 MUSEUM

made for the reception of their majeſties: who, with a great number of the nobility, honoured the banquet.

When the new parliament met, on the third of November, the king, being ſeated on the throne, commanded the attendance of the commons; to whom he ſignified his pleaſure, by the mouth of the lord-chancellor, that they ſhould return to their houſe, and chuſe a new ſpeaker. Accordingly their unanimous choice fell upon Sir John Cuſt, a gentleman of extenſive knowledge and diſtinguiſhed probity. His majeſty, repairing again to the houſe of peers on the ſixth, approved of the ſpeaker, and harangued the parliament as follows:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"At the opening of the firſt parliament, ſummoned and elected under my authority, I with pleaſure take notice of an event, which has made me completely happy, and given univerſal joy to my loving ſubjects. My marriage with a princeſs, eminently diſtinguiſhed by every virtue, and amiable endowment, whilſt it affords me all poſſible domeſtic comfort, cannot but highly contribute to the happineſs of my kingdoms; which has been, and always ſhall be, my firſt object in every action of my life.

"It has been my earneſt wiſh that this firſt period of my reign might be marked with another felicity; the reſtoring of the bleſſings of peace to my people, and putting an end to the calamities of war, under which ſo great a part of Europe ſuffers. But though overtures were made to me, and my good brother and ally the king of Pruſſia, by the ſeveral belligerant powers, in order to a general pacification, for which purpoſe a congreſs was appointed; and propoſitions were made to me by France, for a particular peace with that crown, which were followed by an actual negotiation; yet that congreſs hath not hitherto taken place, and the negotiation with France is entirely broken off.

"The ſincerity of my diſpoſition to effectuate this good work has been manifeſted in the progreſs of it; and I have the conſolation to reflect, that the continuance of the war, and the farther effuſion of Chriſtian blood, to which it was the deſire of my heart to put a ſtop, cannot with juſtice be imputed to me.

"Our military operations have been in no degree ſuſpended or delayed; and it has pleaſed God to grant us farther important ſucceſſes, by the conqueſts of the iſlands of Belleiſle and Dominico; and by the reduction of Pondicherry, which hath in a manner annihilated the French power in the Eaſt Indies. In other parts, where the enemy's numbers were greatly ſuperior, their principal deſigns and projects have been generally diſappointed, by a conduct which does the higheſt honour to the diſtinguiſhed capacity of my general prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, and by the valour of my troops. The magnanimity and ability of the king of Pruſſia have eminently appeared in reſiſting ſuch numerous armies, and ſurmounting ſuch great difficulties.

"In this ſituation, I am glad to have an opportunity of receiving the trueſt information of the ſenſe of my people, by a new choice of their repreſentatives. I am fully perſuaded you will agree with me in opinion, that the ſteady exertion of our moſt vigorous efforts, in every part where the enemy may ſtill be attacked with advantage, is the only means that can be productive of ſuch a peace, as may with reaſon be expected from our ſucceſſes. It is, therefore, my fixed reſolution, with your concurrence and ſupport, to carry on the war, in the moſt effectual manner, for the intereſt and advantage of my kingdoms; and to maintain, to the utmoſt of my power, the good faith and honour of my crown, by adhering firmly to the engagements entered into with my allies. In this I will perſevere, until my enemies, moved by their own loſſes and diſtreſſes, and touched with the miſeries of ſo many nations, ſhall yield to the equitable conditions of an honourable peace; in which caſe, as well as in the proſecution of the war, I do aſſure you, no conſideration whatever ſhall make me depart from the true intereſts of theſe my kingdoms, and the honour and dignity of my crown."

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I am heartily ſorry, that the neceſſity of large ſupplies appears ſo clearly from what has already been mentioned. The proper eſtimates for the ſervices of the enſuing year ſhall be laid before you; and I deſire you to grant me ſuch ſupplies as may enable me to proſecute the war with vigour, and as your welfare and ſecurity, in the preſent critical juncture, require, that we may happily put the laſt hand to this great work. Whatſoever you give ſhall be faithfully applied.

"I dare ſay your affectionate regard for me and the queen makes you go before me in what I am next to mention; the making an adequate and honourable proviſion for her ſupport, in caſe ſhe ſhould ſurvive me. This is what not only her royal dignity, but her own merit calls for, and I earneſtly recommend it to your conſideration.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I have ſuch confidence in the zeal and good affections of this parliament, that I think it quite ſuperfluous to uſe any exhortations to excite you to a right conduct. I will only add, that there never was a ſituation in which unanimity, firmneſs, and diſpatch, were more neceſſary for the ſafety, honour, and true intereſt of Great Britain."

Each houſe preſented to his majeſty a moſt loyal and affectionate addreſs, in which they aſſured him he might rely on their exerting themſelves, in the moſt effectual manner, to maintain the dignity of his crown, and oblige the enemy to accept of an honourable peace; that they would make ſuch ample and honourable proviſion for his illuſtrious conſort, as might enable her to ſupport her royal dignity with proper luſtre, in caſe ſhe ſhould ſurvive his majeſty: and that his faithful commons would grant ſupplies adequate to the ſeveral ſervices that his majeſty's wiſdom ſhould think neceſſary. "That, ſenſible of the difficult criſis in which they were aſſembled, they were determined to concur with the greateſt firmneſs and unanimity, in whatever might contribute to the public welfare, might tend to defeat the views and expectations of their enemies, and convince the world, that there are no difficulties which his majeſty's wiſdom and perſeverance, with the aſſiſtance of his parliament, could not ſurmount."

After having preſented their addreſs, the commons proceeded to ſettle the ſupplies, which amounted to eighteen millions two hundred twenty-nine thouſand one hundred thirty-five pounds eighteen ſhillings and eleven pence half-penny. But they had hardly ſettled this important meaſure, when advice arrived from the earl of Briſtol, his majeſty's ambaſſador at Madrid, importing, that having demanded a categorical declaration with reſpect to the part his majeſty intended to act in the diſputes between the courts of London and Verſailles, he had received at firſt a very evaſive and unſatisfactory anſwer. He added, that on repeating his remonſtrance, he was anſwered, that the Spaniſh monarch had already taken his meaſures in concert with the court of Verſailles, and that war was that moment declared againſt Great Britain; and therefore, that he might retire home, and when he thought proper.

A. D. 1762.

On the fourth of January, war was declared againſt Spain, with the uſual ceremonies. On the nineteenth, the king went to the houſe of peers, and delivered a ſpeech to both houſes; in which he obſerved, that he had aſſured his parliament of his ſincere diſpoſition to put an end to the calamities of war, and to reſtore the public tranquillity on ſolid and laſting foundations, that no impartial perſon either at home or abroad could ſuſpect him of unneceſſarily kindling a new war in Europe. But notwithſtanding this he acquainted them, "That ſince their receſs, he had found himſelf indiſpenſibly obliged to declare war againſt Spain. He obſerved, that his own conduct, ſince his acceſſion to the throne, as well as that of the late king his grandfather, had been ſo full of good-will and friendſhip, ſo averſe to the laying hold of ſeveral juſt grounds of complaint, which might have been alledged, and ſo attentive to the advantage of the Catholic king and his family, that it was matter of the greateſt ſurprize to find that engagements had, in this conjuncture, been entered into between that crown and France; and a treaty made to unite all the branches of the houſe of Bourbon in the moſt ambitious and dangerous deſigns againſt the commerce and independency of the reſt of Europe, and particularly of theſe kingdoms. He expreſſed his reliance on the divine bleſſing, on the juſtice of his cauſe, on the zealous and powerful aſſiſtance of his faithful ſubjects, and the concurrence of his allies, who muſt find themſelves involved in the pernicious and extenſive projects of his enemies. He added, that he left theſe conſiderations with his parliament, full of the juſteſt confidence, that the honour of his crown, and the intereſts of his kingdoms were ſafe in their hands. Immediately both houſes took this ſpeech into conſideration, and each preſented an addreſs, aſſuring his majeſty, that they would afford him the moſt conſtant and adequate ſupport. After which, the public buſineſs being finiſhed, on the fourth of June, the king went to the houſe of peers, and put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he expreſſed the higheſt approbation of zeal, unanimity and diſpatch, which had ſo ſignally appeared in the courſe of their proceedings.

Among the acts which paſſed this ſeſſion was one which gave great offence, as being burthenſome to the people, eſpecially the induſtrious and laborious part of the nation. This was an additional duty of three ſhillings for every barrel of beer, excluſive of the duties of exciſe, to be paid by the brewer; and as porter in the city, and ale in the country, were eſteemed neceſſary for the ſupport of thoſe engaged in laborious employments, a tax which occaſioned porter to be raiſed from three-pence to three-pence half-penny a pot, was conſidered as a heavy impoſition on one of the neceſſaries of life.

Not any events had ſo great an effect in producing the peace which followed, as the ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms in the Weſt Indies. The late miniſter, before his reſignation of the ſeals, had determined to employ a very conſiderable part of the Britiſh forces againſt the French colonies in the Weſt Indies. Nor was this reſolution merely ſpeculative; a ſtrong ſquadron was fitted out, and ſailed from Spithead in the month of October in the preceding year. This armament had under their convoy a number of tranſports with four battalions from Belleiſle, to join at Barbadoes a ſtrong body of forces from North America, together with ſome regiments and volunteers from Guadaloupe and the Leeward Iſlands, and proceed in concert with the fleet already on that ſtation, and make a conqueſt of Martinico, which, ſince the attempt of general Hopſon, had been ſtrengthened with new fortifications, and a ſtrong body of troops. The armament from North America and England, under the command of major-general Monckton, and rear-admiral Rodney, amounting to eighteen battalions, and as many ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, bombs, and fire-ſhips, having rendezvouſed at Barbadoes, ſailed from thence on the fifth of January, and on the eighth the fleet and tranſports anchored in St. Ann's bay, in the eaſtern part of Martinico, the men of war having firſt ſilenced ſome batteries which the enemy had erected on that part of the coaſt. In the courſe of this ſervice, the Raiſonable, a ſhip of the line, was, by the ignorance of the pilot, run upon a reef of rocks, from whence ſhe could not be got off; but the men were happily ſaved, together with her ſtores and artillery. The general not thinking this a proper place for diſembarking, detached two brigades under the command of the brigadiers Haldimand and Grant, to the bay of Petite Anſe, where a battery was cannonaded, and taken, by the ſeamen and marines. Theſe brigades were ſoon followed by the whole army, and the reſt of the ſquadron; when ſome other batteries being ſilenced, general Monckton, with the forces, landed on the ſixteenth, in the neighbourhood of the Cas des Navires, and having received a reinforcement of two battalions of marines from the ſquadron, he determined to beſiege the town of Fort Royal.

On the twenty-fourth of June, early in the morning, brigadier Grant, at the head of the grenadiers, ſuſtained by lord Rollo's brigade, attacked the advanced poſts of the enemy under the briſk fire of the batteries; while brigadier Rufane, with his brigade, reinforced by the marines, marched up on the right to attack the redoubts that were raiſed along the ſhore; and the light infantry under colonel Scot, ſupported by the brigade of Walſh, advanced on the left of a plantation, in order, if poſſible, to turn the enemy; in which attempt they ſucceeded, and by nine in the morning were in poſſeſſion of the Morne Tortueſon, and all the redoubts and batteries with which it was fortified. The enemy retired in confuſion to the town of Fort Royal, and to the Morne Garnier, which being more high and inacceſſible than the other, was deemed impregnable. During the conteſt for the poſſeſſion of Tortueſon, brigadier Haldimand, at the head of his brigade, with two battalions of Highlanders, and a corps of light infantry, under major Leland, were ordered to paſs the ravine ſome way to the left, and turn a body of the enemy poſted on the oppoſite heights, hoping, by that method to divide their forces; but the country being difficult of acceſs, it was late before this paſſage was effected. In the mean time, the general, perceiving the enemy giving way on all ſides, ordered colonel Scot's light infantry, with Walſh's brigade, and a diviſion of the grenadiers, to advance on the left to a plantation, from whence they drove the enemy, and then took poſſeſſion of an advantageous poſt oppoſite to the Morne Garnier. Next day batteries were begun to be erected againſt the citadel of Fort Royal, but in the execution of this work our troops were greatly harraſſed by the enemy's fire from Morne Garnier; and on the twenty-ſeventh, about four in the afternoon, they made a furious attack, with the greateſt part of their forces, on the poſts defended by the light infantry and brigadier Haldimand; but met with ſo warm a reception, that they ſoon retired in diſorder. Such was the ardour of the Engliſh troops, that they paſſed the ravine with the fugitives, ſeized their batteries and took poſſeſſion of the ground, being ſuſtained by the brigade of Walſh, and the grenadiers under Grant, who, at the beginning of the attack, marched up to their aſſiſtance. Major Leland, with his light infantry, finding no reſiſtance on the left, advanced to the redoubt, which was abandoned, and the brigadiers Walſh, Grant, and Haldimand, moved up in order to ſupport him; thus by nine at night the Britiſh troops were in poſſeſſion of this ſtrong poſt. Next day the governor perceiving the Engliſh employed in erecting batteries on the different heights which commanded the citadel, ordered the chamade to be beat, and ſurrendered by capitulation. On the fourth of February, the gate was delivered up to the victors, and next morning the garriſon, amounting to eight hundred men, marched out with all the honours of war. Immediately after the reduction of Fort Royal, deputations were ſent from different parts of the iſland, requeſting a capitulation: but M. de la Touche, the governor-general, retired with his forces to St. Pierre, which he propoſed to defend to the laſt extremity. On the ſeventh, Pidgeon iſland, which was ſtrongly fortified, and eſteemed one of the beſt defences of the harbour; ſurrendered at the firſt ſummons. This conqueſt was obtained at the ſmall expence of about four hundred men, including a few officers, killed and wounded in the different attacks; but the loſs of the enemy was very conſiderable. General Monckton was juſt ſetting out for the reduction of St. Pierre, when two deputies arrived from M. de la Touche, with propoſals of capitulation for the whole iſland, which being agreed to, on the fourteenth the terms were ſettled, and the capitulation ſigned. On the ſixteenth the Engliſh commander took poſſeſſion of St. Pierre, and all the poſts in that neighbourhood; while the French governor-general with M. Rouille, the lieutenant-governor, the ſtaff officers, and about three hundred and twenty grenadiers, were embarked on board ſome tranſports, and conveyed to France. The ſurrender of Martinico was followed by that of its dependent iſlands, by which means the Engliſh were the ſole poſſeſſors of all the Caribbees. The Britiſh miniſtry now ſent a fleet againſt the Havannah, the center of the Spaniſh commerce, and at this time ſo ſtrongly defended, that the taking of it was reckoned an impoſſibility, a thought this very ſeldom conceived by the Britiſh forces. Nineteen ſhips of the line, with many ſmaller veſſels, were fitted out, under the command of Admiral Pocock; and about ten thouſand land forces, commanded by the earl of Albemarle. At firſt the admiral intended to have landed on the ſouth ſide of the iſland of Cuba, where it was ſuppoſed he might fall in with the Spaniſh galleons; but that opinion was over-ruled in a council of war, and the fleet continued on a courſe of ſeven hundred miles, in a very dangerous ſea. On the ninth of June, they came within ſight of St. Jago, on the eaſtern extremity of the iſland of Cuba. St. Jago is the capital of Cuba; but although the courts of Juſtice are held there, yet the Havannah is the ſeat of commerce, and, conſequently, of the utmoſt importance. From St. Jago the fleet continued their voyage to the Havannah; but when they arrived there, they found they had more difficulties to encounter than they had as yet imagined. The paſſage to the harbour is extremely narrow, and above half a mile in length, at the end of which is a large baſon, where a thouſand ſhips may ride in ſafety. On one ſide of the narrow paſſage is the Moro Caſtle, a ſtrong fort built for the defence of the place, and to prevent any ſhips from coming in but ſuch as have paſſports. To the weſtward of the harbour ſtands the town, ſtrongly fortified with a parapet, redoubts and baſtions; the whole being ſurrounded by a ditch, and cannon placed in proper diviſions.

The admiral, in order to divert the attention of the enemy, bore away, with a large part of the fleet, to the weſtward, where he made as if he would have landed; while commodore Keppel and captain Hervey landed the forces on the eaſt of the harbour, without the loſs of a man, although the Spaniards had a conſiderable fleet then lying at anchor, which might have done them great damage. The earl of Albemarle divided the army into eight brigades; one of which, under the command of general Elliot, was ordered to march up the country, in order to prevent any ſupplies being ſent to the town, and to cover the ſiege in the rear. General Keppel and colonel Howe were ordered to make a diverſion on the weſt of the town; while the earl of Albemarle, with the main body of the forces, attacked the Moro Caſtle, that being the grand object in view becauſe he defended the entrance to the harbour. The difficulties they had to encounter were innumerable. There was no freſh water to be had; and as the men were obliged to cut their way through woods, and drag the cannon along with them, ſo many of them died on the ſpot through the heat of the climate, and the fatigues they underwent in the ſervice of their country. But courage and perſeverance overcame all difficulties; for batteries were erected in the night on the riſing grounds, to cover the approaches, and make way for the reduction of the place. To do juſtice to the Spaniards, it muſt be acknowledged that they defended the place with great bravery, and for ſome time, the fire was, in a manner, equal on both ſides. On the twenty-ninth of June, in the evening, they made a ſally; but although they acted with great courage and reſolution, they were obliged to retreat, with the loſs of above three hundred men. All the batteries being now opened, the admiral ordered the Cambridge, the Dragon, and the Marlborough, to ſail up to the fort, under the command of captain Hervey; and then a moſt dreadful firing began. The Spaniſh artillery was well conducted, and it appeared that the beſt officers under their government were at this time at the Havannah. As the Moro caſtle was ſituated on a high rock, the ſhips could not, after ſeven hours firing, make the leaſt impreſſions on it. In the attempt the Engliſh loſt one hundred and thirty men, which is not to be wondered at when we conſider, that, beſides the Moro caſtle, they had another battery playing upon them from an oppoſite fort, which galled them exceſſively; ſo that they were obliged to retire, otherwiſe they would have been deſtroyed. Among thoſe killed in this hazardous attempt, was captain Gooſtrey, a brave officer, who had on many former occaſions, given the moſt ſignal proofs of his courage; but duty, and the love of glory were the ſole objects he had in view. When the Engliſh men of war were gone to rejoin the fleet, the Spaniards turned their attention to the eaſtern part of the fort, and reſolved to hold out to the laſt extremity; ſo that the Engliſh officers found the reduction of the place would be a work of time. Indeed, an unforeſeen accident happened at this time, which tended, in a great meaſure, to retard their operations, namely, the reduction of a battery, which took fire by the exploſion of a mortar. Sickneſs likewiſe rendered many of the men incapable of acting, and the few who remained in health were fatigued beyond deſcription. Add to this the want of freſh proviſions, the heat of the climate, and the inſupportable fatigue which both officers and men underwent, by which many gave themſelves up to deſpair, and ſunk under the load of their miſery: but at this time they received a very ſeaſonable ſupply; for a fleet arrived from New York, and another from Jamaica, having on board a large quantity of proviſions, which gave new life and ſpirits both to the army and navy.

The governor of the Havannah, ſenſible that the Engliſh would make themſelves maſters of the Moro caſtle, unleſs he could ſend freſh reinforcements to it, ordered one thouſand two hundred men to be put on board the boats in the harbour, and to land and attack the Engliſh. Accordingly, theſe men landed, and attacked our forces in three different places, but with ſo little ſucceſs, that upwards of four hundred were left dead on the ſpot; ſome were drowned, and the reſt with much difficulty ſaved themſelves, by getting into their boats. On the thirtieth of July, the miners blew up a part of the wall, by which a breach was made; and although it was ſmall, yet the engineers were of opinion that the army might attack it. The Engliſh troops now mounted the breach in ſuch good order, that the enemy became intimidated, after above four hundred of them had been killed, among whom was the marquis de Gonſales, the ſecond in command, a brave officer, who had exerted himſelf to the utmoſt during the ſiege, and died animating the ſoldiers to defend the place. The ſame fate attended Don Lewis de Velaſco, the commander in chief, who diſdaining to aſk quarter, collected as many men as yet remained, and making a ſtand with them, received a mortal wound, and died in the bed of honour. The Engliſh being now in poſſeſſion of the fort, which had coſt the lives of many brave men, during a ſiege of fourteen days, turned the cannon againſt the town. Several batteries were, at the ſame time, erected on the riſing grounds; and the earl of Albemarle being willing to ſave as many lives as poſſible, ſent a meſſage to the governor, deſiring him to ſurrender, as it would be in vain to hold out any longer; but the governor, though he returned a polite anſwer to the earl, yet refuſed to comply, declaring that he would hold it out to the laſt extremity. In conſequence of this the firing immediately began on both ſides; but in a little more than ſix hours all the artillery belonging to the enemy were ſilenced, and the north baſtion of the city was almoſt diſabled. This reduced the Spaniard to reaſon; and accordingly about two in the afternoon, white flags were diſplayed all round the place, and in a ſhort time a flag of truce arrived at the head quarters with propoſals for a capitulation. The terms, however, which the Spaniſh governor thought proper to tranſmit, were not granted: he demanded that the ſhips in the harbour ſhould be ſent to Spain, and that the harbour ſhould be declared neutral. Theſe appeared rather the demands of a conqueror than a fallen enemy; they were, therefore refuſed, and hoſtilities were ordered to be renewed. This produced the deſired effect; the enemy thought proper to recede from their demands and to treat upon very different terms; ſo that a capitulation was ſigned on the thirteenth of Auguſt, by which the inhabitants were ſecured in the enjoyment of their own laws and religion, as well as in their private property; and next day the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of this important conqueſt. The Spaniſh garriſon which was reduced to about ſeven hundred men, including officers, was permitted to march out with the honours of war; and it was ſtipulated that they and the ſailors ſhould be conveyed to Old Spain. About five hundred of the Britiſh troops, including fifteen officers, were killed, or died of their wounds, during the progreſs of this ſiege, and about ſeven hundred, among whom were nine officers, were carried off by ſickneſs. The conquerors found in the place great quantities of artillery, ſmall arms, ammunition, and warlike ſtores. Twelve ſhips of the line, two upon the ſtocks, and ſeveral trading veſſels likewiſe fell into the hands of the Engliſh. But beſides theſe captures they acquired to the amount of about three millions ſterling in ſilver, tobacco and valuable merchandize, collected on his catholic majeſty's account; which at once rendered the enemy's loſs irreparable, and indemnified the Britiſh nation for the expence of this expedition, which was carried into execution with the utmoſt alacrity, and afforded many inſtances of true courage and capacity.

Nor was this conqueſt the only inſtance in which the arms of Great Britain triumphed over thoſe of Spain. A ſcheme had been projected by the miniſtry for making a deſcent on the iſland of Manilla in the Eaſt Indies: where is the port from whence two large ſhips are annually ſent acroſs the vaſt Pacific Ocean to the port of Acapulco, one of the ſea-ports of Mexico, laden with ſpices, ſtuffs, jewels, and other rich merchandize of India. An attempt was to be made on this iſland by part of the ſquadron of vice-admiral Corniſh, and the troops deſtined for the expedition were to be under the command of brigadier-general Draper. The beginning of Auguſt, admiral Corniſh ſailed in two diviſions, and on the nineteenth arrived at Malacca, where the fleet was watered, and a large quantity of rattans collected for making gabions. On the twenty-third of September they anchored in the bay of Manilla, where the enemy were but ill prepared for a defence, and greatly alarmed at this unexpected viſit. The governor was the archbiſhop, who aſſumes the title of captain-general of the Philippine iſlands: but the garriſon conſiſting of eight hundred men, was commanded by the marquis de Villa Medina, who now reinforced it with a body of ten thouſand Indians, from the province of Pampanga; but theſe were undiſciplined, and formed rather a rude rabble of people, than an army. The admiral was fortunate enough to find a convenient place for landing the troops, about two miles to the ſouthward of the city of Manilla; and immediately made the proper diſpoſitions for that purpoſe. The three frigates, Argo, Sea-horſe and Seaford, were ſtationed very near the ſhore, to cover the deſcent, three diviſions of the forces were put on board the boats of the fleet, conducted by the captains Parker, Kempenfeldt, and Brereton of the navy, and ſoon landed at the church and village of Malata. This was the time for the enemy to have rendered the attempt abortive, and they accordingly aſſembled in great numbers to oppoſe the deſcent; but the covering frigates kept ſuch a continual fire of cannon and ſmall arms, that they ſoon diſperſed and ſought their ſafety in a precipitate flight; ſo that the troops were diſembarked without the loſs of a ſingle man. Next day the general took poſſeſſion of the Polveriſta, a ſmall fort deſerted by the enemy, and which now proved an excellent place of arms for covering the landing of the ſtores and artillery. The curate's houſe was made the head quarters, and guarded by the ſeventy-ninth regiment. The church of the Hermita was occupied by colonel Monſon, with an advanced party of two hundred men. The marines were left at the Malata, in the neighbourhood of Polvoriſta, to ſecure the communication with the fleet, and protect the ſtores and artillery. In the mean time a body of men approached within an hundred yards of the town, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the church of St. Jago, which they maintained, notwithſtanding it was expoſed to the continual fire of the enemy. The admiral, on the twenty-ſixth, landed a battalion of ſeamen, who were poſted between the head quarters and marines. Nor were the Spaniards idle on this occaſion. They were determined, if poſſible, to prevent the deſtruction of their city; and, accordingly, four hundred of their troops, under the command of the chevalier Fayette, with two field pieces, marched up on the right of the Engliſh advanced poſt, the flank of which they began to cannonade; but colonel Monſon, at the head of the piquets, and a ſmall reinforcement of marines, attacked them with ſo much fury, that they retreated with the greateſt precipitation, leaving one of their field pieces behind them.

A conſiderable breach having been made in the wall, it was hoped the garriſon would demand a capitulation; but finding they made no propoſitions of that nature, the Engliſh general reſolved to ſtorm the town. Accordingly, on the ſixth of October, at four in the morning, the troops allotted for this ſervice marched off from their quarters in ſmall bodies, to avoid ſuſpicion, and while they were aſſembling, a cloſe fire was maintained in order to clear thoſe places where the enemy might be lodged or intrenched. Every thing being in readineſs for the aſſault, lieutenant Ruſſel, at the head of ſixty volunteers, ſuſtained by the grenadiers, led the way. The engineers, pioneers, and other workmen followed in order to clear and widen the breach; and after them the remainder of the army was conducted in proper order. As ſoon as the aſſailants mounted the breach, the enemy fled in the utmoſt confuſion, and the troops entered the town with very little difficulty; the only oppoſition of conſequence which they met with being from a hundred Spaniards, who, with ſome Indians, were poſted at the royal guard-houſe, and, upon their refuſal to ſubmit, were all cut to pieces. The governor, with the principal magiſtrates, withdrew into the citadel, but that being, ſoon after, entirely demoliſhed, they were obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war. The Spaniſh officers, on giving their parole of honour, were enlarged, and all the Indians diſmiſſed in ſafety. This important conqueſt coſt the Engliſh only one hundred men, including officers. By the capitulation it was agreed, that the town and port of Cavite, with the iſlands and forts depending upon Manilla, were to be delivered up to his Britannic majeſty, and four millions of dollars paid as a ranſom for the city of Manilla, and the effects of the inhabitants, who, in return, were to be protected in their religion and private property. Admiral Corniſh, during the ſiege, having intercepted ſome letters to the Spaniſh governor, informing him, that the galleon, St. Phillipina, was arrived from Acapulco at Cajayagan, he determined to ſend in queſt of her. Accordingly the Panther man of war, and Argo frigate, commanded by the captains Parker and King, were detached on this ſervice; and on the thirtieth of October, being off the iſland of Capul, they diſcerned a ſail, ſtanding to the northward. Unfortunately the Panther was drove by the current among the Narangoes, and obliged to come to an anchor, but captain King in the frigate continuing the chace, came up with and engaged her for near two hours, during which his rigging ſuffered conſiderable damage, and obliged him to give over the attack till it could be repaired. In the mean time the Panther got under ſail again, and in her turn engaged the enemy, who ſoon ſurrendered; but when captain Parker came to take poſſeſſion, he was ſurprized to find, that inſtead of the St. Phillipina, his prize proved the Santiſſima Trinidada, which had departed from Manilla for Acapulco on the firſt of Auguſt; but meeting with a hard gale of wind, wherein ſhe was diſmaſted, had been obliged to put back and refit. The merchandize on board the ſhip was valued at one million and a half of dollars, and the whole cargo ſuppoſed to be worth double that ſum. We may here add, the Hermione, a Spaniſh regiſter ſhip, bound from Lima to Cadiz, laden with treaſure and valuable effects to the amount of one million ſterling, which was taken in the month of May, by two Engliſh frigates, on a cruiſe off cape St. Vincent, and brought from Gibraltar to England. Several captures were alſo made in the Weſt Indies during the month of November, among which were a French ſhip, mounted with twenty pieces of cannon, taken by captain Ruthven, commander of the Terpſichore; and the Oiſeau, another French frigate of twenty guns, taken by captain Tonyn, in his majeſty's ſhip the Brune, about ſeven leagues from Carthagena. Nor were the cruizers of Great Britain leſs active, or leſs ſucceſsful in the American ſeas. Captain Ourry, of the Acteon, took, about the beginning of April, a large Spaniſh regiſter ſhip, laden with artillery, ſtores and ammunition; and bound to Lagueira. A fleet of twenty-five French merchant ſhips, laden with ſugar, coffee, and indigo, ſailed from Cape François for Europe, under convoy of four frigates, in the month of September; but, during their paſſage, five of them were taken by a fleet of privateers, belonging to New York and Jamaica. Nor did the reſt eſcape; commodore Keppel fell in the next day with the remaining part, took the whole fleet, together with their convoy, and ſent them to Port Royal.

Let us now return to the continent, where the war was ſtill carried on with the utmoſt vigour. A joint memorial was preſented by the French and Spaniſh ambaſſadors at the court of Liſbon, to the Portugueſe miniſtry, importing, that the firſt meaſure planned by the kings of France and Spain was to engage his Portugueſe majeſty in their offenſive and defenſive alliance, and to join his forces with theirs: that they expected his moſt Faithful majeſty would not heſitate a moment to acquieſce in ſo reaſonable a requeſt, when he conſidered what he owed to himſelf, to his kingdom, and to his ſubjects, who more ſeverely felt the yoke which Great Britain had laid upon them, than thoſe of any other nation, and which ſhe was deſirous of extending over all thoſe who had any poſſeſſions in the new world: that it would be unjuſt for France and Spain alone to ſupport a war, and ſacrifice their ſubjects for an object in which Portugal was equally intereſted with themſelves: that in order to this, the ambaſſador of Spain, and the miniſter plenipotentiary of France deſired his moſt Faithful majeſty to renounce the neutrality, and declare himſelf united in the preſent war againſt the Engliſh, with the kings of France and Spain: that this declaration was made by thoſe two monarchs as being agreed and concerted between them: that his Catholic majeſty had alſo inſtructed his ambaſſador to obſerve, that it was the brother of the queen, wife to his moſt Faithful majeſty, a true friend, a moderate, and quiet neighbour, who had made this propoſal to him, and who, conſidering the intereſt of his Portugueſe majeſty as his own, wiſhed to unite the one with the other, ſo that either in peace or war, Spain and Portugal might be conſidered as belonging to one maſter. To this extraordinary memorial, the two miniſters added, That they were commanded by their reſpective courts, to demand in four days a cetegorical anſwer, and that any delay beyond that period would be conſidered as a negative.

But though the ſituation of Portugal was at this time truly alarming, yet the firmneſs of the king was ſuch as muſt tranſmit his name with the moſt diſtinguiſhed advantage to poſterity. He anſwered this inſulting propoſition with a moderate but intrepid reſolution. He obſerved, that the ties, which equally united him to Great Britain, and the crowns of France and Spain, rendered him a proper mediator to them all, and conſequently improper for him to declare himſelf an enemy to either: that his alliance with England was ancient, and conſequently incapable of giving offence at this juncture: that it was merely defenſive, conſequently innocent: that the late calamities of Portugal had abſolutely diſabled her from taking part in any offenſive war, into which neither the love his moſt Faithful majeſty bore his ſubjects, as a father, nor the duty by which he was bound to them as a king, could ſuffer him to plunge them.

This anſwer was far from ſatisfying the princes of the Bourbon confederacy. They denied that the alliance with England was either purely defenſive, or purely innocent: and to other aſſertions added, that if the king of Portugal did not comply with their requiſition, the Spaniſh troops which were already marched to the frontiers, ſhould enter his country, ſeize his forts, and ſhut them up; and that no choice was therefore left to his majeſty, but that of receiving them as friends, or treating them as enemies.

However, this extraordinary treatment could neither divert the king from the firmneſs of his reſolution,

ſolution, nor provoke him to depart from the moderation of his language. He declared he would keep his treaties with England inviolate; and that if their troops ſhould enter his dominions, he would, in defence of his neutrality, repulſe them with all his forces, joined by thoſe of his allies; and concluded with this noble reſolution, "That it would affect him leſs though reduced to the laſt extremity, of which the great Judge was the ſole arbiter, to let the laſt tile of his palace fall, and to ſee his faithful ſubjects ſpill the laſt drop of their blood, than to ſacrifice, together with the honour of his crown, all that Portugal held moſt dear; and to ſubmit, by ſuch extraordinary means, to become an unheard-of example to all pacific powers, who would no longer be able to enjoy the benefit of neutrality, whenever a war ſhould be kindled between other powers with which the former were connected by defenſive treaties." On receiving this final reſolution, the ambaſſadors of the two crowns demanded paſſports, which being granted them, they ſet out for their reſpective courts; and France and Spain, in the month of June, publiſhed a joint declaration of war againſt Portugal. In the mean time about eight thouſand troops, with large ſupplies of ſtores and ammunition, and a fine train of artillery, arrived in Portugal from England. The command of the Portugueſe army had ſome time before been conferred upon count de la Lippe Buckebourg, an officer of great abilities, and who, during the whole courſe of the war, had directed the Britiſh artillery in Germany. The Engliſh forces were conducted by lord Tyrawley and the earl of Loudon, aſſiſted by ſeveral officers of great experience. Theſe forces had not been long in Portugal, before lord Tyrawley, diſguſted at the behaviour of the court of Liſbon, deſired to be recalled; his requeſt was granted, and the earl of Loudon ſucceeded to the chief command. But the progreſs of the Spaniſh army in Portugal was very ſlow, and the military enterprizes very trifling; and when the ſeaſon was far advanced the rain fell in torrents, the roads were deſtroyed, and the country, in many places, rendered impaſſable. The Spaniards, therefore, who had not ſecured any advanced poſt where they could maintain themſelves during the winter; deſtitute of magazines for their ſupport, and their convoys continually cut off by the enemy, were obliged to retreat into their own country.

In Germany the greateſt efforts were made. General Luckner, a noted Hanoverian partizan, and who had made ſeveral ſucceſsful invaſions into the country poſſeſſed by the enemy, obtained a conſiderable advantage over the marquis de Lortange, who had marched out of Gottingen at the head of eighteen hundred horſe and two thouſand infantry, to intercept Luckner. But the latter falling unexpectedly on the marquis, forced him to retire with great loſs and precipitation to Gottingen. About the ſame time a party of French irregulars were made priſoners at Eichfeld by major Wingerode, commander of the Heſſian huſſars. The caſtle of Roer was beſieged by the hereditary prince of Brunſwic. In the month of April, he ſet out at the head of a ſtrong detachment and a train of artillery, in order to carry his deſign into execution. His batteries had ſcarce begun to play before the fort was ſet on fire. Every method was purſued by M. de Muret, who commanded in the caſtle, to ſtop the progreſs of the flames; but finding all his endeavours ineffectual, he was obliged, with his whole garriſon of two hundred and thirty men to leap over the walls, and ſurrender at diſcretion.

When the French generals Soubiſe and d'Etrees arrived at Frankfort, near the latter end of April, they immediately applied themſelves to aſſemble their forces on the banks of the Weſer; while the prince of Condé commanded a ſeparate army encamped at Duſſeldorp on the Lower Rhine. The main body of the allied army, commanded by prince Ferdinand, was poſted behind the Dymel, to make head againſt the two marſhals, while the hereditary prince, at the head of a conſiderable corps, was encamped in the biſhopric of Munſter, to watch the motions of Condé. Prince Xavier of Saxony had taken poſt, with a corps de reſerve, between the river Werra and the town of Gottingen; and general Luckner encamped near Eimbeck on the Leine, to obſerve that prince's motions. On the twenty-fourth of June prince Ferdinand made the proper diſpoſitions for attacking the French camp, ſituated between Graebenſtein and Meinbrexen. In order to execute this plan with ſucceſs, general Luckner left his camp in the morning of the twenty-third, croſſed the Weſer in the evening, and by three o'clock the next morning arrived between Mariendorff and Undenhauſen. General Sporcken paſſed the Dymel at Sielem about four in the morning, at the head of twelve Hanoverian battalions, and part of the cavalry of the left wing, in order to fall upon the enemy's flank, while Luckner attacked them in the rear. Prince Ferdinand paſſed the river about the ſame time, at the head of twelve Britiſh battalions, eleven of the Brunſwic troops, eight regiments of Heſſians, the Engliſh cavalry, and part of the German horſe of the left wing. On his gaining the bank on the oppoſite ſide, he drew up his forces in order of battle, behind the ponds of Kalſe. The vanguard on the right was compoſed of the chaſſeurs, of the Engliſh and German infantry commanded by lord Frederick Cavendiſh, and Treytag's Hanoverian chaſſeurs, who had orders to occupy the mountain of Langenberg, while the left conſiſted of the piquets of the army. The body of reſerve, conducted by the marquis of Granby, croſſed the Dymel at Warburg, and marched to an eminence oppoſite to Furſtenwalde, in order to fall upon the left wing of the enemy. All theſe preparations were made with ſuch judgment, activity, and good order, that the French were attacked with the utmoſt impetuoſity in front, flank, and rear, before they knew any thing of the approach of the allied army. Terrified at this vigorous and unexpected aſſault, a very precipitate retreat was the immediate conſequence, and would probably have ended in a total defeat of the whole army, had not M. de Stainville, at the head of a choſen body of troops, conſiſting of the grenadiers of France, the royal grenadiers, the regiment of Aquitaine, and ſome other forces which conſtituted the flower of the French infantry, thrown himſelf into the woods of Willemſtahl, where he made a noble ſtand, and effectually covered the retreat of the French marſhals, who retired in the utmoſt confuſion under the cannon of Caſſel. Stainville was attacked by lord Granby with his uſual impetuoſity, and the whole body, except two battalions, either killed or taken. Two thouſand five hundred and fifty of the enemy, including one hundred and ſixty-two officers, were made priſoners: ſome ſtandards and colours were alſo taken; while the whole loſs of the allied army did not exceed three hundred men. Colonel Townſhend was the only officer of diſtinction who loſt his life in the action.

The French marſhals having withdrawn to their camp at Melſungen, in order to maintain their communication with Franckfort, and facilitate their junction with the prince of Condé, who had received orders to advance from the Lower Rhine, prince Ferdinand reſolved to attack them. Accordingly, on the twenty-fifth of July he croſſed the Eder, and joined the marquis of Granby on the heights of Falkenberg; after which he reconnoitered the enemy's ſituation, when he found there was no probability of engaging them with ſucceſs; and having contented themſelves with cannonading their camp, he re-croſſed the Eder, leaving the marquis of Granby on the heights of Falkenberg. The French now croſſed the Fulda, and retired to Caſſel, having left a body of troops under M. de Guerchy oppoſite to the camp they abandoned: at the ſame time the marquis of Granby took poſſeſſion of Melſungen, by which means the enemy's communication with Franckfort was once more cut off. Immediately after, a body of their dragoons advancing towards Ruthenburn under M. de Stainville, fell into an ambuſcade at Morſchen, and were entirely routed. This was followed by the loſs of Gottingen, which place they relinquiſhed after having deſtroyed the fortifications. On the ſixteenth of July the prince of Condé began his march from Coeffeldt, and paſſed the Lippe at Halderen. He was followed by the hereditary prince, at the head of a ſtrong detachment from the allied army; who having received intelligence that a large body of the enemy were on their march to meet the prince of Condé, he determined to attack him before their arrival. In the beginning of this action, the French were drove from the heights into the plain; but while the allies were eagerly purſuing their advantage, the main army of the enemy arrived. Such a powerful reinforcement could not fail of turning the balance in their favour. The allies were totally defeated, having loſt about three thouſand men. This misfortune was greatly increaſed by a wound which the hereditary prince received from a muſquet ball in his hip-bone, by which, for a conſiderable time, his life was in the moſt imminent danger.

In the neighbourhood of the allies was the caſtle of Ameneburg, which they had furniſhed with a garriſon conſiſting of ſeven hundred men, under the command of captain Cruſe. This fortreſs the enemy determined to take; but, in order to conceal their real intention, attacked a poſt of the allies called Brucker Mulk, which defended the paſſage of a bridge over the Ohme. This poſt was defended by a detachment of two hundred men, the greater part of whom were poſted in a ſmall redoubt, which they had erected to defend them againſt the random ſhot of the enemy. The attack on this poſt was made by the French with muſquetry and cannon, by a detachment placed on an eminence, a little beyond the bridge. This attack brought on a moſt violent cannonade on both ſides; while a warm diſpute with ſmall arms was maintained between the French and Hanoverians, who defended the redoubt. The latter having expended all their ammunition, and ſuffered a conſiderable loſs from the conſtant fire of the enemy, general Waldegrave was detached, with the firſt battalion of guards, to relieve the Hanoverians. In the mean time, prince Ferdinand obſerving that the enemy were continually throwing in freſh troops, and increaſing the number of cannon that played continually on the allies, thought proper to reinforce his artillery with ſix pieces of heavy cannon, and three howitzers from the army; and ordered four Heſſian regiments to advance, in order to ſuſtain thoſe who were ſo warmly engaged. A terrible fire both of ſmall arms and artillery was now maintained for fifteen hours, both ſides fighting with the moſt determined reſolution, though neither made the leaſt attempt to paſs the bridge. At length the darkneſs put an end to the action, in which eleven hundred men of the enemy, and ſix hundred of the allies, were killed. Prince Ferdinand after this action inveſted Caſſel; and notwithſtanding all the activity and reſolution of a numerous garriſon, commanded by the baron de Dieſbach, the operations were carried on with ſuch remarkable vigour, that the city was taken on the tenth of October by capitulation. This was the laſt action between the French and the allies in Germany.

Great Britain at this time was much diſpoſed to peace. Victories were become familiar to us, and made but a ſlight impreſſion. The marks of public joy, on conſiderable conqueſts, were become much colder, than thoſe ſhewn at the beginning of the war upon very trivial advantages. Beſides, as an alteration in the ſyſtem of the Britiſh miniſtry had begun the war, another alteration, by the reſignation of Mr. Pitt, naturally put an end to it. The duke of Newcaſtle, firſt lord of the treaſury, from his early zeal in favour of the houſe of Hanover, and the liberal uſe he had made of his fortune, had long been conſidered as the head of the whigs: but neither his age, nor his ſituation in the former reign, had allowed him an opportunity of cultivating an intereſt with the preſent king; whence he did not now poſſeſs the royal confidence. On the other hand, the earl of Bute had enjoyed an employment near his perſon when he was prince of Wales, and had obtained an uncommon ſhare of his eſteem. This laſt nobleman therefore, after the removal of Mr. Pitt, was made ſecretary of ſtate; and ſoon after the duke of Newcaſtle, thinking himſelf obliged to reſign, the earl of Bute was appointed firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury. This reſignation was followed by that of ſeveral others, diſtinguiſhed by their rank and influence. His majeſty, with a view of aboliſhing party diſtinctions, and extending the royal favour equally to all his ſubjects, now choſe many perſons from thoſe families which had been the moſt ſtedfaſt friends of the Steuarts, and had, ever ſince the revolution, oppoſed the meaſures of government. The whigs, irritated at the changes by which they loſt their places, expreſſed their reſentment in the moſt public manner, and endeavoured by riotous proceſſions of different kinds of mobs, to excite the people to eſpouſe their cauſe. A violent ferment ſucceeded, in which his majeſty loſt great part of that popularity to which his firſt ſpeech juſtly entitled him; the faireſt characters were traduced and inſulted by party violence; and the moſt bitter animoſity was infuſed into the minds of ignorant unthinking people againſt the Scots. While the nation was thus diſtracted, the conduct of the war became difficult, its continuance unſafe, and its ſupplies uncertain; and its being impoſſible for thoſe in the adminiſtration to behold without anxiety, that the chiefs of the monied intereſt were connected with the principal perſons in oppoſition, their deſire of a peace became cordial and ſincere. It is ſaid, the firſt overtures were made under the mediation of his Sardinian majeſty. The duke of Bedford was ſent to Verſailles, to negotiate on the part of England; the duke de Nivernois came to London on that of France; and ſoon after the great outlines of a treaty were adjuſted, and preliminaries ſigned. In conſequence of which, on the twenty-fifth of November, his majeſty opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he obſerved, that the war with Spain, and the attack of his ally, the king of Portugal, having greatly affected the commerce of his ſubjects, multiplied the objects of his military operations, and added to the heavy burthens of his people, he had willingly embraced an occaſion that offered of renewing the negotiation for peace. He informed them, that the preliminary articles were actually ſigned; that by the conditions in which all parties had acquieſced, an immenſe territory was added to the empire of Great Britain, and a ſolid foundation laid for the increaſe of commerce; that care had been taken to remove all occaſions of future diſputes; that the king of Portugal was ſecured in all his dominions; and that all the territories of his German allies were evacuated by the troops of France. He lamented that a great number of his ſubjects had been loſt in different parts of the world; a conſideration which reinforced the other reaſons he had to engage in the negotiation; and that he had haſtened the concluſion of it, to prevent the neceſſity of making preparations for another campaign. He deſired the commons to conſider of ſuch methods, in the ſettlement of the new acquiſitions, as ſhould moſt effectually tend to the ſecurity of thoſe countries, and to the improvement of the Britiſh trade and navigation. He recommended to their care and attention his gallant ſubjects by whom thoſe acquiſitions were made. He obſerved, that union at home was peculiarly neceſſary to lay the foundation of that œconomy which they owed to themſelves and their poſterity, and which alone could relieve the nation from the heavy burthens entailed upon it by the neceſſities of a long and expenſive war.

To this gracious ſpeech both houſes were eager to preſent addreſſes, containing general compliments of congratulation on the approach of peace, as well as upon the birth of the prince of Wales. The next day a ceſſation of arms was proclaimed; and orders were iſſued for opening again all the channels of communication with France and Spain. However, the preliminaries of the peace underwent a very ſevere examination by the oppoſition, but were at length approved of by a great majority in both houſes; and each preſented an addreſs to the king on the occaſion, in which they declared, "That they owed the utmoſt gratitude to his majeſty for the re-eſtabliſhment of the public tranquillity upon terms of honour to the crown, and of advantage to the people."

A. D. 1763. The definitive treaty of peace being ſigned at Paris on the tenth of February, and thence tranſmitted to England, it was laid before the parliament; of which the following is an exact copy.

In the Name of the moſt Holy and Undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt. So be it.

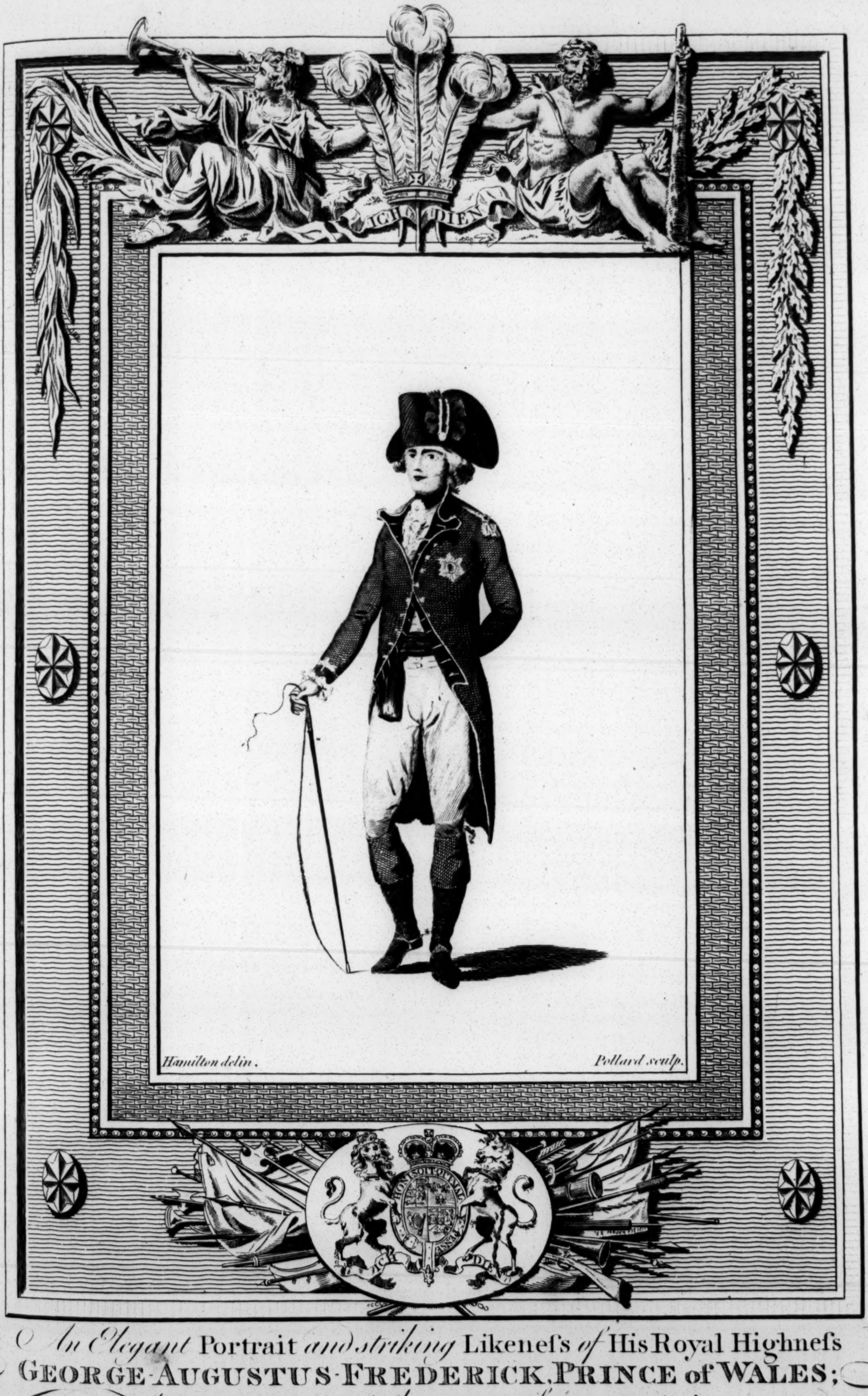
BE it known to all thoſe to whom it ſhall, or may, in any manner, belong.

" It has pleaſed the Moſt High to diffuſe the ſpirit of union and concord among the princes, whoſe diviſions had ſpread troubles in the four parts of the world, and to inſpire them with the inclination to cauſe the comforts of peace to ſucceed to the misfortunes of a long and bloody war, which having ariſen between England and France, during the reign of the moſt ſerene and moſt potent prince, George the Second, by the Grace of God, king of Great Britain, of glorious memory, continued under the reign of the moſt ſerene and moſt potent prince, George the Third, ſucceſſor, and, in its progreſs, communicated itſelf to Spain and Portugal: conſequently, the moſt ſerene and moſt potent prince, George the Third, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Duke of Brunſwick and Lunenburg, Arch-Treaſurer and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire; the moſt ſerene and moſt potent prince, Lewis the Fifteenth, by the Grace of God, the moſt Chriſtian King; and the moſt ſerene and moſt potent prince, Charles the Third, by the Grace of God, King of Spain and of the Indies, after having laid the foundations of peace in the preliminaries, ſigned at Fontainbleau the third of November laſt; and the moſt ſerene and moſt potent prince, Don Joſeph the Firſt, by the Grace of God, King of Portugal and of the Algarves, after having acceded thereto, determined to complete, without delay, this great and important work. For this purpoſe the high contracting parties have named and appointed their reſpective ambaſſadors extraordinary and miniſters plenipotentiary, viz. his Sacred Majeſty the King of Great Britain, the moſt illuſtrious and moſt excellent lord John Duke and Earl of Bedford, Marquis of Taviſtock, &c. his Miniſter of State, Lieutenant General of his Armies, Keeper of his Privy Seal, Knight of the Moſt Noble Order of the Garter, and his Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Miniſter Plenipotentiary to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty: his Sacred Majeſty the Moſt Chriſtian King, the moſt illuſtrious and moſt excellent lord Cæſar Gabriel de Choiſeul, Duke of Praſlin, Peer of France, Knight of his Orders, Lieutenant General of his Armies, and of the Province of Brittany, Counſellor of all his Councils, and Miniſter and Secretary of State, and of his Commands and Finances: his Sacred Majeſty the Catholick King, the moſt illuſtrious and moſt excellent lord, Don Jerome Grimaldi, Marquis de Grimaldi, Knight of the Moſt Chriſtian King's Orders, Gentleman of his Catholick Majeſty's Bed Chamber in employment, and his Ambaſſador Extraordinary to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty: his Sacred Majeſty the Moſt Faithful King, the moſt illuſtrious and moſt excellent lord, Martin de Mello and Caſtro, Knight profeſſed of the Order of Chriſt, of his Moſt Faithful Majeſty's Council, and his Ambaſſador and Miniſter Plenipotentiary to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.

" Who, after having duly communicated to each other their full powers, in good form, have agreed upon the articles, the tenor of which is as follows:

" Art. I. There ſhall be a chriſtian, univerſal, and perpetual peace, as well by ſea as by land, and a ſincere and conſtant friendſhip ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed between their Britannick, Moſt Chriſtian, Catholick, and Moſt Faithful Majeſties, and between their heirs and ſucceſſors, kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, vaſſals, and ſubjects, of what quality or condition ſoever they be, without exceptions of places, or of perſons; ſo that the high contracting parties ſhall give the greateſt attention to maintain between themſelves and their ſaid dominions and ſubjects, this reciprocal friendſhip and correſpondence, without permitting on either ſide any kind of hoſtilities, by ſea or by land, to be committed from henceforth, for any cauſe, or under any pretence, whatſoever; and every thing ſhall be carefully avoided, which might hereafter prejudice the union happily re-eſtabliſhed, applying themſelves, on the contrary, on every occaſion, to procure for each other whatever may contribute to their mutual glory, intereſts, and advantages, without giving any aſſiſtance or protection, directly or indirectly, to thoſe who would cauſe any prejudice to either of the high contracting parties: there ſhall be a general oblivion of every thing that may have been done or committed, before or ſince the commencement of the war, which is juſt ended.

" Art. II. The treaties of Weſtphalia of 1648; thoſe of Madrid between the two crowns of Great Britain and Spain of 1667, and 1670; the treaties of peace of Nimeguen of 1678, and 1679; of Ryſwick of 1697; thoſe of peace and of commerce of Utrecht of 1713; that of Baden of 1714; that of the triple alliance of the Hague of 1717; that of the quadruple alliance of London of 1718; the treaty of peace of Vienna of 1738; the definitive treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1748; and that of Madrid, between the crown of Great Britain and Spain, of 1750; as well as the treaties between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, of the thirteenth of February, 1668; of the ſixth of February, 1715; and of the twelfth of February, 1716; and that of the eleventh of April, 1713; between France and Portugal with the guarantees of Great Britain; ſerve as a baſis and foundation to the peace, and the preſent treaty: and for this purpoſe they are all renewed and confirmed in the beſt form, as well as all the treaties in general, which ſubſiſted between the high contracting parties before the war, as if they were inſerted here word for word; ſo that they are to be exactly obſerved, for the future, in their whole tenor, and religiouſly executed on all ſides, in all their



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their points, which ſhall not be derogated from by the preſent treaty, notwithſtanding all that may have been ſtipulated to the contrary by any of the high contracting parties; and all the ſaid parties declare, that they will not ſuffer any privilege, favour, or indulgence to ſubſiſt, contrary to the treaties above confirmed, except what ſhall have been agreed and ſtipulated by the preſent treaty.

" Art. III. All the priſoners made on all ſides, as well by land as by ſea, and the hoſtages carried away, or given during the war, and to this day, ſhall be reſtored, without ranſom, ſix weeks at lateſt, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, each crown reſpectively paying the advances which ſhall have been made for the ſubſiſtence and maintenance of their priſoners, by the ſovereign of the country where they ſhall have been detained, according to the atteſted receipts and eſtimates, and other authentic vouchers, which ſhall be furniſhed on one ſide and the other: and ſecurities ſhall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the priſoners ſhall have contracted in the countries where they have been detained, until their entire liberty. And all the ſhips of war and merchant-veſſels, which ſhall have been taken ſince the expiration of the terms agreed upon for the ceſſation of hoſtilities by ſea, ſhall be likewiſe reſtored bona fide, with all their crews and cargoes: and the execution of this article ſhall be proceeded upon immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

" Art. IV. His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty renounces all pretenſions which he has heretofore formed, or might form, to Nova Scotia, or Acadia in all its parts; and guaranties the whole of it, and with it all its dependencies, to the King of Great Britain: moreover, his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty cedes and guaranties to his ſaid Britannic Majeſty, in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the iſland of Cape Breton, and all the other iſlands and coaſts in the gulph and river St. Laurence, and in general, every thing that depends on the ſaid countries, lands, iſlands, and coaſts, with the ſovereignty, property, poſſeſſion, and all rights acquired by treaty or otherwiſe, which the moſt Chriſtian King, and the crown of France have had till now, over the ſaid countries, iſlands, lands, places, coaſts, and their inhabitants; ſo that the moſt Chriſtian King cedes and makes over the whole to the ſaid King, and to the crown of Great Britain, and that in the moſt ample manner and form, without reſtriction, and without any liberty to depart from the ſaid ceſſion and guarantee, under any pretence, or to diſturb Great Britain in the poſſeſſions above mentioned. His Britannic Majeſty, on his ſide, agrees to grant the liberty of the catholic religion to the inhabitants of Canada: he will, conſequently, give the moſt preciſe and moſt effectual orders, that his new Roman catholic ſubjects may profeſs the worſhip of their religion, according to the rites of the Romiſh church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit. His Britannic Majeſty further agrees, that the French inhabitants, or others who had been ſubjects of the moſt Chriſtian King in Canada, may retire, with all ſafety and freedom, wherever they ſhall think proper, and may ſell their eſtates, provided it be to the ſubjects of his Britannic Majeſty, and bring away their effects, as well as their perſons, without being reſtrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatſoever, except that of debts, or of criminal proſecutions: the term limited for this emigration ſhall be fixed to the ſpace of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratification of the preſent treaty.

" Art. V. The ſubjects of France ſhall have the liberty of fiſhing and drying on a part of the coaſts of the iſland of Newfoundland, ſuch as it is ſpecified in the XIIIth article of the treaty of Utrecht; which article is renewed and confirmed by the preſent treaty (except what relates to the iſland of Cape Breton, as well as to the other iſlands and coaſts in the mouth and in the gulph of St. Laurence): and his Britannic Majeſty conſents to leave to the ſubjects of the moſt Chriſtian King, the liberty of fiſhing in the gulph of St. Laurence, on condition that the ſubjects of France do not exerciſe the ſaid fiſhery, but at the diſtance of three leagues from all the coaſts belonging to Great Britain, as well thoſe of the continent, as thoſe of the iſlands ſituated in the ſaid gulph of St. Laurence. And as to what relates to the fiſhery on the coaſts of the iſland of Cape Breton out of the ſaid gulph, the ſubjects of the moſt Chriſtian King ſhall not be permitted to exerciſe the ſaid fiſhery, but at the diſtance of fifteen leagues from the coaſts of the iſland of Cape Breton; and the fiſhery on the coaſts of Nova Scotia, or Acadia, and every where elſe out of the ſaid gulph, ſhall remain on the foot of former treaties.

" Art. VI. The King of Great Britain cedes the iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, in full right, to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, to ſerve as ſhelter to the French fiſhermen: and his ſaid Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty engages not to fortify the ſaid iſlands; to erect no buildings upon them, but merely for the convenience of the fiſhery; and to keep upon them a guard of fifty men only for the police.

" Art. VII. In order to re-eſtabliſh peace on ſolid and durable foundations, and to remove for ever all ſubject of diſpute with regard to the limits of the Britiſh and French territories on the continent of America; it is agreed, that for the future, the confines between the dominions of his Britannic Majeſty, and thoſe of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty in that part of the world, ſhall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Miſſiſſippi, from its ſource to the river Iberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain to the ſea; and for this purpoſe the Moſt Chriſtian King cedes in full right, and guaranties to his Britannic Majeſty the river and port of the Mobile, and every thing which he poſſeſſes, or ought to poſſeſs, on the left ſide of the river Miſſiſſippi, except the town of New Orleans, and the iſland in which it is ſituated, which ſhall remain to France; provided that the navigation of the river Miſſiſſippi, ſhall be equally free, as well to the ſubjects of Great Britain as to thoſe of France, in its whole breadth and length, from its ſource to the ſea, and expreſsly that part which is between the ſaid iſland of New Orleans, and the right bank of that river, as well as the paſſage both in and out of its mouth. It is farther ſtipulated, that the veſſels belonging to the ſubjects of either nation ſhall not be ſtopped, viſited, or ſubjected to the payment of any duty whatſoever. The ſtipulations inſerted in the IVth article, in favour of the inhabitants of Canada, ſhall alſo take place with regard to the inhabitants of the countries ceded by this article.

" Art. VIII. The King of Great Britain ſhall reſtore to France, the iſlands of Guadaloupe, of Marie Galante, of Deſirade, of Martinico, and of Belleiſle; and the fortreſſes of theſe iſlands ſhall be reſtored in the ſame condition they were in, when they were conquered by the Britiſh arms; provided that his Britannic Majeſty's ſubjects who ſhall have ſettled in the ſaid iſlands, or thoſe who ſhall have any commercial affairs to ſettle there, or in the other places reſtored to France by the preſent treaty, ſhall have liberty to ſell their lands and their eſtates, to ſettle their affairs, to recover their debts, and to bring away their effects, as well as their perſons, on board veſſels which they ſhall be permitted to ſend to the ſaid iſlands, and other places reſtored as above, and which ſhall ſerve for this uſe only, without being reſtrained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatſoever, except that of debts, or of criminal proſecutions: and for this purpoſe the term of eighteen months is allowed to his Britannic Majeſty's ſubjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty: but as the liberty granted to his Britannic Majeſty's ſubjects, to bring away their perſons and their effects in veſſels of their nation, may be liable to abuſes, if precautions were not taken to prevent them; it has been expreſsly agreed between his Britannic Majeſty and his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, that the number of Engliſh veſſels, which ſhall have leave to go to the ſaid iſlands and places reſtored to France ſhall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they ſhall go in ballaſt; ſhall ſet ſail at a fixed time; and ſhall make one voyage only, all the effects belonging to the Engliſh being to be embarked at the ſame time. It has been further agreed, that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall cauſe the neceſſary paſſports to be given to the ſaid veſſels; that, for the greater ſecurity, it ſhall be allowed to place two French clerks, or guards, in each of the ſaid veſſels, which ſhall be viſited in the landing places and ports of the ſaid iſlands and places reſtored to France, and that the merchandize which ſhall be found therein ſhall be confiſcated.

"Art. IX. The Moſt Chriſtian King cedes and guaranties to his Britannic Majeſty, in full right, the iſlands of Grenada, and of the Grenadines, with the ſame ſtipulations in favour of the inhabitants of this colony, inſerted in the IVth article for thoſe of Canada: and the partition of the iſlands called Neutral, is agreed and fixed, ſo that thoſe of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago, ſhall remain in full right to Great Britain, and that of St. Lucia ſhall be delivered to France, to enjoy the ſame likewiſe in full right; and the high contracting parties guaranty the partition ſo ſtipulated.

"Art. X. His Britannic Majeſty ſhall reſtore to France the iſland of Goree in the condition it was in when conquered: and his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty cedes in full right, and guaranties to the King of Great Britain, the river Senegal, with the forts and factories of St. Lewis, Podor, aud Galam; and with all the rights and dependencies of the ſaid river Senegal.

"Art. XI. In the Eaſt Indies, Great Britain ſhall reſtore to France, in the condition they are now in, the different factories which that crown poſſeſſed, as well on the coaſt of Coromandel and Orixa, as on that of Malabar, as alſo in Bengal, at the beginning of the year 1749. And his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty renounces all pretenſions to the acquiſition which he had made on the coaſt of Coromandel and Orixa, ſince the ſaid beginning of the year 1749. His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall reſtore on his ſide, all that he may have conquered from Great Britain in the Eaſt Indies during the preſent war; and will expreſsly cauſe Nattal and Tapanoully in the iſland of Sumatra, to be reſtored; he engages further not to erect fortifications, or to keep troops, in any part of the dominions of the ſubah of Bengal. And in order to preſerve future peace on the coaſt of Coromandel and Orixa, the Engliſh and French ſhall acknowledge Mahomet Ally Khan for lawful Nabob of the Carnatick, and Salabat Jing for lawful Subah of the Decan; and both parties ſhall renounce all demands and pretenſions of ſatisfaction, with which they might charge each other, or their Indian allies, for their depredations or pillage committed on the one ſide or on the other, during the war.

"Art. XII. The iſland of Minorca ſhall be reſtored to his Britannic Majeſty, as well as Fort St. Philip, in the ſame condition they were in when conquered by the arms of the Moſt Chriſtian King; and with the artillery which was there, when the ſaid iſland and the ſaid fort were taken.

"Art. XIII. The town and port of Dunkirk ſhall be put into the ſtate fixed by the laſt treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and by former treaties. The cunette ſhall be deſtroyed immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, as well as the forts and batteries which defend the entrance on the ſide of the ſea; and proviſion ſhall be made, at the ſame time, for the wholſomeneſs of the air, and for the health of the inhabitants, by ſome other means, to the ſatisfaction of the King of Great Britain.

"Art. XIV. France ſhall reſtore all the countries belonging to the electorate of Hanover, to the Landgrave of Heſſe, to the Duke of Brunſwic, and to the count of La Lippe Buckebourg, which are or ſhall be occupied by his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's arms: the fortreſſes of theſe different countries ſhall be reſtored in the ſame condition they were in when conquered by the French arms; and the pieces of artillery, which ſhall have been carried elſewhere, ſhall be replaced by the ſame number, of the ſame bore, weight, and metal.

"Art. XV. In caſe the ſtipulations contained in the XIIIth article of the preliminaries, ſhould not be completed at the time of the ſignature of the preſent treaty, as well with regard to the evacuations to be made by the armies of France of the fortreſſes of Cleves, Weſel, Guelders, and of all the countries belonging to the King of Pruſſia, as with regard to the evacuations to be made by the Britiſh and French armies of the countries which they occupy in Weſtphalia, Lower Saxony, on the Lower Rhine, Upper Rhine, and in all the empire, and to the retreat of the troops into the dominions of their reſpective ſovereigns: their Britannic and Moſt Chriſtian Majeſties promiſe to proceed, bona fide, with all the diſpatch the caſe will permit of, to the ſaid evacuations, the entire completion whereof they ſtipulated before the fifteenth of March next, or ſooner if it can be done: and their Britannic and Moſt Chriſtian Majeſties further engage and promiſe to each other, not to furniſh any ſuccours, of any kind, to their reſpective allies who ſhall continue engaged in the war in Germany.

"Art. XVI. The deciſion of the prizes made in time of peace, by the ſubjects of Great Britain on the Spaniards, ſhall be referred to the courts of juſtice of the admiralty of Great Britain, conformably to the rules eſtabliſhed among all nations, ſo that the validity of the ſaid prizes between the Britiſh and Spaniſh nations, ſhall be decided and judged according to the law of nations, and according to treaties in the courts of juſtice of the nation who ſhall have made the capture.

"Art. XVII. His Britannic Majeſty ſhall cauſe to be demoliſhed, all the fortifications which his ſubjects ſhall have erected in the Bay of Honduras, and other places of the territory of Spain in that part of the world, four months after the ratification of the preſent treaty: and his Catholic Majeſty ſhall not permit his Britannic Majeſty's ſubjects, or their workmen, to be diſturbed or moleſted under any pretence whatſoever in the ſaid places, in their occupation of cutting, loading, and carrying away logwood; and for this purpoſe they may build without hindrance, and occupy without interruption, the houſes and magazines which are neceſſary for them, for their families and for their effects: and his Catholic Majeſty aſſures to them, by this article, the full enjoyment of thoſe advantages and powers on the Spaniſh coaſts and territorities as above ſtipulated, immediately after the ratification of the preſent treaty.

"Art. XVIII. His Catholic Majeſty deſiſts, as well for himſelf as for his ſucceſſors, from all pretenſions which he may have formed in favour of the Guipuſcoans, and other his ſubjects, to the right of fiſhing in the neighbourhood of the iſland of Newfoundland.

“ Art. XIX. The King of Great Britain ſhall reſtore to Spain all the territory which he has conquered in the iſland of Cuba, with the fortreſs of the Havanna; and this fortreſs, as well as all the other fortreſſes of the ſaid iſland, ſhall be reſtored in the ſame condition they were in when conquered by his Britannic Majeſty's arms; provided that his Britannic Majeſty's ſubjects who ſhall have ſettled in the ſaid iſland, reſtored to Spain by the preſent treaty, or thoſe who ſhall have any commercial affairs to ſettle there, ſhall have liberty to ſell their lands and their eſtates, to ſettle their affairs, to recover their debts, and to bring away their effects as well as their perſons, on board veſſels which they ſhall be permitted to ſend to the ſaid iſland reſtored as above, and which ſhall ſerve for that uſe only, without being reſtrained on account of their religion, or under any pretence whatſoever, except that of debts, or of criminal proſecution: and for this purpoſe the term of eighteen months is allowed to his Britannic Majeſty's ſubjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty: but as the liberty granted to his Britannic Majeſty's ſubjects, to bring away their perſons and their effects, in veſſels of their nation, may be liable to abuſes, if precautions are not taken to prevent them; it has been expreſsly agreed between his Britannic Majeſty and his Catholic Majeſty, that the number of Engliſh veſſels, which ſhall have leave to go to the ſaid iſland reſtored to Spain, ſhall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they ſhall go in ballaſt; ſhall ſet ſail at a fixed time: and ſhall make one voyage only; all the effects belonging to the Engliſh being to be embarked at the ſame time: It has been further agreed, that his Catholic majeſty ſhall cauſe the neceſſary paſſports to be given to the ſaid veſſels; that, for the greater ſecurity, it ſhall be allowed to place two Spaniſh clerks, or guards, in each of the ſaid veſſels, which ſhall be viſited in the landing places, and ports of the ſaid iſland reſtored to Spain, and that the merchandize, which ſhall be found therein, ſhall be confiſcated.

“ Art. XX. In conſequence of the reſtitution ſtipulated in the preceding article, his Catholic majeſty cedes and guaranties, in full right, to his Britannic Majeſty, Florida, with Fort St. Auguſtin, and the bay of Penſacola, as well as all that Spain poſſeſſes on the continent of North America, to the eaſt or to the ſouth-eaſt of the river Miſſiſſippi, and, in general, every thing that depends on the ſaid countries and lands, with the ſovereignty, property, poſſeſſion, and all rights acquired by treaties, or otherwiſe, which the Catholic King, and the crown of Spain have had, till now, over the ſaid countries, lands, places, and other inhabitants; ſo that the Catholic King cedes and makes over the whole to the ſaid King, and to the crown of Great Britain, and that in the moſt ample manner and form. His Britannic Majeſty agrees, on his ſide, to grant to the inhabitants of the countries above ceded, the liberty of the Catholic religion: he will conſequently give the moſt expreſs and the moſt effectual orders that his new Roman Catholic ſubjects may profeſs the worſhip of their religion, according to the rites of the Romiſh church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit: his Britannic Majeſty farther agrees, that the Spaniſh inhabitants, or others who had been ſubjects of the Catholic King in the ſaid countries, may retire, with all ſafety and freedom, wherever they think proper; and may ſell their eſtates, provided it be to his Britannic Majeſty's ſubjects, and bring away their effects, as well as their perſons without being reſtrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatſoever, except that of debts or of criminal proſecutions; the term limited for this emigration being fixed to the ſpace of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty. It is moreover ſtipulated, that his Catholic Majeſty ſhall have power to cauſe all the effects that may belong to him to be brought away, whether it be artillery, or other things.

“ Art. XXI. The French and Spaniſh troops ſhall evacuate all the territories, lands, towns, places, and caſtles, of his moſt Faithful majeſty in Europe, without any reſerve, which ſhall have been conquered by the armies of France and Spain, and ſhall reſtore them in the ſame condition they were in when conquered, with the ſame artillery, and ammunition, which were found there: and with regard to the Portugueſe colonies in America, Africa, or in the Eaſt Indies, if any change ſhall have happened there, all things ſhall be reſtored on the ſame footing they were in, and conformably to the preceding treaties, which ſubſiſted between the courts of France, Spain, and Portugal, before the preſent war.

“ Art. XXII. All the papers, letters, documents, and archives, which were found in the countries, territories, towns, and places, that are reſtored, and thoſe belonging to the countries ceded, ſhall be reſpectively and bona fide, delivered, or furniſhed at the ſame time, if poſſible, that poſſeſſion is taken, or, at lateſt, four months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, in whatever places the ſaid papers or documents may be found.

“ Art. XXIII. All the countries and territories, which may have been conquered, in whatſoever part of the world, by the arms of their Britannic and moſt Faithful majeſties, as well as by thoſe of their moſt Chriſtian and Catholic majeſties, which are not concluded in the preſent treaty, either under the title of ceſſions, or under the title of reſtitution, ſhall be reſtored without difficulty, and without requiring any compenſation.

“ Art. XXIV. As it is neceſſary to aſſign a fixed epoch for the reſtitutions, and the evacuations, to be made by each of the high contracting parties; it is agreed, that the Britiſh and French troops ſhall complete, before the fifteenth of March next, all that ſhall remain to be executed of the XIIth and XIIIth articles of the preliminaries, ſigned the third day of November laſt, with regard to the evacuation to be made in the empire, or elſewhere. The iſland of Belleiſle ſhall be evacuated ſix weeks after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, or ſooner, if it can be done. Guadaloupe, Deſirade, Marie Galante, Martinico, and St. Lucia, three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, or ſooner if it can be done. Great Britain ſhall likewiſe at the end of three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, or ſooner, if it can be done, enter into poſſeſſion of the river and port of the Mobile, and of all that is to form the limits of the territory of Great Britain, on the ſide of the river Miſſiſſippi, as they are ſpecified in the VIIth article. The iſland of Goree ſhall be evacuated by Great Britain, three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty; and the iſland of Minorca, by France, at the ſame epoch, or ſooner, if it can be done: and according to the conditions of the VIth article, France ſhall likewiſe enter into poſſeſſion of the iſlands of St. Peter and Miquelon, at the end of three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty. The factories in the Eaſt Indies ſhall be reſtored ſix months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, or ſooner, if it can be done. The fortreſs of the Havanna, with all that has been conquered in the iſland of Cuba, ſhall be reſtored three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, or ſooner, if it can be done: and, at the ſame time, Great Britain ſhall enter into poſſeſſion of the country ceded by Spain, according to the XXth article. All the places and countries of his moſt Faithful majeſty in Europe, ſhall be reſtored immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty; and the Portugueſe colonies, which may have been conquered, ſhall be reſtored in the ſpace of three months in the Weſt Indies, and of ſix months in the Eaſt Indies, after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, or ſooner, if it can be done. All the fortreſſes, the reſtitution whereof is ſtipulated above, ſhall be reſtored with the artillery and ammunition which were found there at the time of the conqueſt. In conſequence whereof, the neceſſary orders ſhall be ſent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal paſſports for the ſhips that ſhall carry them, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty.

"Art. XXV. His Britannic majeſty, as Elector of Brunſwic Lunenburg, as well for himſelf, as for his heirs and ſucceſſors, and all the dominions and poſſeſſions of his ſaid majeſty in Germany, are included and guarantied by the preſent treaty of peace.

"Art. XXVI. Their Sacred Britannic, moſt Chriſtian, Catholic, and moſt Faithful majeſties, promiſe to obſerve, ſincerely and bona fide, all the articles contained and ſettled in the preſent treaty; and they will not ſuffer the ſame to be infringed, directly nor indirectly, by their reſpective ſubjects; and the ſaid high contracting parties, generally and reciprocally, guaranty to each other all the ſtipulations of the preſent treaty.

"Art. XXVII. The ſolemn ratifications of the preſent treaty, expedited in good and due form, ſhall be exchanged in this city of Paris between the high contracting parties, in the ſpace of a month, or ſooner, if poſſible, to be computed from the day of the ſignature of the preſent treaty.

"In witneſs whereof, we, the underwritten, their ambaſſadors extraordinary, and miniſters plenipotentiary, have ſigned with our hand, in their name, and in virtue of our full powers, the preſent definitive treaty, and have cauſed the ſeal of our arms to be put thereto."

Done at Paris, the tenth of February, 1763.

(L. S.) BEDFORD, C. P. S.
(L. S.) CHOISEUL, DUC DE PRASLIN.
(L. S.) EL MARQ. DE GRIMALDI.

This treaty, which ſeemed chiefly intended for the ſecurity of our northern colonies in America, gave great offence. On the one hand it was aſſerted, that as we had at a great expence of blood and treaſure, reduced the French nation to a ſtate of beggary, ſo we ought, in order to keep them humble, to have retained all the conqueſts to ourſelves; for by ſo doing, their commerce being effectually ruined, they would not have been able for many years to give us the leaſt diſturbance. On the other hand, it was urged, by ſuch as were friends to the peace, that the advantage to Britain was very great, and that we had not only regained the iſland of Minorca, but that we had acquired the moſt extenſive territories in North America and the Weſt Indies, which, if cultivated in a proper manner, would turn out to the advantage of the mother-country. The parliament were no leſs divided in their opinions than the nation in general. The treaty, like the preliminaries, occaſioned very violent debates in both houſes, but was at length approved of by a great majority. The ſpirit of the minority was not, however, exhauſted in this attempt. They fell upon the miniſtry in the moſt critical juncture, and puſhed their arguments with the utmoſt force when the ſupplies came to be debated in the lower houſe. Several circumſtances favoured their deſign. The miniſtry ſenſible in what ſtate the minds of the people now were, determined to impoſe as few new taxes as the public ſervice could poſſibly admit. Accordingly the ſupplies were to be raiſed, firſt, by taking two millions out of the ſinking fund; ſecondly, by ſtriking one million eight hundred thouſand pounds in exchequer bills: thirdly, by borrowing two million eight hundred thouſand pounds on annuities; and laſtly, by two lotteries, for three hundred and fifty thouſand pounds each. To pay the intereſt on theſe loans, which, in the whole, amounted to ſeven million, three hundred thouſand pounds, an additional duty of eight pounds per ton was laid upon all wines of the growth of France, and four pounds per ton upon all other wines. Thus far the whole ſcheme was wholly unexceptionable; but another duty was added, which put the nation into a ferment, viz. four ſhillings per hogſhead upon cyder, to be paid by the maker, collected by the officers, and ſubjected to all the laws of exciſe. Oppoſition vehemently objected to this plan. They firſt attacked the new taxation, upon which almoſt the whole ſcheme of ſupply was founded. In direct contradiction to the advocates of the miniſtry, they maintained that the nation was far from being exhauſted: that there were reſources for carrying on the war at leaſt two years longer, and much more towards clearing off incumbrances on the peace: that as individuals abounded in wealth, and as the public was loaded with ſo immenſe a debt, it was, in ſuch circumſtances, the dictates of the wiſeſt and moſt enlarged policy to add as much as poſſible, by bold and liberal grants, to the income of the nation; as the fund of payment would then be enlarged, and œconomy would have ſomething to operate upon: that, in any other method, the practice of frugality was mean and ſordid, and the effect would certainly prove trifling: that it might ſtarve many uſeful parts of public ſervice, but muſt ever be found a frivolous and fallacious reſource towards the diſcharge of the public debt. To the lottery loan they objected the enormous profit which was allowed to the ſubſcribers, exceeding that of former occaſions, without any alterations in the ſtate of public credit; two lotteries for the firſt time, eſtabliſhed in one year, without any urgent neceſſity; and the incitement which muſt thence ariſe to the pernicious ſpirit of gaming, which cannot be too much diſcountenanced in every ſtate governed by wiſdom, and a ſober regard to the morals of the people. As to the money that was to be taken from the ſinking fund, they obſerved, that ſcarce any neceſſity could, in our ſituation, be pleaded in favour of a perverſion of this fund from its original purpoſes to the current ſervices; that the appearance of tenderneſs for the people in this ſcheme was entirely deceitful, as they were exonerated for a time, only to be burthened more heavily hereafter, and that their preſent eaſe muſt infallibly cauſe their future weakneſs. As to the tax on cyder, they urged, that with regard to its object, it was both partial and oppreſſive; with regard to the manner of collecting it, dangerous and unconſtitutional: that it lays the whole burthen of expences incurred in the general defence of the kingdom, and in defence of the national commerce, on a few particular counties, which in every other article of the public charge contribute at leaſt their full ſhare: they ſtated the diſproportion of this tax to the natural original value of the commodity: that it was oppreſſive both to farmers and landholders: to the latter in diminution of their rents, operating more ſeverely than the land-tax: to the former, becauſe if they compounded, it would be in effect a heavy capitation, if they did not, it would be a ſubjection to new, unknown, and perplexed laws: they obſerved, that when new orders of men, by ſituation and profeſſion diſtinct from traders, are rendered objects of the exciſe laws, the precedent is formidable not to commerce only, but to more important objects; and had a fatal tendency, which they trembled to think on: they alſo lamented, that things were come to that melancholy paſs, that, beſides what might be dreaded for the future, the houſes of all orders of people, peers, gentlemen, freeholders and farmers, were rendered liable to be entered and ſearched at pleaſure.

To theſe arguments, the friends of adminiſtration obſerved; That to aim at increaſing the national income by any further taxes, than the moſt extreme neceſſity demanded, was a wild project; that every tax proved a diſcouragement to trade, becauſe, in its conſequences, it enhanced, more or leſs, in foreign markets, the price of our manufactures, which muſt always in time of peace, depend for their vent principally on their cheapneſs; and that this muſt be the caſe let the peace be made upon what terms they would: that every tax alſo, in order to be effectual, naturally implied ſome reſtraint upon liberty: that nothing demonſtrated more fully the ſolidity of theſe principles, than the oppoſition then made to the duty of cyder and perry, a moſt moderate and equitable impoſition; and that of all men it ill became thoſe who ſpoke ſo ſtrongly of continuing and enlarging the charge of the nation, to object to one of the leaſt diſtreſſing reſources which could be found for the public. They inſiſted that nothing could be leſs founded on reaſon than the charge, "That this tax was unequal, and lay heavy upon ſome particular counties," it being well known that it did not even bring them on a par with the charge on thoſe counties where the people drink beer. In ſuch counties all private, as well as public conſumption, is charged in the malt-tax, which the charge on cyder is by no means equal to, beſides its having exemptions in favour of the poor, which are not indulged in the malt-tax; ſo that the cyder counties ought to be rather thankful for their long immunity, than complain that they are at laſt obliged to contribute rather leſs than their proportion towards the ſupport of the national burthens.

The queſtion being put, it was carried in the affirmative by a very conſiderable majority. In the upper houſe alſo the bill was ſtrongly oppoſed; but after a ſmart debate the miniſtry carried their point, and the bill received the royal aſſent.

On the twenty-ſecond of March peace was proclaimed in London at the uſual places, and with the accuſtomed ſolemnities; and on the nineteenth of April the king went to the houſe of peers, and having given the royal aſſent to ſeveral bills, he prorogued the parliament with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he expreſſed his thanks for the zeal and diſpatch they had manifeſted in their proceedings: he told them, that having ordered the preliminary articles to be laid before them, he had received the higheſt ſatisfaction at their grateful expreſſions of entire approbation: he acquainted them with his firm reſolution to form his government on a plan of ſtrict œconomy: aſſured the commons, that they might depend on the utmoſt frugality being obſerved in the diſpoſition of the ſupplies they had granted; and when the account of the money ariſing from the ſale of ſuch prizes, as were veſted in the crown, ſhould be cloſed, it was his intention to direct, that the produce ſhould be applied to the public ſervice; and concluded with declaring, that his future attention ſhould be directed to the extenſion of the commerce of his ſubjects, the improvement of the advantages they had obtained, and the increaſe of the public revenue.

While theſe affairs engaged the attention of parliament, the nation was filled with the greateſt diſcontent; and a number of virulent pamphlets were circulated throughout the kingdom, in which no character was ſpared; and neither party was free from that particular ſpecies of intemperance of which they accuſed each other. In the midſt of this contention, to the aſtoniſhment of all, the earl of Bute, the principal perſon againſt whom the reſentment of the populace was directed, reſigned his poſt of firſt lord of the treaſury: yet that nobleman was ſuppoſed ſtill to guide the helm of government, and the moſt invidious reflections were thrown out, accompanied with the moſt groſs inſults from riotous mobs. Theſe popular tumults were kept up by many periodical publications, particularly by one called the North-Briton, in which not only the earl of Bute was loaded with abuſe, but the whole nation of the Scots, on his account, were treated with a ſeverity, which the impartiality of our hiſtory obliges to acknowledge, as both unjuſt and inhuman. While things were in this ſituation, a rule for an information was granted by the court of King's Bench againſt the author, printers, and publiſhers of a periodical paper, called the North-Briton, Number forty-five; which contained a ſevere commentary on the king's ſpeech at the cloſe of the ſeſſion of parliament on the nineteenth of April. John Wilkes, Eſq. member of parliament for Ayleſbury in Buckinghamſhire, was the gentleman pitched on as the ſuppoſed author of this performance. A warrant was therefore iſſued by the ſecretary of ſtate for taking Mr. Wilkes, together with the printer and publiſher into cuſtody. Accordingly, on the evening of the twenty-ninth of April, the meſſengers went to Mr. Wilkes's houſe for that purpoſe. On their entrance he excepted to the generality of the warrant, as his name was not mentioned in it, and threatened the firſt who ſhould offer violence to his perſon in his own houſe, at that unſeaſonable hour of the night, upon any pretended verbal order which they might, or might not, have received for that purpoſe. Upon this the meſſengers thought proper to retire, and defer the execution of the warrant till next morning, when they took him into cuſtody, and carried him before the ſecretaries of ſtate for examination. Immediately after this event a motion was made in the court of Common-Pleas, then ſitting in Weſtminſter-hall, for a Habeas Corpus, which was granted, though by reaſon of the Prothonotary's office not being open, it could not be ſued out till four o'clock in the afternoon. In the mean time ſeveral gentlemen applied for admittance to him; which was refuſed, upon pretence of an order from the ſecretaries of ſtate, which order, notwithſtanding many ſolicitations to that purpoſe, was never produced; and though it was well known that the court of Common-Pleas had granted an Habeas Corpus, and Philip Carteret Webb, Eſq. was aſſured of the fact, Mr. Wilkes was committed to the Tower, where many of his friends were alſo denied admittance to him. May the third, he was brought to the bar of the court of Common-Pleas, where he addreſſed himſelf to the judges on the illegality and hardſhips of his commitment, in a very bold and animated ſpeech. The caſe was then learnedly argued by eminent lawyers on both ſides; but the court, after making a polite excuſe to Mr. Wilkes for the delay, (requiring farther time to conſider of the affair) he was remanded to the Tower till the ſixth of May, with orders that his friends and lawyers ſhould have free acceſs to him. In the mean time orders were given that Mr. Wilkes ſhould no longer continue colonel of the militia for the county of Buckingham. At the time appointed, Mr. Wilkes was again brought to Weſtminſter-hall, when, after another ſpirited addreſs to the court, and many learned arguments on both ſides, the lord chief juſtice Pratt proceeded to give his opinion on the three following points, viz. The legality of Mr. Wilkes's commitment; the neceſſity for a ſpecification of thoſe particular paſſages in number forty-five of the North Briton, which had been deemed a libel; and his privilege as a member of parliament. Theſe points were diſcuſſed by his lordſhip in a manner, which will redound to his honour to the lateſt poſterity: and his opinion having deſervedly met with the approbation of the whole court, Mr. Wilkes was diſcharged. Before, however, he had quitted the court, a gentleman of eminence in the law ſtood up, and informed the lord chief-juſtice, that he had juſt received a note from the attorney and ſolicitor-general, to deſire his lordſhip would detain Mr. Wilkes till their arrival, as they had ſomething to offer againſt his plea of privilege. This requeſt, however, was not complied with; and Mr. Wilkes took his leave of the court with the following ſpeech:

“ My lords,

“ Great as my joy muſt naturally be at the deciſion which this court, with a true ſpirit of liberty, has been pleaſed to make concerning the unwarrantable ſeizure of my perſon, and all the other conſequential grievances, allow me to aſſure you that I feel it far leſs ſenſibly on my own account, than I do for the public. The ſufferings of an individual are a trifling object, when compared with the whole; and I ſhould bluſh to feel for myſelf in compariſon with conſiderations of a nature ſo tranſcendently ſuperior.

“ I will not trouble you with my poor thanks. Thanks are due to you from the whole Engliſh nation, and from all the ſubjects of the Engliſh crown. They will be paid you, together with every teſtimony of zeal and affection to the learned ſerjeant, who has ſo ably and conſtitutionally pleaded my cauſe, and in mine, with pleaſure I ſay it, the cauſe of liberty. Every teſtimony of my gratitude is juſtly due to you, and I take my leave of this court with a veneration and reſpect, which no time can obliterate, nor the moſt grateful heart ſufficiently expreſs.”

After Mr. Wilkes was releaſed from the Tower, he cauſed a printing-preſs to be ſet up, under his own direction, at his houſe in Great George-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, where he advertiſed the proceedings of the adminiſtration, with all the original papers; and the North-Briton was re-publiſhed. In the mean time an information was filed againſt him in the court of King's Bench, at his majeſty's ſuit, as being author of the North Briton, number forty-five; and on the meeting of the parliament a meſſage was ſent to the houſe of commons with the information his majeſty had received, that John Wilkes, Eſq. a member of that houſe, was the author of a moſt ſeditious and dangerous libel. The examinations and proofs of the ſaid libel, together with the meaſures that had been taken thereon, were alſo laid before the houſe; in conſequence of which the North-Briton, number forty-five, was adjudged a falſe, ſcandalous, and ſeditious libel, and was ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. On the third of December, the day appointed for this ſentence to be put in execution, a great mob aſſembled at the Royal Exchange, who inſulted the ſheriffs in a very groſs manner, and one of them received a ſlight wound in the fray, which obliged him to quit the place. The North-Briton, however, was partly conſumed, by means of a lighted link, but ſome ſcraps of it were carried off in triumph by the mob, who, in the evening, diſplayed them at Temple-Bar, where a bonfire was made, and the greateſt rejoicings exhibited on the occaſion. Mr. Wilkes now commenced an action againſt Robert Wood, Eſq. under ſecretary of ſtate, for ſeizing his papers. The cauſe was tried on the ſixth of December before lord chief juſtice Pratt, and a ſpecial jury; when, after a hearing of near fifteen hours, many arguments on both ſides, and a moſt maſterly, pathetic, and eloquent charge given by his lordſhip, the jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff with one thouſand pounds damages, and full coſts of ſuit. Previous to this, a complaint had been exhibited againſt Mr. Wilkes, in the houſe of lords, for affixing the name of a member of that houſe to a book entitled, “An Eſſay on Woman;” which blaſphemous book was publicly produced, to the utter confuſion and eternal diſgrace of every perſon concerned in it: but Mr. Wilkes could not prefer his anſwer, being at that time indiſpoſed, in conſequence of a wound he had received in a duel with Samuel Martin, Eſq. late ſecretary of the treaſury, who thinking himſelf groſsly inſulted in the North Britain, and, by what had paſſed, preſuming Mr. Wilkes was the author of that abuſe, he ſent him a challenge, which being readily accepted by Mr. Wilkes, he unfortunately received a dangerous wound in the belly; of which he ſent immediate notice to the houſe of commons, who thereupon gave him time for his appearance, and afterwards, on the report of his phyſician and ſurgeon, enlarged it: but at length, beginning to ſuſpect ſome colluſion between him and them, on the ſixteenth of December, they ordered Dr. Heberden and Mr. Hawkins to attend him, in order to obſerve the progreſs of his cure, and make a report of the ſame to the houſe. This being made known to Mr. Wilkes by his phyſician, he ſent cards to the two gentlemen appointed to attend him, expreſſing his juſt ſenſe of the kind care of the houſe for his ſpeedy recovery, but at the ſame time intimated his perfect reliance on the gentleman to whom he had committed his caſe, and aſſured them, that though he did not wiſh to ſee them at preſent, he was impatient for an opportunity of ſhewing the juſt regard he would ever pay to diſtinguiſhed merit. It is uncertain whether the attention of the houſe had any happy effect on Mr. Wilkes's health, but he recovered ſo faſt, that on the twenty-fourth of December he ſet out for France on a viſit to his daughter, who was at this time very ill at Paris, and where for the preſent we ſhall leave him to attend to the tranſactions of the enſuing year.

A.D. 1764.

The hereditary prince of Brunſwic Lunenburgh, having ſailed from Helvoet-ſluys, on board his majeſty's yacht the Princeſs Auguſta, on the tenth of January, landed at Harwich in the morning of the fourteenth; and arrived at night at Somerſet-houſe. On the evening of the ſixteenth, the ceremony of the marriage of her royal highneſs the princeſs Auguſta, eldeſt ſiſter to his majeſty, with his moſt ſerene highneſs the hereditary prince of Brunſwic Lunenburgh, was performed in the great council-chamber, by his grace the archbiſhop of Canterbury, in preſence of a great number of peers, peereſſes, and foreign miniſters. After the ſolemnization of the nuptials, their ſerene, and royal highneſſes, repaired to Leiceſter-houſe, where was prepared an elegant entertainment; at which were preſent their majeſties, the princeſs dowager, princes William and Henry, and the reſt of the royal family.

The hereditary prince, whoſe military atchievements had gained him renown, now acquired the affection of the Engliſh nation, by a peculiar affability and generoſity. During his ſhort ſtay he viſited the Royal Society, the Britiſh Muſeum, St. Paul's cathedral, the Tower, Weſtminſter-abbey, and other remarkable places; alſo the duke of Cumberland, Mr. Pitt, the duke of Newcaſtle, and many others of the nobility and gentry; being commonly attended by the marquis of Granby.

The commons, on the twentieth of January, expelled Mr. Wilkes, for a contempt of their authority, and publiſhing the North-Briton, it being adjudged an infamous libel, and iſſued out a writ of election for Ayleſbury in his room; and in the month of February his trial came on in the court of King's Bench, before lord chief juſtice Mansfield, for reprinting and publiſhing the North Briton, number forty-five, at his own houſe; of which publication he was found guilty; as he was afterwards of printing and publiſhing the "Eſſay on Woman." A letter received from Mr. Wilkes was then publiſhed, together with a certificate, ſigned by one of the French king's phyſicians, and a ſurgeon of eminence, which was atteſted by two notaries, and the earl of Hertford, our ambaſſador at the court of France, wherein it appeared that he was ſo bad with his wound as not to have been able, during the month of January, to return to England. April the eighteenth, his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and having given the royal aſſent to ſeveral bills, cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne.

In the month of Auguſt a circumſtance happened that gave manifeſt proof of the wonted humanity and beneficence of the inhabitants of London. One colonel Stumpel, an officious German ſoldier of fortune, pretending authority from the Britiſh miniſtry, engaged about ſix hundred proteſtant Wurtzburgers and Palatines to emigrate from their own country, by a promiſe of ſettling them in the iſlands of St. John and le Croix in America. After they had been ſhipped for England, the contractor, finding himſelf unable to fulfil his engagements, abandoned them, and they arrived at the port of Londoe in the moſt imminent danger of periſhing for want. Thoſe who were able to pay their paſſage were permitted to come on ſhore, and they immediately afterwards retired to the fields adjoining to Whitechapel, where they continued ſome days in the moſt wretched ſtate, not having the leaſt ſhelter to preſerve them from the inclemency of the weather; while thoſe who remained on board the ſhip were nearly in as deſtitute a ſituation. The only relief theſe poor deluded people received for ſome days was what could be gathered from the different German churches and chapels about London; but this was far from being ſufficient to relieve ſo great a number. At length, however, Mr. Wachſel, miniſter of the German Lutheran church in Ayliffe-ſtreet, Goodman's fields, laid their caſe before the public in the news-papers of the laſt day of Auguſt; and in ſo true and affecting a manner was it related, that it immediately attracted the attention not only of the great, but alſo of royalty itſelf. Before eleven o'clock on the ſame day one hundred tents were ſent them from the Tower, by order of his majeſty; the paſſage of thoſe who were detained in the ſhip was defrayed, and three hundred pounds were ſent for their immediate ſupport. Subſcriptions were opened, and prodigious ſums of money gathered for their relief. Phyſicians, ſurgeons, and midwives offered their ſervice for the ſick, and thoſe in travail, for the latter of whom proper apartments were hired. Thus delivered from the direful diſtreſs in which they had been placed, Mr. Wachſel, who with ſeveral other benefactors, had formed themſelves into a committee for the management of the ſubſcriptions, waited on the king, to know his pleaſure reſpecting their future diſpoſal. His majeſty communicating his intention of eſtabliſhing them in South Carolina, ordered one hundred and fifty ſtand of arms to be delivered to them for their defence, and contracts to be immediately made for proper veſſels to convey them to that colony. When every thing was prepared for their embarkation, their camp was broke up, and they went on board ſinging hymns of thankſgiving in praiſe of their benefactors, whoſe beneficence had been ſo extenſive, that the committee were not only enabled to furniſh them with every neceſſary while on board, but even to make ſome proviſion for them after their landing in America.

Having thus recorded the principal domeſtic occurrences of this year, we ſhall now take a view of ſome material tranſactions that happened on the continent. At the commencement of the year, the Eaſt India Company received advice, that the diſputes between their ſervants and the reigning nabob, Coſſim Aly Kawn, had been productive of ſuch animoſities and jealouſies on the part of the latter, that it was judged highly neceſſary to uſe every means to allay them: and for this purpoſe Meſſrs. Amyatt and Hay, two gentlemen of the council were deputed to wait upon the nabob with inſtructions to endeavour to adjuſt the differences in an amicable manner. Accordingly, being arrived at Mongheer, the place of his reſidence, they held many conferences with him, in which he always ſhewed a great averſion to an accommodation upon the terms offered him; and, about this time, a ſupply of five hundred arms going to Patna, was ſtopt by his officers. Other acts of hoſtility were likewiſe committed, by which affairs were brought to ſuch an extremity, that a war with Coſſim Aly was unavoidable. Meſſrs. Amyatt and Hay were recalled, and the former of thoſe gentlemen having received the uſual paſſports ſet out for Calcutta, accompanied by Meſſrs. Amphlett, Wollaſton, and Hutchinſon; the lieutenants Jones, Gordon, and Cooper, and Dr. Crooke; Meſſrs. Hay and Guiſton being left with the nabob as hoſtages. While the boats were paſſing the city of Moorſhedabad, they were attacked by a number of troops, aſſembled on both ſides the river for that purpoſe, and ſome of the gentlemen in the boats being ſlain, Mr. Amyatt immediately landed with a few ſeapoys, whom he forbad to fire. He then endeavoured to make the enemy underſtand that he was furniſhed with the nabob's paſſports, and had no deſign of committing hoſtilities; but the Mooriſh horſe advancing, ſome of the ſeapoys inadvertently fired, and, in the confuſion which enſued, Mr. Amyatt, with moſt of his ſmall party, were killed. Upon this Mr. Ellis, and the other gentlemen in council at Patna, agreed, with the approbation of captain Corſtairs, to attack the city of Moorſhedabad. This reſolution was executed with the utmoſt ſucceſs, on the twenty-fifth of June, and captain Corſtairs, with his party, were in poſſeſſion of the city for four hours, the Mooriſh governor and his people having fled as far as Futwa. Here, however, he came to a reſolution of returning and making an effort to regain the city, in which he ſucceeded but too well, for moſt of the ſeapoys and Europeans being engaged in plundering the place, they were not prepared to receive him, and conſequently eaſily diſpoſſeſſed of it. Hereupon they retired into the factory, but the men were ſo diſpirited, and the ſeapoys deſerted in ſuch numbers, that it was found impoſſible to make any ſtand there; upon which a reſolution was taken to proceed to Sujah Dowlah's country. Accordingly, they croſſed the river on the twenty-ſixth in the evening, and met with no obſtruction till they paſſed Churpa; when on the thirtieth, they were attacked by the Phouſdar, with about two thouſand men, whom they eaſily routed; but he being joined that evening by near five hundred ſeapoys from Bugepore, who brought ſix field pieces with them, he again attacked the Europeans, who, quitting their ranks at the firſt onſet, were entirely defeated. Fifty of them were killed, among whom was captain Corſtairs. Mr. Ellis and the reſt were all made priſoners. From theſe and other acts of hoſtility committed by Coſſim Aly, in ſeveral of the Company's ſettlements, it was determined to declare war againſt him, and to reſtore Meer Jaffier, the former nabob, (who had been depoſed) to the ſubahſhip;

obliging him firſt to enter into a treaty, which was ſolemnly ſigned and ſealed at Fort William, on the tenth of July, 1763, and a few days after Meer Jaffier ſet out to join the army under major Adams, then on its march towards Moorſhedabad. On the nineteenth of July the firſt action happened oppoſite to Cutwa on the Coſſimbuzar ſide of the river. The preceding night major Adams had croſſed with the army, and in the morning came up with a large body of the enemy's troops, who were ſtrongly poſted in order to oppoſe his paſſage to the city. Theſe he attacked, and, after a ſhort reſiſtance, routed them. At the ſame time a detached party, under captain Long, poſſeſſed themſelves of the fort of Cutwa, on the other ſide of the river, together with all the enemy's artillery. Major Adams now purſued his march to Moorſhedabad, which place he entered on the twenty-fourth, at night, with very little oppoſition; and here the army halted for ſome days, during which Meer Jaffier was proclaimed in proper form. On the twenty-eighth of July the army was again put in motion, and on the ſecond of Auguſt they arrived near a place called Sooty, at the head of the Coſſimbuzar river. At this place, a numerous army of the enemy's beſt troops, with artillery, occupied a very advantageous poſt. Major Adams immediately attacked them, and for four hours they made a reſolute defence, but then, being thrown into confuſion, they were eaſily defeated. In this engagement the loſs of the Engliſh conſiſted of ſix officers, and forty Europeans; together with two hundred and ninety-two ſeapoys and black cavalry, killed and wounded. Twenty-three pieces of cannon, and about one hundred and fifty boats, laden with military and other ſtores, were taken. Major Adams, immediately after this battle advanced with the army near to Rajamant; about three or four miles from which place the enemy had thrown up a ſtrong entrenchment from the hills to the river. This the major was reſolved to attack, and every thing being ready for the aſſault by the fifth of September, it was carried on with ſuch vigour, that in a ſhort time the enemy were obliged to abandon the entrenchment to the conquerors. By this victory the province of Bengal was entirely ſecured to the Engliſh; and the letters which brought theſe accounts expreſſed their hopes, that by this action the fate of the war would be entirely decided.

About this time advices were received from North America, by which it appeared that the military operations in that quarter had been carried on with great vigour; but that Sir William Johnſon had at laſt brought the Seneca nation to conceſſions highly advantageous to the ſubjects of Great Britain, and that they had entered into a treaty of peace, friendſhip, and alliance, with the Engliſh, which was reciprocally ſigned in congreſs held for that purpoſe at Niagara.

The forces commanded by the colonels Bradſtreet and Bouquet met with the ſame ſucceſs as thoſe under Sir William Johnſon. The Delawares and Shawaneſe had refuſed to meet Sir William at the congreſs of Niagara, but now, intimidated by the march of ſuch a number of troops towards their country, they met colonel Bradſtreet at Preſque Iſle, and in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner, ſued for peace, which was granted them on the following conditions:

1. That all priſoners in their hands ſhould be delivered to colonel-Bradſtreet at Sanduſky in twenty-five days.

2. That they ſhall renounce all claim to the poſts and forts the Engliſh now have in their country, and that the latter ſhall be left at liberty to erect as many as they ſhall judge proper to ſecure their trade; and that the Indians ſhall cede to them for ever, as much land as a cannon ſhot can fly over, on which they may raiſe proviſions.

3. That if any Indian hereafter kill an Engliſhman, he ſhall be delivered up by his nation, and tried by the Engliſh laws, only to have half the jury of Indians: and if any one of the nations renew the war, the reſt ſhall join to bring them to reaſon.

4. That ſix of the deputies ſhall remain with colonel Bradſtreet as hoſtages, and the other four with an Engliſh officer, and one Indian in the Engliſh intereſt ſhould proceed immediately to acquaint the dependent nations with theſe terms of peace, and forward the collecting of the priſoners to be ready at the day appointed.

The Delawares and Shawaneſe, finding theſe were the only terms which colonel Bradſtreet would grant them, they were agreed to and ſolemnly ratified: but it was not long before theſe ſavages again revolted, and renewed their outrages with aggravated inſolence. In conſequence of this perfidy, major-general Gage, commander in chief of his majeſty's forces in thoſe parts, determined to penetrate into the heart of their country. Accordingly, the regular and provincial troops under colonel Bouquet, having been joined by a large body of volunteers from Virginia, Maryland, and Penſylvania, in the beginning of October marched from Fort Pitt, and about the fifteenth arrived at Tuſcarowas. The ſight of the troops in their country threw the ſavages into the utmoſt conſternation, they having depended on their woods for protection, and had frequently boaſted that their ſituation ſecured them from the attacks of our army. Not chooſing to come to an engagement they had again recourſe to negotiation, and received for anſwer, that they might have peace, but every priſoner in their poſſeſſion muſt firſt be delivered up, upon which they brought up about twenty, and promiſed to deliver the reſt; but as their promiſes were not regarded, they engaged to ſend the whole on the firſt of November, to a fort about two hundred and fifty miles from Fort Pitt, the center of the Delaware towns, and near to the moſt conſiderable ſettlement of the Shawaneſe. Colonel Bouquet being determined not to loſe ſight of them, moved his camp to that place, and ſoon obliged the Delawares, together with ſome broken tribes, to bring in all their priſoners, even to children bought of white women. They were then told that they muſt appoint deputies to go to Sir William Johnſon, in order to receive ſuch terms as he might think proper to impoſe upon them, which the nations muſt agree to ratify; and they were obliged to leave a number of their chiefs in the hands of the Engliſh, as a ſecurity for the performance of this agreement. All the nations readily agreed to the above terms, except the Shawaneſe, who did not approve of the conditions, and were particularly averſe to the giving of hoſtages: but finding their obſtinacy would only bring on their deſtruction, they at laſt conſented, gave up forty principal chiefs as hoſtages, and appointed their deputies to go to Sir William Johnſon, in the ſame manner as the reſt. The number of priſoners delivered up by theſe ſavages exceeded three hundred, and it was expected that the Engliſh parties would bring in near one hundred more from their different towns.

During theſe tranſactions various accounts were received from the Bay of Honduras, complaining that our logwood cutters there had not only been diſturbed in their buſineſs, but ſuddenly ordered to remove from their uſual places of ſettlement, on pretence of their having nothing to prove that they were ſubjects of his Britannic majeſty; and granting they were, that they had roved too freely about the country, gathering the fruits of it as if it belonged to them. In conſequence of theſe proceedings, a remonſtrance was preſented to the court of Madrid by our ambaſſador there; and on the twenty-ſeventh of September a meſſenger arrived in London, with a duplicate of the orders which were immediately diſpatched to Don Felix Raming de Eſtenoz, governor of Jucatan. From the tenor of theſe it appeared, that his catholic majeſty diſapproved of the proceedings of the ſaid governor, with reſpect to the ſubjects of the king of Great Britain in the Bay of Honduras; that he expreſſed his deſire of giving his majeſty the greateſt proofs of his friendſhip, and of preſerving peace with the Britiſh; that he had commanded the ſaid governor to re-eſtabliſh the ſaid Britiſh logwood cutters in the ſeveral places from which they had been obliged to retire, and to acquaint them, that they might return to their occupation of cutting logwood, without being diſturbed under any pretence whatſoever.

Being now near entering upon an hiſtorical period, over which poſterity, in all probability, will ſhed many tears, it may not be amiſs to mention here, though a little out of the due order of time, a melancholy event, which greatly affected the whole nation. The duke of Cumberland, in the following year, had recommended a new miniſtry. He conſtantly aſſiſted them with his advice, influence, and authority, and there is every reaſon to believe, that his patriotiſm would have greatly added to their ſtrength; but in the evening of the thirty-firſt of October, when his royal highneſs, after coming that day from Windſor, was preparing to aſſiſt at one of the councils frequently held at his own houſe, to put matters in a way of being more ſpeedily diſpatched by the privy-council, at eight o'clock, juſt as the duke of Newcaſtle and the lord chancellor came to council, he was ſuddenly ſeized with a fit of ſhivering; and ſaying, "It is all over," ſunk ſenſeleſs into the arms of the earl of Albemarle, and expired. The nation were extremely concerned at their loſs, and teſtified their unfeigned ſorrow by a moſt remarkable general mourning.

In the courſe of our hiſtory we have been particular in characterizing perſons, whoſe virtues have rendered them reſpectable, or vices odious in the public eye; it would not only be ingratitude to our patron, but injuſtice to mankind, to paſs over in ſilence the many qualities of an illuſtrious prince, which at once rendered him the delight and ornament of human nature. A review of his life will afford a moſt ſhining example of patriotiſm, valour, juſtice, friendſhip, ſincerity, and humanity. Inflexibly attached to the intereſt of his country, he braved every danger, nor indulged a thought of life when called on his ſovereign's duty. Patriotic from principle, he gave ſanction to wiſe and conſtitutional meaſures; nor feared to diſcountenance the ſchemes of oppreſſion, ambition, and avarice. Conſcientiouſly juſt, he rewarded merit irreſpective of rank, nor ſuffered the dignified minion to eſcape his reſentment. Refined in his friendſhip, he ſweetened life by a judicious ſelection of worthy men to partake at his hoſpitable board, and amuſe his leiſure hours with an unreſerved affability of converſe. Inviolably ſincere, he never promiſed without deliberation, or the moſt punctual performance of his engagements. Above all, ſympathetically humane, and extenſively generous, his heart never failed to feel, nor his hand to relieve, the diſtreſſes of his fellow creatures of every age, ſex, and condition. Nay, he ſought opportunities for doing good, and ſtudied plans for the employment of the poor. With theſe virtues to preponderate, his foibles may be eaſily conſigned to oblivion, eſpecially when it is remembered, that to err is the lot of humanity. If ſome, from prejudice, may deem our deſcription exaggerated, we preſume others from juſtice will allow it but adequate, nor refrain a tributary tear at the loſs of ſo eminent a complex of royalty, of birth and dignity of ſoul, which alone conſtitute human excellence. This character of the duke is contained in the following eulogium beſtowed on him by the houſe of lords.

"The many eminent, public and private virtues, the extent of capacity, and the magnanimity of mind; the affection for his majeſty's perſon, and the eminent ſervices performed for his country, which diſtinguiſhed this great and excellent prince, have made an impreſſion never to be eraſed from the minds of a grateful people." On the ninth of December the corpſe of his royal highneſs was privately interred in king Henry VIIth's chapel at Weſtminſter.

CHAP. II.

His majeſty opens the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech from the throne—Situation of affairs in the Eaſt Indies—Diſturbances in America on account of the ſtamp-act—Conduct of the general aſſemblies, and the ſubordinate executive powers on this event—Conſequences reſulting from their proceedings—His majeſty aſſembles the parliament ſooner than had been intended—His ſpeech to both houſes—Petitions from moſt of the trading towns and boroughs in the kingdom—Warm debates in parliament on the right of taxation with reſpect to America—The ſtamp-act repealed—A change in the miniſtry—The ſtate of the Eaſt India Company made a ſubject of parliamentary enquiry—The abolition of the order of Jeſus, and the baniſhment of the ſociety of jeſuits in moſt parts of Europe—Mr. Wilkes declared an outlaw; returns to England; and is elected a member of parliament for the county of Middleſex—Tranſactions that happened on the continent—Violent commotions in America—The miniſtry changed, and lord North made chancellor of the Exchequer The ſubject of American affairs continued, and that relating to Mr. Wilkes—Petitions and remonſtrances preſented to the throne againſt the new adminiſtration, and relative to the Middleſex election—Another change in the miniſtry—Lord North appointed firſt lord of the treaſury—Reſolves of parliament upon the Middleſex election, and the ſtate of the colonies in America—Violent tumults at Boſton—The affair of Falkland's iſlands—A declaration delivered to our court from Maſſerano, the Spaniſh ambaſſador—The lord mayor and alderman Oliver ſent to the Tower—Proceedings of parliament—Foreign affairs.

A. D. 1765. HIS majeſty on the tenth of January went to the houſe of peers, and opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech, wherein he informed them, "That the marriage of his ſiſter, the princeſs Carolina Matilda with the king of Denmark, would be ſolemnized as ſoon as their reſpective ages might permit; that the courts of France and Spain had given freſh aſſurances of their pacific diſpoſitions; that he relied on their wiſdom and firmneſs in promoting obedience to the laws, and reſpect to the legiſlative authority of this kingdom; and his majeſty truſted that they would proceed with temper, unanimity, and diſpatch." To this ſpeech both houſes preſented the moſt affectionate addreſſes; and on the ſeventh of February, the houſe of commons agreed to no leſs than fifty-five reſolutions, formed by the committee of ſupplies, for impoſing much the ſame ſtamp-duties upon the Americans, as are payable here in England; and the ſaid reſolutions being formed into a bill, received the royal aſſent on the twenty-ſecond of March. On the twenty-fourth of April the king, who had been indiſpoſed, again repaired to the houſe of peers, and having ſigned ſuch bills as were ready, made a ſpeech from the throne, in which his majeſty earneſtly recommended to their ſerious deliberation, the making ſuch proviſion as would be neceſſary, in caſe any of his children ſhould ſucceed to the throne before they had reſpectively attained the age of eighteen years. In conformity to his majeſty's requeſt, a regency-bill was ordered to be brought into the houſe of lords, where it was paſſed, and ſent to the commons. But here it met with ſome oppoſition. However, an amendment having been made which was approved of by the lords, on the fifteenth of May it received the royal aſſent. By this act the king was empowered to appoint the queen, with the princes of the blood, and all the great officers of the ſtate jointly, regents during the minority of the prince of Wales; and that his majeſty ſhould be further allowed to add to the number of regents ſuch perſons as he thought proper, whoſe names ſhould be left, in caſe of his death, ſealed up in a deed, to be opened by the privy-council. This affair being thus concluded, his majeſty, on the twenty-fifth of May, prorogued the parliament by commiſſion, being ſo indiſpoſed as to be unable to attend in perſon.

After theſe parliamentary tranſactions, an account arrived of the ſucceſs of his majeſty's arms, in conjunction with the company's troops, in the Eaſt Indies, a complete victory having been obtained over the king and vizier of Hindoſtan, by major Hector Monro. The Indians had ſix thouſand men ſlain on the field of battle, and loſt one hundred and thirty pieces of cannon, beſides military ſtores of different kinds, with all their tents ready pitched. The loſs of the victors was comparatively ſmall, for they had only thirty-two Europeans, and two hundred and thirty-nine Indians killed; fifty-ſeven Europeans, and four hundred and ſeventy-three Indians wounded. Such was the ſituation of affairs in the Eaſt Indies, when major Monro was recalled; and Sir Robert Fletcher, an officer brought up in the company's ſervice, was appointed to command in his room. He took the field as ſoon as he arrived; and marched about one hundred and fifty miles up the Ganges, when he attacked ſeveral of the enemy's forts, and made the garriſons priſoners of war.

By letters received from North Carolina, information was given that many outrages had been committed in that country by a ſet of lawleſs banditti, who had murdered ſome Cherokees in alliance with the Engliſh. The ſame accounts likewiſe contained a moſt affecting narrative of the arrival of the priſoners at the Engliſh camp, after the defeat of the Ohio Indians by the forces under the command of general Bouquet. This ſcene exhibited a view of fathers and mothers recognizing and claſping their once loſt babes; huſbands hanging round the necks of their newly recovered wives; ſiſters and brothers unexpectedly meeting together after a long ſeparation, ſcarce able to ſpeak the ſame language. The following paragraph, from the ſpeech of the Shawaneſe Chief on delivering up his priſoners, is a ſtrong proof of their tenderneſs and affection for the captives, whom they had preſerved.

“ Fathers (ſaid he to the Engliſh) we have brought your fleſh and blood to you; they have been all united to us by adoption; and although we now deliver them, we will always look upon them as our relations, whenever the great Spirit is pleaſed that we may viſit them. We have taken as much care of them as if they were our own fleſh and blood. They are now become unacquainted with your cuſtoms and manners, and therefore we requeſt you will uſe them tenderly and kindly, which will induce them to live contentedly with you.”

We now are entering upon that affecting period of the Engliſh hiſtory, which has been attended by the moſt unhappy, we may ſay too, the moſt diſgraceful and humiliating conſequences. In America, great diſturbances aroſe on account of the ſtamp-act. The firſt intelligence that arrived there of ſuch a bill being in agitation, threw an univerſal melancholy on the countenances of the people; but when it was known that the bill had paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent, they were fired with indignation, and nothing but confuſion took place throughout moſt of the provinces. When the news arrived at Boſton, the ſhips in the harbour hung out their colours half maſt high, in token of the deepeſt mourning; the bells were rung muffled; copies of the act were printed, with a death's head to it, in the place where it is uſual to fix the ſtamps, and cried publicly about the ſtreets by the name of “ The folly of England, and ruin of America.” Eſſays ſoon followed, not only againſt the expediency, but even the equity of it, in ſeveral news-papers, one of which bore the ſignificant title of “ The Conſtitutional Courant, containing matters intereſting to liberty, and no ways repugnant to loyalty, printed by Andrew Marvel, at the ſign of the Bribe Refuſed, on Conſtitution hill, North America.” The head-piece to this paper was a ſnake cut in pieces, with the initial letters of the names of the ſeveral colonies, from New England to South Carolina, affixed to each piece, and above them the words “ Join or die.” To theſe were added caricatures, paſquinades, puns, bon-mots, and ſuch ſayings, ſuited to the occaſion, as by being ſhort could be moſt eaſily circulated and retained; at the ſame time that, by being extremely expreſſive, they carried with them the weight of a great many arguments. The two chief articles urged in theſe news-paper eſſays were, firſt, that the perſon acting under this ſtatute, had it in his power to bring an action, the cauſe of which had ariſen at one extremity of the North American colonies, and extended itſelf to the other, at almoſt two thouſand miles diſtance, without the traders being entitled to recover damages, in caſe the judge certified that there was any probable cauſe for the proſecution. The ſecond was, the judge having an intereſt in giving a decree in favour of the party ſuing for the penalties of the act, on being allowed, by way of commiſſion, a very large ſhare in theſe penalties.

By the time the printed act reached the colonies, the populace were every where exaſperated againſt it to ſuch a degree, as to ſhew it the moſt public marks of contempt. In ſeveral places it was burnt, together with the effigies of thoſe who were ſuppoſed to have voted for, or otherwiſe had any hand in favour of it. At the ſame time it was agreed, at the meetings of thoſe in higher rank, that thanks ſhould be given to general Conway and colonel Barré, two gentlemen whom they conſidered as the moſt ſtrenuous oppoſers of it in the Britiſh houſe of commons; that their ſpeeches againſt it, and their pictures, ſhould be requeſted. The pictures to be hung up in their places of meeting, and their ſpeeches to be inſerted in the books deſtined to record all their principal tranſactions. The news of this diſcontent having reached England, ſeveral maſters of ſhips refuſed to take any ſtamps on board for the colonies; and it ſoon appeared that their precaution was well founded; for ſuch as ventured to take them had ſufficient cauſe to repent it on their arrival at their deſtined ports, where, to ſave their veſſels from fire, and their perſons from the gallows, they were moſt of them obliged to ſurrender their execrated cargoes into the hands of the enraged multitude, which they treated in the ſame ignominious manner they had done the act; the other veſſels were obliged to take ſhelter under ſuch of the king's ſhips as happened to be at hand to protect them. But thoſe gentlemen who went from England with commiſſions to act as diſtributors of the ſtamps, met with ſtill worſe treatment. Many of them were made to renounce, now and for ever, publicly and upon oath, all manner of concern in them: others thought it moſt prudent to return from whence they came; whilſt ſome, who were ſuſpected of obſtinately perſiſting in endeavouring to enſlave their country, as it was termed, or of having ſpoke too freely concerning the behaviour of the people on this occaſion, had their houſes burnt down, and their moſt valuable effects plundered or deſtroyed. Even thoſe who, without their ſolicitation or knowledge had been named, were obliged, in virtue of the offices they already filled, to ſuperintend the diſtribution of the ſtamped paper, were treated in the ſame manner; and the populace having ſuſpected one of writing to England in diſreſpectful terms concerning their proceedings, ſurrounded his houſe, and notwithſtanding the moſt earneſt intreaties, obliged him to deliver up the copies of his letters, and thereby turn evidence againſt himſelf. Even ſhips bringing ſtamped mercantile or cuſtom-houſe papers, merely in their own defence, from ſuch of the colonies as had thought proper to ſubmit to the ſtamp act, were forced to part with them to be ſtuck up in deriſion in coffee houſes and taverns, and publicly committed to the flames. By degrees, many of the better ſort joined the populace in thoſe tumults; and one of them ſet the act openly at defiance, by advertiſing under his hand, that thoſe whoſe buſineſs it was to enforce it, might ſave themſelves the trouble of calling upon him for that purpoſe; for that he was reſolved to pay no taxes but what was laid by his repreſentatives. The provincial aſſemblies themſelves declined giving the governors any advice concerning their behaviour on this critical occaſion; and though they diſavowed theſe riotous proceedings, and bid rewards for apprehending the rioters, yet they could not be brought to condemn them farther than decency required; and abſolutely refuſed, when exhorted to it by the governors, to make any compenſation to the injured parties; much leſs could they be brought to ſtrengthen the hands of the executive power, ſo far as to prevent any future commotions; which as levelled entirely at the ſtamp-act, and as having no particular leaders, whoſe ignorance and brutality might be attended with worſe conſequences than what they wiſhed to avoid, they did not think proper to conſider as objects of military reſtraint. This behaviour of the general aſſemblies was openly approved, if not encouraged, by aſſemblies of the freeholders and principal inhabitants of ſome places, who directed their repreſentatives not to agree to any ſteps for the protection of ſtamped papers, or ſtamp officers, though they owned there had been already ſome tumults and diſorder relating to them; and likewiſe cautioned them againſt all unconſtitutional draughts on the public treaſury. The general aſſemblies went ſtill further; for inſtead of barely conniving at the people's aſſerting their independence by tumultuous acts, they proceeded to avow it themſelves; and at the ſame time conſidering, that unanimity is the chief ſource of ſtrength, they eſtabliſhed committees to correſpond with each other concerning the general affairs of the whole, and even appointed deputies from theſe committees to meet in a congreſs at New York. But ſuch harmony already prevailed in the ſentiments of the general aſſemblies of the ſeveral provinces, that the deputies, when met, had little more to do than congratulate each other upon it, and put their hands to one general declaration of their rights, and the grievances they laboured under, and to one general petition expreſſive thereof, to the king, lords, and commons, of the mother country. In a ſhort time, the ſubordinate executive powers began to join the legiſlative. The juſtices of the peace for the diſtrict of Weſtmoreland in Virginia gave public notice, under their hands, that they had declined acting in that capacity; becauſe, in conſequence of their judicial oath, they were liable to become inſtrumental in the deſtruction of their country's moſt eſſential rights and liberties. Their example was followed by the gentlemen of the law, who reſolved rather to give up their buſineſs, than carry it on with ſtamped papers.

When the act took place, which was on the firſt of November, not a ſheet of ſtamped paper was to be had throughout the ſeveral colonies of New England, New York, New Jerſey, Penſylvania, Virginia, Maryland, or the two Carolinas, except a ſmall parcel, which the governor of New York, terrified by the threats of the enraged populace, had ſurrendered into the hands of the corporation of that place, on condition of their not being deſtroyed; ſo that all buſineſs which could not be legally carried on without ſtamps, was at once put to a ſtand, except that of news printing, which the printers ſtill continued, pleading in excuſe, that if they did not, the populace would ſerve them as they had done the ſtamp-maſters themſelves. The courts of juſtice were cloſed, and the ports ſhut up. Even in thoſe colonies where ſtamps were to be had, people of the beſt fortune ſubmitted to be aſked in church, rather than take out licences for private marriages. The effects of this ſtagnation ſoon began to be ſo ſeverely felt, that the inhabitants found it neceſſary to hit upon ſome expedient by which they might elude the act. Accordingly, one of them ſent a thin piece of bark to the printers at Boſton, on which he had written, "That it being neither paper, parchment, or vellum, he would be glad to know, if inſtruments written on ſuch ſtuff might not be valid, though not ſtamped; in which caſe he was ready to ſupply, with good writing bark, all thoſe whoſe conſciences were bound by the late act." At laſt, the governors of ſome of the provinces, though bound by the act to ſwear to ſee it obſerved, under the ſevereſt penalties, imagining the total ſtoppage of all public buſineſs of ſuch bad conſequence to the community, as to render lawful the non-compliance with any injunctions laid on them, or even the breach of any oath taken by them in conſequence of injunctions, merely for the ſake of that community, thought proper to diſpenſe with the uſe of ſtamps, grounding their diſpenſation on the abſolute impoſſibility of procuring any; and accordingly granted certificates of that impoſſibility to all outward-bound veſſels, to protect them from the penalties of the act in other parts of his majeſty's dominions.

On this occaſion, the lieutenant-governor of South Carolina was one of thoſe who refuſed to acquieſce in the tranſacting of any public buſineſs without ſtamps; in conſequence of which the commons houſe of aſſembly took the following method with him. They preſented an addreſs to him, wherein they deſired to be informed, if the ſtamp-act had been tranſmitted to him by the ſecretaries of ſtate, the lords of trade, or through any other authentic channel; and, on his anſwering that he had received it firſt from the attorney-general of the province, on that gentleman's arrival from England, and ſince from Mr. Boone, the governor of the province, they replied, that neither of theſe ways of receiving any act was ſuch a notification thereof, as to oblige him to enforce the execution of it; as the governor, while out of the province, or the attorney-general, even while in it, could not, at leaſt with regard to this communication, be conſidered in any other light than private gentlemen.

At the ſame time they put him in mind, that there were ſeveral inſtances of the province having ſuffered peculiar and very great hardſhips, and for no ſmall length of time, even from the accidental detention or miſcarriage of governmental informations, enough to prove, that certain forms were abſolutely neceſſary in all matters of government, eſpecially ſuch as related to the authenticity of new laws of ſuch immenſe conſequence. Theſe arguments, however, ſeemed to make little or no impreſſion on the governor or his council. The merchants of all thoſe colonies which ventured openly to oppoſe the act, now entered into the moſt ſolemn engagements with each other, not only not to order any more goods from Great Britain, let the conſequences be what they would, and recall the orders they had already given, if not obeyed by the firſt of January 1766, but even not to diſpoſe of any Britiſh goods ſent them on commiſſion, that were not ſhipped before that day; or, if they conſented to any relaxation from theſe engagements, it was not to take place till the ſtamp-act, and even the ſugar and paper money acts were repealed. The people of Philadelphia alſo reſolved, though not unanimouſly, that till ſuch repeal, no lawyer ſhould put in ſuit a demand for money owing by a reſident in America to one in England; nor any perſon in America, however indebted in England, make any remittances there. Theſe reſolutions were adopted by the retailers, who unanimouſly agreed not to buy or ſell any Britiſh goods ſhipped contrary to them. But Ireland received material benefit from theſe proceedings, as what goods the colonies could not poſſibly do without, they took from that country in exchange for their hemp-ſeed and flax-ſeed, of which they ſent yearly very large quantities. In the mean time they omitted no methods to free themſelves even from this dependence. A ſociety of arts, manufactures, and commerce, on the plan of the London ſociety, was inſtituted at New York, and markets opened for the ſale of home-made goods; by which it ſoon appeared, that neither the natives, nor the manufacturers, whom the natives had for ſome time paſt been inviting from Great Britain by very large encouragements, had been idle. Linens, woollens, the coarſer but moſt uſeful kinds of iron ware, malt-ſpirits, paper-hangings, &c. were produced to the ſociety, and greatly approved; and when brought to market, every body appeared deſirous of purchaſing them. At the ſame time, leſt the new woollen manufactures ſhould come ſhort of materials, moſt of the inhabitants came to a reſolution not to eat any lamb; and to extend the influence of their reſolution to thoſe who did not join them in it, not to deal with any butcher that ſhould kill or expoſe any lamb to ſale. In ſhort, the ſpirit of induſtry and frugality, took place of the ſpirit of idleneſs and profuſeneſs. The moſt ſubſtantial and even faſhionable people were the firſt in ſetting the example to their countrymen, by contenting themſelves with home-ſpun or old cloaths, rather than make uſe of any thing Britiſh; and ſuch were the efforts of all ranks, and ſo prudent their meaſures, that many now began to be convinced of what they had till then thought impoſſible, that the colonies would ſoon be able to ſupply themſelves with every neceſſary of life.

In conſequence of the diſtracted ſtate of America, his majeſty thought proper to aſſemble the parliament ſooner than had been intended. Accordingly, on the ſeventeenth of December he went to the houſe of peers, and opened the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech from the throne:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"The preſent general ſtate of tranquillity in Europe, gave me hopes that it would not have been neceſſary to aſſemble my parliament ſooner than is uſual in times of peace: but as matters of importance have lately occurred in ſome of my colonies in America, which will demand the moſt ſerious attention of parliament, and as further informations are daily expected from different parts of that country, of which I ſhall order the fulleſt accounts to be prepared for your conſideration; I have thought fit to call you now together, in order that the opportunity may be thereby given, to iſſue the neceſſary writs on the many vacancies that have happened in the houſe of commons ſince the laſt ſeſſion, ſo that the parliament may be full, to proceed immediately, after the uſual receſs, on the conſideration of ſuch weighty matters as will then come before you."

This year the citizens of London evinced a noble and diſintereſted regard for genuine merit, by electing Mr. Alderman Janſſen to the office of chamberlain of this city. This gentleman having reduced his circumſtances by his connections with ſeveral public ſpirited plans, had for ſome years paſt lived in obſcurity, and abridged himſelf of every ſuperfluity, gradually to compenſate the loſs of his creditors. Such was his modeſty, that he was not without much difficulty prevailed upon to offer himſelf a candidate for the vacant poſt; but merit overcame every obſtacle, and his grateful fellow-citizens exulted in an opportunity of publicly honouring a truly good and honeſt man.

A. D. 1766.

On the fourteenth of January his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and being ſeated on his throne, addreſſed both houſes as follows:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"When I met you laſt, I acquainted you, that matters of importance had happened in America, which would demand the moſt ſerious attention of parliament.

"That no information which could ſerve to direct your deliberations in ſo intereſting a concern might be wanting, I have ordered all the papers that give any light into the origin, the progreſs, or the tendency of the diſturbances which have of late prevailed in ſome of the northern colonies, to be immediately laid before you.

"No time has been loſt, on the firſt advice of theſe diſturbances, to iſſue orders to the governors of my provinces, and to the commanders of my forces in America, for the exertion of all the powers of government, in the ſuppreſſion of riots and tumults, and in the effectual ſupport of lawful authority.

"Whatever remains to be done on this occaſion, I commit to your wiſdom; not doubting but your zeal for the honour of my crown, your attention to the juſt rights and authority of the Britiſh legiſlature, and your affection and concern for the welfare and proſperity of all my people, will guide you to ſuch ſound and prudent reſolutions, as may tend at once to preſerve thoſe conſtitutional rights over the colonies, and to reſtore to them that harmony and tranquillity, which have lately been interrupted by riots and diſorders of the moſt dangerous nature.

"If any alterations ſhould be wanting in the commercial œconomy of the plantations, which may tend to enlarge and ſecure the mutual and beneficial intercourſe of my kingdoms and colonies, they will deſerve your moſt ſerious conſideration. In effectuating purpoſes ſo worthy of your wiſdom and public ſpirit, you may depend upon my moſt hearty concurrence and ſupport. The preſent happy tranquillity ſubſiſting in Europe, will enable you to purſue ſuch objects of your interior policy with a more uninterrupted attention.

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I have ordered the proper eſtimates for the current ſervice of the year to be laid before you.

Such ſupplies as you may grant ſhall be duly applied with the utmoſt fidelity, and ſhall be diſpenſed with the ſtricteſt œconomy.

" My lords and gentlemen,

" I earneſtly recommend to you to proceed in your deliberations with temper and unanimity. The time requires, and I doubt not but your own inclinations will lead you to thoſe ſalutary diſpoſitions. I have nothing at heart but the aſſertion of legal authority, the preſervation of the liberties of all my ſubjects, the equity and good order of my government, and the concord and proſperity of all parts of my dominions."

This ſpeech was followed with petitions by the merchants of London, Briſtol, Lancaſter, Liverpool, Hull, Glaſgow, and in ſhort, from moſt of the trading and manufacturing towns and boroughs in the kingdom, wherein they ſet forth the great decay of their trade, owing to the new laws and regulations made for America: the vaſt quantity of our manufactures (beſides thoſe articles imported from abroad, which were purchaſed either with our own manufactures, or with the produce of our colonies) which the American trade formerly took off our hands; by all which many thouſand manufacturers, ſeamen, and labourers, had been employed, to the very great and increaſing benefit of the nation. That in return for theſe exports, the petitioners had received from the colonies, rice, indigo, tobacco, naval ſtores, oil, whale-fins, furs, and lately pot-aſh, with other ſtaple commodities; beſides a large balance in remittances by bills of exchange and bullion, obtained by the coloniſts for articles of their produce, not required for the Britiſh market, and therefore exported to other places: that from the nature of this trade, conſiſting of Britiſh manufactures exported, and of the import of raw materials from America, many of them uſed in our manufactures, and all of them tending to leſſen our dependence on neighbouring ſtates, it muſt be deemed of the higheſt importance in the commercial ſyſtem of this nation: that this commerce, ſo beneficial to the ſtate, and ſo neceſſary for the ſupport of multitudes, then lay under ſuch difficulties and diſcouragements, that nothing leſs than its utter ruin was apprehended, without the immediate interpoſition of parliament: that the colonies were then indebted to the merchants of Great Britain, to the amount of ſeveral millions ſterling; and that, when preſſed for payment, they appeal to paſt experience in proof of their willingneſs; but declare it is not in their power at preſent to make good their engagements, alledging, that the taxes and reſtrictions laid upon them, and the extenſion of the juriſdiction of the vice-admiralty courts, eſtabliſhed by ſome late acts of parliament, particularly by an act of parliament paſſed in the fourth year of his preſent majeſty, for granting certain duties in the Britiſh colonies and plantations in America; and by an act paſſed in the fifth year of his majeſty, for granting and applying certain ſtamp-duties, &c. in the ſaid colonies, &c. with ſeveral regulations and reſtraints, which, if founded in acts of parliament for defined purpoſes, they repreſent to have been extended in ſuch a manner as to diſturb legal commerce, and harraſs the fair trader, and to have ſo far interrupted the uſual and former moſt uſeful branches of their commerce, reſtrained the ſale of their produce, thrown the ſtate of the ſeveral provinces into confuſion, and brought on ſo great a number of actual bankruptcies, that the former opportunities and means of remittances and payments were utterly loſt and taken from them. That the petitioners were, by theſe unhappy events, reduced to the neceſſity of applying to the houſe, in order to ſecure themſelves and their families from impending ruin; to prevent a multitude of manufacturers from becoming a burden to the community, or elſe ſeeking their bread in other countries, to the irretrievable loſs of the kingdom: and to preſerve the ſtrength of this nation entire, its commerce flouriſhing, the revenues increaſing, our navigation, the bulwark of the kingdom, in a ſtate of growth and extenſion; and the colonies from inclination, duty, and intereſt, firmly attached to the mother-country. Such kind of petitions from every part of the kingdom, replete with a number of intereſting facts, ſtated and atteſted by many people, whoſe lives having been entirely devoted to trade, muſt naturally be eſteemed competent judges of a ſubject which they had ſo long and ſo cloſely attended to, could not fail of having great weight with the houſe, as had alſo a petition which arrived at this time from the agent for the iſland of Jamaica, ſetting forth the ill conſequences that had attended a ſtamp-tax which the aſſembly of that iſland had impoſed, and which was ſuffered to expire, it having been found unequal and burdenſome in a very high degree; and he gave it as his opinion, that the preſent law for a ſtamp-duty in the colonies would be attended with the ſame, if not greater inconveniencies. Petitions were likewiſe received from the agents for Virginia and Georgia, ſetting forth their inability to pay the ſtamp-duty; yet the party, who had reſolved on the ſupport of the ſtamp-act, at all events, could not be prevailed on, either by the arguments or the facts contained in the petitions, to remit the leaſt of their ardour. Such petitions they repreſented as the effect of miniſterial artifice; and obſerved, that ſuppoſing the diſtreſs of trade, for a due exertion of the authority of parliament, was as real and as great as it was repreſented, yet it were better to ſubmit to this temporary inconvenience, than, by a repeal of the act, to hazard the total loſs of the juſt ſuperiority of Great Britain over her colonies.

On the other hand, they who contended for the repeal, were divided in their opinion as to the right of taxation; the more numerous body, among whom were the miniſtry, inſiſted that the legiſlature of Great Britain had an undoubted right to tax the colonies; but acknowledged the inexpediency of the preſent tax, as ill adapted to the condition of the colonies, and built upon principles ruinous to the trade of Great Britain. Thoſe who denied the right of taxation were not ſo numerous; but they conſiſted of ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed and popular characters in the kingdom.

This affair was attended to by the houſe with the moſt unwearied application; yet the nature of their enquiries, the number of petitions they received, and the multitude of papers and witneſſes they had to examine, occaſioned a delay which could not be remedied; during this there were continual debates, and the oppoſition made the moſt ſtrenuous efforts for enforcing the ſtamp-act, and by every means to prevent the repeal. In the courſe of this debate two queſtions aroſe, upon which the whole turned. The firſt was, whether the legiſlature of Great Britain had a right of taxation over the colonies, or not? The ſecond was confined to the expediency or inexpediency of the late laws.

The gentlemen who oppoſed the right of taxation, produced many learned authorities from Locke, Selden, Harrington, and Puffendorf, ſhewing, " That the very foundation and ultimate point in view of all government, is the good of ſociety." They likewiſe urged, that by going up to Magna Charta, and referring to the ſeveral writs upon record, iſſued out for the purpoſe of raiſing taxes for the crown, and for ſending repreſentatives to parliament, as well as from the bill of rights, it appears, throughout the whole hiſtory of our conſtitution, that no Britiſh ſubject can be taxed, but *per communem conſenſum parliamenti*, that is to ſay, of himſelf or his own repreſentative; and this is that firſt and general right, as Britiſh ſubjects, with which the firſt inhabitants of the colonies emigrated; for the right does not depend upon their charters: the charters were but the exterior modelling of the conſtitution of the colonies: but the great interior fundamental of their conſtitution is this general right of a Britiſh ſubject, which is the very firſt principle of liberty,—No man ſhall be taxed, but by himſelf or his repreſentative. That the counties palatine of Cheſter, Durham, and Lancaſter, were not taxed but in their own aſſemblies or parliaments; till at different periods in our hiſtory they were melted into our preſent form of parliamentary repreſentation. That the body of the clergy, till very late, taxed themſelves, and granted the king benevolences. That the Marches of Wales had a right of taxing themſelves till they ſent members to parliament, and from this circumſtance has continued the ſtyle of the king's proclamations, and of our acts of parliament to this day, although unneceſſarily, to name eſpecially the principality of Wales, and the town of Monmouth and Berwick. That many people carry the idea of a parliament too far, in ſuppoſing it can do every thing; which is not true, and if it were, it is not right conſtitutionally: for then there might be an arbitrary power in a parliament as well as in any one man. There are many things a parliament cannot do. It cannot make itſelf executive, nor diſpoſe of offices that belong to the crown. It cannot take any man's property, even that of the meaneſt cottager, as in the caſe of incloſures, without his being heard. The lords cannot reject a money bill from the commons, nor the commons erect themſelves into a court of juſtice. The parliament could not tax the clergy, till ſuch time as they were repreſented in parliament. Nor can the parliament of England tax Ireland.

The charters of the colonies, which are derived from prerogatives, and are in fact only ſo many grants from the crown, are not the only right the colonies have to being repreſented before they are taxed. They, as Britiſh ſubjects, take up their rights and liberties from a higher origin than their charters only. They take them up from the ſame origin and fountain, from whence they flow to all Engliſhmen, from Magna Charta, and the natural right of the ſubject. By that rule of right, the charters of the colonies, like all other crown-grants, are to be reſtricted and interpreted, for the benefit, not the prejudice of the ſubjects. Had the firſt inhabitants of the colonies renounced all connection with their mother country, they might have renounced their original rights; but when they emigrated under the authority of the crown, and the national ſanction, they went out from hence, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, with all the firſt great privileges of Engliſhmen on their backs: but at the ſame time they were not, and could not be bound by penal laws of this country, from the ſeverity of which they fled, to climates remote from the heavy hand of power, and which they hoped to find more friendly to their principles of civil and religious liberty. It is upon this ground, that it has been univerſally received as law, that no acts of parliament made here, and particularly thoſe which enact any penalty, are binding upon the colonies, unleſs they are ſpecially named. The inhabitants of the colonies once removed from the domeſtic legiſlation of the mother country, are no more dependent upon it in the general ſyſtem, than the Iſle of Man is, or than, in the feudal ſyſtem of Europe, many ſubordinate principalities are dependent on the juriſdiction of the ſeigneur ſuzerain, or lord paramount; but owing only to a limited obedience. By what has been ſaid it is not meant to affect the caſe of any external duties laid upon their ports, or of any reſtrictions which by the act of navigation, or other acts are laid upon their commerce; for they are in the ſame caſe, as all other colonies belonging to the reſt of the maritime powers in Europe; who have ſhut up their colonies from all intercourſe with foreign countries in the very firſt eſtabliſhment. What is ſpoken of are internal taxes, to be levied on the body of the people; and that, before they can be liable to theſe internal taxes, they muſt firſt be repreſented.

The debates being cloſed, and the queſtion put, the power of the legiſlature of Great Britain over her colonies, in all caſes whatſoever, and without any diſtinction in regard to taxation, was confirmed and aſcertained, without a diviſion.

The grand committee who had paſſed the reſolutions, on which the foregoing queſtion was debated, had alſo paſſed another for the total repeal of the ſtamp-act; and two bills were accordingly brought in to anſwer theſe purpoſes. By the bill itſelf, all votes, reſolutions, or orders, which had been paſſed by any of the general aſſemblies in America, by which they aſſumed to themſelves the ſole and excluſive right of taxing his majeſty's ſubjects in the colonies, were annulled, and declared contrary to law, derogatory to the legiſlative authority of parliament, and inconſiſtent with their dependency upon the crown.

Oppoſition, far from being diſpirited, gained new vigour, and ſtill reſiſted the repeal in every part of its progreſs. But on the queſtion being put, notwithſtanding this, the bill paſſed by a majority of one hundred and eight, and was carried up to the lords by above two hundred members of the houſe of commons. The eclat, however, with which it was introduced did not prevent its meeting with a ſtrong oppoſition in the upper houſe, a proteſt was entered againſt it at the ſecond reading by thirty-three lords, and at the third by twenty-eight, notwithſtanding which it was carried by a majority of thirty-four; and on the eighteenth of March received the royal aſſent. Upon this the American merchants made a moſt numerous appearance to expreſs their joy and gratitude: the ſhips in the river diſplayed their colours: ſeveral houſes in the city were illuminated: and every proper method was taken to demonſtrate the juſt ſenſe that was entertained of his majeſty's goodneſs, and the wiſdom of parliament, in conciliating the minds of the people on this critical occaſion. The national buſineſs thus finiſhed, his majeſty, on the ſixteenth of June, went to the houſe of peers, and put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne; and ſoon after the riſing of the parliament his majeſty thought proper to make the following changes in the miniſtry: His grace the duke of Grafton was appointed firſt lord of the treaſury in the room of the marquis of Rockingham; the earl of Shelburne ſucceeded the duke of Richmond as ſecretary of ſtate; lord Camden was created lord high chancellor in the place of the earl of Northington, as was the honourable Charles Townſhend chancellor of the exchequer, in the room of the right honourable William Dowdeſwell; and the right honourable William Pitt, who ſome days before had been created viſcount Pynſent and earl of Chatham, was made lord privy-ſeal.

At this time the exceeding high price of proviſions, cauſed the poor to riſe in ſeveral parts of the kingdom; when they deſtroyed the flour mills, ſeized on corn, and other neceſſaries of life, which they ſold at a moderate price, and delivered the money to the owners. In ſome places they were much more violent; for inſtead of taking the above method of ſupplying their wants, they ripped open the ſacks, and ſcattered the corn about, ſeized butter, cheeſe, and bacon, in the ſhops, which they threw into the ſtreets, and behaved in the moſt outrageous manner to the proprietors of the goods they thus demoliſhed. In order to prevent the dreadful conſequences that were likely to enſue on this account, a proclamation was publiſhed on the eleventh of September for putting in execution the laws againſt foreſtalling, regrating and engroſſing of corn. And on the twenty-third of the ſame month two other proclamations were publiſhed: by the firſt of which an embargo was laid on all veſſels laden, or to be laden, with wheat or flour for exportation, till the fourteenth of November; and the other prohibited the diſtilling of ſpirits from wheat.

On the eighteenth of November the parliament aſſembled, when his majeſty repaired to the houſe, and opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne. As the miniſtry had been recently changed, great oppoſition was made to every thing propoſed by adminiſtration; however, it was agreed upon, by a great majority in both houſes, that addreſſes of thanks ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, in anſwer to his ſpeech, which being done they adjourned till after the holidays.

A. D. 1767. Violent diſputes, in the courſe of the preceding year, had happened between the proprietors of Eaſt India ſtock, and the directors; occaſioned by the former ſuppoſing, that an increaſe of dividend ſhould be made, adequate to the great opulence of the company at this time; owing to their amazing ſucceſs in the Eaſt Indies. This the directors ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, and in a little time the news-papers became the common field for the diſcuſſion of India affairs, by which means every thing relative to them was publicly known. Soon after it was rumoured that the government intended to interfere, in ſome manner, in the diſpoſition of the company's affairs. At firſt this report obtained but little credit, till, a few days before the meeting of the general court at Michaelmas, a meſſage was actually received by the directors, from the miniſtry, informing them, "That as the affairs of the Eaſt India company had been mentioned in parliament laſt ſeſſion, it was very probable they might be taken into conſideration again; therefore, from the regard they had to the welfare of the company, and that they might have time to prepare their papers for that occaſion, they informed them, that the parliament would meet ſome time in November." Accordingly, in the beginning of this ſeſſion, a committee was appointed to examine into the ſtate and condition of the company, and ſome time after it was ordered, that copies of the company's charters, their treaties with, and grants from, the country powers; together with their letters and correſpondence to and from their ſervants in India; the ſtate of their revenues in Bengal, Bahar, Orixa, and other places, ſhould all be laid before the houſe: alſo an account of all expences incurred by government on the company's account, whether in the naval, military, or whatever other departments. An order was then given for printing the Eaſt India papers; upon which the court of directors preſented a petition, ſhewing the great injury it would be to the company, and the many ill conſequences that would propably attend the printing the private correſpondence between them and their ſervants. In conſequence of this petition, a motion being made to diſcharge the order, a debate enſued; but it was at laſt agreed, that the private correſpondence ſhould not be printed. The diſputes were carried on with great warmth by both parties, and the reſult was, that the company ſhould, during the ſpace of two years enſuing, pay a certain ſum to the government; and that no dividend of their ſtock ſhould be made without the conſent of a general court of proprietors. June the twenty-fourth his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and, after ſigning ſuch bills as were ready, prorogued the parliament.

On the continent of Europe, this year, an event took place little expected, and which ſurprized moſt people. It is well known that Italy, once the ſeat of learning, has been for many ages the mother and nurſe of ſuperſtition. For ſome time popery had been loſing ground in thoſe countries where it is by law eſtabliſhed, and increaſing where it was prohibited, owing to the diſgrace into which the Jeſuits had brought themſelves. That ſociety had been eſtabliſhed about two hundred years, and in that time had riſen to ſuch fame, that they became objects of jealouſy, and even reſentment to the other orders. It is true, they were become ſo affluent, that even princes might have looked upon them as dangerous rivals; but that was not the ſole cauſe of their ruin. It had been a conſtant practice with princes, and other great men, to make them their confeſſors; and it is well known, that he who acts the part of a confeſſor to a prince, may, with propriety, be conſidered as his prime miniſter. All ſecrets had been truſted with them, and as ſome of them were, at the ſame time, confeſſors to thoſe in oppoſite intereſts, jealouſies took place; and the king of Portugal having been attacked in his carriage, in conſequence of a plan laid by theſe fathers, reſolved to baniſh them out of his dominions. This happened ſeveral years before the period we are now treating of, and Spain followed the example of Portugal, by baniſhing them out of all their dominions, whether in Europe or America. They found an aſylum in Italy, for ſome time; but during the former part of this year they were baniſhed from Naples and Parma, and all their eſtates confiſcated. Under various characters, ſuch as thoſe of tutors, clerks, ſurgeons, &c. many of them have ſettled in proteſtant countries: but it is to be hoped, that parents and guardians will take care to prevent youth from being ſeduced by them.

The attention of the people in Europe was this year particularly directed to Corſica, an iſland in the Mediterranean, almoſt adjoining to the iſland of Sardinia. It is extremely fertile and populous, and ſome centuries ago had been given by the pope to the republic of Piſa; but the Genoeſe took it, and for many years treated the inhabitants in the moſt arbitrary and cruel manner. The ſpirit of liberty, however, was not extinct, it wanted only the breath of a hero to kindle it; and ſuch a one was found in the perſon of the famous Paoli, a native of the iſland, but had travelled into other countries, where he had learned the art of war. The prudence and valour of that hero will be tranſmitted to the lateſt ages, but overpowered by numbers, he was obliged to abandon the iſland.

November the twenty-fourth, his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he told the members that he had aſſembled them at ſo early a period, that they might have time to deliberate with ſteadineſs and judgment; and in particular he recommended to them the ſtate of the nation with reſpect to the price of proviſions.

A. D. 1768. The buſineſs of this ſeſſion (in the courſe of which one hundred and twelve public and private bills received the royal aſſent) being brought to a concluſion, on the tenth of March his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and in a moſt gracious ſpeech returned thanks to the parliament for the many ſignal proofs they had given him of their affectionate attachment to his perſon, family, and government: and concluded with the following words:

"In the approaching election of repreſentatives, I doubt not but my people will give me freſh proofs of their attachment to the true intereſt of their country; which I ſhall ever receive as the moſt acceptable mark of their affection to me. The welfare of all my ſubjects is my firſt object. Nothing therefore has ever given me more real concern, than to ſee any of them in any part of my dominions, attempting to looſen thoſe bonds of conſtitutional ſubordination, ſo eſſential to the welfare of the whole, but it is with much ſatisfaction that I now ſee them returning to a more juſt ſenſe of what their own intereſt, no leſs than their duty, indiſpenſably requires of them; and thereby giving me the proſpect of continuing to reign over an happy, becauſe an united people. The parliament was then prorogued to the laſt day of the month; but on the twelfth of April it was diſſolved by proclamation.

It has already been obſerved, that Mr. Wilkes had retired to France. By his long reſidence there, and not appearing to the indictments laid againſt him, he was declared an outlaw. Previous, however to the general election he returned to England, and to the great aſtoniſhment of the public, declared himſelf a candidate to repreſent the city of London in parliament; but loſt his election. He then offered himſelf for the county of Middleſex, and on the twenty-eighth of March was elected by a prodigious majority. On the twentieth of the ſame month he had ſurrendered himſelf to the court of King's-Bench, and on the twenty-ſeventh was committed to the King's-Bench priſon. Some time after, his trial came on in that court, and being found guilty, the following ſentence was pronounced on him: "That for the republication of the North Briton, number forty-five, he ſhould pay a fine of five hundred pounds, and be impriſoned ten calendar months: and for publiſhing the Eſſay on Woman, that he ſhould likewiſe pay a fine of five hundred pounds, and be impriſoned twelve calendar months, to be computed from the expiration of the term of the former impriſonment; and that he afterwards find ſecurity for his good behaviour for ſeven years, himſelf to be bound in the ſum of one thouſand pounds, and two ſureties in five hundred pounds each." At this time the general election was carried on with great heat, and violent conteſts enſued in many parts of the nation. Nor did the diſorders, which this occaſion gave riſe to, ſubſide with it. A general murmuring and diſſatisfaction prevailed among the lower claſs of people, partly occaſioned by the high price of proviſions, and partly from other cauſes. The riotous aſſemblies of the weavers, coal-heavers, and ſailors, kept the capital and its environs in continual alarm. From ſome unknown cauſe, juſt at this time, when it was moſt wanted, the civil power ſeemed to loſe its force and energy, and too frequently give occaſion for the dangerous interpoſition of a military force in its ſupport: the unhappy effects of which are ſtill recent in the minds of the greater part of the preſent age. Of all the diſturbances that drew the public attention at this time, the moſt fatal was that which happened in St. George's Fields on the tenth of May, and which evinced the raſh violence exerciſed againſt the people on account of their attachment to Mr. Wilkes, then a priſoner in the King's Bench. The particulars of this remarkable affair were as follow: The parliament being to aſſemble on that day, great numbers of people aſſembled about the priſon, in expectation that Mr. Wilkes would, on that account, obtain his liberty, and intending to conduct him to the houſe of commons. Finding themſelves diſappointed, they grew tumultuous, and a party of the third regiment of guards was ſent for. The riot was greatly increaſed by a paper that had been ſtuck againſt the wall of the priſon, which was forcibly taken down by one of the juſtices for the Borough. The populace inſiſted on having this paper, which the juſtice not regarding, the tumult became exceeding violent; the drums beat to arms, and the riot act was read, during which great quantities of ſtones and bricks were thrown by the populace. William Allen, a young man, ſon of Mr. Allen, keeper of the Horſe-ſhoe Inn, in Blackman-ſtreet, Southwark, being purſued along with others, was unfortunately ſingled out, followed by three ſoldiers, and ſhot dead. Theſe meaſures not having any tendency to diſperſe the mob, an additional number of the guards was ſent for, as alſo a party of horſe-grenadiers; but the people growing ſtill more numerous, they were fired upon by the ſoldiers, when five were killed on the ſpot, and about fifteen wounded. Among the latter were two women, one of whom afterwards died in St. Thomas's hoſpital. The day following an inquiſition was taken by the coroner for Surry on the above William Allen, when the jury gave their verdict, that Donald Maclaine was guilty of wilful murder, and Donald Maclaury and Alexander Murray (the laſt of whom was commanding officer) were aiding and abetting therein. This inqueſt was held at the houſe of Mr. Allen; and it appeared, on examination, that the deceaſed was only a ſpectator, and, on ſeeing ſome perſons run, he ran alſo, but was unhappily miſtaken, and followed by the ſoldiers into a cow-houſe, where he was ſhot. Maclaury and Murray were admitted to bail, but Maclaine was committed to priſon for the murder. He was afterwards tried at the Surry aſſizes at Guildford, and acquitted. Two other inquiſitions were taken in the Borough, on perſons killed by the ſoldiers in this riot; one on the body of Mary Jeffs, who having a baſket with oranges, was ſhot in removing them; the other, on one William Bridgman, who was ſhot on the top of a hay-cart, as he was looking at the fray at a diſtance; on both theſe inquiſitions the jury brought in their verdict, Chance Medley. On the tenth of May, the members of the new parliament were ſworn in and took their ſeats in the houſe: and the following day the commons, having re-choſen Sir John Cuſt for their ſpeaker, preſented him to the lords commiſſioners for their approbation, who were pleaſed in his majeſty's name to approve their choice. After which the lord chancellor opened the ſeſſion. Upon this a joint addreſs was preſented by the lords and commons to his majeſty, beſeeching him to exert his authority for quelling the diſorders and tumults which prevailed to ſo alarming a degree; at the ſame time aſſuring his majeſty, that nothing ſhould be wanting on their parts which might enable him to maintain the public authority, and carry the laws into due execution; and ſoon after an end was put to this ſhort ſeſſion.

On the eleventh of Auguſt the king of Denmark arrived at St. James's, to viſit his royal brother-in-law, our ſovereign. He was attended by moſt of his great officers of ſtate, and the utmoſt reſpect was paid to him by all ranks of people. In the beginning of October he left England; and much about the ſame time the following changes happened in the miniſtry. The earl of Briſtol ſucceeded lord Chatham as lord privy-ſeal. Lord Weymouth was appointed ſecretary of ſtate for the ſouthern department, in the room of lord Shelburne; and the earl of Rochfort ſucceeded lord Weymouth in the northern department.

Let us now ſee what material tranſactions happened on the continent. In the month of Auguſt the French concluded a treaty with the republic of Genoa, of a very extraordinary nature, and ſuch as ought to have been oppoſed by all the maritime ſtates in Europe.

Great diſturbances happened in America, on account of ſome duties having been laid on glaſs, ſalt, and other commodities imported from England. It was thought that the repeal of the ſtamp act would have given ſome ſatisfaction to theſe people, but they ſtill inſiſted that it was their inherent privilege to tax themſelves. The inhabitants of Boſton met in a large body, and entered into ſeveral reſolutions not to import any goods of a ſuperfluous nature, but to attend to the ſtricteſt œconomy, both in dreſs and furniture. A ſubſcription was opened for the encouragement of their own manufactures, and the eſtabliſhment of new ones. This was done to elude the payment of the duties upon ſuch articles as ſhould be ſent from England; and, at the ſame time, an aſſociation of gentlemen from all the old colonies was formed, in order to propoſe the moſt likely means to be uſed in preventing Engliſh acts of parliament from being put in force there, or in any other of the American provinces, or the Weſt Indies. The freeholders, and, in general, all the inhabitants of Maſſachuſet's Bay, had placed the greateſt confidence in their repreſentatives, and there was a continual conteſt between them and their governor. The earl of Shelburne had ſent over a letter to the governor, complaining of theſe abuſes, and it was read in the open aſſembly of the repreſentatives. This occaſioned moſt violent debates; and ſome of the members went ſo far as to declare, that the governor had miſrepreſented their conduct to the miniſtry. They denied the charges in the letter, and wrote to the earl of Shelburne on the ſubject, vindicating themſelves, and throwing the whole blame on the governor. At the ſame time, the merchants of Boſton ordered their agent to repreſent to the lords of the treaſury, that unleſs theſe duties, which had occaſioned ſo much miſchief, were taken off, the trade of the province would be deſtroyed, as they ſeemed to them contrary to the ſpirit of the conſtitution, and inconſiſtent with their charter. Their repreſentations occaſioned the eſtabliſhment of a new officer, who was to act as ſecretary of ſtate for the colonies in America; and the firſt perſon made choice of was the earl of Hillſborough, at that time firſt lord of trade. The firſt thing done by his lordſhip, was to ſend circular letters to the governors of the provinces, informing them, that his majeſty was highly diſpleaſed at the conduct of the people, as it was apt to create confuſion, and throw every thing into the utmoſt diſorder. He ſaid, that their conduct in oppoſing the legiſlative power of Great Britain was little better than an act of open rebellion; for, by giving encouragement to ſuch practices, the government would be overturned, and no regard paid to the laws. He concluded by recommending to them to preſerve the public peace, by puniſhing all diſorders of an evil tendency; but as to mere oppoſition in words, or in ſcandalous libels, they were to treat them with contempt.

Governor Barnard had diſſolved the aſſembly of repreſentatives, and new ones being choſen, it was inſiſted on by him, that they ſhould make a public act to diſapprove of the conduct of the late aſſembly. They deſired to ſee a copy of the governor's inſtructions, which was granted them, and, to their ſurprize, they found, that in caſe they refuſed to comply, they were to be diſſolved, and an account of their conduct ſent to England, in order to be laid before the next ſeſſions of parliament. This ſet the whole nation in a flame; and when the bill was brought in to paſs a cenſure on the conduct of the laſt aſſembly, ninety-two voted againſt it and no more than ſeventeen for it. The reſt of the colonies took the alarm, and followed their example; while combinations were formed almoſt every where not to take any goods from England, except ſuch as were abſolutely neceſſary. The diſcontents among the people of Boſton now broke out into open violence: for a ſhip having landed a cargo of wine, and taken on board another of oil, without paying any regard to the new laws by which the new cuſtoms were to be regulated, the officers made a ſignal to the Romney man of war, who ſent her boats; and having cut down the maſts of the trading veſſel, hawled her along-ſide of the king's ſhip. This was ſo ſeverely reſented by the populace, that they roſe in great numbers, demoliſhed the houſes of the cuſtom-houſe officers, and laying hold of the commiſſioner's boat, dragged it on ſhore, and then ſet it on fire. During theſe tumults in the town, the governor diſſolved the aſſembly; but that had not the deſired effect, for the diſturbances increaſed every day, ſo that two regiments were ſent over from Ireland to ſupport the civil power. Their place of rendezvous was to be at Hallifax, in Nova Scotia; and no ſooner had the people of Boſton received news that they were landed at that place, than they met, and choſe a preſident among themſelves, who was deputed to wait on the governor, to know for what reaſon, or with what view, his majeſty's forces were to be ſent among them. They deſired, at the ſame time, that a general aſſembly might be ſummoned to meet; but he refuſed to give them any ſatisfactory anſwer, and only told them, that it was their duty to break up their tumultuous meetings, and ſubmit quietly to the laws. He added, that as they ſeemed ignorant of the offence they had committed, he muſt freely tell them, that unleſs they ſubmitted to the government, he ſhould be obliged to treat them as rebels. From this time he refuſed to receive any meſſages from them; upon which they ſent a long detail of their grievances to London, in order to be laid before the miniſtry. In the mean time, the tranſports, with the two regiments, and a train of artillery, arrived from Hallifax, and were quartered in the houſes of the townſmen; but as the military laws did not extend to America, any farther than providing barracks for them, it was ordered by the governor that they ſhould have barrack proviſions, ſo as to be as little burthenſome to the people as poſſible. This part of the governor's conduct gave general ſatisfaction to ſuch of the people as were moderate in their ſentiments; but notwithſtanding, a great majority were ſtill diſcontented. They could not behold, without jealouſy, an armed force quartered among them in time of peace; for, with reſpect to their late combinations, they conſidered them as efforts to maintain their freedom.

At the beginning of this year, things began to aſſume a new form in the Eaſt Indies; and it was even feared that a revolution would take place much to the diſadvantage of the Engliſh Eaſt India company, whoſe ſtock was now advanced to a ſurprizing height. Hyder Ally, a perſon who had ſerved ſome time as a common ſoldier, having received ſome affront from his officers, left the army, and raiſed a choſen band of followers, with a view of driving the Engliſh out of all their ſettlements in that part of the world.

Towards the cloſe of this year, the war was carried on with great violence in Corſica: for although the French had landed there with a numerous army, the brave iſlanders diſputed the ground with them inch by inch. Paoli, who ſtill hoped for aſſiſtance from England, as well as from ſome of the European powers, called an aſſembly of the Corſican chiefs, and aſked their opinion concerning the moſt proper methods to be uſed in the proſecution of the war. He laid before them all the papers which the French had cauſed to be diſtributed throughout the iſland; but no ſooner did the chiefs perceive that they were looked upon as vaſſals to the crown of France, than they tore them into a thouſand pieces. Adjoining to Corſica are ſome ſmall iſlands; and as the harbours of them are ſafe and commodious, ſo the Corſican privateers prevented, in a great meaſure, the enemy from receiving ſuch ſupplies as had been ſent them from France. This induced the French, in the month of November, to embark a conſiderable body of forces on board thirteen tranſports, in order to attack theſe ſmall iſlands. Their firſt attack was made on the iſland of Pietra; but although they made good their landing, they were repulſed with great loſs by a few Corſicans, who animated by the love of liberty, fought like lions.

From thence the French proceeded to Iſola Boſſa, another iſland, where the Corſicans were driven from their poſts; but no ſooner had they recollected themſelves, and recovered from their firſt ſurprize, than they faced about, and not only recovered the poſts they had loſt, but drove the enemy, with great ſlaughter back to their ſhips. Above nine hundred of the French were killed in this fruitleſs expedition, and their general began to deſpair of ever taking the iſland. But we muſt now return to Britain.

In the mean while ſeveral changes took place in the Engliſh miniſtry, by the death of Mr. Townſhend, chancellor of the exchequer, a gentleman of great natural parts, univerſal erudition, and a perfect knowledge of the conſtitution. In conſequence of this lord North was made chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Thomas Townſhend paymaſter of the forces, earl Gower preſident of the council, lord Weymouth, one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, and Mr. Rigby was appointed one of the vice-treaſurers of Ireland.

On the twenty-fourth of November, the parliament met, when his majeſty went to the houſe, and opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he obſerved, that it would have given him great ſatisfaction could he have aſſured them that all the other powers of Europe had been as careful as himſelf to avoid taking any ſtep that might endanger the general tranquillity: that he had received repeated aſſurances of their pacific diſpoſitions towards this country; which ſhould not, however, divert his conſtant reſolution, ſtedfaſtly to attend to the general intereſts of Europe. He then took notice of the conduct of the Americans, and obſerved, that the capital of one of the colonies was in an actual ſtate of diſobedience, having proceeded to meaſures ſubverſive of the conſtitution, and attended with circumſtances that manifeſted a diſpoſition to throw off their dependence on Great Britain; but that he did not doubt, with their aſſiſtance and concurrence, of being able to defeat the miſchievous deſigns of thoſe turbulent and ſeditious perſons, who, under falſe pretences, had too ſucceſsfully deluded numbers of his ſubjects in America; and whoſe practices, if ſuffered to prevail, could not fail to produce the moſt fatal conſequences to his colonies immediately, and in the end to all the dominions of his crown. And laſtly, he recommended a ſpirit of harmony among themſelves, as a conduct that would be attended with the moſt ſalutary conſequences both abroad and at home. The only material thing the parliament did previous to their breaking up for the holidays was, to bring in a bill to prevent the exportation of corn for a limited time, which, after long debates in both houſes, paſſed into an act, to the great ſatisfaction of the poor in general.

A. D. 1769. A petition was preſented, ſigned by Mr. Danforth, preſident of the council at Boſton, praying that the revenue acts might be repealed. The petition was penned in the moſt modeſt manner, with a promiſe, that if theſe acts were repealed, the people would make an ample compenſation by taxing themſelves. Great debates aroſe in both houſes concerning the petition, thoſe of the antiminiſterial party making uſe of the ſame arguments which had been urged in the debate concerning the ſtamp-act. The lords agreed to addreſs his majeſty on the American affairs; and their reſolution being adhered to by the commons, became the joint act of both. By theſe reſolutions it was declared, that all the acts made in the different colonies, which tended towards throwing off the ſovereignty of the Britiſh parliament, were illegal, unconſtitutional, and derogatory to the crown and dignity of his majeſty. It was farther reſolved, that the town of Boſton was in a ſtate of the utmoſt diſorder and confuſion, diſturbed by riots and tumults of a dangerous nature, in which the officers of the revenue had been obſtructed in the diſcharge of their duty, and their lives endangered: that neither the council of the province, nor the ordinary magiſtrates, had exerted their authority for ſuppreſſing theſe riots and tumults; and that the execution of the laws would be rendered abortive, without the aſſiſtance of a military force to ſupport the civil power, and protect the officers of the cuſtoms: that the reſolutions of the town meetings in Boſton were unconſtitutional, and calculated to excite ſedition and inſurrection againſt the government. It was alſo agreed to by both houſes, that all thoſe who had written circular letters to the other colonies, were guilty of a high indignity to the crown, and that they had committed a daring inſult on the legiſlative power of Great Britain. In the end, his majeſty was deſired to iſſue a ſpecial commiſſion, to enquire into the cauſes of theſe diſorders, according to the ſtatute 30th of Henry VIII. The debates on this occaſion, with reſpect to his majeſty granting writs of Habeas Corpus, to bring over the perſons concerned in the riots, to be tried in England by virtue of ſpecial commiſſions, was ſtrongly and learnedly oppoſed in both houſes.

The arguments made uſe of by thoſe who oppoſed adminiſtration, were very rational and conſiſtent with the ſpirit of our moſt excellent conſtitution; and the miniſtry were ſo ſenſible of the error they had committed, that they became weak and languid in their anſwers. They referred back to the repeal of the ſtamp-act, and imputed all the troubles which had happened in America to the ill-judged lenity ſhewn on that occaſion: that nothing but the vigorous uſe of coercive authority could ever reduce them to obedience, and convince them of the neceſſity of their dependence on the mother country: that unleſs this meaſure was adopted, the moſt flagrant acts of treaſon and rebellion, with all other public crimes, might be committed with impunity: that ſuch crimes had been already committed, and being attended with ſeveral circumſtances of an aggravated nature, the perpetrators were not objects of compaſſion: that, with reſpect to there being no colonies in America when the act of Henry VIII. was made, it did not in the leaſt apply to the argument in hand, for the act was made for the trial of all his majeſty's ſubjects who ſhould happen to commit crimes in any part of the world. For example; ſuppoſing a ſhip being at anchor near an iſland not belonging to Britain, and two perſons going on ſhore, fight, and one of them is killed; then by the above act, a ſpecial commiſſion is granted by the king for the trial of the offender, in whatever country he pleaſes. They concluded by taking notice, that the revival of the act was not to promote puniſhment, but to preſerve peace; and that the coloniſts, ſeeing the vigorous meaſures which the government intended to purſue, might be brought back to a ſenſe of their duty. Such were the hopes of adminiſtration at that time; but experience, as will appear in the ſequel, has convinced us, that they were wrong in their conjectures, and in all their meaſures.

During theſe debates in parliament, Mr. Wilkes publiſhed a letter, written by lord Barrington, ſecretary at war, to the juſtices of the county of Surry, to which he prefixed an introduction that gave great offence to the houſe of lords, who voted it, "an inſolent, ſcandalous and ſeditious libel, tending to inflame and ſtir up the minds of his majeſty's ſubjects to ſedition, and to a total ſubverſion of all good order and legal government." The lords then complained to the commons, who confirmed the vote of the peers, expelled Mr. Wilkes their houſe, and ordered a new writ to be iſſued for the county of Middleſex: Mr. Wilkes was, however, unanimouſly re-choſen, and again expelled by the commons, who at the ſame time declared him incapable of being a member of that houſe. On the thirteenth of April a new election for the county of Middleſex came on at Brentford. The candidates were, Mr. Wilkes, Mr. Luttrell, Mr. Serjeant Whitaker, and Mr. Roach, when Mr. Wilkes had a majority of eight hundred and forty-ſeven votes; notwithſtanding which he was rejected by the houſe of commons, and Mr. Luttrell declared duly elected. No public meaſure, ſince the acceſſion of the preſent royal family, had excited ſo general an alarm, or cauſed ſo univerſal a diſcontent as the preſent; nor was ever oppoſed with more firmneſs, or debated with greater ability. At the ſame time a great number of maſterly writings were publiſhed, ſo that the affair was thoroughly diſcuſſed both within doors and without.

On the ninth of May his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne: and, on the twenty-fourth of May, the freeholders of Middleſex, who thought themſelves particularly injured by the deciſion of the houſe of commons in favour of Mr. Luttrell, preſented the following petition to his majeſty:

"Moſt gracious ſovereign,

"We, your majeſty's dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the freeholders of the county of Middleſex, beg leave, with all affectionate ſubmiſſion and humility, to throw ourſelves at your royal feet, and humbly to implore your paternal attention to thoſe grievances of which this county and the whole nation complain, and thoſe fearful apprehenſions with which the whole Britiſh empire is moſt juſtly alarmed.

"With great grief and ſorrow, we have long beheld the endeavours of certain evil-minded perſons, who attempt to infuſe into your royal mind, notions and opinions of the moſt dangerous and pernicious tendency, and who promote and counſel ſuch meaſures, as cannot fail to deſtroy that harmony and confidence, which ſhould ever ſubſiſt between a juſt and virtuous prince, and a free and loyal people.

"For this diſaffected purpoſe, they have introduced into every part of the adminiſtration of our happy, legal conſtitution, a certain unlimited and indefinite diſcretionary power; to prevent which is the ſole aim of all our laws, and was the ſole cauſe of all thoſe diſturbances and revolutions which formerly diſtracted this unhappy country; for our anceſtors, by their own fatal experience well knew, that in a ſtate where diſcretion begins, law, liberty, and ſafety end. Under the pretence of this diſcretion, or, as it was formerly, and has been lately called, law of ſtate, we have ſeen

"Engliſh ſubjects, and even a member of the Britiſh legiſlature, arreſted by virtue of a general-warrant, iſſued by a ſecretary of ſtate, contrary to the law of the land—

"Their houſes rifled and plundered, their papers ſeized, and uſed as evidence upon trial—

"Their bodies committed to cloſe impriſonment—

"The Habeas Corpus eluded—

"Trial by jury diſcountenanced, and the firſt law-officer of the crown publicly inſinuating, that juries are not to be truſted—

"Printers puniſhed by the miniſtry in the ſupreme court without a trial by their equals, without any trial at all—

"The remedy of the law for falſe impriſonment, barred and defeated—

"The plaintiff and his attorney, for their appeal to the law of the land, puniſhed by expences and impriſonment, and made, by forced engagements, to deſiſt from their legal claim—

"A writing determined to be a libel by a court where it was not cognizable in the firſt inſtance; contrary to law, becauſe all appeal is thereby cut off, and inferior courts and juries influenced by ſuch pre-determinations—

"A perſon condemned in the ſaid court, as the author of the ſuppoſed libel, unheard, without defence or trial—

"Unjuſt treatment of petitions, by ſelecting only ſuch parts as might be wreſted to criminate the petitioner, and refuſing to hear thoſe which might procure him redreſs—

"The thanks of one branch of the legiſlature propoſed by a miniſter to be given to an acknowledged offender for his offence, with the declared intention of ſcreening him from law—

"Attachments wreſted from their original intent of removing obſtructions to the proceedings of law, to puniſh, by ſentence of arbitrary fine and impriſonment, without trial or appeal, ſuppoſed offences committed out of court—

"Perpetual impriſonment of an Engliſhman, without trial, conviction, or ſentence, by the ſame mode of attachment, wherein the ſame perſon is at once party, accuſer, judge, and jury—

"Inſtead of the antient and legal civil police, the military introduced at every opportunity, unneceſſarily and unlawfully patroling the ſtreets, to the alarm and terror of the inhabitants—

"The lives of many of your majeſty's innocent ſubjects deſtroyed by military execution—

"Such military execution ſolemnly adjudged to be legal—

"Murder abetted, encouraged, and rewarded—

"The civil magiſtracy rendered contemptible by the appointment of improper and incapable perſons—

"The civil magiſtrates tampered with by adminiſtration, and neglecting and refuſing to diſcharge their duty—

"Mobs and riots hired and raiſed by the miniſtry, in order to juſtify and recommend their own illegal proceedings, and to prejudice your majeſty's mind by falſe inſinuations againſt the loyalty of your majeſty's ſubjects—

"The freedom of election violated by corrupt and undue influence, by unpuniſhed violence and murder—

"The juſt verdicts of juries, and the opinion of the judges, over-ruled by falſe repreſentations to your majeſty; and the determinations of the law ſet aſide, by new, unprecedented, and dangerous means; thereby leaving the guilty without reſtraint, the injured without redreſs, and the lives of your majeſty's ſubjects at the mercy of every ruffian protected by adminiſtration—

"Obſolete and vexatious claims of the crown ſet on foot for partial and election purpoſes—

"Partial attacks on the liberty of the preſs: the moſt daring and pernicious libels againſt the conſtitution, and againſt the liberty of the ſubject, being allowed to paſs unnoticed, whilſt the ſlighteſt libel againſt a miniſter is puniſhed with the utmoſt rigour—

"Wicked attempts to increaſe and eſtabliſh a ſtanding army, by endeavouring to veſt in the crown an unlimited power over the militia; which, ſhould they ſucceed, muſt, ſooner or later, ſubvert the conſtitution, by augmenting the power of adminiſtration in proportion to their delinquency—

"Repeated endeavours to diminiſh the importance of members of parliament individually, in order to render them more dependent on adminiſtration collectively. Even threats have been employed by miniſters to ſuppreſs the freedom of debate; and the wrath of parliament denounced againſt meaſures authorized by the law of the land—

"Reſolutions of one branch of the legiſlature, ſet up as the law of the land, being a direct uſurpation of the rights of the two other branches, and therefore a manifeſt infringement of the conſtitution—

"Public money ſhamefully ſquandered and unaccounted for, and all enquiry into the cauſe of arrears in the civil liſt, prevented by the miniſtry—

"Enquiry into a pay-maſter's public accounts ſtopped in the exchequer, though the ſums unaccounted for by that pay-maſter amounted to above forty millions ſterling—

"Public loans perverted to private miniſterial purpoſes—

"Proſtitution of public honours and rewards to men, who can neither plead public virtue nor ſervices—

"Irreligion and immorality, ſo eminently diſcountenanced by your majeſty's royal example, encouraged by adminiſtration both by example and precept—

"The ſame diſcretion has been extended, by the ſame evil counſellors, to your majeſty's dominions in America, and has produced to our ſuffering fellow-ſubjects in that part of the world, grievances and apprehenſions ſimilar to thoſe of which we complain at home.

"Moſt gracious ſovereign,

"Such are the grievances and apprehenſions which have long diſcontented and diſturbed the greateſt and beſt part of your majeſty's loyal ſubjects. Unwilling, however, to interrupt your royal repoſe, though ready to lay down our lives and fortunes for your majeſty's ſervice, and for the conſtitution, as by law eſtabliſhed, we have waited patiently, expecting a conſtitutional remedy by the means of our own repreſentatives: but our legal and free choice having been repeatedly rejected, and the right of election now finally taken from us, by the unprecedented ſeating of a candidate who was never choſen by the county, and who, even to become a candidate, was obliged fraudulently to vacate his ſeat in parliament, under the pretence of an inſignificant place, invited thereto by the prior declaration of a miniſter, that whoever oppoſed our choice, though but with four votes, ſhould be declared member for the county. We ſee ourſelves, by this laſt act, deprived even of the franchiſes of Engliſhmen, reduced to the moſt abject ſtate of ſlavery, and left without hopes or means of redreſs but from your majeſty or God.

"Deign then, moſt gracious ſovereign, to liſten to the prayer of the moſt faithful of your majeſty's ſubjects; and to baniſh from your royal favour, truſt, and confidence, for ever, thoſe evil and pernicious counſellors, who have endeavoured to alienate the affection of your majeſty's moſt ſincere and dutiful ſubjects, and whoſe ſuggeſtions tend to deprive your people of their deareſt and moſt eſſential rights, and who have traiterouſly dared to depart from the ſpirit and letter of thoſe laws which have ſecured the crown of theſe realms to the houſe of Brunſwic, in which we make our moſt earneſt prayers to God, that it may continue untarniſhed to the lateſt poſterity."

The city of London, and moſt of the counties in England, followed the example of Middleſex, and preſented petitions and remonſtrances to the throne; but the only anſwer they all received was, that his majeſty would abide by, and not do any thing without the conſent of his parliament.

A. D. 1770. The parliament met on the ninth of January; and, in his majeſty's ſpeech, not the leaſt notice was taken of the petitions and remonſtrances from the different counties relative to the Middleſex election. The chief things principally pointed out were, the diſtracted ſtate of America, and the diſtemper which had broke out among the horned cattle. The former was, in the ſtrongeſt terms, recommended to their ſerious attention, as a thing of the utmoſt importance to the dignity of government. The other was mentioned as a moſt dreadful calamity to the nation in general; and it was recommended to every one to exert themſelves in endeavouring to put a ſtop to the infection, before it ſhould ſpread any farther.

This ſpeech was ſeverely handled by the public in general, who thought that nothing ſhould have been ſo much touched on as the petitions and remonſtrances. Ridicule was circulated with great freedom; eſpecially as the exiſtence of the diſtemper among the horned cattle was not believed to be of ſo univerſal a nature as had been inſinuated and repreſented. Some very remarkable changes now took place in the miniſtry. The ſeals were taken from lord Camden, and the honourable Charles York was created chancellor in his room, but he died within three days afterwards; and then the chancery was put into commiſſion, the ſeals being delivered to baron Smythe, and the juſtices Bathurſt and Aſton. The marquis of Granby reſigned all his places, except the royal regiment of blues, and was ſucceeded as maſter of the ordnance by general Conway. The duke of Beaufort reſigned the place of maſter of the horſe to the queen; the earl of Huntingdon his place of groom of the ſtole; and the duke of Mancheſter, with the earl of Coventry, their places of lords of the bedchamber. Sir John Cuſt, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, reſigned at the ſame time, owing to his infirm ſtate of health; and Sir Fletcher Norton, a gentleman who had made a very diſtinguiſhed figure at the bar, was choſen in his ſtead. The duke of Grafton alſo reſigned the place of firſt lord of the treaſury, and was ſucceeded by lord North, chancellor of the exchequer.

The firſt ſubject of parliamentary enquiry, was the validity of the Middleſex election; but after warm debates it was held, by a conſiderable majority, that no court of law was to meddle with any of their rules and orders. This meaſure aſtoniſhed the whole nation; and many perſons began to look upon the houſe of commons as a ſtanding council for the crown. Nor was this important ſubject agitated with leſs heat in the houſe of lords. The earl of Chatham, with lord Camden, and many other peers, oppoſed it with great ſtrength of argument, and produced proofs from many of our law books, and parliamentary journals, that no ſuch ſtep had ever been taken, not even in the moſt deſpotic reigns. But notwithſtanding the force of theſe arguments, miniſterial intereſt prevailed; and the proceedings of the houſe of commons, in the affair of the Middleſex election, were all juſt and equitable.

A motion was then made to bring in a bill to diſqualify certain officers of the revenues from voting for members of parliament: this motion was rejected by a very great majority. The popular party next deſired, that all the papers, containing a liſt of the expences of government, ſhould be laid before them. It was ſaid, in ſupport of the motion, that the civil-liſt revenue, if miſapplied, inſtead of maintaining the dignity of the crown, ſerved only to beſiege it with paraſites; and in the place of promoting arts and induſtry, to ſubvert the liberties of the people.

To this and other arguments it was anſwered by thoſe who ſtood up for the miniſtry, that if an application had been now made for an additional ſum to make good any deficiency in the civil-liſt eſtabliſhment, an enquiry into the cauſes of it would be natural and juſtifiable; and it would be but reaſonable that the miniſtry, in ſuch a circumſtance, ſhould give the utmoſt ſatisfaction to the people; nay, that it was even their duty to do ſo, and ſhew the reaſons why the proviſion already made was not ſufficient; but till ſuch a requiſition was made, it would be improper and very diſreſpectful to the crown, to ſcrutinize into the manner in which the money for the ſupport of the royal family had been expended. It was urged farther, that a certain ſum of money was allowed annually for the ſupport of the civil-liſt; and while the expences do not exceed that ſum, there can be no reaſon for making any enquiry. They concluded by taking notice, that as the civil-liſt was the property of the crown, his majeſty had a right to diſpoſe of it in whatever manner he pleaſed. At laſt, the motion being put, it was rejected by a great majority. This being thus diſpoſed of, the next thing was to take into conſideration the ſtate of the colonies in America. A petition had been preſented by the merchants trading to North America, ſetting forth the great hardſhips they laboured under in conſequence of an act, by which a duty had been laid on ſome trifling articles exported from Great Britain; and this had ſo much enraged the people, that they refuſed to purchaſe the goods, after they had been ſent there at a conſiderable expence. This affair being of a very ſerious nature, the houſe took it into conſideration, and repealed every part of it, except what related to ſea, which was ſtill continued. The debates concerning this bill were managed with great force of argument on both ſides, for the popular party ſought a repeal of the whole; while the miniſtry inſiſted that the Americans, inſtead of deſerving any ſuch indulgence, ought to have had more ſevere laws binding upon them. After this, another bill was brought into the houſe of commons by Mr. George Grenville, one of the leading men in the oppoſition, for regulating the proceedings on controverted elections; a bill equally juſt and popular, and in which all the ſubjects of Great Britain were more or leſs concerned. While the houſe of commons were engaged on this ſubject, the city of London met in their common-hall, and agreed upon another petition, addreſs, and remonſtrance, for redreſs of grievances in the affair of the Middleſex election. In this addreſs it was expreſsly declared, that the houſe of commons had acted in the moſt unconſtitutional manner, and therefore they prayed that they might be diſſolved, that they might be left at liberty to make a free choice. In anſwer to this his majeſty told them, that he had never done any thing but by the advice and conſent of his parliament, and therefore he could not comply with their requeſt.

Violent diſputes aroſe in parliament on this affair, and many opprobrious expreſſions were made uſe of on both ſides. It was ſaid, that the citizens of London were the ſupport of the government on every occaſion; that it had been the cuſtom, time immemorial, to conſult them on the moſt important matters; to which the miniſtry anſwered, that no affront had been offered to the citizens of London, nor any thing denied them, except ſuch as was, in its own nature, improper to be granted. Towards the cloſe of this ſeſſion of parliament, ſeveral propoſals were made in the houſe of lords relative to the ſtate of affairs in America, which were chiefly ſupported by the duke of Richmond. Miniſtry were now perplexed to the utmoſt; they ſaw no other method left, but that of adjourning the debate till a future day, well knowing that the parliament would be prorogued. On the nineteenth of May his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he applauded both houſes for the zeal they had ſhewn in ſupporting the intereſt and honour of the nation. He aſſured them that he ſhould, on all occaſions, ſeek the happineſs of his people; and that it ſhould be the ſole object of his care, to watch over their intereſts. He concluded, by recommending to them the preſervation of public peace, and the diſcountenancing of tumultuous meetings of the people, which, if encouraged, muſt end in general confuſion.

After the riſing of the parliament, advices were received from America of a violent tumult that had happened at Boſton, occaſioned by a quarrel between the ſoldiers, and the journeymen and apprentices belonging to the rope-makers, in which the former unfortunately fired among the latter, whereby ſome were killed, and others wounded. Different accounts of this tranſaction were ſent to England; but one from captain Preſton, who happened that day to be captain of the guard, ſeems to be the moſt authentic. He obſerved, that it was matter of too great notoriety to need proofs, that the arrival of his majeſty's troops in Boſton was extremely obnoxious to its inhabitants. That the people ever uſed all means in their power to weaken the regiments, and to bring them into contempt, by promoting deſertions, and by groſly and falſly propagating untruths concerning them. That on the arrival of the ſixty-fourth and ſixty-fifth regiments, their ardour ſeemingly began to abate; but that the ſame ſpirit revived immediately on its being known that thoſe regiments were ordered for Halifax. That after their embarkation, one of their juſtices, from the ſeat of juſtice, declared, "That the ſoldiers muſt now take care of themſelves, nor truſt too much to their arms, for they were but an handful." That this alarming declaration was ſucceeded by ſeveral diſputes, between the townſpeople and ſoldiers of both regiments; and that on the ſecond of March two ſoldiers of the twenty-ninth going through a rope-walk, belonging to Mr. Gray, the rope-maker inſultingly aſked them, if they would empty a vault. That this had, unfortunately, the deſired effect; by provoking the ſoldiers, blows enſued, and both parties ſuffered greatly in the fray. That the hatred of the inhabitants towards the troops had now arrived to ſuch an height, that the fifth and ſixth of March were privately agreed on for a general engagement; in conſequence of which, ſeveral of the militia came from the country armed, to join their friends, threatening to deſtroy any who ſhould oppoſe them. That on the fifth, about eight o'clock at night, two ſoldiers were attacked and beat. That about nine, ſome of the guard informed him (captain Preſton) that the inhabitants were aſſembling to attack the troops; that the bells were ringing as a ſignal, and not for fire; and that they intended to fire the beacon, in order to bring in the diſtant people of the country. That upon this intelligence, being captain of the day, he immediately repaired to the main guard, and in his way ſaw the people in great commotion. That ſoon after, about an hundred paſſed him, and went towards the cuſtom houſe, where the king's money was lodged, ſurrounded the centinel poſted there, and with clubs and other weapons threatened to execute their vengeance on him. That he (captain Preſton) fearing their plundering the king's cheſt, ſent a non-commiſſioned officer and twelve men to protect both the centinel and the king's money, and followed himſelf to prevent diſorder. That the ſoldiers ruſhed through the people, and by charging their bayonets in a half circle, kept them at a diſtance. That the mob then increaſed greatly, and were very outrageous, ſtriking bludgeons againſt each other, and calling out, "Come out you raſcals, you bloody backs, you lobſter ſcoundrels; fire if you dare; fire and be damned; we know you dare not;" with much more ſuch opprobrious language. That they then advanced to the points of the bayonets, ſtruck ſome of them, and even the muzzles of the pieces, and ſeemed to be endeavouring to cloſe with the ſoldiers. That ſome well behaved perſons then aſked him (captain Preſton) if he intended to fire? That he anſwered, no; but while he was ſpeaking, a ſoldier having received a ſevere blow with a ſtick, inſtantly fired. That he immediately reprimanded him; and while he was thus engaged, received a moſt violent blow on his own arm. That a general attack was then made on the men by heavy clubs and ſnow balls; and ſome perſons from behind cried out, "Damn your bloods, why don't you fire?" That inſtantly three or four of the ſoldiers fired, one after another, and directly after, three more in the ſame confuſion and hurry. That the mob then ran away, except three unhappy men, who inſtantly expired, in which number was Mr. Gray, at whoſe rope-walk the prior quarrel took place. That one more was ſince dead; three were dangerouſly, and four ſlightly wounded. That on his (captain Preſton's) aſking the ſoldiers why they fired without orders? they ſaid, they heard the word "Fire," and ſuppoſed it came from him.

Captain Preſton concludes his account in the following words: "On the examination before the juſtices, they have ſworn that I uſed the word Fire; and ſo bitter and inveterate are the malcontents againſt the officers and troops, that I am, though perfectly innocent, under moſt unhappy circumſtances, having nothing in reaſon to expect but the loſs of life in a very ignominious manner, without the interpoſition of his majeſty's goodneſs." This gentleman was, ſome time after, tried at Boſton, and honourably acquitted.

An affair of a very ſingular and ſuſpicious nature, now engaged the attention of the public. About four o'clock in the morning of the twenty-ſeventh of July, a moſt dreadful fire was diſcovered to have broke out in the great dock-yard at Portſmouth. It burnt with the moſt rapid fury; and communicating itſelf with the hemp-houſe and other offices, conſumed every thing before it. Whether this was an accident, or the work of ſome vile wretch or incendiary, has not yet been diſcovered, and perhaps never will. Some impoſtors, indeed, pretended to have been concerned in it, particularly one Dudley, who ſince that time has been tranſported for perjury; and the other, whoſe name was Britain, has been ſince executed for forgery. The moſt remarkable circumſtance attending this fatal affair was, the fire was diſcovered in five different places at once, which gave ſtrong ſuſpicions that more than one perſon muſt have been concerned; for accidental fires generally break out in one place only.

In the courſe of this year the wretched inhabitants of Corſica felt all the ſeverity of a French deſpotic government. Many of them ſtill refuſed to ſubmit; and ſuch of them as were taken were inſtantly put to death. Some of them were tranſported to France, but this was little more than ſhifting the ſcene; for as in Corſica they beheld the ruin of their country, ſo in France they ſaw a whole nation of people ruined. But here their ſufferings did not end; for ſuch as were brought to France, after a journey of ſix hundred miles on foot from Marſeilles to Breſt, were put on board ſeveral veſſels, and ſent as ſlaves to the Weſt-Indies.

This year a war was likely to have broke out between Great Britain and Spain. The governor of Buenos Ayres had obliged the ſmall force ſtationed at Falkland's iſlands, to leave them, and return to England. All the conditions the Spaniſh commodore would grant, were, that the Engliſh ſhould immediately, or as ſoon as poſſible, not exceeding forty days, remove from the ſettlement; and what ſtores they left behind them, ſhould be produced as ſoon as orders for that purpoſe arrived from Spain. This was one of the greateſt inſults, perhaps, that had ever been offered to the Britiſh flag; but the Engliſh, who had not ſtrength ſufficient to defend themſelves, were obliged to comply, and in September arrived at Portſmouth. Such a flagrant act of hoſtility, which it was imagined would have cauſed an immediate rupture with Spain, ſwelled the tide of domeſtic inquietudes, which now ran high againſt the miniſtry, with whoſe conduct the people in general were diſſatisfied. Preſs-warrants had been iſſued for raiſing ſeamen; but the legality of them was in ſeveral places called in queſtion. In the city of London, Mr. Croſby, the lord-mayor, refuſed to back the preſs-warrants; Mr. Alderman Wilkes diſcharged a man who had been impreſſed; and although the opinion of council was taken on this important ſubject, yet, among the more ſenſible and judicious, the practice itſelf was looked upon as inconſiſtent with the nature of the Britiſh conſtitution. Such as were averſe to a war, or dreaded the conſequences of it, looked back with reſentment to the laſt peace, and to thoſe who had adviſed the making of it. All the arguments made uſe of in defence of it were treated with the utmoſt contempt; and the whole was conſidered as a meaſure which, in its conſequences, muſt for ever diſhonour the Britiſh nation. Indeed, many ſober perſons, whoſe minds were free from paſſion or prejudice, and who, judging of the diſputes between the rival nations only by the ſame equitable and diſintereſted principles which ſhould at all times take place between private perſons, had not, at that time, in general, diſapproved of the conditions of peace, could not now refrain from the utmoſt indignation, at beholding the flagrant inſult we had received from an enemy we had ſo lately in our power to chaſtize, and from thinking that thoſe who ſaid, that the fruits of one of the moſt glorious and ſucceſsful wars mentioned in hiſtory, had been bartered away for an inglorious and inſecure peace, had but too much reaſon on their ſide; and therefore there was no wonder that the people ſhould find fault with the meaſures of adminiſtration. In this ſtate of anxiety, doubt, and expectation, all people longed, in the moſt eager manner, for the meeting of parliament. No change had taken place in adminiſtration during the receſs; and as lord North had ſucceſsfully weathered all the ſtorms of the winter, ſupported by a prodigious majority in both houſes, he ſeemed now to be as ſecurely fixed in his ſeat at the head of the treaſury, as the precarious circumſtances of the times would admit of. The ſtate of the different parties in oppoſition had not hitherto ſuffered any material change. The death of Mr. Grenville, which happened in the beginning of November, having left that party to which he belonged without a leader, ſome of the moſt ſanguine in oppoſition, went over to the court. The party that adhered to the marquis of Rockingham, and who were called the Whig paaty, ſtill adhered to their former principles; and ſuch as were attached to the earl of Chatham, earl Temple, and the earl of Shelburne, conſiſting of a mixture of whigs and tories, generally coincided with the Rockingham party.

On the thirteenth of November the parliament met, and the ſeſſion was opened by his majeſty with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he told them, that the Spaniſh governor of Buenos Ayres had acted in ſuch a manner, as was inconſiſtent with the honour of Great Britain, and demanded the utmoſt ſatisfaction; that, under theſe circumſtances, an immediate demand had been made for proper ſatisfaction, in conſequence of the injury received; that the neceſſary preparations had been made, without loſs of time, in order to be enabled to obtain juſtice, in caſe the requiſition to the court of Spain ſhould fail in procuring it. An aſſurance was given that theſe preparations ſhould not be diſcontinued, until proper reparation had been made; and that ſufficient proofs ſhould be given, that all other powers on the continent diſapproved of ſuch proceedings. He ſaid, he had called them together ſo early, that they might be ready to aſſiſt him with the beſt of their advice, and provide for the honour and ſecurity of the nation. With reſpect to the colonies in America, it was obſerved, that many of the factious people had deſiſted from thoſe combinations into which they had inadvertently entered, and which had been attended with many fatal conſequences to their peaceable fellow ſubjects; that the people of Boſton, and in general the inhabitants of the province of Maſſachuſett's Bay, could not yet be brought into a proper ſtate of obedience, but continued in carrying on the ſame violent and unwarrantable practices as before. He added, that the eſtimates for the preſent year would naturally exceed the former; and that it would be neither conſulting the inclinations nor the intereſts of his people, if they ſhould decline any expence that ſhould ſeem neceſſary towards promoting the national honour: that as to foreign meaſures, no doubt was held that there could be any other conteſt, than who ſhould appear moſt forward in ſupport of the common cauſe, in upholding the reputation, and promoting the proſperity of the kingdom. He concluded by telling them, that the crown had no intereſt ſeparate from that of the people; that they were all members of the ſame body; and, conſiſtent with the order of nature and the laws of ſociety, they muſt ſtand or fall together.

In the addreſſes that were preſented by both houſes, the moſt unreſerved aſſurances were given, that every degree of requiſite ſupport ſhould be chearfully granted. The moſt unreſerved confidence was placed in his majeſty; and the commons concluded by a declaration, that if any hopes had been conceived, or it ſhould have been any where ſurmiſed that there were any ſuch differences ſubſiſting among the people, as could, in the leaſt degree, abate the ardour of their affectionate attachment to his majeſty, or prevent their joining, as one man, in maintaining unſullied the luſtre of the crown, and preſerving undiminiſhed the rights of the people, they would, by their proceedings, convince the world how falſe and ſcandalous all ſuch ſurmiſes were; and make it manifeſt that, whenever they were called upon in the cauſe of their king and country, there would be but one heart and one voice among them. However, notwithſtanding theſe addreſſes were carried by a great majority, there aroſe conſiderable debates upon them; and it was aſſerted, in poſitive terms, that the conduct of our miniſtry had neither been honeſt in the deſign, nor able in the execution; they had loſt the confidence of the people, and yet imagined they would ſupport them; that they had threatened the colonies with unrelenting ſeverity, in purſuit of an unconſtitutional meaſure, and yet ſuppoſed that we ſhall ſuffer nothing from an alienation of their affection; that Ireland was ruled with a rod of iron, and yet they conſtantly declared that they were not making ſtrides towards arbitrary power. Laſtly, that with reſpect to the deſigns of our enemies, they had been totally blind and improvident, and yet that we were in no danger.

After the addreſs had been preſented, the duke of Richmond in the houſe of lords, and Mr. Dowdeſwell in that of the commons, both made motions, that all the papers which had been ſent to the miniſtry ſhould be produced, but this the miniſtry would by no means comply with; and the queſtion being put, the motion was rejected by a great majority. Many people blamed the miniſtry for their conduct in this affair; for they thought, that as parliament alone could grant the neceſſary ſupplies, ſo they ought to have had the peruſal of all the papers relating to the controverſy; and it is an eſtabliſhed principle, that the man who acts from motives of integrity, need never be either afraid or aſhamed to have his conduct enquired into.

Soon after the riſing of parliament, another addreſs, remonſtrance, and petition, was preſented by the city of London; in which, after profeſſions of the greateſt loyalty and affection, they deplored the ſevere cenſure caſt upon them by the anſwer to their former remonſtrance; execrated the malignant and pernicious advice which had ſuggeſted it; renewed their application in the ſtrongeſt terms, for the diſſolution of the preſent, and the calling a new parliament; expatiated on the ſecret machinations, and inſidious attempts of evil counſellors; and inſiſted ſtrongly on the indiſpenſible right of the ſubject being repreſented by a full, free parliament. His majeſty ſaid, that he could give them no other anſwer than he had done before. On which Mr. Beckford, the father of the city, who at that time was lord-mayor, with an honeſt boldneſs and freedom peculiar to himſelf, made an immediate and ſpirited reply, which he concluded in the following words: "That whoever had dared already, or ſhould hereafter endeavour, by falſe inſinuations and ſuggeſtions, to alienate his majeſty's affections from his loyal ſubjects in general, and the city of London in particular, and to withdraw his confidence and regard from his people, was an enemy to his majeſty's perſon and family, and a betrayer of our happy conſtitution, as it was eſtabliſhed at the glorious and neceſſary revolution." This ſpeech was highly applauded by the citizens; nor did the death of Mr. Beckford prevent another addreſs, which was the third preſented by the city this year.

A. D. 1771.

The following declaration, on the twenty-ſecond of January, was delivered by prince Maſſerano, ambaſſador extraordinary from his catholic majeſty to our court.

"His Britannic majeſty having complained of the violence which was committed on the tenth of June 1770, at the iſland commonly called the Great Malouine, and by the Engliſh Falkland's Iſland, in obliging, by force, the commander and ſubjects of his Britannic majeſty to evacuate the port by them called Egmont, a ſtep offenſive to the honour of his crown; the prince de Maſſerano, ambaſſador extraordinary of his catholic majeſty, has received orders to declare, and declares, that his catholic majeſty, conſidering the deſire with which he is animated for peace, and for the maintenance of good harmony with his Britannic majeſty; and reflecting that this event might interrupt it; has ſeen with diſpleaſure this expedition tending to diſturb it, and in the perſuaſion in which he is, of the reciprocity of ſentiments of his Britannic majeſty, and of its being far from his intention to authorize any thing that might diſturb the good underſtanding between the two courts, his catholic majeſty does diſavow the ſaid violent enterprize; and in conſequence, the prince de Maſſerano declares, that his catholic majeſty engages to give immediate orders, that all things ſhall be reſtored in the Great Malouine, at the port called Egmont, preciſely in the ſtate in which they were before the tenth of June, 1770. For which purpoſe his catholic majeſty will give orders to one of his officers, to deliver up to the officer authorized by his Britannic majeſty, the port and fort called Egmont, with all the artillery, ſtores, and effects of his Britannic majeſty and his ſubjects, which were at that place the day abovementioned, agreeable to the inventory which has been made of them.

"The prince de Maſſerano declares, at the ſame time, in the name of the king his maſter, that the engagement of his ſaid catholic majeſty, to reſtore to his Britannic majeſty the poſſeſſion of the port and fort called Egmont, cannot, nor ought, in any wiſe, to affect the queſtion of the prior right of ſovereignty of the Malouine iſlands, otherwiſe called Falkland's iſlands."

"In witneſs whereof, &c."

(L. S.) Signed le prince de Maſſerano.

The earl of Rochfort ſignified the acceptance of this declaration in the following terms:

"His catholic majeſty having authorized the prince de Maſſerano, his ambaſſador extraordinary, to offer in his majeſty's name to the king of Great Britain, a ſatisfaction for the injury done to his Britannic majeſty, by diſpoſſeſſing him of the port and fort of Port Egmont; and the ſaid ambaſſador having this day ſigned a declaration, which he has juſt delivered to me, expreſſing therein that his catholic majeſty, being deſirous to reſtore the good harmony and friendſhip which before ſubſiſted between the two crowns, does diſavow the expedition againſt Port Egmont, in which force has been uſed againſt his Britannic majeſty's poſſeſſions, commander, and ſubjects; and does alſo engage, that all things ſhall be immediately reſtored to the preciſe ſituation in which they ſtood before the tenth of June, 1770. And that his catholic majeſty ſhall give orders, in conſequence, to one of his officers, to deliver up to the officer authorized by his Britannic majeſty, the port and fort of Port Egmont, as alſo all his Britannic majeſty's artillery, ſtores, and effects, as well as thoſe of his ſubjects, according to the inventory which has been made of them. And the ſaid ambaſſador having moreover engaged, in his catholic majeſty's name, that what is contained in the ſaid declaration ſhall be carried into effect by his ſaid catholic majeſty; and that duplicates of his catholic majeſty's orders to his officers, ſhall be delivered into the hands of one of his Britannic majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, within ſix weeks. His ſaid Britannic majeſty, in order to ſhew the ſame friendly diſpoſitions on his part, has authorized me to declare, that he will look upon the declaration of prince de Maſſerano, together with the full performance of the ſaid engagement on the part of his catholic majeſty, as a ſatisfaction for the injury done to the crown of Great Britain. In witneſs whereof, &c."

(L. S.) Signed Rochfort.

Copies of this tranſaction were immediately laid before both houſes of parliament, and it was then moved in the commons, that all the papers relating to the convention ſhould be laid before the houſe, which was complied with, except in one inſtance, that of keeping back ſuch papers as contained the Spaniſh claims to Falkland's iſlands. This occaſioned a warm debate; but the miniſtry ſcreened themſelves under pretence that all the offices had been ſearched, but no more papers could be found. It was then propoſed to preſent an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty for ordering the papers to be laid before them; but this was objected to by the minority, who denied that all the papers had been laid before them. Warm debates enſued in both houſes; but the miniſterial party prevailed, and the addreſs was preſented without any amendment whatever.

The ſpeeches ſaid to have been made in the houſe of commons, had for a conſiderable time been publiſhed by ſome bookſellers, who being cited before the houſe, refuſed to appear; upon which a proclamation was publiſhed, with a reward for apprehending them. This produced the intended effect. J. Wheble, one of theſe perſons, was apprehended and taken before John Wilkes, Eſq. the ſitting alderman at Guildhall; but he finding that the perſon who had apprehended Mr. Wheble had no accuſation againſt him, and only apprehended him on the authority of the proclamation; and at the ſame time Mr. Wheble declaring that the apprehender had forcibly detained him, and brought him there, the alderman immediately diſcharged him, and bound him over to proſecute his accuſer. Mr. Miller, printer of a public paper, was likewiſe taken into cuſtody by a meſſenger from the houſe of commons; who, on his refuſing to go with him, took him by the arm; upon which a conſtable was ſent for, and Mr. Miller gave him charge of the meſſenger for aſſaulting him in his own houſe; whereupon he was carried to the manſion-houſe, and a hearing came on before the lord-mayor, and alderman Wilkes and Oliver. In the mean time the ſerjeant at arms being informed of this tranſaction, came to demand the bodies of the meſſenger and of Mr. Miller; upon which the lord-mayor aſked the meſſenger, if he had applied to a magiſtrate to back the warrant, or to any peace officer of the city to aſſiſt him; and on his replying in the negative, his lordſhip declared, that no power had a right to ſeize a citizen of London, without an order from him or ſome other magiſtrate; and that he was of opinion, the ſeizing of Miller and the warrant were both illegal; he therefore declared Miller to be at liberty, and proceeded to examine witneſſes to prove the aſſault of the meſſenger, which being done, his lordſhip aſked the latter if he would give bail. This he at firſt refuſed to do; but his commitment being actually made out, he thought proper to comply, when himſelf was bound in forty pounds, and two ſureties in twenty pounds, for his appearance at the next ſeſſions at Guildhall.

The houſe of commons was moved with indignation at theſe proceedings, and moſt of the gentlemen in the minority joined in aſſerting the privileges of the houſe; but obſerved, that theſe were not proper times to engage the honour of that houſe in a diſpute with the city of London. The lord-mayor was ordered to attend the houſe the next day, when that magiſtrate juſtified his conduct by his oath of office, which obliged him to preſerve the franchiſes of the citizens from any proceſs of law being ſerved, but by their own officers. It was then moved and carried, that the lord-mayor's clerk ſhould attend with the book of minutes; and he being brought to the houſe, was obliged to eraſe the cogniſance out of the book; and a reſolution was paſſed, that there ſhould be no farther proceedings at law. The lord-mayor, who had been ſummoned to attend, at length appeared in his place; when he produced the charter, and copies of the oath adminiſtered to the city magiſtrates; and alledged, that he could not have acted otherwiſe than he did, without having violated his oath and his duty; that he had acted in defence of the laws of his country, which were manifeſtly invaded, and that he ſhould always glory in having done it. To this it was anſwered, that the privileges and practice of parliament had at all times been invariably the ſame; that the only queſtion now was an exemption claimed by the city of London, through a charter derived from the crown; that the crown could convey no powers through that charter which were not inherent in itſelf, and that it had no power over the privileges of that houſe. That their privileges were a check upon the other branches of the legiſlature; that conſequently their cauſe was the cauſe of liberty, and of the people at large; and if the power of the commons were weakened, the ſecurity of liberty were equally ſo. It was therefore moved, that the diſcharging of Miller from the cuſtody of the meſſenger was a breach of privilege, as was alſo the apprehending of the meſſenger of the houſe for executing their warrant, under pretence of an aſſault; and it was likewiſe a breach of privilege to hold their meſſenger to bail for doing his duty. They then proceeded againſt Mr. Oliver, who was alſo a member, and who, as well as Mr. Braſs Croſby, the lord-mayor, had been refuſed counſel; and Mr. Oliver anſwering, that he avowed and gloried in the fact laid to his charge, it was moved, that he ſhould be ſent to the Tower. Great heats aroſe upon this queſtion, and the ſevereſt cenſures were thrown out; while above thirty gentlemen quitted the houſe in a body. Several attempts were made to bring Mr. Oliver to ſubmiſſion, but he continued inflexible; and the queſtion for his being ſent to the Tower was carried. Two days after Mr. Oliver's commitment, the lord mayor attended at the houſe to receive his ſentence; the crowd was prodigious, and great irregularities were committed; while the ſheriff, attended by the Weſtminſter juſtices, and an army of conſtables, were inſufficient to preſerve order. It was moved, that in conſideration of the lord mayor's ill ſtate of health, he ſhould be taken into the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms; but he refuſed all favour, and was therefore ordered to the Tower. The populace took his horſes from the coach and drew it to Temple-bar; when having conceived ſome ſuſpicion of the deputy-ſerjeant at arms, who attended him, they ſhut the gate; but at the earneſt deſire of the lord mayor, they were reſtrained from intended violence, and proceeded to the manſion-houſe, from whence his lordſhip afterwards was conveyed to the Tower; where he continued with Mr. Oliver, till the prorogation of parliament, which happened on the eighth of May, when his majeſty put an end to the ſeſſion, in the uſual manner, with a moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne. On the twenty-third of July, the aldermen in their ſcarlet gowns, with the common council, proceeded to the Tower, to conduct the lord mayor and alderman Oliver to the manſion houſe in the ſtate coach. There were fifty-three carriages in the train; and the artillery company, in their uniforms, graced the proceſſion. The lord mayor and Mr. Oliver no ſooner appeared at the Tower-gate, than they were ſaluted by twenty-one pieces of cannon belonging to the artillery company, and were received by the people with the loudeſt acclamations of joy, which were continued all the way to the manſion-houſe. At night the city was grandly illuminated, and the licentious populace broke the windows of ſuch houſes as had not lights. Soon after Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Bull were choſen ſheriffs for the city of London and county of Middleſex.

Moſt part of the citizens of London were exaſperated in the higheſt degree againſt parliament, on account of their late proceedings; and nothing was left undone to ſhew their reſentment. A committee was even appointed to carry on a proſecution againſt the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, for the commitment of their magiſtrates; and the moſt eminent counſel were conſulted upon that occaſion: but it was found that no action could be brought upon that ſubject. Recourſe was therefore again had to the hopeleſs reſort of another addreſs, remonſtrance, and petition to the throne; in which, after the other complaints, the impriſonment of the magiſtrates, and the eraſing a judicial record, in order to ſtop the courſe of juſtice were not forgotten. His majeſty, in his anſwer, declared his readineſs to redreſs any real grievances, and that the city of London would always find him diſpoſed to liſten to any of their well founded complaints; but expreſſed his concern to ſee a part of his ſubjects ſtill ſo far miſled and deluded, as to renew in ſuch reprehenſible terms, a requeſt with which he had repeatedly declared he could not comply.

Having thus, in a full manner, given a detail of domeſtic tranſactions, we ſhall take a tranſient view of affairs on the continent, not herein copying the example of ſome of our predeceſſors, who, in order to ſpin out the thread of hiſtorical narration, and to ſwell the ſize of their work, from pecuniary motives, have been very liberal in a dry amplification of matters which are not immediately connected with the hiſtory of England. War between the Turks and Ruſſians was carried on with great vigour, and attended with cruel devaſtations. The Ruſſians were in general victors; but their conqueſts were not obtained without great loſs of men, as well by ſickneſs, as the ſword. The kingdom of Poland was deluged with blood from one extremity to the other: the confederates became more and more inveterate againſt each other, and yet the fertility of the ſoil furniſhed the means of ſubſiſtence. Indeed, it may be juſtly ſaid, that the Ruſſian ambaſſador was the ſovereign of Poland: all orders were iſſued from him, though they were ſanctified by the name of the king.

In France a remarkable revolution, in its internal government, took place. That faithful body of men the parliament of Paris, had long defended the liberties of their fellow ſubjects. The king having ſent for the members to the palace, ordered them to regiſter ſome edicts: this they abſolutely refuſed, and returning to the parliament houſe, entered into a bond to ſtand by each other in doing juſtice, although the conſequence ſhould be death. A body of dragoons ſurrounded the parliament houſe, and forced the clerks to regiſter the edicts; upon which the parliament proteſted, and deputed their preſident to wait on the king. The anſwer they received was, that next day they ſhould be all ſent into baniſhment. This took place, and thoſe venerable guardians of the laws were ſent to different villages, at a great diſtance from their friends and families. Several of the other parliaments in the provinces reſigned their offices in honour of that of Paris.

In the courſe of the following year, a revolution was effected in Sweden without bloodſhed, tumult, or the leaſt oppoſition. The new form of government, eſtabliſhed by the king, conſiſted of fifty-ſeven articles, but they may be all comprized in the following: That the king ſhall, for the future, chuſe the ſenate, or, in other words, he ſhould appoint to that office ſuch as he approved of: that he ſhall aſſemble the ſtates when he pleaſes, and likewiſe when he pleaſes, diſſolve their meeting, ſo as they have ſat at one time full three months: that the taxes ſhall be granted by the ſtates; but if not granted within three months after their meeting, then the old ones ſhall be levied. In caſe of any ſudden exigence, ſuch as the fear of invaſion, the king ſhall impoſe taxes till ſuch time as the ſtates can be called together: that when the ſtates are aſſembled, they are not to deliberate on any thing but what the king ſhall cauſe to be laid before them: that the king ſhall have full power to diſpoſe of the army and navy in whatever manner he pleaſes, and likewiſe to give away all places, either in the civil or military departments. When theſe articles were read, the king ſtood up, and aſked the ſtates, Whether they would give their oath to obſerve the form of government? As they knew it was in vain to diſpute, they all conſented with one voice; after which they were immediately ſworn in the king's preſence, and the ſpeakers of each order ſigned a bond in the name of the reſt. The great work being thus finally accompliſhed, the king ſtood up, and told them, that it was neceſſary they ſhould return thanks to God for bringing about ſo happy an event, without the effuſion of human blood; and then taking a book out of his pocket, the whole aſſembly joined with him in ſinging *Te Deum*, according to the cuſtom of the Lutherans. They were then permitted to kiſs his hand; after which the king departed, and the ſtates ſeparated, without knowing whether they were ever to meet again.

About the ſame time that the above remarkable revolution took place in Sweden, another of a very ſingular nature happened in Denmark; where the two counts, Struenſee and Brandt were accuſed; the firſt of having embezzled from the king's coffers a large ſum, amounting to one hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds ſterling; of having iſſued many orders from the cabinet without the king's knowledge; of having been guilty of criminal converſation with the queen; of having ſecreted from the king ſeveral letters ſent to his majeſty, &c. Count Brandt was accuſed of having been privy to Struenſee's criminal converſation, and all his other crimes, without divulging them. In conſequence of theſe accuſations, a tribunal was appointed for the trial of the queen, and the two counts, at which the latter were ſentenced to loſe their heads, and the queen to baniſhment. The two counts were executed on the twenty-eighth of April; and the queen, after having her two children taken from her, was permitted, by the interceſſion of her royal brother the king of Great Britain, to retire to Zell, in his majeſty's German electorate dominions, where ſhe languiſhed for ſome time, and then died with grief.

Having thus noticed the moſt material foreign tranſactions, let us now return to affairs at home, where, during the receſs of parliament, an event took place, which ſurprized the whole nation, and made way for an act, the next ſeſſions, of a moſt extraordinary nature. The event alluded to was no other than the marriage of his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland with Mrs. Horton, a widow lady, and daughter to lord Irnham, of the kingdom of Ireland. This ſtep of the duke's gave great offence at court, eſpecially as it had been openly acknowledged by the parties, and not concealed in the ſame manner as the marriage of the duke of Glouceſter with the counteſs dowager of Waldegrave.

A. D. 1772. On the twenty-firſt of January the parliament met, and the ſeſſion was opened by his majeſty with a ſpeech from the throne; in which he expreſſed much ſatisfaction, that neither the foreign nor domeſtic ſtate of affairs required their more early attendance: that, now they were aſſembled, they would, no doubt, attend to the intereſts of the nation, and regulate its internal policy, as well as its foreign commerce. They were likewiſe informed that the king of Spain had given up Fort Egmont, and that we were on the beſt terms with that court. He concluded, with recommending to them, to keep the navy on the moſt reſpectable footing, to be ready in caſe of any neceſſity for the future. To this ſpeech addreſſes were preſented in the uſual form; after which the public buſineſs was opened, by making proper enquiries into the ſtate of the navy; and the miniſtry propoſed, that twenty-five thouſand men ſhould be voted for the ſervice of the current year.

Two of our greateſt naval commanders ſtrongly oppoſed the motion, and condemned the then preſent arrangement of the fleet. They obſerved that the force already in the Eaſt Indies was either too great, or too little: that if the appearances of a permanent peace, as held out in the ſpeech, were to be relied on, it was too great, and, in caſe of war, it was inſufficient: that the ſame objections lay to the arrangement at Jamaica, where the ſquadron conſiſted only of about four ſhips, and was altogether unable to protect it, ſuppoſing any danger of an attack. Many ſevere ſarcaſms were levelled at the miniſtry for the futility of their conduct, becauſe they accompanied a ſpeech which breathed nothing but ſentiments of peace, with all the actual preparation for war. At laſt, the queſtion having been put, the motion was carried as uſual, and the miniſtry reigned triumphant. The houſe next took into conſideration a petition for leave, to bring in a bill to excuſe ſome of the clergy from ſubſcribing to the thirty-nine articles of religion. The motion was rejected by a great majority, and not without ſome ſevere ſtrictures on the conduct of thoſe by whom it had been promoted. But of all the buſineſs tranſacted during this ſeſſions, none was conſidered of ſuch importance, as that of a meſſage ſent by his majeſty to the houſe of lords. In this meſſage it was obſerved, that his majeſty being deſirous, from paternal affection to his own family, an anxious concern for the future welfare of his people, and the honour and dignity of his crown, that the right of approving all marriages in the royal family, as a matter of public concern, had always belonged to the princes of this realm; he therefore recommended to both houſes to take it into their ſerious conſideration, whether it may not be wiſe and expedient to ſupply the defects of the laws now in being, and, by ſome new proviſion, more effectually guard the deſcendants of his late majeſty, except ſuch as were already married to foreign princes, from marrying without the approbation of his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, firſt had and obtained. In conſequence of this meſſage, a bill was brought into the houſe of lords, which fully anſwered all the purpoſes intended. This bill was oppoſed, with great ſtrength of argument, by ſome of the moſt reſpectable peers in the nation. All the judges were ſent for to give their opinion, which was, that the marriages of the intermediate branches of the royal family muſt be approved of by the king, but how far that power extended over collateral branches, they could not ſay. At laſt the motion was carried, though not till fourteen lords entered a proteſt againſt it, as being inconſiſtent with the law of nature. In the houſe of commons, the bill met with a much ſtronger repulſe; and thoſe in oppoſition boldly declared, that it had been brought in at a time when moſt of the gentlemen of the law, whoſe opinions would have been of great ſervice, were gone on the circuits. But, notwithſtanding all the ſtrength of argument, it paſſed, and ſoon after received the royal aſſent.

This matter being adjuſted, the attention of the parliament was directed to the affairs of the Eaſt India company, which at this time were in a very perplexed ſituation. On the thirtieth of March, the deputy-chairman of the company moved the houſe for leave to bring in a bill for the better regulation of the ſervants belonging to the company in India. The grand object in view was, to reſtrain the governor's council; and, indeed, all the ſervants belonging to the company from carrying on any ſort of trade, and to give the directors of the company a ſovereign power over their own ſervants. The motion was carried, and this led to an enquiry into the ſtate of affairs in India. All the papers belonging to the company were ordered to be laid before a ſelect committee of the houſe, and from the peruſal of them, many important diſcoveries were made. Indeed, it was found, that the mode of government in India was, in every reſpect, arbitrary, unconſtitutional, and no way fit for preſerving the rights of the people, or adminiſtering juſtice to individuals. The committee, finding the buſineſs encreaſing faſt, and the ſeaſon far advanced, deſired leave to continue ſitting during the receſs of parliament, or, at leaſt, till ſuch time as they could go through with the intended enquiry. In the mean time, the ill temper which had unaccountably taken place between the two houſes the preceding ſeſſion, ſtill continued during the preſent; and, except in tranſmitting of bills from the one to the other, there was no more communication between them, than if they had been the jealous councils of two rival ſtates. On the ninth of June his majeſty went, in uſual ſtate, to the upper houſe, and cloſed the ſeſſion.

On the twenty ſixth of November the ſeſſion was again opened by his majeſty, with a ſpeech from the throne; in which he informed the members, that his reaſon for calling them ſo ſoon was, to take into their conſideration ſome things of the utmoſt importance. He deſired them to take into their immediate conſideration the diſtreſſed condition of the Eaſt India company. He took notice, that he had the ſtrongeſt aſſurances from the powers on the continent, of their diſpoſition to peace; and he concluded by recommending to them the moſt prudent methods that could be made uſe of, in order to reduce the price of proviſions, as the diſtreſſes of the poor were not imaginary but real; and that nothing would give him greater pleaſure, than to hear that thoſe diſtreſſes were alleviated.

The firſt thing of importance which came under the conſideration of the houſe of commons, was the preſent ſtate of the navy, and this occaſioned very warm debates. Certainly nothing could be more reaſonable, than to lay before the people a ſtate of the public affairs, eſpecially ſuch as concerned the marine, that they might be ſatisfied whether their money had been laid out in promoting the purpoſes for which it had been given: but, notwithſtanding the force of thoſe arguments urged by oppoſition, no ſooner was the queſtion put, than it was carried for the miniſtry by a great majority, and the ſupplies were granted. After this buſineſs a motion was made to enquire into the nature of thoſe cauſes which occaſioned the ſcarcity of proviſions: but nothing was done that could be of any real ſervice to the public. A ſecret committee having been appointed to enquire into the ſtate of the Eaſt India company's affairs, it was found by their report, that the affairs of the company were both complexed and very much diſtreſſed. At laſt the motion was carried in the uſual manner; and ſuperviſors were appointed for the Eaſt Indies, to make a proper enquiry into all the abuſes complained of, and to rectify them as far as lay in their power.

CHAP. III.

Proceedings of parliament continued—State of the American colonies—Government reſolves to reduce them to a ſtate of obedience to the mother-country—The ſupreme authority of the Britiſh legiſlature over the Americans aſſerted—The Boſton Port bill—Another bill paſſed for reſtraining the trade of New England, and the fiſheries of that colony—The king's troops attacked at Lexington—The battle on Bunker's-hill—The burning of Charles-town—Other ſkirmiſhes and engagements between the regulars and provincials—General Howe is compelled to evacuate the town of Boſton—An unſucceſsful attempt on Charles-town in South Carolina—The Independency of the American colonies declared—Battle of the White-plains—General Lee taken priſoner—The engagement of Brandy-wine—Several ſkirmiſhes in other parts of America—The ſurrender of general Burgoyne's army—A remarkable naval engagement—The iſland of St. Lucia taken—The engagement of captain Pearſon with Paul Jones—Fort Omoa taken—Other naval engagements—The deſertion of Arnold, and the unfortunate end of young major Andree—The rioters of London—War carried on with various ſucceſs in America—Surrender of the Britiſh army under earl Cornwallis—The engagement between the gallant Rodney and count de Graſſe—Captain lord Robert Manners mortally wounded—General Elliott's brave defence of Gibraltar—Preliminary articles of a general peace ſigned.

A.D. 1773. NOTwithſtanding the fate of the diſſenters bill, againſt ſubſcribing to the thirty-nine articles, another with ſimilar principles was, with ſome additions, brought into the houſe of commons in the beginning of this year, but it met with the ſame fate as that of the preceding year, it being carried, in all its ſtages, in the one houſe by a great majority, and rejected chiefly by the influence of the biſhops in the other. A motion was likewiſe made, for a committee of the whole houſe to conſider of the ſubſcription to the thirty-nine articles, required of perſons in the univerſities. This petition was ſomewhat different from that preſented laſt year. But though the motion was well ſupported, and produced a very conſiderable debate, it was rejected by a great majority. After the holidays parliament took into conſideration the acts reſpecting the preſervation of the game. Nothing, however, was done on this ſubject. The miniſtry promoted the bill in order to acquire ſome ſhare of popularity, and the patriots oppoſed it, merely for the ſake of oppoſition. About fifty years ago, at the inſtance of baron Thompſon, the city of London ſet the example of diſcharging every priſoner without fees as ſoon as he was acquitted by the jury. This generoſity of the citizens of London was not, however, imitated by thoſe who lived in more diſtant counties. Inſtances were produced of ſome poor men having laid a whole year in goal, becauſe they could not pay their fees. To remedy an evil of ſo glaring a nature, a bill was brought in to oblige every county to make good the deficiences incurred to the gaolers for keeping the priſoners: in conſequence of which the priſoner may now go from the bar to his family, without being called in queſtion, or detained for any fees whatever; his impriſonment being conſidered as a great puniſhment, after his innocence has been proved. The parliamentary buſineſs being finiſhed, on the firſt of July his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and after having ſigned ſuch bills as were ready, prorogued the parliament.

On the twenty-ſecond of June, a ſhort time before the cloſe of this ſeſſion, the king made an excurſion to Portſmouth, in order to inſpect the ſtate of the dock-yard, and to review the fleet aſſembled at Spithead. He was pleaſed to expreſs the higheſt approbation of the good order and diſcipline of his fleet, the excellent condition of the dock-yard, arſenals, and garriſon, and the regularity with which every thing was conducted; and ſhewed the utmoſt ſatisfaction of thoſe demonſtrations of loyalty and affection, with which he was received by all ranks of people. His majeſty ſet out, on his return from the commiſſioner's houſe, on the twenty-ſixth of June, about ſeven o'clock in the morning, and arrived at Kew, in perfect health, about two in the afternoon. Previous to his departure the king was pleaſed to order the following ſums to be diſtributed:

To the artificers, workmen, and labourers of the dock-yard, victualling-office, and gun-wharf, one thouſand five hundred pounds.

To the companies of the Barfleur and Auguſta Yatch, and the crew of his majeſty's barge, three hundred and fifty pounds.

To the poor of Portſmouth and Goſport two hundred and fifty pounds. His majeſty was alſo pleaſed to make ſome other ſmall gratuities, and to releaſe the priſoners confined in Portſmouth gaol.

A.D. 1774. On Thurſday, the thirteenth of January, his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, in the uſual ſtate, and opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech, in which he aſſured them of the pacific diſpoſition of foreign powers, and recommended the proſecution of meaſures more immediately reſpecting the preſervation and advancement of the revenue and commerce of the kingdom. He deſired in a particular manner their attention to the ſtate of the gold coin; and concluded with declaring, that they could propoſe no meaſure, to advance, or ſecure the happineſs of his people, in which they might not always depend on his moſt hearty concurrence. When the commons returned to their houſe, ſtrong debates enſued upon the words of the addreſs which ſhould be preſented to his majeſty; but the queſtion being put to the vote, it was carried by a great majority in favour of the miniſtry. Mr. Buller moved, that twenty thouſand ſeamen, including four thouſand three hundred and fifty-four marines were neceſſary for the ſervice of the preſent year; and that a ſum, not exceeding four pounds a man per month, ſhould be granted for the ſervice of the royal navy; both which motions, after a warm debate, were agreed to. But the grand object government had in view, was to reduce the colonies to a ſtate of obedience, and convince them of the neceſſity they were under of being ſubject to the mother-country. At Boſton in America, in the month of December, a number of reſolute men, (dreſſed like Mohawks or Indians) in leſs than four hours, emptied into the ſea every cheſt of tea on board three ſhips, commanded by the captains Hall, Bruce, and Coffin, amounting to three hundred and forty-two cheſts, without the leaſt damage done to the ſhips, or any other property. This was the fate of the firſt of thoſe ſhips employed by the India company, that reached their deſtined port. The other governors wiſely agreed to ſuffer the tea to be carried back from whence it came: for the perſons to whom it was conſigned refuſed to take it; and as no one had ordered it, no one was obliged to hazard his own perſonal ſafety in taking upon himſelf to be the owner of it. In ſeveral of the provinces this tea was termed the fetters forged for the people by Great Britain; and at a public meeting of the inhabitants of Philadelphia, it was reſolved, that the diſpoſal of their own property is the inherent right of freemen: that there can be no property in that which another can take from them without their conſent: that the claim of parliament to tax America, is, in other words, a claim of right to levy contributions on them at pleaſure: that the duty impoſed by parliament upon tea landed in America, is a tax on the Americans, or levying contributions without their conſent; and that the reſolution entered into by the Eaſt India company, to ſend out their tea to America, ſubject to duties on its being landed there, was an open attempt to inforce a miniſterial plan, and a violent attack upon the liberties of America.

When the minds of men are greatly agitated, it is impoſſible to prevent their running into violent extremes; which were, however, conſidered by the court of England, as ſuch audacious inſults on the ſupremacy of parliament, that his majeſty ſent a meſſage to the houſe of commons, deſiring them to enable him to take ſuch meaſures as would be moſt likely to put an immediate ſtop to the preſent diſorders, and to ſecure the dependence of the colonies upon the crown and parliament of Great Britain. This meſſage produced a bill, which was preſented to the houſe by lord North, for the immediate removal of the officers of the cuſtoms from the town of Boſton, in the province of Maſſachuſet's bay; to quarter a military force on the people; and for diſcontinuing the landing, and diſcharging the lading and ſhipping of goods in that port, till his majeſty was ſatisfied that no interruption would be made to collecting the duties, and till full ſatisfaction ſhould be made to the Eaſt India company, for the tea which had been deſtroyed. This bill for ſhutting up the port and harbour of Boſton, having paſſed the houſe, lord North preſented another for regulating the government of the province of Maſſachuſet's bay, which occaſioned a very warm debate, particularly with reſpect to a part of the bill, which propoſed that offenders ſhould be removed for trial to other colonies; or if government thought, that juſtice could not be had there, they ſhould be brought to Great Britain.

Many important points were diſcuſſed during this ſeſſion of parliament, and ſeveral acts were paſſed. In which number were included one for the better regulation of the gold coin, and another relative to the naturalizing foreigners. An important queſtion was alſo decided in the houſe of peers, againſt the excluſive common-law right of authors, and their aſſigns, to their works. But one bill produced an univerſal diſcontent among the people. It was entitled, "An act for the future government of Quebec." The principal clauſes that gave offence were two; by the firſt the Romiſh clergy were to have the exerciſe of their religion, as eſtabliſhed by the firſt of queen Elizabeth; and might enjoy and receive the accuſtomed dues and rights from perſons profeſſing the Romiſh religion. By the ſecond clauſe, all controverſies relative to property and civil rights were to be determined by the Canada laws then in being, or ſuch as might be afterwards enacted by the governor, lieutenant-governor, and legiſlative council. The city of London in a petition againſt it, declared, that they apprehended it to be entirely ſubverſive of the Britiſh conſtitution. The parliamentary buſineſs being finiſhed, on the twenty-ſecond of June his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and after having ſigned ſuch bills as were ready, cloſed the ſeſſion.

On the ſecond of June the harbour of Boſton was ſhut up againſt all veſſels bound to America; and ſome days after, none were allowed to depart thence. In July the Boſtonians with firmneſs and coolneſs formed a ſolemn league and covenant, that they would not import or export any thing from Great Britain; nor have any connection or trade with any one ſo doing, till all their rights and charters ſhould be reſtored to them again. To prevent ſuch conventions, meetings, and aſſemblies, general Gage iſſued out a proclamation expreſsly forbidding them. He likewiſe diſſolved an aſſembly of the province of Salem; but they unanimouſly riſing, declared they would not be diſſolved; that they were come there on the buſineſs of the public, and that they were determined to paſs ſuch votes as were for the good of the province: they then locked the doors of the town-hall, and obliged the general to comply with their reſolutions. Several other colonies followed their example, and a general Congreſs was eſtabliſhed, to which deputies from the ſeveral provinces were invited. A very alarming tranſaction alſo took place, which was, the ſeizure of Fort William in New Hampſhire, by the provincial militia, in which they found one hundred and ſix barrels of gunpowder, ſeveral cannon, ſhot, and ſmall arms. On the ſecond of September general Gage thought proper to demand of colonel Brattle, the provincial ammunition and ſtores under his care, which were delivered up to him; and at the ſame time he ſent two companies of ſoldiers up the river by night, who ſeized a large magazine of powder, a part of which was private property. Soon after the general ordered four twenty-four pounders, and eight nine pounders, to be placed againſt the fortifications of Boſton; he alſo cauſed trenches to be dug round the town, and Boſton-neck, the only avenue by land into the town, to be fortified, and a regiment placed there for its ſecurity. Againſt this ſtep the Boſtonians, in a petition, ſtrongly remonſtrated: and about the ſame time, the New York merchants all refuſed to let general Gage have any of their ſhips to fetch the troops from Quebec. Such was the ſituation of affairs at Boſton, when the Engliſh parliament was diſſolved by proclamation, and the writs for calling a new one were made returnable on the twenty-ninth of November. Accordingly, on that day, his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and being in his royal robes ſeated on the throne, commanded the attendance of the commons in the houſe of peers; who being come, the king, by his chancellor, ſignified his pleaſure that they ſhould return and chuſe a ſpeaker, to be preſented next day for his majeſty's approbation. They returned accordingly, and unanimouſly choſe Sir Fletcher Norton. Next day his majeſty went again in the uſual ſtate to the houſe of peers, and having approved of the commons choice of a ſpeaker, opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne; to which both houſes preſented very affectionate addreſſes; to each of which his majeſty was pleaſed to return a moſt gracious anſwer.

This being the firſt ſeſſion of a new parliament, the ſwearing in of the members and other trifling matters incident on ſuch occaſions, engaged their attention for ſome days. This over, they proceeded to buſineſs, which was begun by the houſe reſolving itſelf into a committee of ſupply to his majeſty; when ſeveral reſolutions were agreed to; after which his majeſty adjourned the parliament to the nineteenth of January.

A. D. 1775. When the parliament met, purſuant to their adjournment, lord North preſented to the houſe, by his majeſty's command, ſeveral bundles of American papers; and as ſoon as the clerk had finiſhed reading their titles, a motion was made that they ſhould lie on the table for inſpection, and that a future day ſhould be appointed for the whole houſe to go into a committee to conſider of the ſame; which, after ſome debates, was agreed to.

In the mean time petitions were preſented to the houſe from the merchants of London, Glaſgow, Briſtol, Liverpool, and other places, complaining of the great decay of trade, occaſioned by the unhappy differences between Great Britain and her colonies. The corporation of London alſo preſented an addreſs, remonſtrance and petition to the king; in which they complained of the meaſures that had been purſued, and were ſtill purſuing, againſt their fellow ſubjects in America; and earneſtly beſeeched his majeſty to diſcharge thoſe miniſters from his councils who had been the means of promoting them, as the firſt ſtep towards a full redreſs of the grievances ſo univerſally complained of by the people. To this addreſs and petition his majeſty was pleaſed to return the following anſwer: "It is with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment that I find any of my ſubjects capable of encouraging the rebellious diſpoſition which unhappily exiſts in ſome of my colonies in North America. Having entire confidence in the wiſdom of my parliament, the great council of the nation, I will ſteadily purſue thoſe meaſures which they have recommended for the ſupport of the conſtitutional rights of Great Britain, and the protection of the commercial intereſts of my kingdom." While petitions were preſenting to the commons from the principal corporations in England, lord Chatham, that real patriotic nobleman, brought in a bill for reconciling the preſent differences between Great Britain and America. This alſo met with great oppoſition; and the queſtion being put, it was rejected by a conſiderable majority.

The papers relative to America were now taken into conſideration in the lower houſe. Among them were two official letters from lord Dartmouth to general Gage, and the general's letter to his lordſhip. The former contained ſtrains of firmneſs and coercion, which it was plain, the general was not by any means able to realize with the force he had under his command. The language of the latter varied according to the different circumſtances and occaſions that preſented themſelves. Two matters were, however, very evident, that the rage and diſcontents were greatly augmented on account of the laſt American acts paſſed by the parliament; and that they were working up into a kind of phrenzy by the gradual augmentation of the troops, and by the works and defences raiſed on Boſton-neck. He drew, in ſome places, the moſt lamentable picture of the ſtate of that province, deſtitute at once of all legiſlative authority; of a council, of courts of juſtice, of magiſtracy; and repreſented the whole as one ſcene of anarchy and confuſion. When the houſe went into a committee to examine the American papers, lord North began the buſineſs with a view of the whole maſs of information laid before the committee, diſcriminated the diſpoſition of the reſpective colonies, and particularly directed at ſuch as he thought were in a ſtate of actual rebellion. His lordſhip then pointed out the meaſures intended to be purſued; and concluded by propoſing a conference with the houſe of lords, that a joint addreſs might be carried up to the throne, "To return thanks to his majeſty for communicating to the houſe the American papers, and that he would be pleaſed to take ſuch meaſures as might be ſuitable to his wiſdom for enforcing the laws againſt America; and promiſing to ſupport him, in a full and vigorous exertion of the ſame, with their lives and fortunes." The meaſures intended to be taken were mentioned generally, and ſaid to be theſe: "That a fleet of fourteen frigates be ſent to join the ſhips at Boſton, by which all the ports of New England were to be blocked up; that ten thouſand troops, including Preſton's regiment of light horſe, be ſent to Boſton, to keep the New Englanders in order; and that an addition of two thouſand ſeamen more be aſked to man the fleet to Boſton, and to ſupply the naval eſtabliſhment at home." This motion for the addreſs met with great oppoſition; but the queſtion being at length put it was carried by a conſiderable majority.

When the reſolution of the committee for preſenting the addreſs was reported to the houſe, the ſpeaker was proceeding to put the queſtion to agree with the report; but was interrupted by lord John Cavendiſh, who moved that the conſideration of the American papers ſhould be re-committed. He was ſeconded by lord Irnham, who, after having in a long ſpeech agitated the queſtion on the ground propoſed by adminiſtration, in a conſtitutional as well as in a political light, concluded with aſſerting that it appeared, in both thoſe views, formidable and deſtructive; and that it became abſolutely neceſſary to retract the unconſtitutional and impolitic ſteps which adminiſtration had hitherto taken.

Several other ſpeakers, among whom Mr. Wilkes particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf, expatiated largely on the juſtneſs and propriety of the noble lord's motion, when at length the queſtion being put, the numbers were—for the motion one hundred and five, againſt it two hundred and eighty-eight. An addreſs was then drawn up, and agreed to without a diviſion; and after a conference with the lords, it was reſolved that the addreſs ſhould be jointly preſented by both houſes to the king; which was accordingly done on the ninth of February; when his majeſty returned the following anſwer:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I thank you for this very dutiful and loyal addreſs, and for the ſolemn aſſurances you give me of your ſupport in maintaining the juſt rights of my crown, and of the two houſes of parliament, and you may depend on my taking the moſt effectual meaſures for enforcing due obedience to the authority of the ſupreme legiſlature." The day after the addreſs was preſented, lord North read, in his place, a meſſage from his majeſty, as follows:

"His majeſty being determined, in conſequence of the addreſs of both houſes of parliament, to take the moſt ſpeedy and effectual meaſures for ſupporting the juſt rights of the crown and the two houſes of parliament, thinks proper to acquaint this houſe, that ſome addition to his forces by ſea and land will be neceſſary for that purpoſe, and does not doubt but his faithful commons, on whoſe zeal and affection he entirely relies, will enable him to make ſuch an augmentation to his forces, as on the preſent occaſion ſhall be thought proper." This meſſage was referred to the conſideration of the committee of ſupply; after which the houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee of the whole houſe on the American papers, when a motion was made by lord North, "that the chairman be directed to move the houſe, that leave be given to bring in a bill to reſtrain the trade and commerce of the provinces of Maſſachuſet's Bay, New Hampſhire, Connecticut, Providence, and Rhode-Iſland colonies in North America, to Great Britain, Ireland and the Weſt Indies; and to prohibit ſuch provinces and colonies from carrying on any fiſhery on the banks of Newfoundland, or other parts therein mentioned, under certain conditions, and for a time to be limited." This motion was productive of great debates, which continued for ſeveral hours; when the queſtion being put, it was carried by a very conſiderable majority; and a bill was ordered to be brought in purſuant thereto. A petition was now preſented from the corporation of London, againſt the bill depending in the houſe, for reſtraining the trade of New England, and the fiſheries of that colony on the banks of Newfoundland. This petition repreſented the bill as being unjuſt, cruel, partial, and oppreſſive; injurious to the trade of Great Britain, and tending to increaſe the wealth and ſtrength of her rivals and enemies. They preſented another petition, of the like nature, to the houſe of lords; as did alſo the American merchants; and another to the king. But all theſe ſolicitations proved abortive; for the bill paſſed both houſes, and on the thirtieth of March received the royal aſſent. On the thirteenth of April his majeſty again went to the houſe of peers, and, among other bills, gave the royal aſſent to "A bill to reſtrain the trade and commerce of the colonies of New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, to any part of Great Britain, Ireland, and the Weſt India iſlands."

After the paſſing of theſe acts the generals Burgoyne, Clinton and Howe, were ſent to take on them the command of the troops deſtined for endeavouring to bring the Americans to obedience; for which expedition they embarked on board the Cerberus man of war on the twenty-firſt of April. The national buſineſs being now finiſhed, on the twenty-ſixth of May his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and after ſigning ſuch bills as were ready, prorogued the parliament.

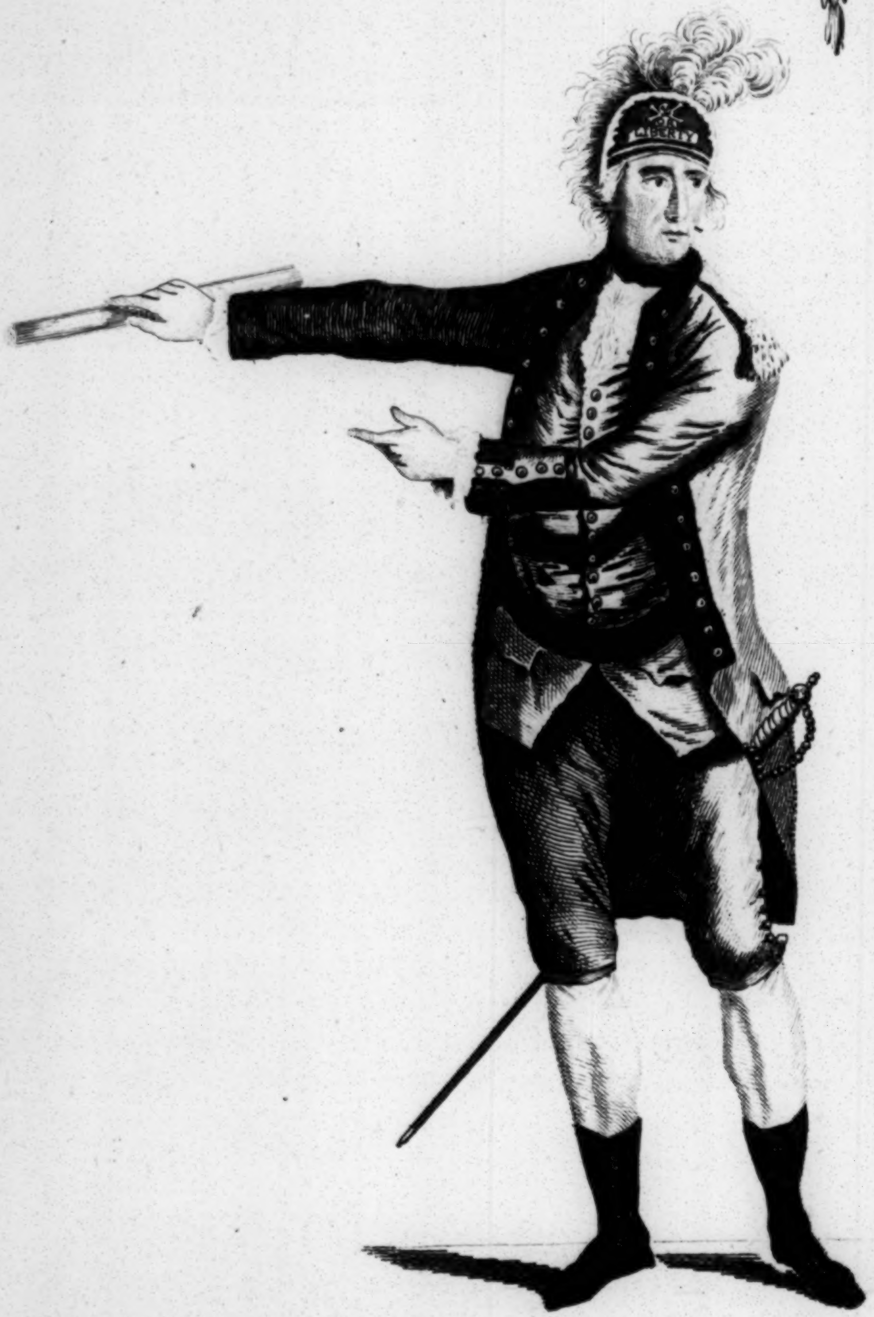
In America the flame of independency began to riſe high, the breach of diſcord was widened, confuſion gained ground upon order, and both private and public calamities were multiplied. At length recourſe was had to the *ultimam rationem populorum et regum*; and the deſtructive ſword was drawn to decide the conteſt of liberty and power: which happened on the nineteenth of April, a memorable Wedneſday. General Gage, the then commander of the Engliſh troops, having received intelligence of a large quantity of military ſtores being collected at Concord, for ſupplying a body of the mal-contents, detached on the eighteenth at night, the grenadiers of his army, and the light infantry, in order to deſtroy the ſaid ſtores. The next morning eight companies of the fourth, the ſame number of the twenty-third, and forty-ninth, and ſome marines, marched under the command of lord Percy, to ſupport the other detachment.

Lieutenant colonel Smith finding, after he had advanced ſome miles of his march, that the country had been alarmed by the firing of guns and ringing of bells, diſpatched ſix companies of light infantry, in order to ſecure two bridges on different roads beyond Concord, who, upon their arrival at Lexington, found a body of the country people drawn up under arms on a green, cloſe to the road; and upon the king's troops marching up to them, in order to enquire the reaſon of their being ſo aſſembled, they went off in great confuſion; and ſeveral guns were fired upon the king's troops from behind a ſtone wall, and alſo from the meeting-houſe, and other houſes, by which one man was wounded, and major Pitcairne's horſe ſhot in two places. In conſequence of this attack of the rebels, the troops returned the fire, and killed ſeveral of them; after which the detachment marched on to Concord, without any thing further happening, where they effected the purpoſe for which they were ſent. Whilſt this was performing, great numbers of the rebels aſſembled in many parts, and a conſiderable body of them attacked the light infantry poſted at one of the bridges, on which an action enſued, and ſome few were killed and wounded. On the return of the troops from Concord, they were very much annoyed, and had ſeveral men killed and wounded, by the rebels firing from behind walls, ditches, trees, and other ambuſhes; but the brigade, under the command of lord Piercy, having joined them at Lexington, with two pieces of cannon, the rebels were for a while diſperſed; but as ſoon as the troops reſumed their march, they began again to fire upon them from behind ſtone walls and houſes, and kept up in that manner a ſcattering fire during the whole of their march of fifteen miles; by which means ſeveral were killed and wounded; and ſuch was the cruelty and barbarity of the rebels, that they ſcalped, and cut off the ears of ſome of the wounded men, who fell into their hands. In this firſt engagement, one lieutenant, one ſerjeant, one drummer, and ſixty-two privates were killed; and two lieutenant-colonels, two captains, nine lieutenants, two enſigns, ſeven ſerjeants, one drummer, and one hundred and fifty-ſeven rank and file were wounded.

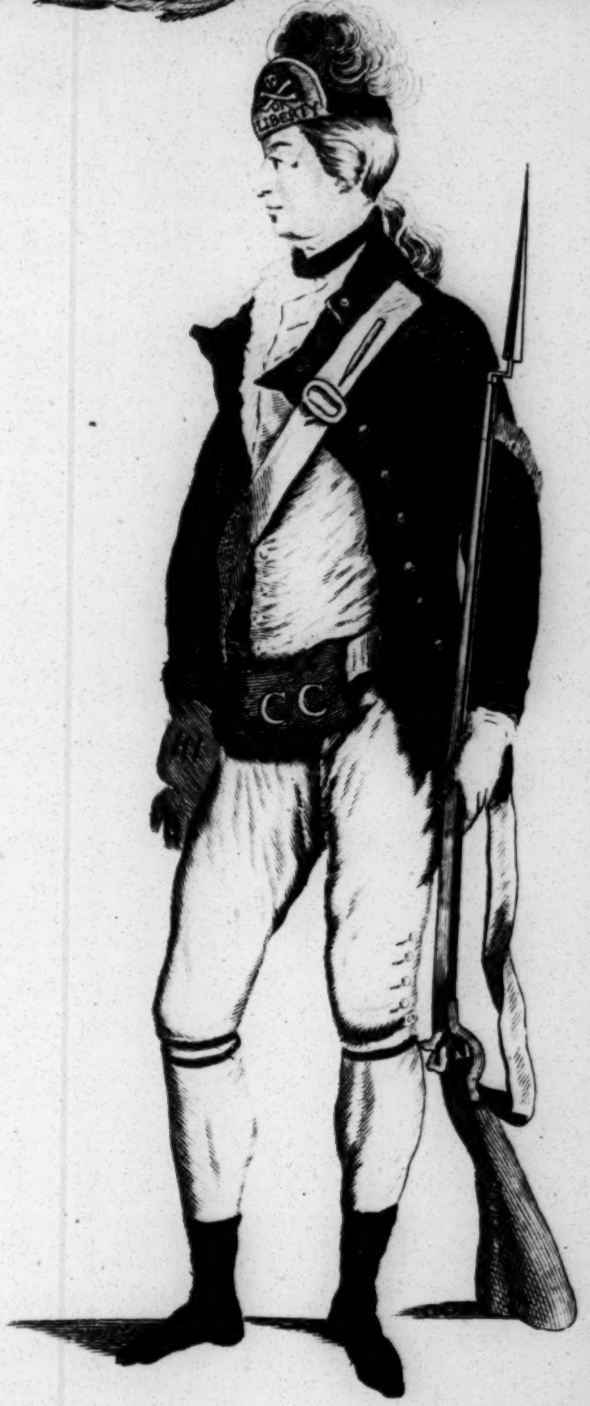
There is an old adage, *Audi alteram partem*, "hear the other party;" and that our readers may have both ſides of the queſtion, in order to form a right judgment, we ſhall here lay before them, an account of the above action, as publiſhed in the Eſſex Gazette, printed at Salem in New England; dated April the twenty-fifth.

"Laſt Wedneſday, the nineteenth of April, the troops of his Britannic majeſty commenced hoſtilities upon the people of this province.——The particulars relative to this intereſting event, by which we are involved in all the horrors of a civil war, we have endeavoured to collect, as well as the preſent confuſed ſtate of affairs will admit.

"On Tueſday evening a detachment from the army, conſiſting, it is ſaid, of eight or nine hundred men, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Smith, embarked at the bottom of the common in Boſton, on board a number of boats, and landed at Phipps's farm, a little way up Charles river, from whence they proceeded with ſilence and expedition, on their way to Concord, about eighteen miles from Boſton. The people were ſoon alarmed, and began to aſſemble, in ſeveral towns, before day-light, in order to watch the motion of the troops. At Lexington, ſix miles below Concord, a company of militia, of about one hundred men, muſtered near the meeting houſe; the troops came in ſight of them juſt before ſun-riſe; and running within a few rods of them, the commanding officer accoſted the militia in words to this effect:—'Diſperſe you rebels, d—n you, throw down your arms and diſperſe:' upon which the troops huzza'd, and immediately one or two officers diſcharged their piſtols, which was inſtantaneouſly followed by the firing of four or five of the ſoldiers, and then there ſeemed to be a general diſcharge from the whole body: eight of our men were killed and nine wounded. In a few minutes after this action, the enemy renewed their march for Concord; at which place they deſtroyed ſeveral carriages, carriage wheels, and about twenty barrels of flour, all belonging to the province. Here about one hundred and fifty men going towards a bridge, of which the enemy were in poſſeſſion, the latter fired, and killed two of our men, who



Portrait & Uniform of An
AMERICAN GENERAL.



A real repreſentation of the Dreſs of An
AMERICAN RIFLE-MAN.

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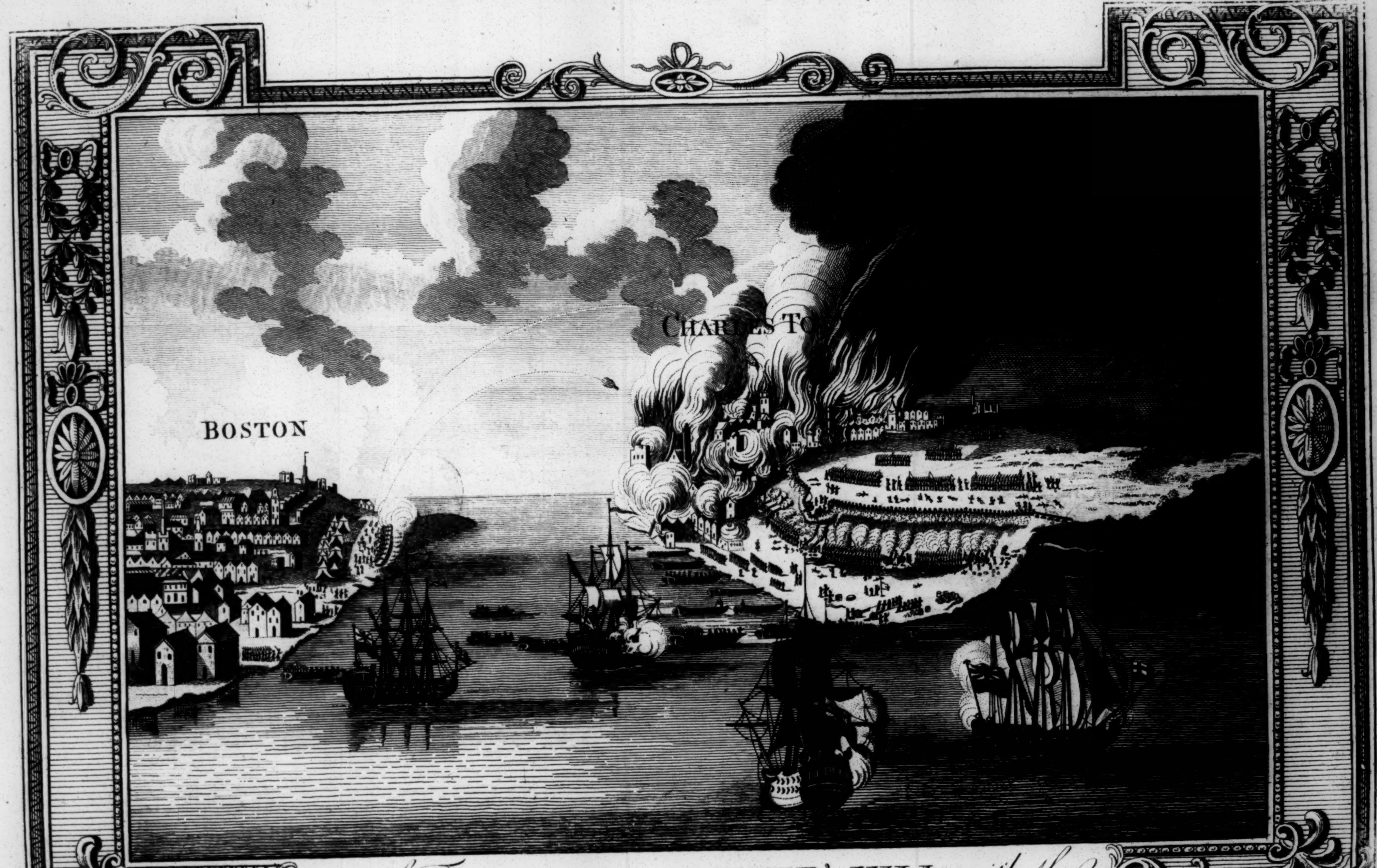
BOSTON
CHARLES TO

View *of The* **ATTACK** *on* **BUNKER's HILL**, *with the*
Burning *of* **CHARLES TOWN**, *June 17. 1775.*

Drawn by Mr. Millar

Engraved by Lodge.

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who then returned the fire, and obliged the enemy to retreat back to Lexington, where they met lord Piercy, with a large reinforcement, and two pieces of cannon. The enemy now having a body of about eighteen hundred men, made a halt, picked up many of their dead, and took care of their wounded. At Menotomy, a few of our men attacked a party of twelve of the enemy (carrying ſtores and proviſions to the troops) killed one of them, wounded ſeveral, made the reſt priſoners, and took poſſeſſion of all their arms, ſtores, proviſions, &c. without any loſs on our ſide. The enemy having halted one or two hours at Lexington, found it neceſſary to make a ſecond retreat, carrying with them many of their dead and wounded, who they put into chaiſes and on horſes that they found ſtanding in the road. They continued their retreat from Lexington to Charles Town with great precipitation; and notwithſtanding their field-pieces, our people continued the purſuit, firing at them till they got to Charles Town Neck (which they reached a little after ſunſet) over which the enemy paſſed, proceeded up Bunker's Hill, and ſoon afterwards went into the town, under the protection of the Somerſet man of war of ſixty-four guns.

" In Lexington, the enemy ſet fire to Deacon Joſeph Loring's houſe and barn, Mrs. Mulliken's houſe and ſhop, and Mr. Joſhua Bond's houſe and ſhop, which were all conſumed. They alſo ſet fire to ſeveral other houſes, but our people extinguiſhed the flames. They pillaged almoſt every houſe they paſſed by, breaking and deſtroying doors, windows, glaſſes, &c. and carrying off cloathing, and other valuable effects. It appeared to be their deſign to burn and deſtroy all before them; and nothing but our vigorous purſuit prevented their purpoſes from being put into execution. But the barbarity exerciſed upon the bodies of our unfortunate brethren who fell, is almoſt incredible: not content with ſhooting down the unarmed, aged, and infirm, they diſregarded the cries of the wounded, killing them without mercy, and mangling their bodies in the moſt ſhocking manner.

" We have the pleaſure to ſay, that, notwithſtanding the higheſt provocations given by the enemy, not one inſtance of cruelty, that we have heard of, was committed by our victorious militia.

" The conſternation of the people of Charles Town, when our enemies were entering the town, is inexpreſſible; the troops, however, behaved tolerably civil, and the people have ſince nearly all left the town.

" We had thirty-nine killed, nineteen wounded, and two miſſing."

The provincials now inveſted the town of Boſton; and the people of New York, hearing of the action at Lexington, and the affair of Concord, roſe in a tumultuous manner, entered the town-houſe, ſeized many ſtands of arms, appropriated to their own uſe the cargoes of two ſhips laden with military ſtores for general Gage, and then marched to their aſſiſtance; whoſe forces not only continued to block up the town of Boſton, but began to raiſe batteries on the heights of the peninſula of Charles Town, in order to cannonade his majeſty's troops. This brought on an action at Bunker's Hill.

On the ſeventeenth of July, the Britiſh garriſon in Boſton were alarmed at break of day, by a firing from the Lively ſhip of war, which blocked up Marblehead harbour. Soon afterwards advice was received, that the rebels had broke ground, and were raiſing a battery on the heights of the peninſula of Charles Town. Preparations were inſtantly made by general Gage, for landing a body of men, under the command of major-general Howe, and brigadier-general Pigot, who embarked with great expedition, and landed on the peninſula without oppoſition, under the protection of ſome ſhips of war, by whoſe fire the rebels were kept within their works.

The troops, as ſoon as landed, were formed; the light infantry poſted on the right, and the grenadiers upon their left. The fifth and thirty-eighth battalions drew up in the rear of thoſe corps, and the forty-third and fifty-ſecond battalions made a third line. The rebels upon the heights were perceived to be in great force, and ſtrongly poſted. A redoubt, thrown up on the ſixteenth at night, with other works full of men, defended with cannon, and a large body poſted in the houſes in Charles Town, covered their right flank; and their center and left were covered by a breaſt-work, part of it cannon-proof, which reached from the left of the redoubt to the Myſtick, or Medford river. This appearance of ſtrength, and the large columns of the rebels ſeen pouring in to their aſſiſtance, occaſioned an application for more troops, conſiſting of ſome companies of light infantry and grenadiers, the forty-ſeventh battalion, and the firſt battalion of marines; the whole, when in conjunction, making above two thouſand men.

Theſe troops advanced, formed in two lines, and the attack began by a ſharp cannonade, the lines advancing ſlowly, and frequently halting, to give time for the artillery to fire. The light infantry were directed to force the left point of the breaſt-work, to take the rebel line in flank, and the grenadiers to attack in front, ſupported by the fifth and fifty-ſecond battalions. Theſe orders were executed with perſeverance, under a heavy fire from the vaſt numbers of the rebels; and notwithſtanding various impediments, before the troops could reach the works, and though the left under brigadier-general Pigot was engaged alſo with the rebels at Charles Town, which place, at a critical moment, was ſet on fire, the brigadier purſued his point, and carried the redoubt. The rebels were then forced from other ſtrong-holds, and purſued till they were drove clear off the peninſula, leaving five pieces of cannon behind them.

In this bloody engagement, maintained with great bravery and obſtinacy on both ſides, the loſs of the provincials in killed and wounded was very conſiderable. Of the Britiſh troops, according to the return of general Gage, two hundred and twenty-ſix were killed, and eight hundred and twenty-eight were wounded, many of the latter dying ſoon after; others, by the loſs of limbs, rendered for ever after incapable of ſervice; and more than a proportionable number of officers were included in both liſts. It may not be amiſs, for information, to obſerve, that Charles Town, burnt by the Britiſh forces in a moſt unfortunate critical moment, was much more populous than Cambridge, the capital of the county, and exceeded it much in trade, being ſituated on a peninſula between Myſtick and Charles rivers, and parted from Boſton only by the latter. The town was ſo large, as to take up all the ſpace between the two rivers; it was beautified with a handſome large church, a market-place by the river ſide, and two long ſtreets leading down to it. A thouſand veſſels cleared from theſe towns only.

At this time general Carleton was indefatigable in putting the province of Canada into a proper ſtate of defence; and the earl of Dunmore, governor of Virginia, having thought proper to take refuge on board a ſhip of war, harraſſed the coaſt, and made frequent deſcents upon the laſt mentioned province; laying waſte the country, carrying off, or ſpiking up a great number of cannons, deſtroying vaſt quantities of military ſtores belonging to the provincials, &c. &c. But on the other ſide, Fort St. John ſurrendered to the provincial forces on the third of November, and the garriſon became priſoners.

On the eighteenth of the ſame month, the regulars

gulars and provincials had a hot engagement near Savannah in Georgia, in which the latter were defeated; and on the thirty-firſt of December the provincial general Montgomery, who had for ſome time laid ſiege to the city of Quebec, attempted to take it by ſtorm.

The general, finding his cannon too light to effect a breach, and that the enemy would not hearken to terms of capitulation, formed a deſign of carrying the town by eſcalade. In this he was encouraged by the extenſiveneſs of the works, and the weakneſs of the garriſon. When every thing was prepared, while he was waiting the opportunity of a ſnow ſtorm to carry his deſign into execution, ſeveral men deſerted to the enemy. His plan at firſt was to have attacked the upper and lower towns at the ſame time, depending principally for ſucceſs againſt the upper town: but diſcovering, from the motions of the enemy, that they were apprized of his deſign, he altered his plan; and, having divided his little army into four detachments, ordered two feints to be made againſt the upper town, one by colonel Livingſton, at the head of the Canadians, againſt St. John's Gate; the other by captain Brown, at the head of a ſmall detachment, againſt Cape Diamond, reſerving to himſelf and one Arnold, the two principal attacks againſt the lower town.

At five o'clock, the hour appointed for the attack, the general, at the head of the New York troops, advanced againſt the lower town at Aunce de Mere. Being obliged to take a circuit, the ſignal for the attack was given, and the garriſon alarmed before he reached the place; however, preſſing on, he paſſed the firſt barrier, and was juſt opening to attempt the ſecond, when by the firſt fire from the enemy he was unfortunately killed, together with his aid de camp, captain John McPherſon, captain Cheeſeman, and two or three more. This ſo diſpirited the men, that colonel Campbell, on whom the command devolved, found himſelf under the diſagreeable neceſſity of drawing them off.

In the mean while one Arnold, at the head of about three hundred and fifty of thoſe brave troops (who with unparalleled fatigue had penetrated Canada, under his command) and captain Lamb's company of artillery, had paſſed through St. Roques, and approached near a two gun battery without being diſcovered. This he attacked; and though it was well defended for about an hour, carried it with the loſs of a number of men. In this attack, Arnold had the misfortune to have his leg ſplintered by a ſhot, and was obliged to be carried to the hoſpital. After gaining the battery, his detachment paſſed on to a ſecond barrier, which they took poſſeſſion of. By this time the enemy, relieved from the other attacks by our troops being drawn off, directed their whole force againſt this detachment; and a party ſallying out from Palace Gate, attacked them in the rear.

Theſe brave men ſuſtained the force of the whole garriſon for three hours; but finding themſelves hemmed in, and no hopes of relief, they were obliged to yield to numbers, and the advantageous ſituation the garriſon had over them.

The loſs of the provincials, in killed and wounded, amounted to about ſixty, and three hundred taken priſoners, who were treated by general Carleton with great humanity. Among the ſlain were captain Kendricks, lieutenant Humphreys of the riflemen, and lieutenant Cooper. After this repulſe, the remains of the defeated army retired about three miles from Quebec, where they poſted themſelves advantageouſly, and waited for reinforcements; but no ſecond attack was made. Every poſſible diſtinction was ſhewn by the brave Carleton to the corpſe of general Montgomery, who was interred in Quebec on the ſecond of January.

In conſequence of the reſolutions of the livery laſt Midſummer day at Guildhall, on Wedneſday, June the twenty-eighth, the ſheriffs Plomer and Hart waited on his majeſty at St. James's, in conſequence of his appointment at Kew. Mr. Sheriff Plomer addreſſed his majeſty in the following words:

"May it pleaſe your majeſty,

"We are ordered by the lord-mayor, aldermen, and livery of the city of London, in common-hall aſſembled, to wait upon your majeſty, humbly to know your majeſty's royal will and pleaſure, when your majeſty will be pleaſed to receive, upon the throne, their humble addreſs, remonſtrance, and petition."

His majeſty replied,

"You will pleaſe to take notice, that I will receive their addreſs, remonſtrance, and petition, on Friday next (to-morrow) at the levee."

Mr. Sheriff Plomer then ſaid, "Your majeſty will permit us to inform you, that the livery, in common-hall aſſembled, have reſolved not to preſent their addreſs, remonſtrance, and petition, unleſs your majeſty ſhall be pleaſed to receive it ſitting on the throne."

The king anſwered,

"I am ever ready to receive addreſſes and petitions, but I am the judge where."

On the fifth of July, the ſheriffs waited again on his majeſty at St. James's, whom Mr. Sheriff Plomer addreſſed in the following words:

"May it pleaſe your majeſty,

"We are ordered by the mayor, aldermen, and livery of the city of London, in common-hall aſſembled, to wait upon your majeſty, humbly to deliver into your majeſty's hands, in their name, the reſolutions agreed to in common-hall on the twenty-fourth of June laſt, and of the fourth inſtant."

Mr. Sheriff Plomer then delivered a copy of the following reſolutions into the king's own hand, which he received without ſaying a word.

The following is a copy of thoſe reſolutions:

Reſolved, That the king is bound to hear the petitions of his people, it being the undoubted right of the ſubject to be heard, and not a matter of grace and favour.

Reſolved, That his majeſty's anſwer is a direct denial of the right of this court to have their petitions heard.

Reſolved, That ſuch denial renders the right of petitioning the throne, recognized and eſtabliſhed by the Revolution, of no effect.

Reſolved, That whoever adviſed his majeſty, directly or indirectly, to refuſe hearing the humble addreſs, remonſtrance, and petition of this court, on the throne, is equally an enemy to the happineſs and ſecurity of the king, and to the peace and liberties of the people.

Then follows a reſolution, That inſtructions be given to their repreſentatives in parliament, which conclude thus—You are further inſtructed, gentlemen, to move for an impeachment of the authors and adviſers of thoſe meaſures; that by bringing them to public juſtice, evil counſellors may be removed from before the king, his throne may be eſtabliſhed, the rights of the people be vindicated, and the whole empire reſtored to the enjoyment of peace, liberty, and ſafety.

A. D. 1776.

The parliament met purſuant to their adjournment; and in the courſe of the ſeſſion, the attention of the upper aſſembly was engaged by the trial of the ducheſs of Kingſton, who was accuſed of bigamy, in having married the duke of Kingſton, while her firſt huſband, the honourable Mr. Harvey (earl of Briſtol) was living. The trial laſted five days; at the cloſe of which, the priſoner being called to the bar, was informed by the lord high-ſteward, that the lords had pronounced her to be guilty. In conſequence of this

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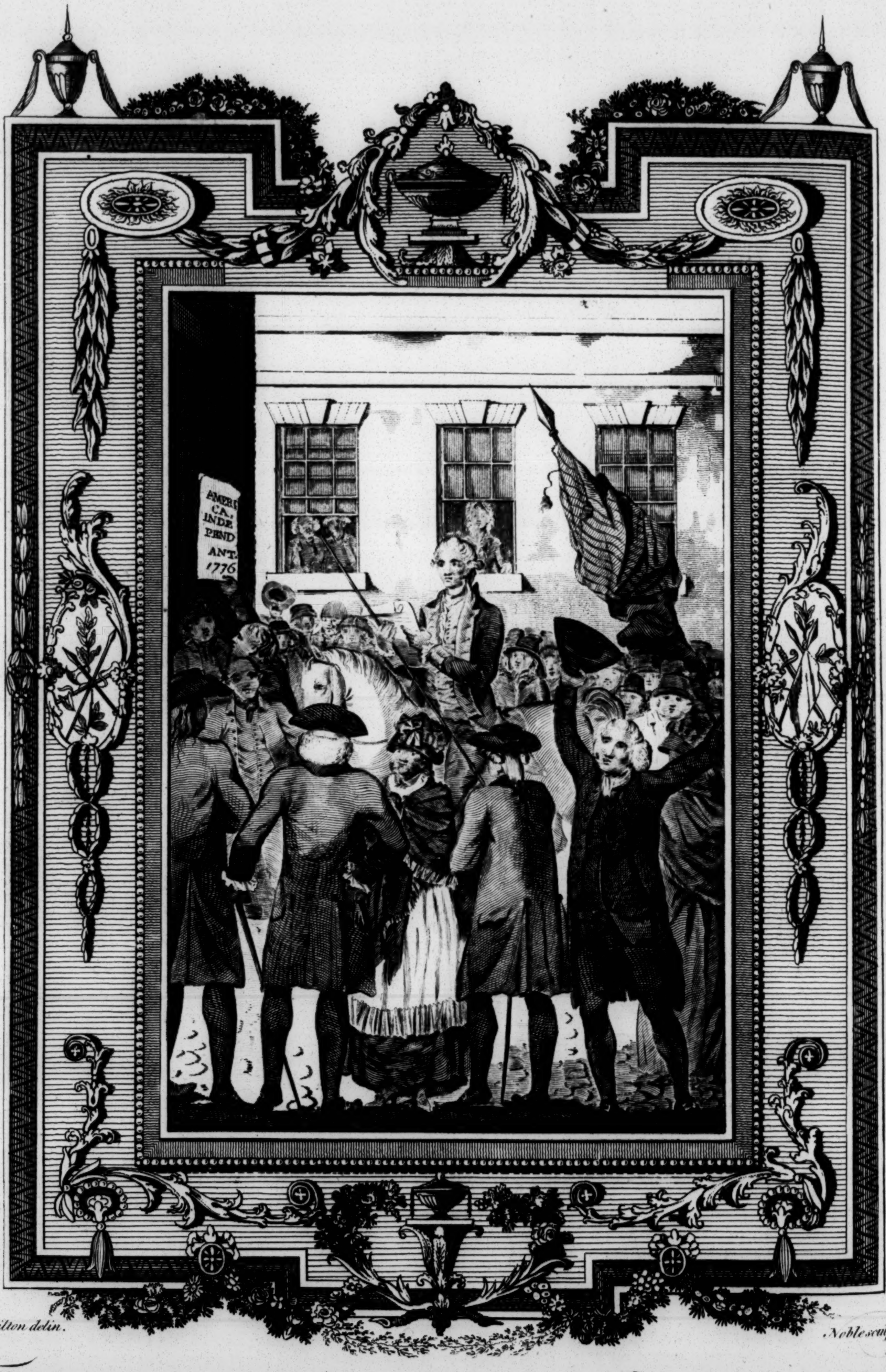
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The Manner in which the American Colonies Declared themselves
INDEPENDANT of the King of ENGLAND,
throughout the different Provinces, on July 4, 1776.

ſhe claimed her privilege of peerage, which occaſioned the lords to adjourn to the chamber of parliament to debate on the matter. On their return, the priſoner was again called to the bar; and the lord high-ſteward pronounced it to be the ſenſe of the houſe, "That the ducheſs ſhould be allowed the privilege ſhe claimed." She was, therefore, as a peereſs, ſubject to no kind of corporal puniſhment, and was diſcharged on paying her fees.

Nothing material paſſed in the lower houſe, except what is uſually called opening the budget, among the contents of which were the following new taxes. On four-wheel carriages a tax of twenty ſhillings, which lord North computed would amount to ſeventeen thouſand pounds per annum; on ſtage-coaches, at five pounds each, amounting to two thouſand pounds; on deeds, or all writings to be ſtamped, at one ſhilling a ſtamp, amounting to thirty thouſand pounds; on news-papers one half-penny per ſtamp, eighteen thouſand pounds per annum; ſix-pence a pack on cards, and two and ſix-pence on dice. Theſe different ſums, he ſaid, would amount to ſeventy-two thouſand pounds, which would have a ſurplus of eight thouſand pounds to go to the credit of the ſinking-fund. As ſoon as his lordſhip had ſat down, governor Johnſtone roſe, and animadverted upon ſeveral parts of the miniſter's ſpeech. This produced a warm debate, which continued till half paſt eight o'clock, when the ſeveral reſolutions being put, they paſſed in the affirmative without a diviſion. The parliamentary buſineſs being finiſhed, on the twenty-third of May his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and having ſigned ſuch bills as were ready, cloſed the ſeſſion.

Hoſtilities were now carried on in America with great vehemence. General Gage having been recalled, the command in chief devolved on general Howe, who ſoon after iſſued a proclamation, by which ſuch of the inhabitants as attempted to quit the town without licence were condemned to military execution, if detected and taken, and if they eſcaped, to be proceeded againſt as traitors, by the forfeiture of their effects; and by a ſecond, ſuch as obtained permiſſion to quit the town were reſtrained, by ſevere penalties, from carrying more than a ſmall ſpecified ſum of money with them. He alſo enjoined the ſigning and entering into an aſſociation, by which the remaining inhabitants offered their perſons for the defence of the town; and ſuch of them as he approved of were to be armed, formed into companies, and inſtructed in military exerciſes and diſcipline, the remainder being obliged to pay their quotas in money towards the common defence. Theſe proclamations, co-operating with the violent meaſures of the Engliſh miniſtry, and their coercive acts of parliament, inſpired the people of New England with an enthuſiaſtic fury, and they ſoon compelled general Howe to evacuate Boſton. On the ſecond of March, the provincials began to bombard the town from a place called Phipps's Farm, and on the third they opened a twenty-four pound battery in Dorcheſter Neck, which annoyed the army exceedingly. On the fifth, general Howe embarked ſix regiments to attack this battery; but a ſtrong eaſterly wind preventing the men of war from covering and ſupporting them, it was thought adviſeable to deſiſt. The next day he renewed the attempt, but found the work ſo ſtrong, that he returned without effecting any thing. In the mean time the provincials had thrown near an hundred bombs into the town, and fired with conſiderable execution from their battery. General Howe, therefore, got ſome of the ſelect men to go out to general Waſhington, to inform him, that if the firing continued, he muſt ſet fire to the town to cover his retreat. Two of the ſelect men returned; and having communed with general Howe, went back, and the firing immediately ceaſed. The general then began his embarkation. The refugee inhabitants went firſt, not being ſuffered to carry any thing but neceſſaries. The mortars and heavy artillery could not be embarked; theſe therefore they endeavoured to burſt, by charging them full with powder, and firing it off; but this did not anſwer their wiſhes. They attempted alſo to deſtroy all the ſmall arms belonging to the town. While this work was going on, a deſerter from the provincial camp informed general Howe on the tenth, that general Waſhington was preparing for a general ſtorm. Upon this intelligence, the general and all the troops immediately embarked, leaving the artillery, ſtores, &c. damaged only, as the hurry and confuſion would permit.

It now appeared by the movements of the provincial army, that they were taking ſtations upon Hog and Noddles iſlands, and preparing to attack Caſtle-William. If they had ſucceeded in this, they would have had the command of Boſton harbour, and deſtroyed the fleet. General Howe therefore diſmantled, and blew up Caſtle-William, and then on the ſeventeenth fell down with the whole fleet into Nantaſhet Road. The terms of agreement between the two generals were ſecret; but it was ſuppoſed that nothing ſhould have been deſtroyed, and that this breach of the convention determined the provincials to ſtorm the town. A ſhort time after theſe events, general Howe made good his landing and capture of New York.

In June, a battle was fought in Canada between the regulars under general Carleton, and a body of American troops commanded by major-general Thompſon, when the latter was defeated, and the major taken priſoner. Numbers were killed and wounded, and about two hundred taken priſoners. In the ſame month an attempt was made on Charles Town, South Carolina, by Sir Peter Parker, at the head of a fleet of ſhips of war, with a body of land forces; but the enterprize was, after an obſtinate engagement, without ſucceſs. On the fourth of July the INDEPENDENCY of the UNITED COLONIES of AMERICA was ordered to be declared by Congreſs throughout the different provinces.

Richard, viſcount Howe, and his brother William, general of his majeſty's forces in America, having been appointed commiſſioners for reſtoring peace to his majeſty's colonies and plantations in North America, on the nineteenth of September they publiſhed a conciliatory declaration, addreſſed to the provincials, which was far from having the wiſhed-for effect, the Americans being at this time adverſe to every mode offered by government; and inſtances occurred daily of their determination to preſerve themſelves independent. After this, many ſkirmiſhes happened between the king's troops and the provincials; but nothing deciſive till the latter end of October, when the latter were defeated in an action, which, from the place where it was fought, was termed the battle of the White Plains. In the diſpatches from general Howe, dated November the thirtieth, information was given of the taking of Fort Waſhington and Fort Lee, by the Britiſh forces, together with a great variety of military ſtores, and many priſoners. The following is the return of officers and privates killed, wounded and miſſing, belonging to the army under general Howe, in the ſeveral ſkirmiſhes and actions from the ſeventeenth of September, to the ſixteenth of November. Officers three hundred and four; ſtaff ditto twenty-five; privates four thouſand one hundred and one. Total four thouſand four hundred and thirty.

In December, Rhode Iſland was taken by general Clinton; about the ſame time lord Cornwallis took poſſeſſion of Eaſt Jerſey, and general Lee was taken priſoner by a patrole of Britiſh dragoons, commanded by lieutenant-colonel (now lord) Harcourt. His lordſhip having penetrated the country upon a reconnoitring party with about twelve light dragoons, and chancing to meet a countryman on the road, entered upon examination of him, and found he was charged with a letter to general Waſhington, and that the wafer with which the letter was ſealed was ſtill wet; the ſignature being that of Mr. Lee, the colonel deſired the countryman to conduct him to that gentleman, which he complied with. The countryman was accordingly mounted behind one of the dragoons, and a party galloped to the houſe where Lee was: the guard fired upon the dragoons, by which one private man was killed, and a cornet wounded; a bullet paſſed through colonel Harcourt's helmet, but did not do him the leaſt injury. Lee was ſummoned to ſurrender, which he complied with, delivered up his ſword, and in the moſt earneſt manner interceded for his life, deſiring to come in under the proclamation. This, of courſe, could not be complied with; and he was carried to the head-quarters, and lodged on board one of his majeſty's ſhips. He was afterwards exchanged for ſome of the king's officers, who had been taken priſoners by the provincials.

On the laſt day of October the parliament met, when his majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which the king gave them to underſtand, that they muſt, at all events, prepare for another campaign; nor did his majeſty doubt, but that his faithful commons would readily and chearfully grant him ſuch ſupplies, as the maintenance of the honour of his crown, the vindication of the juſt rights of parliament, and the public welfare, ſhould be found to require.

The firſt buſineſs entered on was, the conſideration of the ſupplies; when a motion was made, that forty-five thouſand ſeamen, including ten thouſand one hundred and twenty-nine marines, be employed for the ſervice of the enſuing year. This motion produced ſome debates, but was at length carried by a great majority. At the ſame time a reſolution paſſed, for allowing four pounds per man per month for the maintenance and wages of every ſeaman. The committee of ways and means, after a motion made for the purpoſe, reſolved, that the land-tax for 1777 ſhould be four ſhillings in the pound.

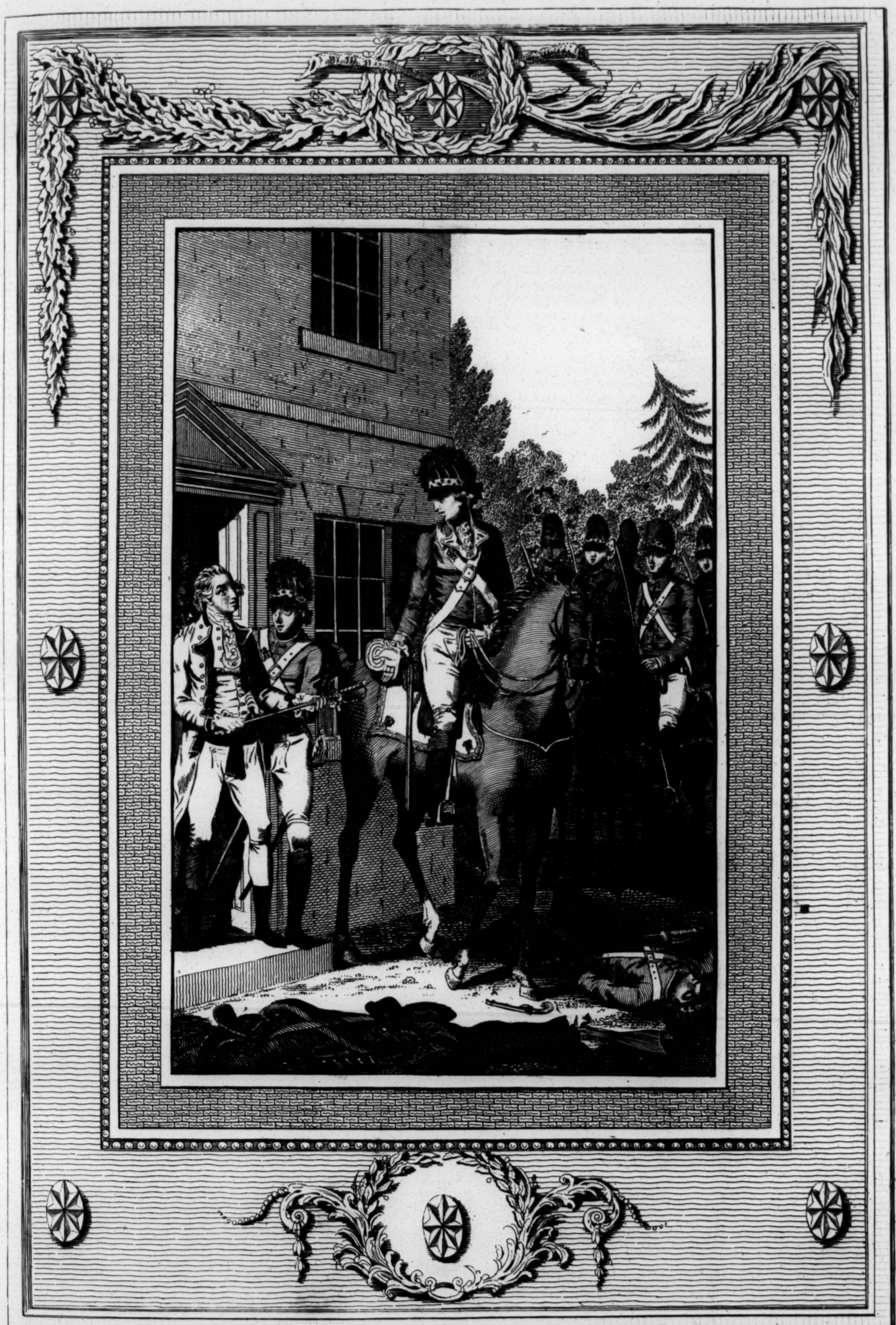
On the ſecond of November a proclamation was iſſued by his majeſty, for a general faſt to be kept throughout England on the thirteenth of December following. It was alſo appointed to be held on the ſame day in Ireland, and on the twelfth in Scotland.

Previous to the holidays, the money granted by parliament for defraying the expences of the navy, including the ordinary at four hundred thouſand and five pounds; and the building and repairing of ſhips, which was voted at four hundred and ſixty-five thouſand five hundred pounds, amounted to no leſs than three millions, two hundred and five thouſand five hundred and five pounds, excluſive of four thouſand pounds voted afterwards to Greenwich hoſpital, and a million granted towards the diſcharge of the navy debt. The ſupplies being ſo far granted, and no public buſineſs of any moment in the way, an early and long receſs took place, the houſe adjourning on the ſecond of December to the twenty-firſt of January following.

This year was terminated with an event, which for ſome time cauſed great ſuſpicion and confuſion. At the admiralty office, advice was received by expreſs, that a fire had broke out in the rope-houſe of his majeſty's yard at Portſmouth, about half an hour after four o'clock on Saturday afternoon, which burned with great violence, and conſumed the ſame, except the outer walls; but it was happily prevented from extending to any other buildings, and was at length totally extinguiſhed. How this accident, and another of the like nature at Briſtol happened, was for ſome time a myſtery; but at length it was diſcovered, that they took place by the machinations of a wretched enthuſiaſt and incendiary, ſince well known by the appellation of John the Painter, but whoſe real name was Aitken. When taken up and under examination, he refuſed anſwering any queſtions, and otherwiſe behaved in a very daring and reſolute manner. However, there appearing ſufficient reaſon to ſuppoſe him the guilty perſon, he was committed to Wincheſter jail. While there, he was circumvented by means of another painter, who being either an American, or having lived on that continent, through which Aitken had travelled, found means thereby, pretending at the ſame time to ſympathize in his misfortunes, and to hold principles ſimilar to his own, to obtain his confidence in priſon; until at length, being inſtructed and aſſiſted for the purpoſe, he fulfilled his intent, by drawing from him the whole hiſtory of his crimes. Upon his trial at Wincheſter, notwithſtanding the ſhock which the appearance and evidence of his pretended friend muſt have given, he behaved with the ſame boldneſs and addreſs which he had hitherto manifeſted; made a good defence, ſhrewd obſervations on the nature of the evidence, and the acknowledged baſeneſs of the witneſs, and received ſentence of death with the moſt perfect indifference. He ſent for one of the principal naval officers of Portſmouth, either going to, or at the place of execution, to whom he acknowledged his crime, and alſo gave ſome cautions with reſpect to the future preſervation of the royal yards from ſimilar dangers. This criminal was tried at Wincheſter on the ſixth of March, 1777, and from the heinouſneſs of his crime (of which he was found guilty) was executed at the Dock-gate, Portſmouth, on the tenth of the ſame month.

A. D. 1777.

On January the twenty-firſt, the parliament met purſuant to adjournment, and immediately proceeded on the buſineſs of the nation. The firſt thing that engaged particular notice was, a bill brought into the lower houſe for granting commiſſions, or letters of marque and repriſal, as they are uſually called, to the owners or captains of private merchant ſhips, authoriſing them to take and make prize of all veſſels, with their effects, belonging to any of the inhabitants of the thirteen ſpecified revolted American colonies. This bill paſſed the commons without the leaſt oppoſition; nor did it produce much debate among the lords, with whom it only underwent the trifling alteration, of inſerting the words "letters of commiſſion," in the place of "letters of marque," the latter being thought only applicable to repriſals on a foreign enemy. On the ſame day this bill paſſed the lords, a motion was made in the houſe of commons, for leave to bring in a bill to enable his majeſty to ſecure and detain perſons charged with or ſuſpected of the crime of high-treaſon committed in America, or on the high ſeas, or the crime of piracy. The bill being admitted, was, after great debates, read the firſt time; and a motion being made for the ſecond reading, it was carried by a great majority. It occaſioned much murmuring among the people; and during the ſhort time it was in agitation, a petition againſt it was preſented to the commons from the city of London. At the very next meeting of the members, the bill petitioned againſt was read the third time and paſſed. It met with more oppoſition in the upper than the lower houſe; but after the third reading, the queſtion being put, it was carried without further debate, and on the third of March received the royal aſſent. The next thing which engaged the attention of the commons was a meſſage from his majeſty, intimating his deſire, that his faithful commons would enable him to diſ-



Hamilton delin.

The American General Lee taken Prisoner by Lieutenant Colonel Harcourt of the ENGLISH ARMY, in Morris Country, New Jersey, 1776.

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charge the debts incurred by the expences of his houſhold, and at the ſame time make ſome further proviſion for the ſupport of the honour and dignity of his crown.

On the day appointed for taking this matter into conſideration, the houſe went into a committee of ſupply; and, after ſome debates, came to the following reſolutions:

Reſolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that the ſum of 618,240l. 9s. be granted to his majeſty, to diſcharge the arrears and debts due and owing on account of the civil liſt on the 5th of January, 1777.

Reſolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that the ſum of 100,000l. per annum be granted to his majeſty, over and above the yearly ſum of 800,000l. granted by an act made in the firſt year of his reign.

When theſe reſolutions were reported from the committee of ſupply to the whole houſe, the firſt was agreed to without any oppoſition; but the ſecond produced debates that continued for ſeveral hours, at the cloſe of which, however, it was agreed to by a great majority. In conſequence of theſe reſolutions a bill was immediately framed, which ſoon paſſed both houſes; and on the 7th of May received the royal aſſent. No other material matter occurred during the remainder of this ſeſſion. The national buſineſs being therefore finiſhed, on the 6th of June his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and after ſigning ſuch bills as were ready, prorogued the parliament.

Let us now return to America, where the war was ſtill proſecuted with the utmoſt vigour. Several ſkirmiſhes happened in the beginning of this year in the Jerſeys, with various ſucceſs. On the 23d and 24th of March, a great quantity of proviſions, ſtores, &c. with barracks and ſtore-houſes belonging to the provincials, were deſtroyed by the king's troops at Peek's Hill, upon the North River. The cruizers belonging to lord Howe and commodore Hotham's fleet, continued to take many prizes. In Connecticut, on the 27th of April, the king's troops deſtroyed a great quantity of ſtores at Danbury.

General Burgoyne, with the northern army, proceeded to Ticonderago and Fort Independence, which he took poſſeſſion of on the 6th of July; and found in them great quantities of ſtores and proviſions, beſides what he deſtroyed at Skeneſborough. Soon after this he took poſſeſſion of Fort Edward, which the provincials abandoned; and then proceeded to Saratoga, where they were ſtrongly poſted.

On the 11th of September the troops under the command of general Howe had an engagement with the provincials on the heights of Brandy-wine, in which many were killed and wounded on both ſides, and 400 provincials taken priſoners. On the 25th the army marched in two columns to German Town; and lord Cornwallis, with the Britiſh grenadiers, and two battalions of Heſſian grenadiers, took poſſeſſion of Philadelphia the next morning.

On the 3d of October, the enemy having received a reinforcement of 1500 men from Peek's Hill, 1000 from Virginia, and preſuming upon the army being much weakened by the detachments to Philadelphia and Jerſey, thought it a favourable time for them to riſk an action. They accordingly marched at ſix o'clock in the evening of the 3d, from their camp near Skippach Creek, about 16 miles from German Town. This village forms one continued ſtreet for two miles, which the line of encampment, in the poſition the army then occupied, croſſed at right angles, near a mile from the head of it, where the ſecond battalion of light infantry and the 40th regiment were poſted.

At three o'clock in the morning of the fourth, the patroles diſcovered the enemy's approach; and upon the communication of this intelligence, the army was immediately ordered under arms. Soon after the break of day, the enemy began their attack upon the ſecond light infantry, which they ſuſtained for a conſiderable time, ſupported by the fortieth regiment; but at length, being overpowered by increaſing numbers, the light infantry, and a part of the fortieth retired into the village, when lieutenant-colonel Muſgrave, with ſix companies of the latter corps, threw himſelf into a large ſtone houſe in the face of the enemy, which, though ſurrounded by a brigade, and attacked by four pieces of cannon, he moſt gallantly defended, until major-general Grey, at the head of three battalions of the third brigade, turning his front to the village, and brigadier-general Agnew, who covered major-general Grey's left with the fourth brigade, by a vigorous attack repulſed the enemy, that had penetrated into the upper part of the village, which was done with great ſlaughter; the fifth and fifty-fifth regiments from the right, engaging them at the ſame time on the other ſide of the village, completed the defeat of the enemy in this quarter.

Major-general Grant, who was upon the right, moved up the forty-ninth regiment with four pieces of cannon to the left of the fourth regiment, about the time major-general Grey had forced the enemy in the village; and then advancing with the right wing, the enemy's left gave way, and was purſued through a ſtrong country between four and five miles. The enemy retired near twenty miles by ſeveral roads to Perkiomy Creek, and encamped upon Skippach Creek, about eighteen miles diſtant. They ſaved all their cannon by withdrawing them early in the day.

On the 16th of October the provincials, under the command of general Gates, having ſurrounded general Burgoyne's army at Saratoga, the latter thought proper to enter into articles of capitulation; by which himſelf and his troops, after laying down their arms, were to have a free paſſage to Great Britain.

The parliament aſſembled on the twentieth of November, when his majeſty opened the ſeſſion in the uſual form. The ſupplies being granted, and ſeveral bills ready, among which was one for ſuſpending the Habeas Corpus, his majeſty, on the tenth of December, adjourned the parliament.

A. D. 1778.

Both houſes re-aſſembled on the 23d of January; and on the 6th of February the houſe was full, to hear Mr. Burke's motion. The honourable member began with an awful ſolemnity to prepare their minds, and incline them to adopt his ſentiments, and join him in his endeavours to make the houſe as ſenſible as he was, of the many barbarities which he ſaid had been committed during the war in America. Adminiſtration, lord Dunmore, and general Burgoyne, were placed upon the carpet; and the ſhare they had in the barbarities complained of, held up to view. The whole ſpeech, though it laſted three hours, was no more than a preface to his motion. When he thought he had ſaid ſufficient for his purpoſe, he moved, that copies of the treaties entered into with the Indians, ſhould be laid before the houſe.

The oppoſite ſide vindicated the Indians from the reflections thrown on them. The facts urged as proofs of the untameable and ungovernable rage of the Indians, it was ſaid were by much exaggerated; owed a great deal of their horror to the fancy of the orator; and, ſuch as they were, ought to be deemed the acts of a few lawleſs banditti of their body, who equally diſclaimed obedience to our commanders and their own; and not to be attributed to the nation, who, to the knowledge of many members of the houſe, had often acted with a degree of humanity which might make even Chriſtians bluſh. The freeing the negroes by lord Dunmore, was juſtified on the ground of neceſſity; it was impoſſible to raiſe men otherwiſe to recover our juſt rights; every private conſideration ſhould give way to promote the public good. The debate was warm, intereſting, and laſted near ſeven hours. The queſtion being put, the motion was rejected by a majority of eighty-ſix; the numbers for it one hundred and thirty-ſeven, againſt it two hundred and twenty-three.

On the nineteenth of February lord North preſented to the houſe, a bill to enable his majeſty to appoint commiſſioners to treat, conſent, and agree on the means of quieting the diſorders ſubſiſting in certain of the colonies, plantations, and provinces of America: alſo a bill for declaring the intention of the parliament of Great Britain, concerning the exerciſe of the right of impoſing taxes on the colonies. Another bill of a conciliatory nature was likewiſe paſſed. But the apparent intent of theſe bills, ſeemed in ſome meaſure defeated by the recent treaty of amity and commerce, entered into between the Americans and the court of France.

On the twenty-ſecond of March, the French having laid an embargo on all ſhipping in their ports, and having previouſly fitted out a large fleet, it was thought neceſſary to call out the militia of England and encamp them, in order to oppoſe any deſigned invaſion; and on March the twenty-ſeventh an order was iſſued for detaining in the ports of England all French ſhips. On the thirteenth of April commiſſioners were appointed to go with conciliatory terms to America; and on the ſixteenth of the ſame month, a proper proviſion was made for the younger branches of the royal family.

Tueſday, April the ſeventh, the houſe of lords went into a committee of enquiry, purſuant to notice given by his grace the duke of Richmond on a former day, when lord Chatham roſe, in the courſe of the enquiry, and after lamenting that his bodily infirmities had ſo long, and at ſo important a criſis, prevented his attendance on the duties of parliament, he declared that he had made an effort, almoſt beyond the powers of his conſtitution, to come down to the houſe on that day, to expreſs his indignation at the puſillanimous idea of giving up the dependence of America, through the apprehenſions of a war with France. He ſhould think himſelf guilty of the deepeſt treachery, if he could ever ſubſcribe to American independence. He ſpoke in a kind of enthuſiaſtic rapture of the paſt glories of the houſe of Brunſwic; and aſked, who was the man that would dare to give up any part of its dominions? Who would dare to diſinherit the prince of Wales, the biſhop of Oſnaburgh, and all the fair hopes of that beloved family of proteſtant princes, deſcended from the body of the revered princeſs Sophia? His lordſhip cut his ſpeech ſhort from extreme weakneſs, when the duke of Richmond again roſe; and when his grace came near the end of his reply, lord Chatham's great ſoul ſeemed agitated with ſome big thought; and after the duke had ſat down, his lordſhip attempted to riſe; but his feelings proved too ſtrong for his debilitated conſtitution, and ſuddenly preſſing his hand on his ſtomach, he fell into a convulſive fit. The whole houſe was in the greateſt alarm poſſible; the bar cleared; the windows thrown open; but to no effect. Very fortunately, Dr. Brockleſby happened to be below the bar of the houſe of lords to hear the debates when his lordſhip dropt, who immediately flew to his relief, and exerted all his humanity and ſkill for the recovery of ſo illuſtrious a character. His endeavours ſoon prevailed, and his lordſhip recovered his ſenſes: but on the arrival of Dr. Addington (his lordſhip's family phyſician) both the medical gentlemen thought it neceſſary to have his lordſhip no further removed than to Mr. Strutt's (the clerk of the houſe of lords) leſt the motion of a carriage might again affect his ſpirits. As ſoon as his lordſhip had been taken out of the houſe, the duke of Richmond ſaid, ſuch an event muſt have deranged their minds too much to proceed on the debate; he would therefore ſubmit it to them to adjourn the motion. This meeting their lordſhip's concurrence, the houſe adjourned to next day.

To the great regret of the nation, on the twelfth of May, our great ſtateſman, the earl of Chatham, departed this life, at his ſeat at Hayes, in Kent. He had ſerved his country with fidelity and ſucceſs; and the ſplendor of its atchievements departed with him. This great ornament of human nature, and glory of the Engliſh nation, the right honourable William Pitt, was earl of Chatham, viſcount Pitt of Burton Pynſent in Somerſetſhire, F. R. S. and prime miniſter of this kingdom. He took the helm of ſtate at a very critical and dangerous criſis; and by his great abilities reſcued this nation from the perilous ſituation in which he found it, and carried its reputation to a high pitch of glory. His lordſhip was created a peer by the above titles, the thirtieth of July, 1766. He married lady Heſter, ſiſter to earl Temple, who was created baroneſs of Chatham, the fourteenth of December, 1761. His title devolved on his eldeſt ſon, John, lord viſcount Pitt, born the twenty-eighth of October, 1756. The citizens of London, ever grateful to real patriots, have erected, in their Guildhall, a new cenotaph to the memory of the earl of Chatham; and the Britiſh nation honoured his merit by a public funeral, and a public monument among her illuſtrious characters in Weſtminſter abby. The noble earl was born November the fifteenth, 1708.

On the twenty-eighth, the royal aſſent was given to a bill for the relief of the Roman catholics; and about the ſame time an embargo was laid on all foreign veſſels in the ports of England. On the ſecond of June his majeſty went in ſtate to the houſe of peers; when having given his aſſent to ſeveral bills, particularly one for ſettling an annuity on the deſcendants of the late earl of Chatham, he prorogued the parliament.

Admiral Keppel having ſailed with a fleet, not ſufficient in point of force, for the purpoſe of attacking the French, returned to England for reinforcement, which having obtained, he again put to ſea. On July the twenty-ſeventh the two grand fleets met, and came to an engagement off Uſhant; the iſſue of which (in conſequence of an accuſation laid by Sir Hugh Palliſer, vice-admiral, againſt the chief commander) produced great diſſentions. The engagement was repreſented in ſuch a light by Sir Hugh Palliſer, as to ſtigmatize the reputation of the admiral; Mr. Keppel, however, vindicated his character in parliament on the ſecond of December; notwithſtanding which, Sir Hugh Palliſer exhibited his charges againſt him on the ſeventeeth of the ſame month at the admiralty. The bill for his trial on land received the royal aſſent on the twenty-fourth enſuing; his trial accordingly began on the ſeventh of January, 1779, and ended on the firſt of February, when he was unanimouſly acquitted with the greateſt honour, and the proſecution pronounced to be malicious. On his acquittal the moſt general demonſtrations of joy took place, and the greateſt illuminations, perhaps ever known, enſued in moſt of the cities, towns, &c. throughout the kingdom. He likewiſe received the united thanks of the houſe of lords, houſe of commons, the lord-mayor and common-council of the city of London (who preſented him with the freedom of the city in a box made of heart of oak, and richly ornamented with gold) and of many other cities, towns, corporations, &c.

On the eighteenth of June, general Clinton evacuated Philadelphia. He was attacked on his march

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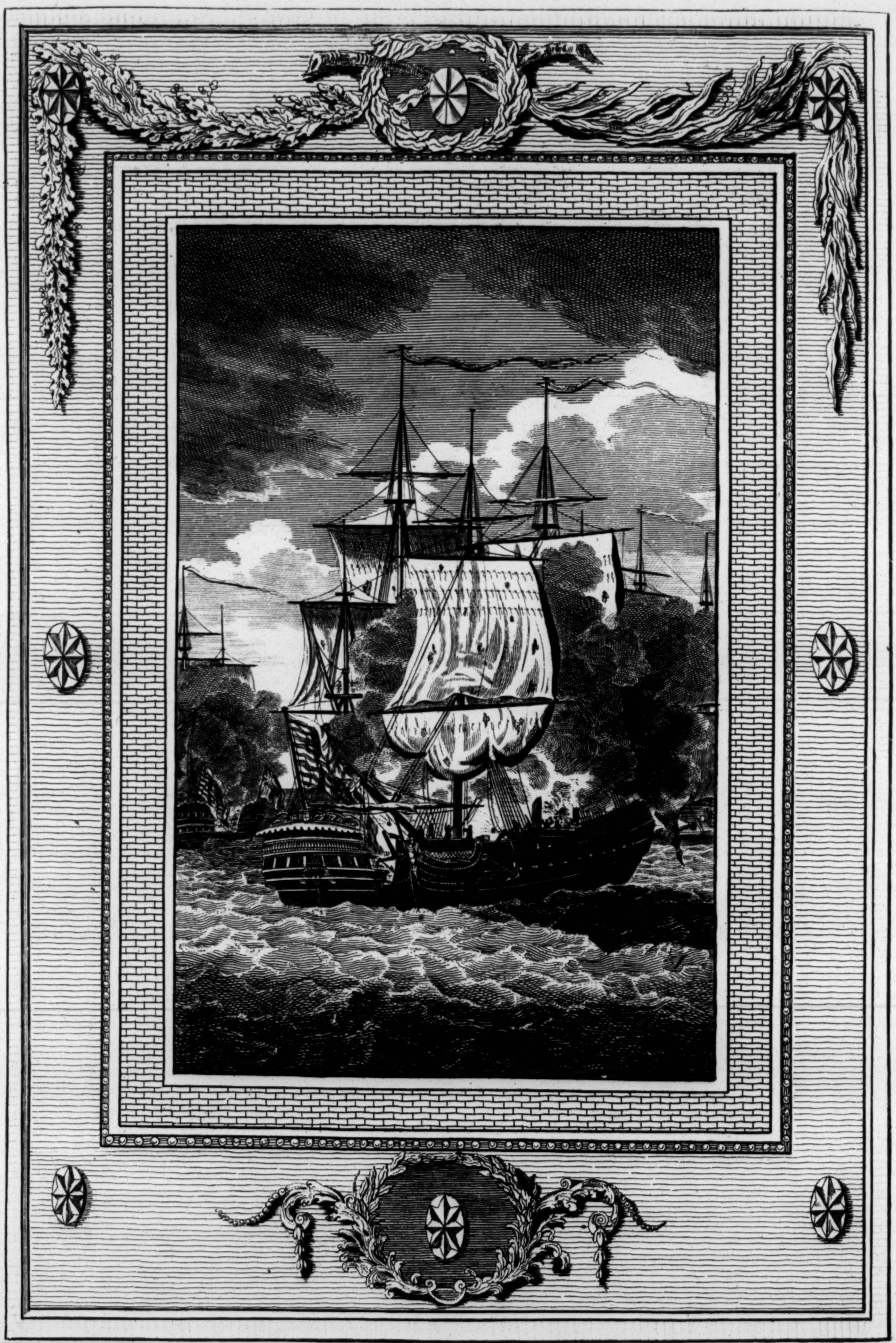

Drawn by Hamilton. Engraved by R. Collier.

The ENGAGEMENT of Captn. Pearson in HIS MAJESTY's Ship Serapis, with Paul Jones of the American Ship of War called the Bon Homme Richard: in which Action the former was taken, while the Counteſs of Scarborough was also captured by the Pallas frigat

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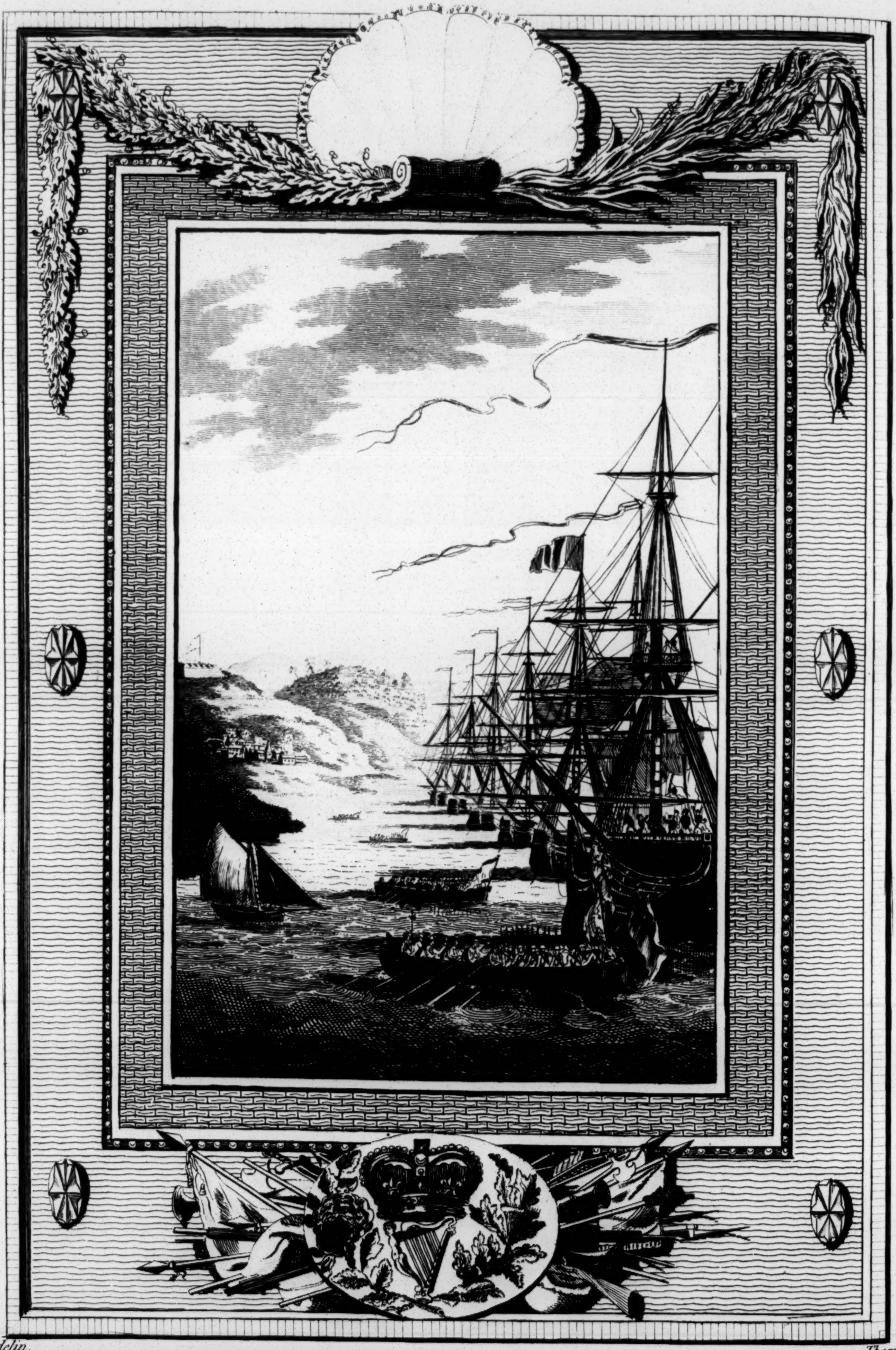


Hamilton delin. *Thornton sculp.*

St. LUCIA *in the* WEST INDIES *taken* Poſseſsion *of by* ADMIRAL BARRINGTON
Monſieur de Micoud *and the* Inhabitants *having* Capitulated *the 30th of December, 1778,*
being the day after COUNT D' ESTAIGN *left the* Iſland *much disconcerted*

march by the provincials, whoſe object appeared to be the gaining poſſeſſion of the Britiſh baggage: but in this they were diſappointed, and every where repulſed, by means of the judicious manner in which general Clinton had diſpoſed his troops. After this event the earl of Carliſle, Mr. Eden, and governor Johnſtone, were ſent as commiſſioners from Great Britain, to treat of a pacification with America, but did not meet with that ſucceſs that every true lover of both countries could wiſh. About the ſame time the iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon were taken from the French, by admiral Montague's fleet; in oppoſition to which, the iſland of Dominica was captured by an armament of French and Americans from Martinico.

On the eleventh of December, admiral Barrington, (who ſucceeded lord Howe in the command of the Britiſh fleet) and a body of forces under general Grant, ſeized on the iſland of St. Lucia, one of the Antilles belonging to the French. It was afterwards attempted to be retaken by count d'Eſtaing, but he was repulſed both by ſea and land, and was obliged to leave the iſland much diſconcerted. On the fourth of January the enſuing year, Georgia ſurrendered to a detachment of Britiſh troops, and many inhabitants of that colony and of the Carolinas came in and joined the royaliſts.

A. D. 1779. A deſperate engagement was fought on the ſixth of July, between the Engliſh, commanded by admiral Barrington, and the French by count d'Eſtaing, in which the French claimed the victory. The Engliſh commander was wounded, and loſt near two hundred men; but no ſhips were taken on either ſide. M. d'Eſtaing, being afterwards joined by a body of Americans under general Lincoln, made an attack on the Britiſh lines at Savannah, but was repulſed with great ſlaughter, and himſelf wounded; ſoon after which the French abandoned the American coaſts.

The combined fleets of France and Spain took their departure from Plymouth, on the eighteenth of Auguſt, without attempting any hoſtilities, except in the attack of the Ardent man of war, captain Boteler, who defended himſelf heroically againſt two frigates, and three ſeventy-four of the enemy, for near three hours, but was at laſt obliged to ſtrike to this unequal force, after having every yard, and her main-maſt ſhot away. The fleet of the enemy, conſiſting of ſixty ſail of the line, twenty frigates, and tranſports, made their appearance on the morning of the fourteenth, and in a few hours arrived off Cauſand-bay, where they lay to, in two grand diviſions, for four days, till their departure. As ſoon as it was high-water on Wedneſday evening, count d'Orvilliers' ſhip fired a gun to leeward, which was returned by that of count d'Arce, the Spaniſh admiral, on which the two diviſions tacked immediately, and ſtood to the ſouthward. On Thurſday morning they were barely diſcernable, with the beſt glaſſes, ſteering the ſame courſe, and by noon were totally out of ſight. The conſternation occaſioned by the firſt appearance of this vaſt naval armament was certainly great, the inhabitants flying with what valuable effects they could get together, ſo that the town was preſently left to thoſe only who meant gallantly to defend it; and to the credit of the country, the place of the female and infirm fugitives was more than doubly ſupplied by the able volunteers who flocked in from all parts. The garriſon, which conſiſted of four thouſand effective men, were under arms night and day, as were the officers and artificers of the dock, about two thouſand more; and, from the general diſpoſition, they would have defended the place to the laſt extremity. The vigliance and ſpirit of the officers ſoon got the better of the firſt momentary panic, and not a man was to be fouud within twenty miles of the place that did not arm himſelf, and bravely reſolve to ſhed his blood in defence of his country. The warmeſt encomiums are due to lord Shuldham, who commanded at that port, and the reſt of the officers, naval as well as military, whoſe activity and zeal ſerved to raiſe a glorious animation that pervaded the whole country.

The Serapis frigate, and Counteſs of Scarborough armed ſhip, having the fleet from the Baltic under their convoy, were attacked, between Flamborough head, and Scarborough, by Paul Jones's ſquadron, when, after a ſevere engagement, in which the Serapis loſt her main-maſt, bowſprit, and mizen top-maſt, and was otherwiſe much ſhattered, as was alſo the Counteſs of Scarborough, and they were both taken. The merchant ſhips were ſeparated during the action, part of which had taken ſhelter on the coaſt near Scarborough, and two were arrived at Hull. In captain Pearſon's letter to the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty, he gives the following account of this obſtinate engagement. "We at length dropt along ſide of each other, head and ſtern, when the fluke of our ſpare anchor hooking his quarter, we became ſo cloſe fore and aft, that the muzzles of our guns touched each others ſides. In this poſition we engaged from half paſt eight till half paſt ten, during which time, from the great quantity and variety of combuſtible matter which they threw in upon our decks, chains, and in ſhort into every part of the ſhip, we were on fire ten or twelve times in different places, and it was with the greateſt difficulty and exertion imaginable, at times, that we were able to get it extinguiſhed. At the ſame time the largeſt of the two frigates kept ſailing round us the whole action, and raking us fore and aft, by which means ſhe killed or wounded almoſt every man on the quarter and main decks. About half paſt nine, either from a hand grenade being thrown at one of our lower-deck ports, or from ſome other accident, a cartridge of powder was ſet on fire, the flames of which running from cartridge to cartridge all the way aft, blew up the whole of the people and officers that were quartered abaft the main-maſt, from which unfortunate circumſtance all thoſe guns were rendered uſeleſs for the remainder of the action, and I fear the greateſt part of the people will loſe their lives. At ten o'clock they called for quarters from the ſhip along-ſide, and ſaid they had ſtruck. Hearing this, I called upon the captain to know if they had ſtruck, or if he aſked for quarters; but no anſwer being made, after repeating my words two or three times, I called for the boarders, and ordered them to board, which they did; but the moment they were on board her, they diſcovered a ſuperior number lying under cover with pikes in their hands ready to receive them, on which our people retreated inſtantly into our own ſhip, and returned to their guns again till half paſt ten, when the frigate coming acroſs our ſtern, and pouring her broadſide into us again, without our being able to bring a gun to bear on her, I found it in vain, and, in ſhort, impracticable, from the ſituation we were in, to ſtand out any longer with the leaſt proſpect of ſucceſs; I therefore ſtruck (our main-maſt at the ſame time went by the board). The firſt lieutenant and myſelf were immediately eſcorted into the ſhip along-ſide, when we found her to be an American ſhip of war, called the Bon Homme Richard, of forty guns and three hundred and ſeventy-five men, commanded by captain Paul Jones; the other frigate which engaged us, to be the Alliance, of forty guns and three hundred men; and the third frigate which engaged and took the Counteſs of Scarborough after two hours action, to be the Pallas, a French frigate of thirty-two guns and two hundred and ſeventy-five men; the Vengeance, an armed brig of twelve guns and ſeventy men, all in Congreſs ſervice, and under the command of Paul Jones." This action of our gallant commander happened on the twenty-fifth of September.

tember. It occaſioned a ſpirited memorial from the Engliſh court, to the States of Holland, which was ſoon after followed by open acts of hoſtility.

In the month of October another bloody engagement took place between the Quebec frigate, which was blown up in an action with a French forty gun ſhip, about fourteen leagues S. W. of Uſhant; of which the following narrative is given by Mr. James George, lieutenant of the Rambler cutter, the Quebec's conſort. "Wedneſday, the ſixth inſtant, at day-break, we diſcovered three ſail to leeward. Captain Farmer made the ſignal for the Rambler to come under his ſtern, which I obeyed; he then aſked me what I thought of them; I told him a ſhip, a cutter, and a Dutch hoy; he replied, he would go down and ſee what they were, and ordered me to keep cloſe to him. At half paſt eight we plainly perceived two of them to be a large French frigate, and a cutter. At ten the Quebec, being within point blank ſhot of the enemy, hoiſted her colours, and returned their fire, ſtill edging down to come to a cloſer engagement, till ſhe was along-ſide the French frigate. Immediately I hoiſted my colours, and ſtood in between the French frigate and the cutter, with an intent to bring her to a cloſe engagement, which I effected at eleven o'clock. I found her force to be ſixteen ſix pounders, and full of men. We continued to engage her, cloſe along-ſide, till within a few minutes of two o'clock, when ſhe ſet all the ſail ſhe could croud, and bore from us, we not having had the luck to carry away any thing material; and the Rambler having her garf ſhot away, her top-maſt ſhot through, the top-ſail haliyards, and moſt of her ſtanding and running rigging gone, and the mainſail rendered unſerviceable, was incapable of following her with any hopes of coming up with her; at the ſame time ſeeing both the frigates diſmaſted, and the Quebec take fire, I endeavoured to get as near the Quebec as poſſible, in hopes of ſaving ſome of her men; but there being little wind, and a large ſwell, found I could aſſiſt her no other way but by hoiſting out our boats, which I effected, and ſent the maſter and five men armed in her, who picked up one maſter's mate, two young midſhipmen, and fourteen more of the Quebec's people, the enemy's frigate at the ſame time firing at the boat. As the Rambler was at a conſiderable diſtance, to leeward of the Quebec, I thought it would be in vain to ſend a ſecond time.

"I want words ſufficient to deſcribe the noble and gallant manner of captain Farmer's engaging the enemy for upwards of three hours and an half that he lay along-ſide the frigate, which carried twenty-eight eighteen pounders on her main-deck, and twelve guns on her quarter-deck and forecaſtle. The Quebec continued burning very fiercely, with her colours flying, till ſix o'clock, when ſhe blew up." Thirteen of the brave crew were taken from the wreck by a Pruſſian veſſel, who put them into a Topſham pilot-boat; theſe with the few abovementioned were all who were ſaved; the remainder periſhed either by the fire or water, among whom was the intrepid captain Farmer, deſervedly, and to this day, lamented both by his friends and country. The engagement began about nine o'clock in the morning, yard-arm and yard-arm, and laſted till two, when the Frenchman ceaſed firing.

On the twenty-fourth of October the officers and garriſon of Omoa, ſurrendered that fort to the honourable captain John Luttrell, of his majeſty's ſhip the Charon, and William Dalrymple, Eſq; commander of the land forces. The officers, ſoldiers, and ſeamen, exerted themſelves upon every point of duty in a diſtinguiſhed manner: but of the various proofs of an undaunted and elevated mind, during the eſcalade, we muſt not omit that of a brave Britiſh tar, which amazed the Spaniards, and gave them a very high idea of Engliſh valour: not contented with one cutlaſs, he had ſcrambled up the walls with two; and meeting a Spaniſh officer without arms, who had been rouſed out of his ſleep, had the generoſity not to take any advantage, but, preſenting him one of his cutlaſſes told him, 'You are now on a footing with me.'—The orders were not to ſpare while they reſiſted, but to grant quarters to all who requeſted it. Only two Spaniards were wounded by the bayonet in reſiſting, nor was any perſon pillaged or plundered.

A. D. 1780.

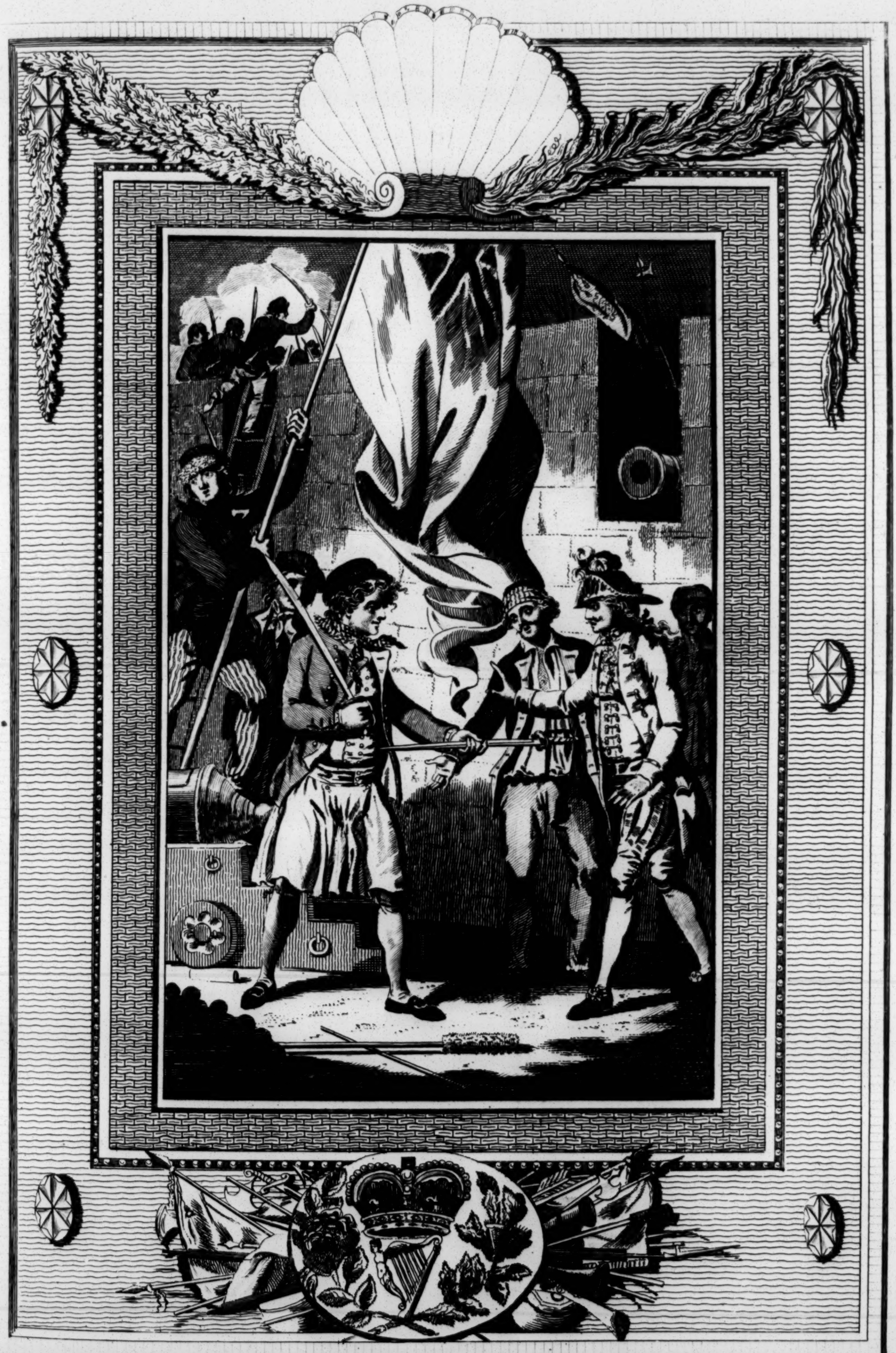
A ſignal victory was obtained on the ſixteenth of January, by admiral Rodney, over the Spaniſh fleet, commanded by Don Juan Langara, off Cape St. Vincent's; by means of which the fortreſs of Gibraltar, then beſieged by the Spaniards, and the people in great diſtreſs for want of proviſions, were happily relieved. In this action the Spaniſh admiral and ſeven ſhips, the greateſt part of his ſquadron, were either taken or deſtroyed. On the eleventh of May Charles Town ſurrendered to Sir Henry Clinton; in which were taken ſeveral officers, a commodore, ten continental regiments, and three battalions of artillery, with a great number of American and French ſeamen; in all ſix thouſand men in arms, beſides ſeveral armed ſhips, and four hundred pieces of cannon. On the ſeventeenth, a very ſmart engagement took place between the Engliſh fleet, commanded by admiral Rodney, and the French under M. de Guichen, near Martinico. It laſted for ſome time, and in the end proved unfavourable to the French, though no ſhips were taken on either ſide.

On the ſixteenth of Auguſt a victory was obtained over the American army under general Gates, by the Britiſh army under lord Cornwallis. The loſs of the Americans was about nine hundred ſlain, among whom was brigadier-general Gregory; and about one thouſand were taken priſoners. Soon after this action lieutenant-colonel Tarleton defeated general Sumpter's army, which was greatly ſuperior to his own, taking two pieces of cannon, and about three hundred priſoners.

In November general Arnold (one of the chief commanders of the American forces) deſerted that ſervice; whoſe defection occaſioned the melancholy cataſtrophe of major Andreé, adjutant-general of the Britiſh army, commanded by Sir Henry Clinton. Arnold, before he eſcaped, had, with major Andreé, concerted a plan for ſurprizing the American army. This ſcheme, however, failed, and Andreé, being taken as a ſpy, was, by order of general Waſhington, executed. It is aſſerted that the officers who formed the council of war that condemned him, wept when his ſentence was pronounced. Univerſally beloved and eſteemed, he was only twenty-ſeven years old when he died; and though he had ſerved but eight years, his merit promiſed to raiſe him ſoon to the higheſt honours. And beſides his military talents, he was remarkable for a well cultivated genius, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by many agreeable fugitive pieces. In ſhort, every thing ſeemed to conſpire to render his melancholy end more affecting ſtill.

On the twenty-firſt of December was publiſhed, in a Gazette extraordinary, his majeſty's manifeſto, wherein ſeveral ſtriking allegations were ably ſupported, tending to prove, that the States, particularly Amſterdam, had, in various inſtances, been guilty of an infraction of the law of nations, and a flagrant violation of public faith. In conſequence of which the king had ordered his ambaſſador to withdraw from the Hague; and was determined to purſue ſuch vigorous meaſures as the occaſion fully juſtified, his own dignity, and the intereſts of his people required.

This year teemed with diſturbances at home of a very ſingular nature; which took their riſe from an averſion

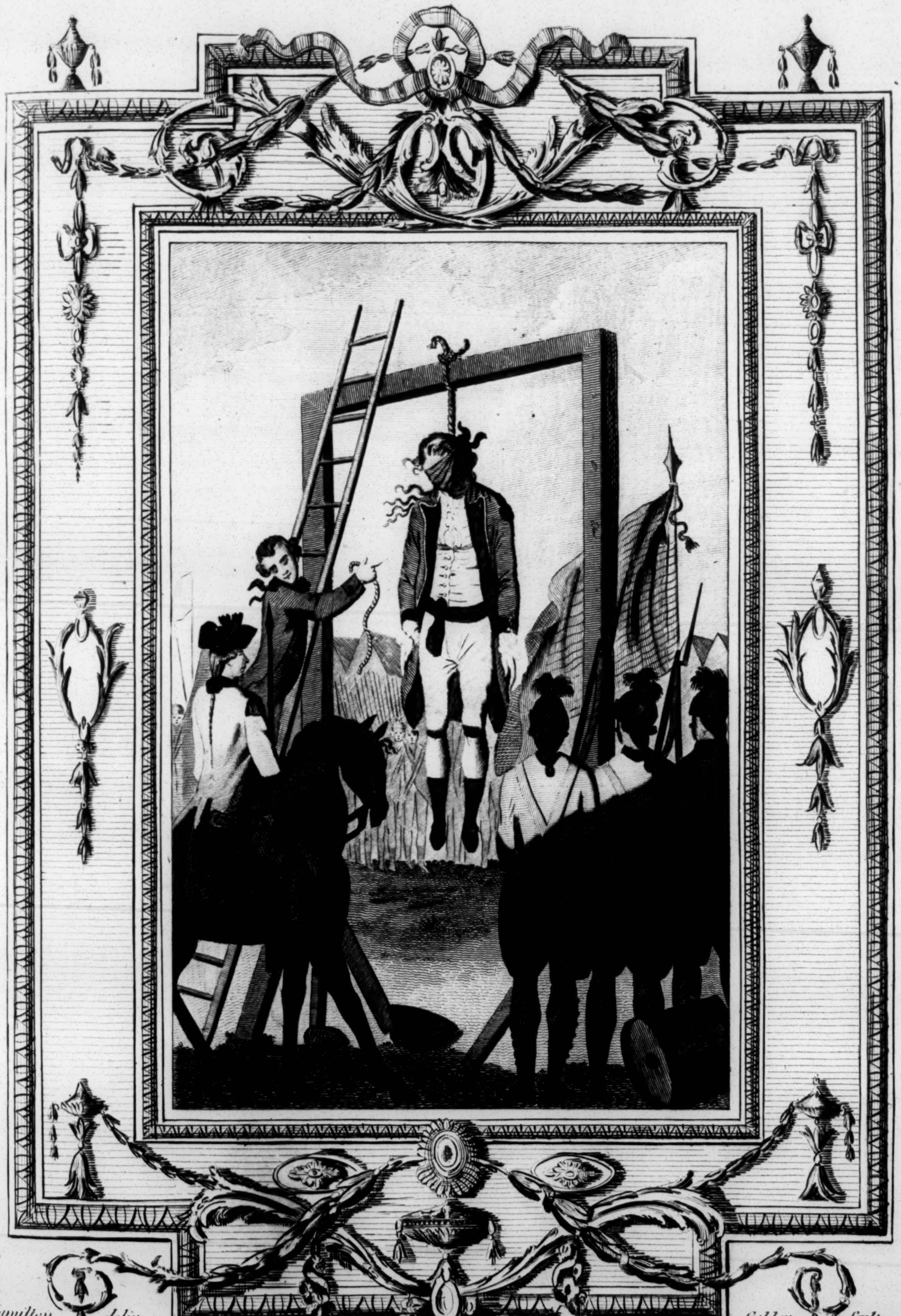


Hamilton delin.

Thornton sculp.

A BRITISH SAILOR *offering a* Sword *to an* Unarmed SPANISH OFFICER *to defend himself, at the* Attack *of* FORT OMOA, *which was taken by* Eſcalade, *on the 20 of Oct.*^{r} *1779.* *under the Command of* Captn Dalrymple *and* Commodore Lutterell

BRITISH 29OC92 MUSEUM



Hamilton delin. Goldar ſculp.

The Unfortunate **DEATH** of **MAJOR ANDRE**
(Adjutant General to the English Army) at Head Quarters in New York, Octr. 2. 1780,
who was found within the American Lines in the character of a Spy.

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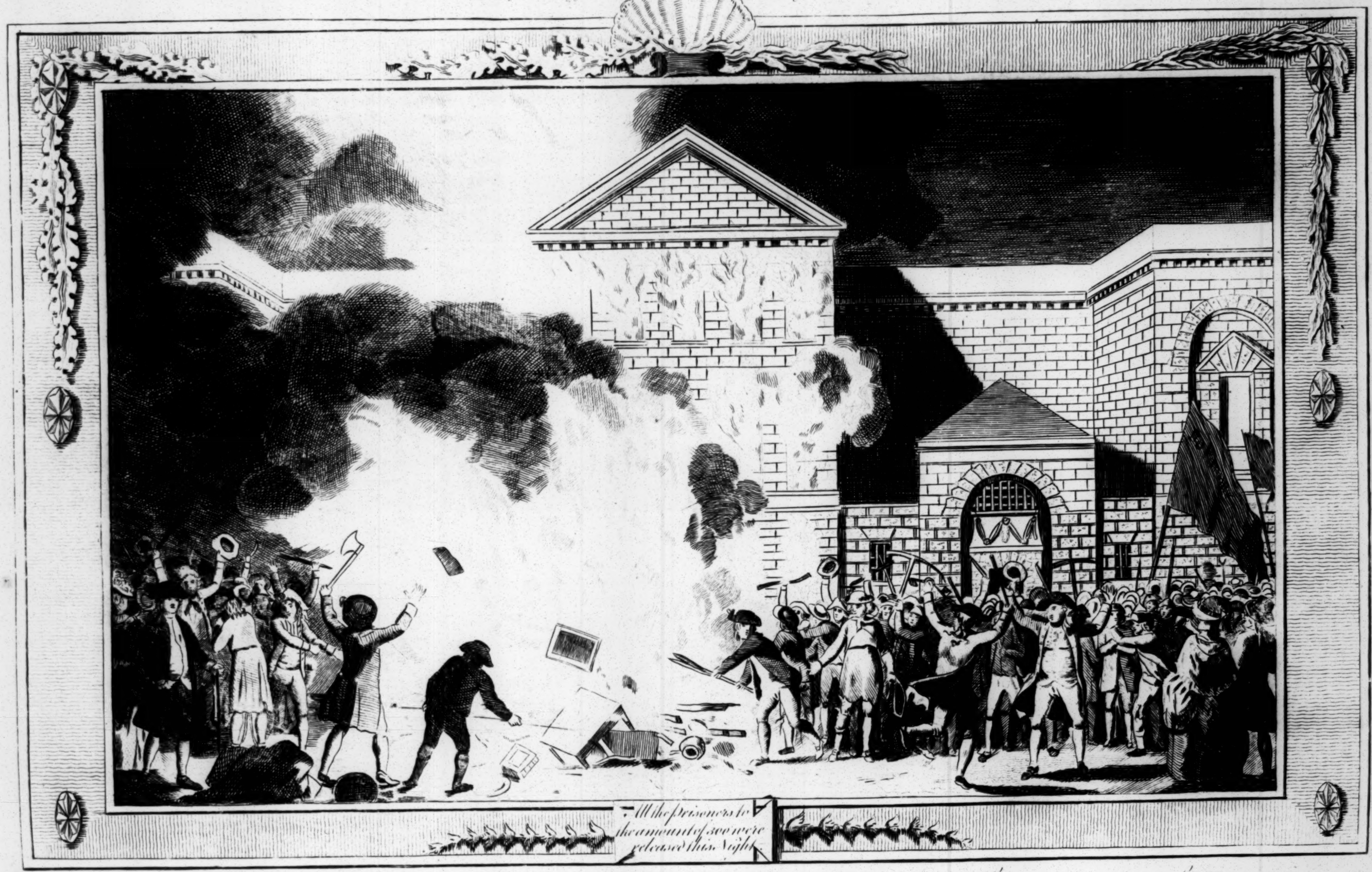
London Published by Alex.r Hogg at the Kings Arms, N.o 16 Paternoster Row.


All the Prisoners to the amount of 300 were released this Night

The Devastations occasioned by the **RIOTERS** of **LONDON** Firing the New Goal of **NEWGATE**, and burning M.r Akerman's Furniture, &c. June 6. 1780.

Hamilton delin.

Thornton sculp.

BRITISH

averſion to a relaxation of the penal laws againſt papiſts. Aſſociations were formed for defending the proteſtant religion from the incroachments of popery; and of one of thoſe aſſemblies, called the Proteſtant Aſſociation, lord George Gordon was invited to become the preſident, and with this invitation he complied. A petition was framed, and ſigned by the aſſociators, complaining of the late act for repealing the ſeverities of an act of the 10th and 11th of William III. and this petition lord George Gordon undertook to preſent to the houſe of commons. An advertiſement was publiſhed, with the ſignature of lord George, inviting the members of the aſſociation to meet in St. George's Fields, on Friday the ſecond of June, in order to attend the preſentation of their petition to the houſe of commons. In purſuance of this advertiſement between thirty and forty thouſand people aſſembled at the time appointed, and accompanied lord George to the houſe. On their arrival there, lord George moved for leave to preſent the petition, but it being agreed to poſtpone it till another day, the multitude were ſo irritated, that they immediately divided themſelves into parties, ſome going to the Romiſh chapel in Duke-ſtreet, Lincoln's-inn-fields, and others to that in Warwick-ſtreet, Golden-ſquare, both which buildings they in a great meaſure demoliſhed in a very ſhort time. This was the commencement of the deſtruction which afterwards took place. The people became more and more outrageous, nor had the pacific meaſures taken by ſeveral of the magiſtrates the leaſt effect. On the Sunday afternoon they deſtroyed the chapel near Moorfields, together with ſeveral houſes in the neighbourhood belonging to Roman catholics. The appearance of the rabble was much more formidable and alarming on the Monday. The chapel in Virginia-lane, Wapping, and Nightingale-lane, Eaſt Smithfield, were deſtroyed by different parties, as were alſo ſeveral houſes belonging to people in very reputable circumſtances.

On Tueſday all the military in London were ordered upon duty at both houſes of parliament, St. James's, the Tower, &c. But notwithſtanding theſe precautions, the fury of the rioters continued to increaſe. They that day deſtroyed ſeveral houſes belonging to Roman catholics, and in the evening a party of them appeared before Newgate, and demanded an immediate releaſe of all the priſoners. Mr. Akerman (the maſter of the priſon) declared himſelf reſolved to do his duty, upon which they broke the windows of his dwelling-houſe, and proceeded to batter the doors with pickaxes and ſledge hammers; and climbing by means of ladders, the walls of the building, they entered at the windows, threw Mr. Akerman's furniture into the ſtreet, and committed them to the flames. In conſequence of theſe exceſſes, all the priſoners amounting to about three hundred, were releaſed, among whom were four under ſentence of death, and ordered for execution on the following Thurſday.—Having done this they fell on the priſon itſelf, which, though the ſtrongeſt in England, and lately erected at an immenſe expence, they ſoon demoliſhed, leaving nothing more ſtanding than the bare walls. The ſame night another party ſet fire to the houſe of lord Mansfield in Bloomſbury-ſquare, which was entirely conſumed, together with a collection of pictures of great value, and many of the ſcarceſt manuſcripts in the poſſeſſion of any private perſon in the world; beſides all, his lordſhip's notes on great law caſes, and the conſtitution of England. The military arrived in Bloomſbury, but not till the miſchievous intentions of the rabble had taken effect. However, they were under the neceſſity of firing in their own defence, and ſix men and a woman were killed, and many others wounded. The ſame night they deſtroyed the houſe of juſtice Cox, in Great Queen-ſtreet, and that of Sir John Fielding in Bow-ſtreet. They alſo ſet all the priſoners in New Priſon, Clerkenwell, at liberty. On Wedneſday they deſtroyed the King's Bench and Fleet priſons, ſetting all the debtors at liberty; and to ſuch lengths did they go that they threatened to deſtroy the Bank, and other public buildings. It now became neceſſary to give the military diſcretionary powers. For the protection of the Bank, guards were placed before that building, as alſo within the Royal Exchange, St. Paul's Church-yard, and ſeveral of the public courts; and almoſt every place tenable as a fortification, became a receptacle for armed troops. Two houſes, one at the bottom, and the other about the middle of Holborn, belonging to Mr. Langdale, an eminent diſtiller, were ſet fire to, and entirely conſumed, as were the dwellings of many other individuals profeſſing the Roman catholic faith.

The rioters made two attacks upon the Bank, and one upon the Pay-office. The importance of theſe places rendered it neceſſary to ſhew but little lenity; and many perſons were killed and wounded by the ſoldiery. Two men and a chimney-ſweeper's apprentice were ſhot in the Fleet-market; and three men were ſhot dead upon Black Friars-bridge, the toll-houſes of which were deſtroyed. Numbers alſo fell ſacrifices to inebriation, particularly at the diſtilleries of Mr. Langdale, from whoſe veſſels the liquor ran down the ſtreets in ſuch quantities, that it was taken up in pails, and held up to the mouths of the intoxicated multitude; many of whom actually killed themſelves by exceſſive drinking of non-rectified ſpirits, and were either burnt to death, or buried in the ruins, from which about twenty of theſe miſerable wretches were dragged out, ſeveral of whom were quite dead. Some diſturbances likewiſe happened in the Borough, where ſeveral individuals ſuffered conſiderably in their property; but by the interpoſition of the military the rioters were ſoon diſperſed.

Great numbers of theſe deluded people were taken up, and afterwards, by a ſpecial commiſſion granted for that purpoſe, tried for their lives, a general view of which is as follows:

In London and Middleſex.

Tried — —	84
Found guilty —	34
Reſpited — —	14
Executed — —	20
Acquitted — —	50

In Southwark.

Tried — —	50
Found guilty —	24
Reſpited — —	17
Executed —	7
Acquitted —	26

In the week wherein theſe diſturbances happened lord George Gordon (who was conſidered as the inſtigator of them) was taken into cuſtody, and, after a long examination before the privy-council, was committed to the Tower. On the fifth of February following, 1781, he was tried in the court of King's Bench, Weſtminſter, for high-treaſon, and levying war, inſurrection and rebellion, againſt the king, by aſſembling a great number of armed perſons on the ſecond of June in the preceding year, and diſturbing the peace, &c. The trial laſted from half paſt eight on Monday morning, till five o'clock the next morning, when the jury declared his lordſhip Not Guilty.

A. D. 1781.

On the ſixth of January, about two in the morning, the French made a deſcent on the iſland of Jerſey, but in their attempting to land, four of their tranſport veſſels were wrecked upon the rocks, and upwards of two hundred men periſhed. Thoſe, however, who did land made their way into the moſt interior part of the iſland, where they met with a warm repulſe from the garriſon, great numbers of them being killed, many taken priſoners, and the reſt obliged to ſave themſelves by a precipitate retreat.

In the beginning of the month of February admiral Rodney, commander of the Britiſh fleet in the Weſt Indies, in conjunction with general Vaughan, commander of the land forces, poſſeſſed themſelves of the Iſland of St. Euſtatius, belonging to the Dutch, which ſurrendered at diſcretion; but upwards of twenty ſhips, laden with property captured there, were taken by the French fleet in their paſſage home. They likewiſe made themſelves maſters of the iſlands of St. Martin, Saba and St. Bartholomew, belonging to the French, together with the two valuable Dutch colonies of Demerary and Eſſequibo, both ſituated on the Spaniſh main.

In America, throughout the month of March, little was done with reſpect to bringing the war to a period; though in moſt of the actions the Britiſh forces came off victors, and found means to take and deſtroy great quantities of ordnance, ammunition, ſtores, &c. in Virginia. They likewiſe defeated general Green's army at Guildford, on the fifteenth of the ſame month, after a ſharp engagement, in which ſeveral Engliſh officers of rank, and a great number of privates, were killed and wounded. The Britiſh troops having for ſome time had poſſeſſion of Camden, lord Rawdon, with colonel Weſton's detachment being near it, and cloſely purſued by the American general Green, after the battle of Guildford, wherein the Britiſh troops proved victorious, ſet fire to that beautiful town, and reduced it to aſhes, after which he retired for ſafety to within a ſmall diſtance of Charles-Town.

On the ſixteenth of April commodore Johnſtone's fleet, with a number of India ſhips under convoy, was attacked by the French fleet under M. de Suffrein off the iſland of St. Jago, which was attended with great loſs and damage on both ſides. Some of the India ſhips were taken by the French, but they not being able to retain the whole, ſeveral eſcaped, and rejoining the Engliſh fleet, arrived ſafe in England. In June, the iſland of Tobago in the Weſt Indies was taken from the Engliſh by a body of land forces, commanded by the French governor of St. Vincent's, under cover of a large fleet of ſhips of war, commanded by M. de Graſſe.

Admiral Hyde Parker, on the ſixth of Auguſt fell in with the Dutch ſquadron, with a large convoy on the Dogger-bank. The latter had eight ſhips of the line, and the former ſeven. The engagement was very hot for ſome time, and great damage was done on both ſides; but at length the Dutch thought proper to bear away for the Texel, and the Engliſh were too much diſabled to follow them. One of the Dutch men of war of ſeventy-four guns was ſunk, and the whole crew periſhed.

In the month of September, colonel Tarleton was defeated at Glouceſter by the Sieur de Choiſy, after which the allied armies of France and America marched againſt the Britiſh forces commanded by lord Cornwallis. The intrenchments were opened in two attacks, above and below York River, in the night between the ſixth and ſeventh of October, and different engagements took place till the ſeventeenth, when lord Cornwallis finding the enemy too powerful, was obliged to capitulate, and he, with his whole army were made priſoners of war. There were found in the poſts of York and Glouceſter ſix thouſand regular troops, twenty-two pair of colours, one thouſand five hundred ſeamen, one hundred and ſixty pieces of cannon of different calibres, of which ſeventy-five were braſs; eight mortars; about forty ſhips, one of them of fifty guns, which was burnt. Twenty tranſports were ſunk, in which number was the Guadaloupe, a frigate of twenty-four guns.

A. D. 1782.

In February the conjunctive forces of France and Spain laid ſiege to Minorca. The honourable general Murray, governor of the place, oppoſed them for ſeveral days with great reſolution, but his troops were ſo diſabled, by a ſcorbutic diſorder prevailing among them, that they were at length obliged to ſubmit to the ſuperior power of the enemy. General Murray propoſed articles of capitulation to the conquerors, which being agreed to, he ſurrendered the fort of St. Philip to his Catholic majeſty, and then, with his troops, left it with all the honours of war. About the ſame time advice was received of the capture of the iſlands of St. Chriſtopher and Nevis in the Weſt Indies by the French, under the command of the marquis de Bouille. Major-general Shirley, governor of the place, held out, with the moſt diſtinguiſhed reſolution, for a conſiderable time; but at length, finding the enemy too powerful, was obliged to ſubmit, and, after a ſiege of above five weeks, compelled to ſurrender to the French arms upon terms of capitulation.

The ſurrender of two armies attended by the fineſt train of artillery which ever entered the field, alarmed the whole nation: the cabinet began to talk in a more moderate ſtrain; miniſters lowered their tone, and in the parliament, aſſembled in laſt November, ſeveral of the leading members appeared deeply affected with our ſucceſſive diſgraces and loſſes. In the houſe of commons, it was inſiſted, that no circumſtances except a ſpeedy change of miniſterial meaſures, and the return of peace, could ſave the nation from irretrievable calamity. Mr. Duncombe aſſerted that the elective body of the people beheld the idea of proſecuting the American war with indignation and concern. On the twenty-ſecond of February in this year, general Conway made a motion correſponding with the above ſentiments, which was loſt by a majority of one only, the numbers for it being one hundred and ninety-three, againſt it one hundred and ninety-four: and on the twenty-ſeventh the ſame right honourable member made his ſecond motion againſt any further proſecution of an offenſive war againſt America, upon which the attorney-general moved, "that the debate be adjourned for a fortnight." A diviſion took place and the miniſter was left in a minority. After which the main queſtion was put and carried. General Conway then moved, "that an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty thereupon." This motion was carried without a diviſion. In conſequence of this addreſs, the following arrangement of a new miniſtry, extremely grateful to the people, was ſettled. Marquis of Rockingham, firſt lord of the treaſury. Lord Shelburne, and the honourable Charles Fox, ſecretaries of ſtate. Lord Camden, preſident of the council. Lord John Cavendiſh, chancellor of the exchequer. Admiral Keppel, firſt lord of the admiralty; and the duke of Richmond, maſter-general of the ordnance, &c. In May Mr. Wilkes moved, that the reſolution declaring his being expelled that houſe, and incapable of ſerving as a member of parliament, be expunged from the journals of the houſe. Mr. Wilkes, after many annual defeats, triumphed at laſt; for a diviſion taking place, there appeared for expunging the reſolution one hundred and fifteen, againſt it forty-ſeven.

In the courſe of this month the public were alarmed by the death of the marquis of Rockingham, the reſignation of Mr. Fox, and other members of the new cabinet. To pave the way for advances to a general peace, lord Shelburne was appointed to the office of firſt lord of the treaſury; and in his ſpeech in the houſe of lords he declared, that nothing was farther from his intention than to

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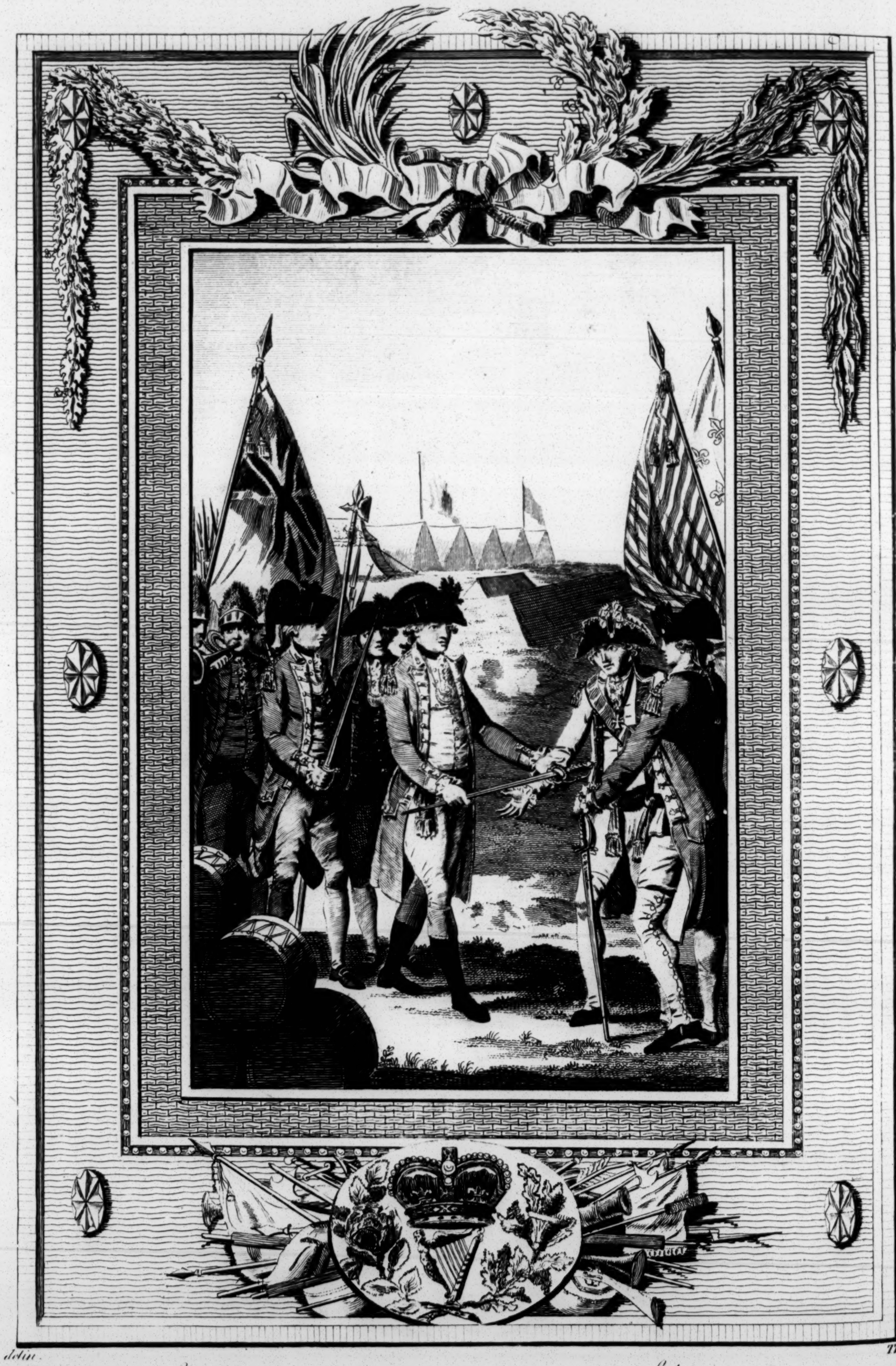
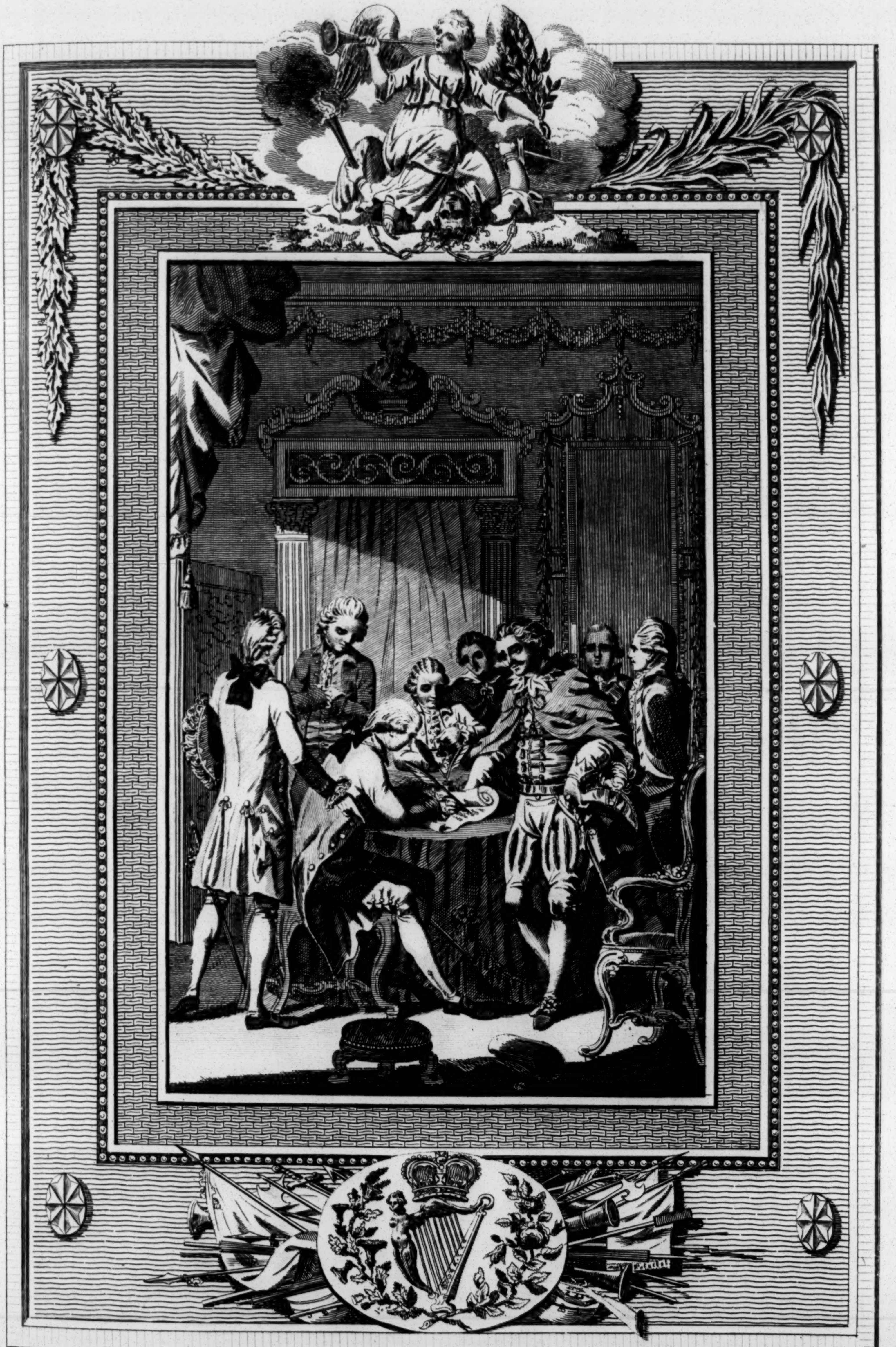


Hamilton delin. *Thornton sculp*

The SURRENDER *of* EARL CORNWALLIS (Lieutenant-General *of the* British Army *in* North America *to* GENERAL WASHINGTON & COUNT De ROCHAMBEAU, *on the* 19th *of Octr.* 1781 — *whereby the Poſts of* York-Town & Glouceſter *in* Virginia, *were then given up to the* combined Forces *of* America & France. —



Hamilton delin. Pollard sculp.

The Preliminary **ARTICLES** *of* **PEACE** *between* Great Britain & France *and* Great Britain *and* Spain, Signed *at Versailles Jan.y 20. 1783, by* **Mr. FITZHERBERT** *his* Britannic Majesty's Ambaſsador & Miniſter Plenipotentiary, *and the* Miniſters Plenipotentiary *of the Courts of France & Spain — Which were* **RATIFIED** *in* **FORM** *on Feb.y the 3.d & 9.th 1783, the Exchanges being then made by and with the said Ambaſsadors.* ———

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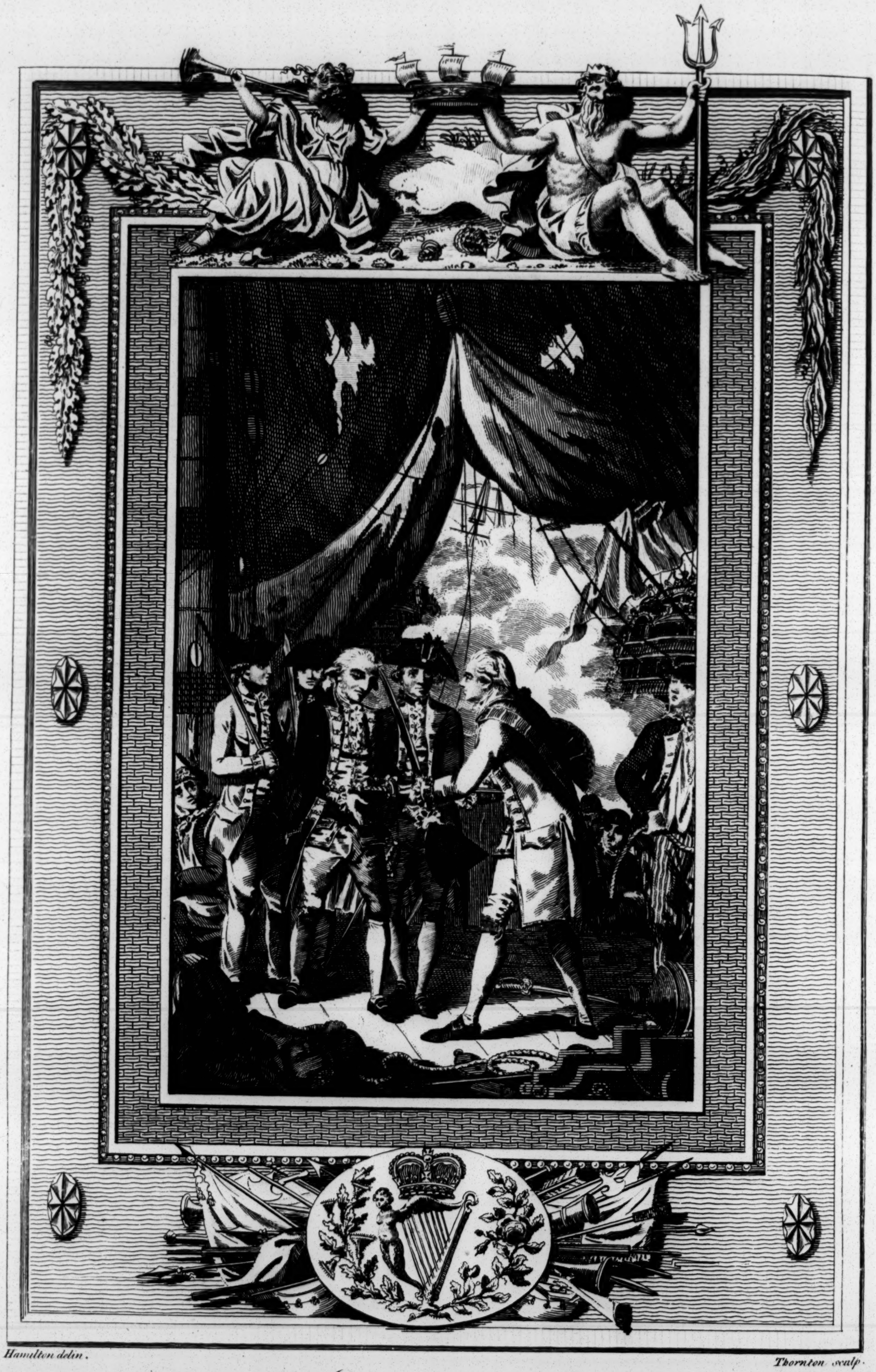

Hamilton delin. *Thornton sculp.*

The French Admiral **COUNT De GRASSE,** *Delivering his* Sword *to* **ADMIRAL** (*now* **LORD**) **RODNEY.**
(*Being a more* Exact Representation *of that* Memorable Event *than is given in any other Work of this kind*)
On Board the Ville de Paris, *after being* Defeated *by that* Gallant Commander *on the Glorious* 12th *of April* 1782
in the West Indies

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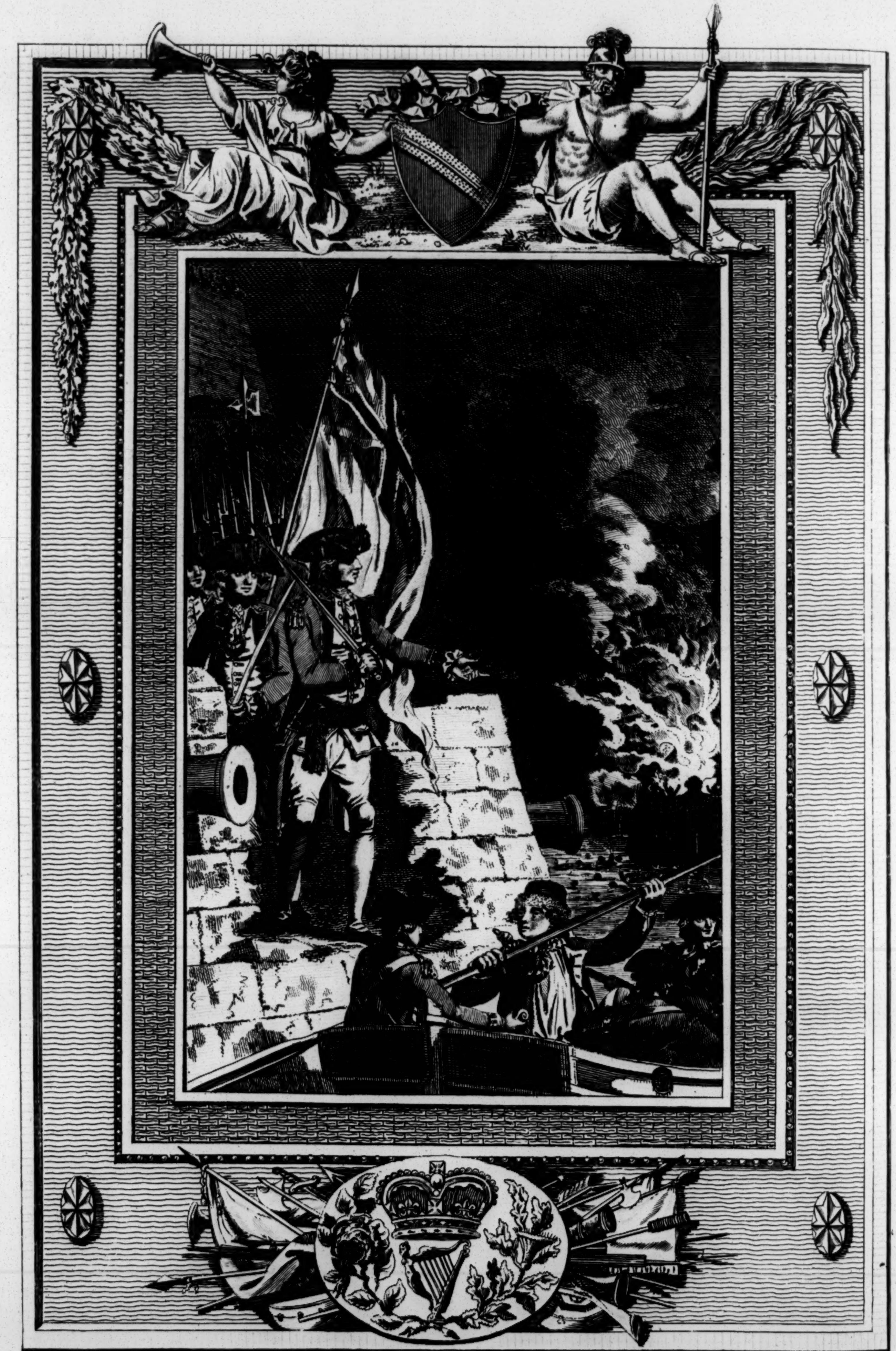

Hamilton delin. Thornton sculp.

GENERAL G.A. ELLIOTT,

(Being a more accurate & exact Likeneſs of that Brave Commander than is given in any other History of England
The Gallant Defender and Preserver of the Important Garrison of GIBRALTER, against the Combined
Efforts of France & Spain–Whose Battering Ships, &c he Burnt and Destroyed but Humanely Saved 357
of the Perishing Beseigers from Impending Death, early in the Morning of Sepr. 14. 1782.

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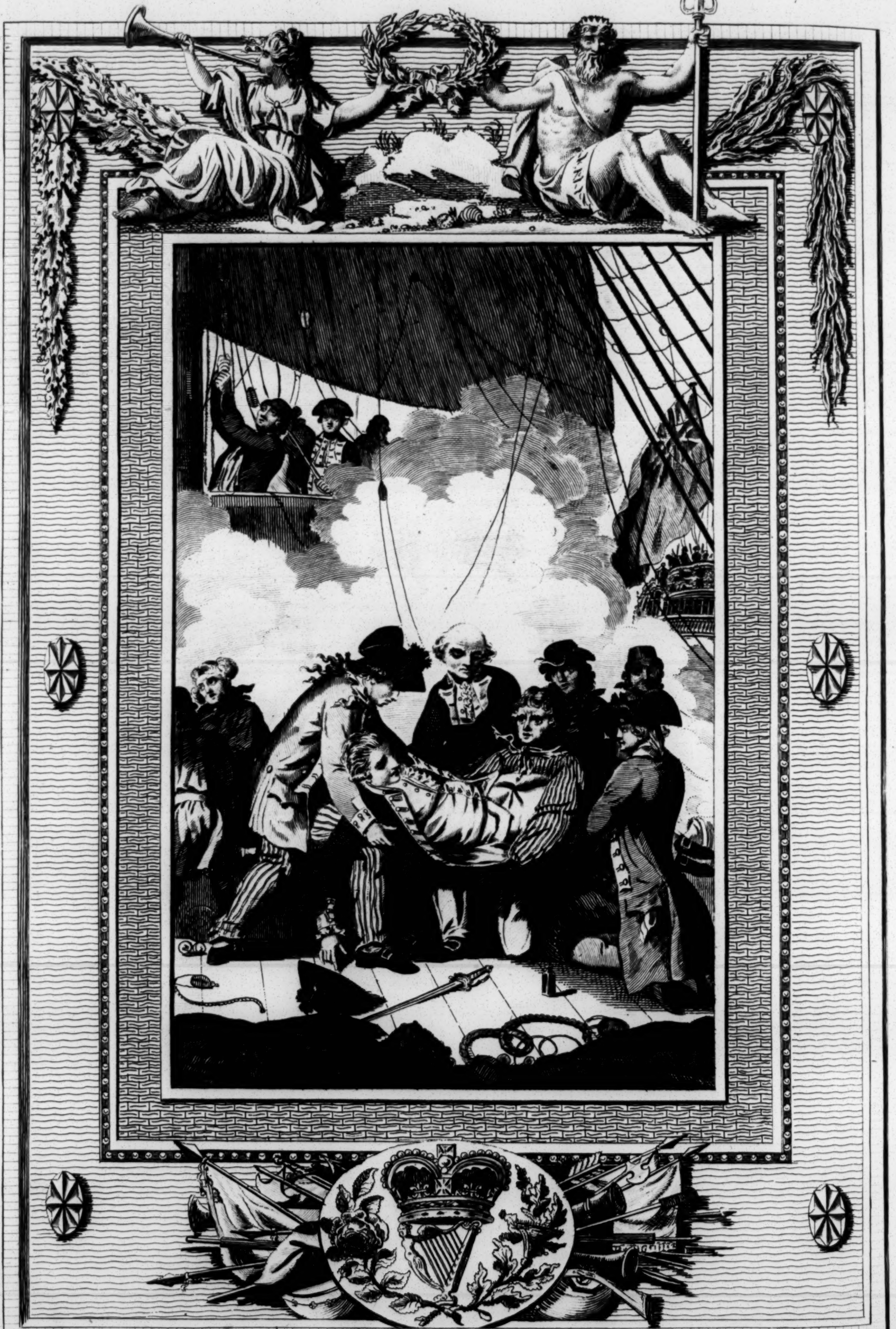

Hamilton delin. Pollard sculp.

A more Exact Representation of An Affecting Event (which deprived this Country of a brave Officer) than is given in any other Hiſtory of England whatever —

The Gallant and Right Hon. CAPTAIN LORD ROBERT MANNERS MORTALLY WOUNDED, on board the RESOLUTION, in the Glorious Victory obtained over the French Fleet, the 12th of April 1782. in the Weſt Indies.

renew the war in America. The ſword was ſheathed never to be drawn there again.

On the twelfth of April, a moſt obſtinate engagement commenced between the Engliſh fleet under the command of Sir George Brydges Rodney, and the French fleet commanded by the count de Graſſe, in the Weſt-Indies. The battle laſted with unremitting fury from ſeven o'clock in the morning till half-paſt ſix in the evening, when victory declared in favour of the Britiſh flag. The Ville de Paris, a ſhip of one hundred and ten guns, commanded by count de Graſſe, with four others of the line, were captured, and another of the line ſunk in the action. The Cæſar, one of thoſe taken, was blown up, and the whole crew, among whom were fifty Engliſh ſeamen, periſhed. The engagement was ſuſtained with the greateſt reſolution on both ſides. The day after the battle, the remainder of the French fleet diſperſed; but being purſued by a ſquadron under the command of Sir Samuel Hood, two others of their line of battle ſhips and two frigates were taken; by which the formidable power they had in the Weſt Indies was greatly reduced, and their deſign of poſſeſſing themſelves of the iſland of Jamaica (which they had long concerted) totally fruſtrated. Sir George Rodney, for his gallant behaviour, received the public thanks of the Britiſh ſenate; and was farther honoured, by being afterwards created a peer of the realm. But this glorious victory was not obtained without the loſs of many brave officers and ſeamen, two hundred and thirty having been killed, and ſeven hundred and fifty-nine wounded; among whom, every lover of his country will drop a tear to the memory of the right honourable lord Robert Manners, who was, while fighting with the moſt undaunted intrepidity, ſhot in different parts of his body, and at laſt wounded mortally, on board the Reſolution. The following anecdote has been related of the French admiral, Count de Graſſe, ſaid to be authentic.

An Engliſh officer being ſent to Martinico in a cartel, was introduced to the Count on board the Ville de Paris. After ſome converſation on the buſineſs he went upon, the Count, in a gaſconading manner, deſired the officer to give his compliments to Sir George Rodney, and tell him, that he would be off Dominica on the ninth of April, and would be glad to meet Sir George. After the action of the twelfth, when the Count was brought a priſoner on board one of our ſhips, the ſame officer was there, and complimented him in the following manner: "I am very happy to ſee you, and aſſure you Monſ. le Compte, that you are a gentlemen of the greateſt punctuality I know."

By letters from Madraſs received in May, it appeared, that a deſperate battle had taken place between the Britiſh forces under the command of Sir Eyre Coote, and thoſe under Hyder Alley, in which the former proved victorious. About the ſame time diſpatches were received from Sir Edward Hughes, dated Trincomale-bay, January the fifteenth, 1782. the ſubſtance of which was, that on the twenty-firſt of October the company's troops, under the command of Sir Hector Monro, appeared at Nagore on the ſea-coaſt, in order to co-operate with his majeſty's fleet in the reduction of Negapatam. On the tenth of May the enemy thought proper to demand a capitulation, which was granted; and being ſigned on the twelfth, the town and citadel were then delivered up. By other advices it alſo appeared, that lord Macartney, governor of Madraſs, had poſſeſſed himſelf of all the Dutch ſettlements on the coaſt of Coromandel, and that the Dutch had totally loſt footing on that ſide the continent of India.

In Auguſt, a moſt melancholy accident happened at Spithead. His majeſty's ſhip, the Royal George, of one hundred guns, having in her laſt cruize ſprung a leak, it was reſolved, in order to ſave time, to heave her down at Spithead, and there repair the damage. Accordingly, the buſineſs was begun early in the morning of the twenty-ninth, and the ſhip was ſoon got to a proper ſituation for diſcovering the leak; but in order to caulk the ſeam properly, ſhe was ordered to be thrown down another ſtreak. This was accordingly done, and the buſineſs went on with facility till about twelve o'clock, when the ſhip, by a ſudden guſt of wind fell on one ſide, and the lower deck ports being open, ſhe filled in about eight minutes, and went to the bottom. It was ſuppoſed that not leſs than nine hundred people periſhed by this accident, among whom was admiral Kempenfelt, one of the braveſt commanders in the Britiſh navy.

The month of September was rendered memorable by the defence and preſervation of the important garriſon and fortreſs of Gibraltar; where thoſe gallant and humane commanders, general Elliot and captain Curtis, withſtood and defeated the combined efforts of France and Spain. On the twelfth, the combined fleet of France and Spain, conſiſting of thirty-eight ſail of the line, arrived in the Bay; ſix ſail of the line were there before. On the thirteenth, at eight in the morning, the ten battering ſhips, lying at the head of the Bay, under the command of admiral Moreno, began to get under ſail, in order to come againſt the garriſon. At ten, the gun-boats, or floating-batteries, were ſtationed as near the fortreſs as poſſible, covered by the combined fleet. All things being ready, a general attack began, and the heavy pieces from the gun-boats were diſcharged with great rapidity. But the deſign of this grand project (on which their hopes of ſucceſs were principally built) was ſoon rendered abortive. The brave general Elliot had cauſed furnaces to be made, in which, having heated the balls till they were red-hot, they were in that ſtate fired againſt the enemy. This produced the total deſtruction of the gun-boats; for the balls entering their ſides ſet them on fire, and the whole blew up one after another, except three, which were burnt to the water's edge. Thus was this grand ſcheme totally fruſtrated, by the diſtinguiſhed courage and military prowеſs of the Britiſh commander.

The ſcene was dreadful beyond conception; numbers of men crying from amidſt the flames; ſome on pieces of wood in the water; others appearing in the ſhips, where the fire had made but little progreſs; all expreſſing, by ſpeech and geſture, the deepeſt diſtreſs, and all imploring aſſiſtance; the whole forming a ſpectacle of horror not eaſily to be deſcribed. Every exertion was made by the brave captain Curtis to ſave them; though a large hole was beat in the bottom of his boat, his cockſwain killed, one of his gun-boats ſunk, and another damaged by the falling of pieces of timber, when one of the battering ſhips blew up: however, this heroic officer, early in the morning of the fourteenth, humanely ſaved three hundred and fifty-ſeven of the periſhing beſiegers from impending death. The loſs in the brigade of ſeamen on the thirteenth and fourteenth, conſidering the nature of the attack was very inconſiderable, only one man having been killed, and five wounded; a ſtriking inſtance of divine protection, extended to his creatures, when employed in good actions.

State of the combined force of the enemy in the Bay of Gibraltar, at the time of the attack of the ten battering ſhips, on the thirteenth of September.

Spaniſh ſhips of the line — — —	30
French ditto, ditto — — —	14
Spaniſh ſhips from fifty to ſixty guns —	3
Battering ſhips — — — —	10
Floating battery — — — —	1
Bomb-ketches — — — —	5

Beſides frigates, xebecks, many ſmaller cruizers, a great number of gun and mortar-boats, and a multitude of other boats.

A liſt of the Spaniſh battering ſhips burnt before Gibraltar on the fourteenth of September.

	Guns in uſe.
Paſtora, the admiral	21
Paula Prima	21
Talla Piedra	21
El Roſario	19
San Chriſtoval	18
Principe Carlos	11
Paula Secunda	9
San Juan	9
Santa Anna	7
Los Dolores	6
	142
Guns in reſerve	70
Total of guns	212

The proportion of men on board them was thirty-ſix for each of the guns in uſe, excluſive of officers, and marines for working the ſhips.

After this overthrow, the combined fleet continued in the Bay, in order to prevent ſuccours being carried into the garriſon. But in this they were alſo diſappointed. Lord Howe had been diſpatched with a number of tranſports, laden with proviſions and all kinds of ammunition, and ſupported by a fleet of thirty-five ſhips of the line. He appeared before the Bay on the tenth of October, when the combined fleets of France and Spain, which were riding at ſingle anchor, ſlipped their cables to engage him; but a violent ſtorm ariſing, which continued for three days, prevented their deſign. One French ſhip of ſeventy-four guns was entirely loſt; the St. Michael, a Spaniſh ſeventy-four, was driven on ſhore, and taken by the garriſon: and another Spaniſh ſhip of one hundred and ten guns was ſo damaged, as to be rendered totally unfit for farther ſervice. Lord Howe took advantage of the Bay being clear, and ſending in the principal part of his tranſports, entirely anſwered the deſign of his expedition, and the main purport of his inſtructions.

On Sunday morning, November the twenty-fifth, Mr. T. Townſend, one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, tranſmitted a letter to the directors of the Bank, wherein he informed them, "That the negotiations carrying on at Paris were brought ſo far to a point, as to promiſe a deciſive concluſion, either for peace or war, before the meeting of parliament, which on that account would be prorogued from the twenty-ſixth, to Thurſday the fifth of December." The lord mayor likewiſe received a letter of the ſame purport; and on the third of December his lordſhip was informed from the ſame quarter, that proviſional articles were ſigned at Paris on the thirtieth of November, between his majeſty's commiſſioners of the united ſtates of America, to be inſerted and conſtitute a treaty of peace, when peace ſhould be concluded between Great Britain and France.

We ſhall cloſe the tranſactions of this year with a remarkable domeſtic occurrence, a dreadful calamity which happened at Mr. Woodmaſon's houſe in Leadenhall ſtreet, Friday, January the eighteenth.

Mr. W. was gone with ſeveral friends to ſee the company in the ball-room at St. James's. Mrs. W. was at home with three maids and two young men belonging to the buſineſs. His clerks and footmen out. At half paſt ten, Mrs. W. with the nurſery-maid, viſited all the children, to ſee they were ſafe, which ſhe did every night. Five of them ſlept in the nurſery over her bed-chamber, in the front of the houſe; the other two ſlept over them. They were all in the moſt profound ſleep but the elder, whom ſhe kiſſed, and talked with a little. She then went to her room, and deſired her own maid to bring her ſome water to waſh her feet in the adjoining bed-chamber; Mrs. W. went into her chamber, undreſſed herſelf all but her under-petticoat, and put on her bed-gown. She then went to waſh her feet, ordered her maid to go and get her a ruſh-light ready, and carry to her room, which was done. She then ſent her down for a tumbler of water, which ſhe brought up, and went into the room with it, where, in five or ſix minutes, ſhe gave a moſt violent ſhriek, and cried out Fire! Mrs. W. ran out to her, ſaw her bed in flames, and called to her to ſave her children. The maid in her fright ran down ſtairs, Mrs. W. following, calling to her and the reſt of the maids to come to her aſſiſtance; no anſwer was given, nor any one came. She went down therefore (neither the maid or Mrs. W. had preſence of mind to ſhut the chamber-door) and found no one in the kitchen. She ran to the dining-room window, which ſhe opened, and called out, Fire! People from the ſtreet deſired her to come and open the door, and they would aſſiſt her. She, poor woman, ran down ſtairs, without ſhoes or ſtockings, and with great difficulty opened the ſtreet door to all who entered. She cried out, her children! her children! ſave her children! they promiſed to take care of them. She loſt her ſenſes, and was carried over to Mr. Munt's, where ſhe remained ſome time in agonies not to be deſcribed, till ſhe was aſſured all her children were ſafe. She was then taken up ſtairs. A neighbour ran to St. James's for Mr. W. Upon his reaching Mr. Munt's, all cried out to him that his children were ſafe! He found his wife in the greateſt agonies; he enquired after his children; by the anſwers given he was, from his own reaſon, convinced the children were deſtroyed. His feelings and ſufferings are better imagined than deſcribed.

On the people opening the door, they ran up for the children, but found the flames ruſhing ſo violent from the chamber-door, and the ſmoak ſo thick, that no one dared to venture up. The little innocents were all burned: and thus the happieſt of couples rendered the moſt miſerable!

Monday the eldeſt daughter of Mr. Woodmaſon was dug out of the ruins; as was likewiſe a young lad, who proves to be an apprentice to a perſon in Bunhill-row.

Wedneſday, January the twenty-fifth, were interred in the vault under St. Peter's church, Cornhill, the remains of Mr. Woodmaſon's ſeven children, taken out of the ruins; three were put into one coffin; the other four were taken up ſo entire they had a coffin for each. Likewiſe were interred in the ſame vault, Mr. Noble's ſon, breeches-maker, next door to Mr. Woodmaſon's, and a young man, a watch-maker, whoſe bodies were taken out of the ruins.

A. D. 1783.

The earl of Grantham, on the twenty-fourth of January, roſe up in the houſe of lords, and acquainted their lordſhips, that preliminary articles of peace between Great Britain and France, and between Great Britain and Spain, were ſigned at Verſailles, and that the ſame would be ready to be laid on their lordſhip's table the beginning of the enſuing week; upon which the houſe adjourned to Monday the twenty-ſeventh, having no buſineſs before them. On the twenty-fifth, Mr. Ogg, one of the king's meſſengers, arrived at lord Grantham's office, his majeſty's principal ſecretary of ſtate for foreign affairs, with the preliminary articles of peace, of which the following are accurate and faithful copies:

PRELIMINARIES

Signed at Paris on the twentieth inſtant, between Great Britain and France, and between Great Britain and Spain: and alſo, the

ARTICLES of the PROVISIONAL TREATY,

Entered into by Great Britain with the United States of North America.

Tranſlation of the Preliminary Articles of Peace, between his Britannic Majeſty and the Moſt Chriſtian King: ſigned at Verſailles the twentieth of January, 1783.

In the Name of the Moſt Holy Trinity.

THE King of Great Britain, and the Moſt Chriſtian King, equally animated with a deſire of putting an end to the calamities of a deſtructive war, and of re-eſtabliſhing union and good underſtanding between them, as neceſſary for the good of mankind in general, as for that of their reſpective kingdoms, ſtates, and ſubjects, have named for this purpoſe, viz. on the part of his Britannic Majeſty, Mr. Alleyne Fitzherbet, Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his ſaid Majeſty the King of Great Britain; and on the part of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, Charles Gravier Comte de Vergennes, Councillor in all his Councils, Commander of his Orders, Councillor of State, Miniſter and Secretary of State, and of the Commands and Finances of his ſaid Majeſty for the Department of Foreign Affairs; who, after having duly communicated to each other their full powers in good form, have agreed on the following Preliminary Articles:

I. As ſoon as the preliminaries ſhall be ſigned and ratified, ſincere friendſhip ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed between his Britannic Majeſty and his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, their kingdoms, ſtates, and ſubjects, by ſea and by land, in all parts of the world: orders ſhall be ſent to the armies and ſquadrons, as well as to the ſubjects of the two powers, to ſtop all hoſtilities, and to live in the moſt perfect union, forgetting what is paſſed, of which their ſovereigns give them the order and example; and for the execution of this article, ſea-paſſes ſhall be given on each ſide for the ſhips which ſhall be diſpatched to carry the news of it to the poſſeſſions of the ſaid powers.

II. His Majeſty the King of Great Britain ſhall preſerve in full right the iſland of Newfoundland, and the adjacent iſlands, in the ſame manner as the whole was ceded to him by the thirteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht, ſave the exceptions which ſhall be ſtipulated by the fifth article of the preſent treaty.

III. His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, in order to prevent quarrels which have hitherto ariſen between the two nations of England and France, renounces the right of fiſhing, which belongs to him by virtue of the ſaid article of the treaty of Utrecht, from Cape Bonaviſta to Cape St. John, ſituated on the eaſtern coaſt of Newfoundland, in about fifty degrees of north latitude; whereby the French fiſhery ſhall commence at the ſaid Cape St. John, ſhall go round by the north, and going down the weſtern coaſt of the iſland of Newfoundland, ſhall have for boundary the place called Cape Raye, ſituated in forty-ſeven degrees, fifty minutes latitude.

IV. The French fiſhermen ſhall enjoy the fiſhery aſſigned them by the foregoing article, as they have a right to enjoy it by virtue of the treaty of Utrecht.

V. His Britannic Majeſty will cede, in full right to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, the iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon.

VI. With regard to the right of fiſhing in the gulph of St. Lawrence, the French ſhall continue to enjoy it conformably to the fifth article of the treaty of Paris.

VII. The King of Great Britain ſhall reſtore to France the iſland of St. Lucia, and ſhall cede and guaranty to her that of Tobago.

VIII. The Moſt Chriſtian King ſhall reſtore to Great Britain the iſlands of Grenada, and the Grenadines, St. Vincent's, Dominica, St. Chriſtopher's, Nevis, and Montſerrat; and the fortreſſes of thoſe iſlands conquered by the arms of Great Britain, and by thoſe of France, ſhall be reſtored in the ſame condition in which they were when the conqueſt of them was made; provided that the term of eighteen months, to be computed from the time of the ratification of the definitive treaty, ſhall be granted to the reſpective ſubjects of the crowns of Great Britain and France, who may have ſettled in the ſaid iſlands, and in other places which ſhall be reſtored by the definitive treaty, to ſell their eſtates, recover their debts, and to tranſport their effects, and retire without being reſtrained on account of their religion, or any other whatever, except in caſes of debt, or of criminal proſecutions.

IX. The King of Great Britain ſhall cede and guaranty in full right to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, the river of Senegal, and its dependencies, with the forts of St. Louis, Podor, Galam, Arguin, and Portendie: His Britannic Majeſty ſhall reſtore likewiſe the iſland of Goree, which ſhall be given up in the condition in which it was when the Britiſh arms took poſſeſſion of it.

X. The Moſt Chriſtian King ſhall, on his ſide, guaranty to his Majeſty the King of Great Britain, the poſſeſſion of Fort James, and of the river Gambia.

XI. In order to prevent all diſcuſſion in that part of the world, the two courts ſhall agree, either by the definitive treaty, or by a ſeparate act, upon the boundaries to be fixed to their reſpective poſſeſſions. The gum trade ſhall be carried on in future, as the Engliſh and French nations carried it on before the year 1755.

XII. In regard to the reſt of the coaſts of Africa, the ſubjects of both powers ſhall continue to frequent them, according to the cuſtom which has prevailed hitherto.

XIII. The King of Great Britain ſhall reſtore to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty all the eſtabliſhments which belonged to him at the commencement of the preſent war on the coaſt of Orixa and in Bengal, with liberty to ſurround Chandenagore with a ditch for draining the waters: and his Britannic Majeſty engages to take ſuch meaſures as may be in his power for ſecuring to the ſubjects of France in that part of India, as alſo on the coaſts of Orixa, Coromandel, and Malabar, a ſafe, free, and independent trade, ſuch as was carried on by the late French Eaſt India Company, whether it be carried on by them as individuals, or as a company.

XIV. Pondicherry, as well as Karical, ſhall likewiſe be reſtored and guarantied to France; and his Britannic Majeſty ſhall procure to ſerve as a dependency round Pondicherry, the two diſtricts of Valanour and Bahour; and as a dependency round Karical, the four contiguous Magans.

XV. France ſhall again enter into poſſeſſion of Mahe, and of the Comptoir at Surat: and the French ſhall carry on commerce in this part of India, conformably to the principles laid down in the thirteenth article of this treaty.

XVI. In caſe France has allies in India, they ſhall be invited, as well thoſe of Great Britain, to accede to the preſent pacification; and for that purpoſe, a term of four months, to be computed from the day on which the propoſal ſhall be made to them, ſhall be allowed them to make their deciſion; and in caſe of refuſal on their part, their Britannic and Moſt Chriſtian Majeſties agree not to give them any aſſiſtance, directly or indirectly, againſt the Britiſh or French poſſeſſions, or againſt the poſſeſſions of their reſpective allies; and their ſaid Majeſties ſhall offer them their good offices towards a mutual accommodation.

XVII. The King of Great Britain, deſirous of giving his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty a ſincere proof of reconciliation and friendſhip, and of contributing to the ſolidity of the peace which is on the point of being re-eſtabliſhed, will conſent to the abrogation and ſuppreſſion of all the articles, relative to Dunkirk, from the treaty of peace concluded at Utrecht in 1713, incluſively, to this time.

XVIII. By the definitive treaty, all thoſe which have exiſted till now between the two high contracting parties, and which ſhall not have been derogated from either by the ſaid treaty, or by the preſent preliminary treaty, ſhall be renewed and confirmed; and the two courts ſhall name commiſſioners to enquire into the ſtate of commerce between the two nations, in order to agree upon new arrangements of trade, on the footing of reciprocity and mutual convenience. The ſaid two courts ſhall together amicably fix a competent term for the duration of that buſineſs.

XIX. All the countries and territories which may have been or which may be conquered in any part of the world whatſoever, by the arms of his Britannic Majeſty, or by thoſe of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and which are not included in the preſent articles, ſhall be reſtored without difficulty, and without requiring compenſation.

XX. As it is neceſſary to aſſign a fixed epocha for the reſtitutions and the evacuations to be made by each of the high contracting parties, it is agreed, that the King of Great Britain ſhall cauſe to be evacutaed the iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, three months after the ratification of the definitive treaty, or ſooner if it can be done; St. Lucia, in the Weſt Indies, and Goree in Africa, three months after the ratification of the definitve treaty, or ſooner, if it can be done. The King of Great Britain ſhall, in like manner, at the end of three months, after the ratification of the definitive treaty, or ſooner, if it can be done, enter again into poſſeſſion of the iſlands of Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Chriſtopher's, Nevis, and Monſerrat.

France ſhall be put into the poſſeſſion of the towns and comptoirs which are reſtored to her in the Eaſt Indies, and of the territories which are procured for her, to ſerve as dependencies round Pondicherry and round Karical, ſix months after the ratification of the definitive treaty, or ſooner, if it can be done.

France ſhall, at the end of the ſame term of ſix months, reſtore the towns and territories which her arms may have taken from the Engliſh or their allies, in the Eaſt Indies.

In conſequence whereof, the neceſſary orders ſhall be ſent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal paſſports for the ſhips which ſhall carry them, immediately after the ratification of the definitive treaty.

XXI. The priſoners made reſpectively by the arms of his Britannic Majeſty and his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, by land and by ſea, ſhall be reſtored reciprocally and *bona fide*, immediately after the ratification of the definitive treaty, without ranſom, and on paying the debts they may have contracted during their captivity; and each crown ſhall reſpectively reimburſe the ſums which ſhall have been advanced for the ſubſiſtence and maintenance of their priſoners, by the ſovereign of the country where they ſhall have been detained, according to the receipts and atteſted accounts, and other authentic titles, which ſhall be produced on each ſide.

XXII. In order to prevent all cauſes of complaint and diſpute, which may ariſe on account of prizes which may be made at ſea after the ſigning of theſe preliminary articles, it is reciprocally agreed, that the veſſels and effects which may be taken in the Channel, and in the North Seas, after the ſpace of twelve days, to be computed from the ratification of the preſent preliminary articles, ſhall be reſtored on each ſide.

That the terms ſhall be one month from the Channel, and the North Seas, as far as the Canary Iſlands, incluſively, whether in the Ocean or in the Mediterranean. Two months from the ſaid Canary Iſlands, as far as the Equinoctial line, or Equator. And laſtly, five months in all other parts of the world, without any exception, or any other more particular deſcription of time and place.

XXIII. The ratifications of the preſent preliminary articles ſhall be expedited in good and due form, and exchanged in the ſpace of one month, or ſooner, if it can be done, to be computed from the day of the ſignature of the preſent articles.

In witneſs whereof, we the under-written Miniſters Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majeſty, and his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, by virtue of our reſpective full powers, have ſigned the preſent preliminary articles, and have cauſed the ſeal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Verſailles, the twentieth day of January, 1783.

ALLEYNE FITZ-HERBERT. (L. S.)
GRAVIER DE VERGENNES. (L. S.)

Tranſlation of the Preliminary Articles of Peace, between his Britannic Majeſty and the Moſt Catholic King: ſigned at Verſailles the twentieth of January, 1783.

IN the Name of the Moſt Holy Trinity.

The King of Great Britain, and the King of Spain, equally animated with a deſire of putting an end to the calamities of a deſtructive war, and of re-eſtabliſhing union and good underſtanding between them, as neceſſary for the good of mankind in general, as for that of their reſpective kingdoms, ſtates, and ſubjects, have named for this purpoſe, viz. on the part of his Majeſty the King of Great Britain, Mr. Alleyne Fitzherbet, Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his ſaid Majeſty: and on the part of his ſaid Majeſty, the King of Spain, Don Peter Paul Abarea de Bolea Ximenes d'Urnea, &c. Count of Aranda, and Caſtel Florido, Marquis of Torres, of Vilnan and Rupit, Viſcount of Ruedo and Yoch, Baron of the Baronies of Gavin Seitano, Clamoſa, Eripol, Trazmoz, La Mata de Caſtil-Viego, Antillon, La Almolda, Cortis, Jorva, St. Genis, Robovillet, Oreau, and St. Colme de Farnes, Lord of the Tenance and Honor of Alcalaten, the valley of Rodellar, the caſtles and towns of Maella, Moſones, Tiurana de Villaplana, Tardel and Viladran, &c. Rico, Hombre in Aragon by birth, Grandee of Spain of the firſt claſs, Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece, and that of the Holy Ghoſt, Gentleman of the King's Bedchamber in employment, Captain General of his armies, and his Ambaſſador to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty; who, after having duly communicated to each other their full powers in good form, have agreed on the following Preliminary Articles:

Article I. As ſoon as the preliminaries ſhall be ſigned and ratified, ſincere friendſhip ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed between his Britannic Majeſty and his Catholic Majeſty, their kingdoms, ſtates, and ſubjects, by ſea and by land, in all parts of the world. Orders ſhall be ſent to the armies and ſquadrons, as well as to the ſubjects of the two powers, to ſtop all hoſtilities, and to live in the moſt perfect union, forgetting what has paſſed, of which their Sovereigns give them the order and example. And for the execution of this article, ſea-paſſes ſhall be given on each ſide for the ſhips which ſhall be diſpatched to carry the news of it to the poſſeſſions of the ſaid powers.

II. His Catholic Majeſty ſhall keep the iſland of Minorca.

III. His Britannic Majeſty ſhall cede to his Catholic Majeſty Eaſt Florida, and his Catholic Majeſty ſhall keep Weſt Florida, provided that the term of eighteen months, to be computed from the time of the ratification of the definitive treaty, ſhall be granted to the ſubjects of his Britannic Majeſty, who are ſettled as well in the iſland of Minorca, as in the two Floridas, to ſell their eſtates, recover their debts, and to tranſport their effects as well as their perſons, without being reſtrained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatſoever, except that of debts and criminal proſecutions. And his Britannic Majeſty ſhall have power to cauſe all the effects that may belong to him in Eaſt Florida, whether artillery or others, to be carried away.

IV. His Catholic Majeſty ſhall not for the future ſuffer the ſubjects of his Britannic Majeſty, or their workmen, to be diſturbed or moleſted, under any pretence whatſoever, in their occupation of cutting, loading, and carrying away logwood, in a diſtrict of which the boundaries ſhall be fixed; and for this purpoſe they may build without hinderance, and occupy without interruption, the houſes and magazines neceſſary for them, for their families, and for their effects, in a place to be agreed upon either in the definitive treaty, or within ſix months after the exchange of the ratifications; and his ſaid Catholic Majeſty aſſures to them by this article, the entire enjoyment of what is above ſtipulated, provided that theſe ſtipulations ſhall not be conſidered as derogatory in any reſpect from the rights of his ſovereignty.

V. His Catholic Majeſty ſhall reſtore to Great Britain the iſlands of Providence and the Bahamas, without exception, in the ſame condition in which they were when conquered by the arms of the King of Spain.

VI. All the countries and territories which may have been or may be conquered in any part of the world whatſoever, by the arms of his Britannic Majeſty, or by thoſe of his Catholic Majeſty, and which are not included in the preſent articles, ſhall be reſtored without difficulty, and without requiring compenſation.

VII. By the definitive treaty, all thoſe which have exiſted till now between the two high contracting parties, and which ſhall not be derogated from either by the ſaid treaty, or by the preſent Preliminary Treaty, ſhall be renewed and confirmed; and the two courts ſhall name commiſſioners to enquire into the ſtate of commerce between the two nations, in order to agree upon new arrangements of trade, on the footing of reciprocity and mutual convenience; and the two ſaid courts ſhall together amicably fix a competent term for the duration of that buſineſs.

VIII. As it is neceſſary to aſſign a fixed epocha for the reſtitutions and evacuations to be made by each of the high contracting parties, it is agreed, that the King of Great Britain, ſhall cauſe Eaſt Florida to be evacuated three months after the ratification of the definitive treaty, or ſooner if it can be done.

The King of Great Britain ſhall likewiſe enter again into poſſeſſion of the Bahama iſlands, without exception, in the ſpace of three months after the ratification of the definitive treaty.

In conſequence whereof, the neceſſary orders ſhall be ſent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal paſſports for the ſhips which ſhall carry them immediately after the ratification of the definitive treaty.

IX. The priſoners made reſpectively by the arms of his Britannic Majeſty and his Catholic Majeſty, by ſea, and by land, ſhall, immediately after the ratification of the definitive treaty, be reciprocally, and bona fide, reſtored without ranſom, and on paying the debts they may have contracted during their captivity; and each crown ſhall reſpectively reimburſe the ſums which ſhall have been advanced for the ſubſiſtence and maintenance of their priſoners, by the Sovereign of the country where they ſhall have been detained, according to the receipts and atteſted accounts, and other authentic titles, which ſhall be produced on each ſide.

X. In order to prevent all cauſes of complaint and diſputes which may ariſe on account of prizes which may be made at ſea after the ſigning of theſe Preliminary Articles, it is reciprocally agreed, that the ſhips and effects which may be taken in the Channel or in the North Seas, after the ſpace of twelve days, to be computed from the ratification of the preſent Preliminary Articles, ſhall be reſtored on each ſide.

That the terms ſhall be one month from the Channel, and the North Seas, as far as the Canary Iſlands, incluſively, whether in the Ocean or in the Mediterranean. Two months from the ſaid Canary Iſlands, as far as the Equinoctial line, or Equator. And laſtly, five months in all other parts of the world, without exception, or other more particular deſcription of time and place.

XI. The ratification of the preſent Preliminary Articles ſhall be expedited in due and good form, and exchanged in the ſpace of one month, or ſooner, if it can be done, to be computed from the day of the ſignature of the preſent articles.

In witneſs whereof, we the under-written Miniſters Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majeſty, and of his Catholic Majeſty, by virtue of our reſpective powers, have agreed upon and ſigned theſe Preliminary Articles, and have cauſed the ſeal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Verſailles, the twentieth of January, 1783.

Alleyne Fitz-Herbert. (L. S.)
Le Compte D'Aranda. (L. S.)

ARTICLES agreed upon, by and between Richard Oſwald, Eſq; the Commiſſioner of his Britannic Majeſty, for treating of peace with the Commiſſioners of the United States of America, in behalf of his ſaid Majeſty on the one part; and John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens, four of the Commiſſioners of the ſaid ſtates, for treating of peace with the Commiſſioner of his ſaid Majeſty, on their behalf, on the other part;

To be inſerted in, and to conſtitute the treaty of peace, propoſed to be concluded between the Crown of Great Britain, and the ſaid United States: but which treaty is not to be concluded until terms of a peace ſhall be agreed upon between Great Britain and France, and his Britannic Majeſty ſhall be ready to conclude ſuch treaty accordingly.

Whereas reciprocal advantages and mutual convenience are found by experience to form the only permanent foundation of peace and friendſhip between ſtates; it is agreed to form the articles of the propoſed treaty on ſuch principles of liberal equity and reciprocity, as that partial advantages (thoſe ſeeds of diſcord) being excluded, ſuch a beneficial and ſatisfactory intercourſe between the two countries may be eſtabliſhed, as to promiſe and ſecure to both perpetual peace and harmony.

Art. I. His Britannic Majeſty acknowledges the ſaid United States, viz. New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſets Bay, Rhode Iſland and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, to be free, ſovereign, and Independent States; that he treats with them as ſuch; and for himſelf, his heirs and ſucceſſors, relinquiſhes all claim to the government, propriety, and territorial rights of the ſame, and every part thereof: and that all diſputes which might ariſe in future, on the ſubject of the boundaries of the ſaid United States, may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared, that the following are and ſhall be their boundaries, viz.

II. From the north-weſt angle of Nova Scotia, viz. that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the ſource of St. Croix river to the Highlands, along the ſaid Highlands which divide thoſe rivers that empty themſelves into the river St. Lawrence, from thoſe which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, to the north-weſternmoſt head of Connecticut river; thence down along the middle of that river, to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude; from thence, by a line due weſt on ſaid latitude, until it ſtrikes the river Iroquois, or Cataraquy; thence along the middle of ſaid river into Lake Ontario, through the middle of ſaid lake, until it ſtrikes the communication by water between that lake and Lake Erie; thence along the middle of ſaid communication into Lake Erie, through the middle of the ſaid lake, until it arrives at the water communication between that lake and Lake Huron; thence along the middle of ſaid water communication, to the Lake Huron; thence through the middle of ſaid lake to the water communication between that lake and Lake Superior; thence through Lake Superior, northward of the iſles Royal and Phelippeaux, to the Long Lake; thence through the middle of ſaid Long Lake, and the water communication between it and the Lake of the Woods, to the ſaid Lake of the Woods; thence through the ſaid Lake to the moſt north-weſtern point thereof, and from thence, on a due weſt courſe, to the river Miſſiſſippi; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the ſaid river Miſſiſſippi, until it ſhall interſect the northernmoſt part of the thirty-firſt degree of north latitude; ſouth, by a line to be drawn due eaſt from the determination of the line laſt mentioned, in the latitude of thirty-one degrees north of the Equator, to the middle of the river Apalachicola, or Catahouche; thence along the middle thereof, to its junction with the Flint river; thence ſtraight to the head of St. Mary's river, and thence down along the middle of St. Mary's river to the Atlantic ocean; eaſt, by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river St. Croix, from its mouth in the bay of Fundy to its ſource, and from its ſource directly north, to the aforeſaid Highlands which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic ocean from thoſe which fall into the river St. Lawrence, comprehending all iſlands within twenty leagues of any part of the ſhores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due eaſt from the points where the aforeſaid boundaries between Nova Scotia on the one part, and Eaſt Florida on the other, ſhall reſpectively touch the bay of Fundy, and the Atlantic ocean; excepting ſuch iſlands as now are, or heretofore may have been, within the limits of the ſaid province of Nova Scotia.

III. It is agreed, that the people of the United States ſhall continue to enjoy, unmoleſted, the right to take fiſh, of every kind, on the Grand Bank, and on all the other banks of Newfoundland; alſo in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, and at all other places in the ſea, where the inhabitants of both countries uſed at any time heretofore to fiſh; and alſo, that the inhabitants of the United States ſhall have liberty to take fiſh, of every kind, on ſuch part of the coaſt of Newfoundland as Britiſh fiſhermen ſhall uſe (but not to dry or cure the ſame on that iſland;) and alſo on the coaſts, bays, and creeks, of all other of his Britannic Majeſty's dominions in America; and that the American fiſhermen ſhall have liberty to dry and cure fiſh in any of the unſettled bays, harbours, and creeks, of Nova Scotia, Magdalen iſlands, and Labrador, ſo long as the ſame ſhall remain unſettled; but ſo ſoon as the ſame, or either of them, ſhall be ſettled, it ſhall not be lawful for the ſaid fiſhermen to dry or cure fiſh at ſuch ſettlement, without a previous agreement for that purpoſe with the inhabitants, proprietors, or poſſeſſors of the ground.

IV. It is agreed, that creditors on either ſide ſhall meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value, in ſterling money, of all bona fide debts heretofore contracted.

V. It is agreed, that the Congreſs ſhall earneſtly recommend it to the Legiſlatures of the reſpective States, to provide for the reſtitution of all eſtates, rights, and properties, which have been confiſcated, belonging to real Britiſh ſubjects, and alſo of the eſtates, rights, and properties, of perſons reſident in diſtricts in the poſſeſſion of his Majeſty's arms, and who have not borne arms againſt the ſaid United States; and that perſons of any other deſcription ſhall have free liberty to go to any part or parts of any of the Thirteen United States, and therein to remain twelve months unmoleſted in their endeavours to obtain the reſtitution of ſuch of their eſtates, rights, and properties, as may have been confiſcated; and that Congreſs ſhall alſo earneſtly recommend to the ſeveral States, a reconſideration and reviſion of all acts or laws regarding the premiſes, ſo as to render the ſaid laws or acts perfectly conſiſtent, not only with juſtice and equity, but with that ſpirit of conciliation, which, on the return of the bleſſings of peace ſhould univerſally prevail; and that Congreſs ſhall alſo earneſtly recommend to the ſeveral States, that the eſtates, rights, and properties, of ſuch laſt mentioned perſons ſhall be reſtored to them, they refunding to any perſons who may be now in poſſeſſion, the bona fide price (where any has been given) which ſuch perſons may have paid on purchaſing any of the ſaid lands or properties ſince the confiſcation.

And it is agreed, that all perſons who have any intereſt in confiſcated lands, either by debts, marriage ſettlements, or otherwiſe, ſhall meet with no lawful impediment in the proſecution of their juſt rights.

VI. That there ſhall be no future confiſcations made, nor any proſecution commenced againſt any perſon or perſons, for or by reaſon of the part which he or they may have taken in the preſent war; and that no perſon ſhall, on that account, ſuffer any future loſs or damage, either in his perſon, liberty, or property; and that thoſe who may be in confinement on ſuch charges, at the time of the ratification of the treaty in America, ſhall be immediately ſet at liberty, and the proſecutions ſo commenced be diſcontinued.

VII. There ſhall be a firm and perpetual peace between his Britannic Majeſty and the ſaid States, and between the ſubjects of the one and the citizens of the other; wherefore, all hoſtilities both by ſea and land, ſhall then immediately ceaſe; all priſoners on both ſides ſhall be ſet at liberty; and his Britannic Majeſty ſhall, with all convenient ſpeed, and without cauſing any deſtruction, or carrying away any negroes, or other property of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garriſons, and fleets from the ſaid United States, and from every port, place, and harbour within the ſame, leaving in all fortifications the American artillery that may be therein; and ſhall alſo order and cauſe all archives, record deeds, and papers, belonging to any of the ſaid States, or their citizens, which, in the courſe of the war may have fallen into the hands of his officers, to be forthwith reſtored and delivered to the proper States and perſons to whom they belong.

VIII. The navigation of the Miſſiſſippi, from its ſource to the ocean, ſhall for ever remain free and open to the ſubjects of Great Britain, and the citizens of the United States.

IX. In caſe it ſhould ſo happen, that any place or territory belonging to Great Britain, or to the United States, ſhould be conquered by the arms of either, from the other, before the arrival of theſe articles in America, it is agreed that the ſame ſhall be reſtored without difficulty, and without requiring any compenſation.

Done at Paris the thirtieth day of November, in the year 1782.

RICHARD OSWALD.
JOHN ADAMS, B. FRANKLIN,
JOHN JAY, HENRY LAURENS.

Witneſs, CALEB WHITEFORD, Britiſh Secretary.
W. T. FRANKLIN, American Sec.

In the houſe of lords, on the ſeventeenth of February, the grand debate on the peace commenced. The preliminary articles having been read by the clerk, the earl of Pembroke moved for an addreſs of thanks to be preſented to his majeſty, for his condeſcenſion in ordering the ſame to be laid before that houſe, to expreſs their ſatisfaction, and to aſſure his majeſty, that they would encourage and promote every exertion of his ſubjects of Great Britain and Ireland, in the cultivation and improvement of thoſe reſources, which muſt tend to the certain improvement of public ſtrength. The queſtion being put and carried, a committee was appointed to draw up the addreſs, which was ordered to be preſented by the whole houſe. To this his majeſty returned the following anſwer. "My lords, I receive with pleaſure this dutiful addreſs, and have great ſatisfaction in obſerving, that the preliminary and proviſional articles appear to you, as they do to me, to afford a reaſonable proſpect of ſuch a peace, as will relieve my people from any burthens, beyond what the expences of the war have rendered unavoidable, and, if properly improved, will enſure the national proſperity. Theſe are always objects next my heart; and every meaſure which has the tendency to promote them, cannot but be acceptable to me. It is my firm purpoſe to execute every article of the treaties on my part with that good faith, which has ever diſtinguiſhed the conduct of this nation. I concur with you moſt entirely on the juſt expectation you entertain of the like attention in North America to the ſtipulations in favour of the unfortunate ſufferers by the war; which are founded in humanity and juſtice, and now recognized by public engagement. I do not entertain a doubt that this and every other article in the treaties depending will be finally ſettled, and performed by the other powers with that ſpirit of liberality and juſtice which becomes them."

When the ſame ſubject came upon the carpet in the houſe of commons, it was productive of very warm debates, in which Mr. T. Pitt, lord John Cavendiſh, lord North, Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, Mr. Lee, took different ſides of the queſtion, in favour of and againſt the peace. Mr. Sheridan, in his ſpeech, defended lord North's having that day joined Mr. Fox, on grounds of fair reaſoning and conſiſtency. After having for a time canvaſſed, twiſted, weighed, attacked and defended, ſeveral of the articles of the peace, Mr. Chancellor Pitt moved an addreſs to his majeſty, thanking him for laying the preliminary articles before the houſe, and aſſuring him that they moſt heartily approved them. This motion was ſeconded by Mr. Wilberforce. But lord North, after a long, laboured ſpeech, moved an amendment,—"That, whatever may be the ſentiments of his majeſty's faithful commons, in the reſult of their inveſtigation of the terms of the pacification, they beg leave to aſſure his majeſty of their firm and unalterable reſolution to adhere inviolably to the ſeveral articles for which the public faith is pledged, and to maintain the bleſſings of peace, ſo neceſſary to his majeſty's ſubjects, and to the general happineſs of mankind." Mr. Rigby aſſigned his reaſons for voting for the addreſs as originally moved, and Mr. Adam ſupported lord North's amendment with great ingenuity; but upon the queſtion being put for the original motion, and for the amendment, there appeared to be

Ayes, for the amendment - - - 224
Noes, againſt it - - - - - - 208

Majority againſt the miniſtry - - 16

While lord North was ſpeaking, a dog, who had found his way into the houſe began to bark, and ſet all the members in a roar. His lordſhip joined heartily in the laugh; and when the houſe was reſtored to order, he threw it again into a ſecond fit of laughter, by jocoſely addreſſing the chair, "Sir, I was interrupted by a New Speaker, but as his argument is concluded, I will reſume mine." On the twenty-firſt of February the grand debate was renewed, when lord John Cavendiſh, having opened the buſineſs of the day, read to the houſe the five following propoſitions:—Firſt, That in conſideration of the public faith, which ought to be preſerved inviolate, this houſe will ſupport his majeſty in rendering firm and permanent the peace to be concluded definitively, in conſequence of the proviſional treaty, and preliminary articles, which have been laid before the houſe.—Second, That this houſe will, in concurrence with his majeſty's paternal regard for his people, employ its beſt endeavours to improve the bleſſings of peace to the advantage of his crown and ſubjects.—Third, That his majeſty, in acknowledging the independence of the united ſtates of America, by virtue of the powers veſted in him by the act of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, to enable his majeſty to conclude a peace or truce with certain colonies in North America, has acted as the circumſtances of affairs indiſpenſibly required, and in conformity to the ſenſe of parliament.—Fourth, That the conceſſions made to the adverſaries of Great Britain, by the ſaid proviſional treaty and preliminary articles, are greater than they were entitled to, either from the actual ſituation of their reſpective poſſeſſions, or from their comparative ſtrength.—Fifth, That this houſe do feel the regard due from this nation to every deſcription of men, who with the riſk of their lives, and the ſacrifice of their property, have diſtinguiſhed their loyalty, and been conſpicuous for their fidelity during a long and calamitous war; and to aſſure his majeſty, that they ſhall take every proper method to relieve them which the ſtate of the circumſtances of this country will permit. It was agreed by the houſe to put each motion ſeparately; and the firſt and ſecond reſolutions were put, and carried Nemine Contradicente. In courſe of the debate on the third propoſition, commodore Johnſon, in order to prevent future minions of the crown from drawing down the recognition of American independence, as a precedent in ſupport of an unbounded and unconſtitutional prerogative of the ſovereign, moved, that after the word "America," the following inſertion ſhould be made, "By virtue of the powers veſted in him by the act of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, to enable his majeſty to conclude a peace or truce with certain colonies in North America." This motion was agreed to, and the third reſolution, thus amended paſſed without oppoſition: but the principles of the fourth met with a very different reception. Mr. Fox contended, that the preliminaries and proviſional treaty were inadequate to the relative ſituation of this kingdom with France and Spain. The chancellor of the Exchequer met Mr.

Fox on this ground. He took a vaſt range of ſerious argument, ſevere retort, and pointed ridicule; defending the miniſters, his colleagues, and the peace they had made, in a ſpeech of two hours and a half in length, which arreſted the attention, and excited the admiration of every perſon in the houſe. At half-paſt three o'clock in the morning the ſpeaker put the queſtion, and on a diviſion there were

Ayes - - - - - - - - - -	207
Noes - - - - - - - - - - -	190
Majority againſt the miniſter - -	17

Miniſtry having been thus a ſecond time outvoted, previous to which lord North and Mr. Fox had formed a coalition; for theſe reaſons, all parties expected a new arrangement in adminiſtration would take place. The houſe of commons, therefore, after the above debate, adjourned to Monday the twenty-fourth; and on Tueſday the twenty-fifth, adjourned again to Friday the twenty-eighth. On Tueſday, March the eighteenth, Mr. Coke of Norfolk gave notice in the houſe, that if a miniſtry was not formed by the twenty-firſt, he ſhould move an addreſs to the king on that ſubject. Monday, the twenty-fourth, came, and no adminiſtration; in conſequence of which Mr. Coke made his intended motion. This being carried, the houſe preſented an humble addreſs, praying, that his majeſty would condeſcend to form an adminiſtration intitled to the confidence of his people, and ſuch a one as might have a tendency to put an end to the unfortunate diviſions and diſtractions of this country. On Wedneſday, March the twenty-ſixth, lord Ludlow reported to the houſe the king's anſwer, " That it was his earneſt deſire to do every thing in his power to comply with the wiſhes expreſſed by his faithful commons." At length, after an inter-regnum (a name adopted by the houſe for the ſpace of time in which there was no adminiſtration) of near ſix weeks, the new miniſters were announced on the ſecond of April. In the new arrangement, viſcount Stormont was appointed preſident of the privy-council, the earl of Carliſle keeper of the privy-ſeal, the duke of Portland firſt lord of the treaſury, lord viſcount Keppel firſt lord of the admiralty, and, to the great aſtoniſhment of the honeſt part of the nation, and all its true patriots, lord North was coupled with the right honourable Charles James Fox, who were made principal ſecretaries of ſtate. Mr. Pitt having on the thirty-firſt of March reſigned his poſt of chancellor of the Exchequer, lord John Cavendiſh was appointed to the ſame. Lord Thurlow alſo reſigned the ſeals, as lord chancellor, and they were put into commiſſion, at the head of which ſtood lord Loughborough.

During the courſe of this ſeſſion, ſeveral important bills were introduced into both houſes, and canvaſſed by the moſt eminent ſpeakers. A bill for ſecuring Ireland the excluſive right of judicature and legiſlature, was proceeded upon with great caution, delicacy, and perſeverance. Another, for the proviſional eſtabliſhment and regulation of trade and commerce, between the ſubjects of Great Britain and the united ſtates of America. Reſolutions in favour of the American corps, and of the loyaliſts. Mr. Burke's civil liſt bill. Reports on the Eaſt India company's petition. Cuſtom-houſe bill. The mutiny bill. Prince of Wales's eſtabliſhment, and ſome others, which occaſioned long and violent debates. wherein the abilities and public ſpirit of the ſpeakers on each ſide of the queſtion, were fully diſplayed.

By diſpatches from India, an account was received of a rebellion in Benares, during which a province that paid annually to government three hundred thouſand pounds a year, was loſt and recovered in the ſpace of five weeks. Intelligence alſo arrived at the Eaſt India houſe of the operations againſt Hyder Ally, on the Malabar coaſt, whereby the nabob was defeated by colonel Mackleod, and obliged to make ſeveral retreats with precipitation. At this time a treaty of peace with the Marattas was expected would be ratified. In the mean while no leſs than four engagements happened between Sir Edward Hughes's fleet and that of M. Suffrein's; but by reaſon of ſtormy weather, and other caſualties, not one of them proved to be deciſive. The third action indeed was ſo much in favour of the French, as to afford M. Suffrein an opportunity of making a deſcent on Trincomale, which he obliged to ſurrender upon ſummons, and propoſed articles of capitulation.

In America, ſince the notification of peace in that country, the fate of the loyaliſts has been ſevere to an extreme. Of thoſe who relinquiſhed their fortunes to fight for their king, numbers have been obliged to exchange a warm ſouthern clime for the cold region of the north, by emigrating to Nova Scotia; and many who, truſting to the mercy of a relentleſs enemy, returned to their families and reſpective homes, have, with the utmoſt inhumanity, been treated as murderers and felons, with the rigour of immediate execution, without trial, or perpetual baniſhment. In the New Jerſey journal, a paper addreſſed to friends, countrymen, whigs, and fellow-citizens, thus concludes:

Now, know all men, whereas information is given that many of theſe horrid wretches above deſcribed (whom Great Britian aukwardly enough ſhakes off, with an inſulting recommendation to the mercy of the people they have been violently endeavouring to deſtroy for more than ſeven years) intend to ſtay in this country, and return to this country again after the Britiſh are gone; in order to give timely notice to all ſuch parricides, and to give them a chance to preſerve their unworthy lives, and to influence them to go to their maſters whom they have ſerved, we, the ſubſcribers, citizens of the ſtate of New Jerſey, do ſolemnly covenant for our country, for its peace and ſafety, and we pledge our faith and our ſacred honours to one another, that we will, with our lives and fortunes, ſupport one another, in endeavouring to have ſuitable laws made (if the preſent are inſufficient) for the puniſhment of all ſuch perſons above deſcribed, who may dare to return into this ſtate, who have acted directly or indirectly, in word or deed, in favour of the enemy, to the injury of the good citizens of this ſtate, or to the injury of any of the citizens of the United States; that we will be vigilant to ſee that the ſaid laws be perfectly and vigorouſly executed. We have too many of thoſe murdering, baſe, and falſe-hearted tories in our country already. We will not willingly and knowingly admit a ſingle individual more.

For theſe uſeful and important purpoſes, and that we may not breathe in the ſame air, and be ſhocked with the ſight of thoſe monſters of humanity, and to prevent the machinations of ſuch miſcreants in future, and to be a terror to all the baſe among us who dare liſp a word in favour of ſuch murderers, felons, and their abettors, we ſolemnly unite, aſſociate, and bind ourſelves, by all the ties of patriotiſm and ſacred virtue, that we will honeſtly endeavour that the above meaſures ſhall be ſtrictly and fully effected.

In a word, we are fully determined to hang, according to the law of this ſtate, every ſuch infernal being, without benefit of clergy.

As witneſs our hands this twenty-ſeventh day of March, A. D. 1783, and in the ſeventh year of our glorious independency and triumphant liberty.

But, to the honour of Engliſh humanity, the Britiſh parliament has taken the caſe of theſe unfortunate ſufferers under their ſerious conſideration; a conſiderable ſum has been voted for their preſent ſupport; and commiſſioners are appointed to enquire particularly into their ſufferings, that a ſettled proviſion may be fixed for them by parliament.

This year the elements, particularly at ſea, ſeemed as it were in league againſt us, with the combined powers by land. Beſides the loſs of that fine ſhip the Ville de Paris, or City of Paris, one of lord Rodney's prizes, and the Royal George, of which we have given an account, his majeſty's ſhip the Centaur foundered at ſea. Captain Inglefield's affecting narrative contains the whole account of the different ſtorms, and the diſtreſs of the ſhip from the firſt gale of wind, as alſo his marvellous eſcape with his pinnace-crew. The officers and men ſaved, who arrived at Fayal, were, captain Inglefield, Mr. Thomas Rainy, maſter, Mr. Robert Bayles, midſhipman, Mr. James Clarke, ſurgeon's mate, Timothy Sullivan, captain's coxſwain, John Gregory, quarter-maſter, Charles M'Carty, Charles Flinn, ——— Gallohar, Theodore Hutchins, Thomas Stevenſon, ſeamen. Thomas Matthews, quarter-maſter, died in the boat the day before they ſaw land.

To theſe we may with propriety ſubjoin thoſe tumults by land, which are always to be expected at the concluſion of a peace. At Portſmouth, Newcaſtle-under-line, Whitby, Banbury, Plymouth, Wakefield, and in the iſland of Guernſey, riots and mutinies broke forth, which proceeded to moſt daring lengths. In Ireland, at Dublin, April the third, three or four hundred of the laſt recruited men in the garriſon laid down their arms, inſiſting on their diſcharge, as the war was over, their time of enliſtment being confined to that period. It was alſo ſaid, that general Burgoyne harangued the men, and among other things told them, that from the diſtracted ſtate at preſent of the Engliſh councils, it was not certain whether peace was abſolutely fixed, and gave them his honour, that as ſoon as matters were finally determined, they ſhould enjoy the full conditions of their enliſtment. Which aſſurance happily reſtored order among the garriſon. Differences alſo commenced at Kilkenny, between the Leinſter fencibles and the town's people, which aroſe to an alarming height before they ſubſided. Nor was even Scotland free from diſturbances.

On the third of February the ſhip Bedford, captain Moores, belonging to the Maſſachuſets, arrived in the Downs, paſſed Graveſend the fourth, and was reported at the Cuſtom-houſe the ſixth. She was not allowed regular entry, until ſome conſultations had taken place between the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms and the lords of council, on account of the many acts of parliament yet in force againſt the rebels in America. She lay at Horſley-down, a little below the Tower, and was the firſt which diſplayed the Thirteen Stripes of America in any Britiſh port.

The king having created a new order, called the moſt illuſtrious order of St. Patrick, the inſtallation of the knights was appointed to be at Dublin caſtle, March the twenty-ſeventh.

Nor have general Elliot and admiral Rodney been forgotten in the diſtribution of royal favours, the latter having been made a lord, and the former, on the third of April, was inveſted with the red ribband at Gibraltar. And as a further proof of national regard, it was unanimouſly reſolved in the houſe of lords, "That this houſe do highly approve of, and acknowledge the ſervices of the officers, ſoldiers, and ſailors, lately employed in the defence of Gibraltar." The commons alſo voted them their thanks; and have ſince paſſed a penſion bill, beſtowing upon admiral lord Rodney, and his two ſucceſſors, in conſideration of his eminent ſervices, two thouſand pounds a year; and upon Sir George Auguſtus Elliot, and his ſon, for the former's unparalleled defence of Gibraltar, fifteen hundred pounds a year. We may here obſerve, the ſame parliament, which in ſeveral paſt ſeſſions have been remarkably liberal in their pecuniary grants, agreed to no leſs a ſum than fifty-five thouſand pounds, to enable his majeſty to diſcharge the debts of his civil liſt. At the ſame time, the inſolvent debtors bill, introduced and ſupported by the earl of Effingham, was thrown out.

In the year 1775, a year which Britain will have too much cauſe to remember, the national debt amounted to one hundred and twenty-nine millions, eight hundred and ſixty thouſand and eighteen pounds. In January, 1783, this debt was found to be augmented to no leſs a ſum than two hundred and fifteen millions, ſeven hundred and ſeventeen thouſand, ſeven hundred and nine pounds; the intereſt, with the expence of management of which, was ſeven millions, five hundred and thirteen thouſand, eight hundred and fifty-two pounds, nine ſhillings. To the above ſum is to be added, thirty-ſix millions, eight hundred ſixty-ſeven thouſand, two hundred and twenty-ſeven pounds, of debt not funded nor provided for in January 1783; ſo that the whole debt, funded and unfunded at this period, amounted to two hundred and fifty-two millions, five hundred and eighty-four thouſand, nine hundred and eighty-ſix pounds, requiring for intereſt and management nine millions, eight thouſand, nine hundred and thirty-one pounds. Of the above debt, one hundred and fifteen millions, ſix hundred and fifty-four thouſand, nine hundred and fourteen pounds, has been contracted from January 1776, to January 1783.

Tueſday, July the fifteenth, the royal aſſent was given to ten bills by commiſſion; and the parliamentary buſineſs being finiſhed, on the ſeventeenth his majeſty went with the uſual ſtate to the houſe of peers. Three bills were then paſſed with the royal aſſent, after which his majeſty made a moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne, and prorogued the parliament to the ninth of September.

The court-martial on the trial of General Murray met, at the cloſe of the month of February, at the Horſe Guards, to receive the deciſion of the court, after its reviſion by his majeſty. Both General Murray, and Sir William Draper who had exhibited the charges againſt him, being preſent, the Judge Advocate proceeded to read the deciſion, which was, "that twenty-ſeven of the charges were frivolous and groundleſs." Of the remaining two the court had found the priſoner guilty, and ſentenced him to receive ſuch reprehenſion as his majeſty might think proper, which his majeſty had been pleaſed to remit. The Judge Advocate then informed Sir William Draper, that it was the pleaſure of the court that he ſhould be required to make an apology to General Murray for having inſtituted the preſent trial againſt him. Sir William acquieſced, and apologized accordingly. When the like requiſition was made of General Murray to Sir William, for having wounded his feelings as a ſoldier, by his conduct to him during his command at Minorca, General Murray vehemently and peremptorily refuſed acquieſcence, declaring that he was the protector of his own honour, and would leave that of every other man to his own vindication. He was, therefore, put under arreſt; but on a meeting of the court-martial a few days after, the affair was accommodated, by changing a word in the propoſed apology, and the matter terminated in ſuch a manner as to leave no poſſible ground for apprehenſion that any future conſequence would take place between the two generals.

On the 22d of May articles were agreed upon between Mr. Oſwald, his Britannic majeſty's commiſſioner, and the commiſſioners of the United States of America.

Sir Roger Curtis, who had ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his valour as an officer during the ſiege of Gibraltar by the combined armaments of France and Spain, renewed, on the 16th of June, as deputed from our court, the treaty of peace which had ſubſiſted between Great Britain and the emperor of Morocco.

On the 2d of September preliminary articles of peace, between his majeſty the king of Great Britain and their High Mightineſſes the States General of the United Provinces of Holland, were ſigned at Paris by the plenipotentiaries of the reſpective powers; as was, on the 3d, the definitive treaty with France, Spain, and America: and on the 6th of the following month, by virtue of his majeſty's royal warrant, peace was proclaimed between Great Britain, France and Spain, at the uſual places, and with the accuſtomed ceremonies.

On the 11th of November the ſeſſion of parliament was opened by a ſpeech from his majeſty to both houſes. When his majeſty had retired from the houſe, his royal highneſs the prince of Wales, who had been previouſly introduced with the uſual ceremonies, and taken his chair on the right hand of the throne, took the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, and made and ſubſcribed the declaration, and alſo took and ſubſcribed the oaths of abjuration.

On the 18th of November Mr. Secretary Fox, purſuant to previous notice, brought forward his motion reſpecting the future regulation of the Engliſh ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies. After a variety of arguments on both ſides the queſtion, the houſe divided on a motion for adjournment, which was carried in the negative by a majority of 109 voices. The queſtion, that the bill be committed, was then carried without a diviſion, and it was ordered to be committed for the 1ſt of December. On that day the principal opponents, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, again diſplayed their eloquence, and went over much the ſame ground as upon the former occaſion: at length, however, the bill was again committed by a majority of 114. But this meaſure of adminiſtration met with a very different fate in the houſe of lords, where, after ſome debates, the motion for the commitment of the bill was loſt by a majority of 19.

Late on Thurſday night, the 18th, a ſpecial meſſenger announced to lord North and Mr. Fox, that his majeſty had no further occaſion for their ſervices. At the ſame time they were commanded to ſend the ſeals by the under ſecretaries, as a perſonal interview would be diſagreeable. The next day the right honourable William Pitt was appointed firſt lord of the treaſury and chancellor of the Exchequer; earl Gower, preſident of the council; and earl Temple, ſecretary of ſtate: the latter immediately wrote letters of diſmiſſion to the remaining members of the cabinet, the conſequence of which was, a general and almoſt unexampled reſignation of their adherents.

The houſe adjourned to Monday the 22d, when Mr. Grenville roſe and announced the reſignation of his noble relation, earl Temple, who, he ſaid, had taken this ſtep in order that he might not be ſuppoſed to ſhelter himſelf under the cover of authority againſt any charge that might be brought againſt him, but that he might meet it fairly and openly in his private capacity.——Mr. Fox hinted at ſome other reaſon for the reſignation; but the ſlight converſe on this ſubject gave way to a more important concern, the paſſing of the land-tax bill, with circumſtances of candour and good temper, that did honour to both ſides of the houſe.

This great object being ſettled, an addreſs to his majeſty was moved againſt the apprehended diſſolution of parliament. Lord North's ſpeech upon this occaſion was very ſingular, not only as it was his firſt profeſſed defence of a celebrated coalition, but as it threw a light on ſome important circumſtances in the government of this country, eſpecially that influence in the ſtate which the great ariſtocratical parties have been long known to poſſeſs.

At length the queſtion being put, that the houſe agree to the motion for the addreſs, it was carried with ſo great a ſtrength of ſhew, that the friends of the new miniſtry did not think proper to try the queſtion by a deciſion. When the addreſs was preſented to his majeſty, he was pleaſed to return a moſt gracious anſwer, and to aſſure the houſe, that he ſhould not interrupt their meeting by any exerciſe of his prerogative, either of prorogation or diſſolution. It was then finally agreed to by the houſe to adjourn to the 12th of January enſuing.

Notwithſtanding there appeared at firſt ſo much difficulty in forming a cabinet, an arrangement of miniſtry was completed in a few days. The duke of Rutland was appointed lord privy ſeal; the marquis of Caermarthen and lord Sydney, principal ſecretaries of ſtate; and lord Thurlow, lord high chancellor.

A. D. 1784.

The houſe of commons met purſuant to adjournment on the 12th of January, when debates were maintained by the contending parties with the uſual zeal and ſpirit. After a diviſion of the houſe on the order of the day, upon which there appeared a majority of 39 againſt the miniſter, the houſe went into a committee on the ſtate of the nation.

On the 23d Mr. Chancellor Pitt moved, that the India bill laid by him before the houſe, be read a ſecond time and committed. The houſe divided on the ſecond reading, when there appeared againſt the bill a majority of eight.

The bill being thus rejected, Mr. Fox moved for leave to bring in a bill for the better regulation and government of our affairs in the Eaſt Indies; the two principal objects of which were, the rendering the ſyſtem for the government of India permanent by authority of parliament; and the fixing the government at home. The other ſyſtem as ſecondary, might be modelled to meet the inclinations and opinions of the country. He then called upon the miniſter to declare explicitly whether the houſe was to rely on the promiſe made in anſwer to their late addreſs. No anſwer from the miniſter. He was called upon again and again; but remained ſilent. At length, as if urged by the pointed ſeverity of ſome remarks, he declared that he would not condeſcend to anſwer interrogatories which he did not think gentlemen entitled to put to him, and concluded with aſſigning his reaſons in an high and elevated ſtile of expreſſion.

The 16th of January the lord-mayor, attended by a great number of the aldermen, went from Guildhall to St. James's, and preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, expreſſing the ſatisfaction they felt at the diſmiſſion of his majeſty's late miniſters, and their earneſt aſſurances of maintaining their zeal and loyalty inviolate. An addreſs of the like nature was alſo preſented by the merchants of London.

On the 29th, the houſe of commons met purſuant to adjournment; and on the 20th of February Mr. Fox moved for an addreſs to the king, which being alſo carried, was prepared and reported as follows:

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

"We your majeſty's moſt faithful commons, impreſſed with the moſt dutiful ſenſe of your majeſty's paternal regard for the welfare of your people, approach your throne to expreſs our reliance on your majeſty's paternal wiſdom, that your majeſty will take ſuch meaſures, by removing any obſtacle to forming ſuch an adminiſtration as the houſe has declared to be requiſite in the preſent critical and arduous ſituation of affairs, as may tend to give effect to the wiſhes of your faithful commons, which have already been moſt humbly repreſented to your majeſty."

This addreſs being preſented on the 25th to his majeſty, he was pleaſed to reply in words to the following purport:

"That he felt the peculiar neceſſity of a ſtrong, united, and extended adminiſtration, and ſuch as might poſſeſs the confidence of the public. That his endeavours to compoſe the preſent diſtractions by an union of the ableſt men upon a fair and equal footing had very recently been uſed, but without ſucceſs: that until ſuch an adminiſtration could be formed as his faithful commons deſired, he could not ſee how it could conduce to the public good to remove his preſent from all the ſituations of executive government; more eſpecially as no charge had been ſpecified againſt any one of them, and as the repreſentations of large and reſpectable bodies of his ſubjects had expreſſed a ſatisfaction in the late change which he had thought proper to make in his councils."

When the king's anſwer was read, Mr. Fox roſe, and ſaid, he would not then enter into the conſideration of it, but would barely remark, that it appeared to him to be final on the part of his majeſty, and therefore the houſe could not well take more than one ſtep farther; and as this proceeding on the part of the houſe ought to be final alſo, there ought to be due time for gentlemen to turn the ſubject in their minds, what that meaſure ſhould be. He then moved that his majeſty's anſwer be taken into conſideration on Monday the 8th of March, which was agreed to without any debate. Accordingly on that day Mr. Fox, after ſome exordium, moved a variety of reſolutions, tending on the whole to teſtify the ſurprize and affliction of the houſe on receiving the anſwer which his majeſty's miniſters had adviſed; to aſſure his majeſty that the houſe neither had diſputed, nor meant in any inſtance to diſpute, much leſs to deny his majeſty's undoubted prerogative of appointing to the executive offices of ſtate ſuch perſons as to his majeſty's wiſdom might ſeem meet; at the ſame time again ſubmitting to his majeſty's royal wiſdom, that no adminiſtration, however legally appointed, can ſerve his majeſty and the public with effect, which does not enjoy the confidence of that houſe. But the opponents of adminiſtration in this inſtance loſt conſiderable ground, having, on a diviſion on Mr. Fox's motion, the majority only of an unit.

On the 10th, lord Hinchinbroke informed the houſe, that their repreſentation had been laid before his majeſty, and graciouſly received.

On the 25th, his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and having given the royal aſſent to ſeveral bills then ready, made the following ſpeech from the throne:

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"On a full conſideration of the preſent ſituation of affairs, and of the extraordinary circumſtances which have produced it, I am induced to put an end to this ſeſſion of parliament: I feel it a duty, which I owe to the conſtitution and to the country in ſuch a ſituation, to recur as ſpeedily as poſſible to the ſenſe of my people, by calling a new parliament.

"I truſt that this meaſure will tend to obviate the miſchiefs ariſing from the unhappy diviſions and diſtractions which have lately ſubſiſted; and that the various important objects which will require conſideration may be afterwards proceeded upon with leſs interruption and with happier effect.

"I can have no other object, but to preſerve the true principles of our free and happy conſtitution, and to employ the powers entruſted to me by law, for the only end for which they were given, the good of my people."

To the general joy of all who had the love of their country at heart, the ratification on the part of the American congreſs of the definitive treaty between Great Britain and America arrived on the 9th of April.

The new parliament met on the 16th of May, when the commons re-choſe Mr. Cornwall their ſpeaker, and on the 19th his majeſty went in the uſual ſtate to the upper houſe, and opened the ſeſſion with a moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

The definitive treaty with Holland was ſigned at Paris on the 20th, and in the beginning of July proclamation of peace between Great Britain and the United Provinces, and alſo with the United States of America, was read by the City Common Crier at the Royal Exchange, and other public places of the metropolis; and a day of thankſgiving was appointed for the 29th on that memorable occaſion.

Advices were ſoon after received of the peace being ſigned between the Eaſt India Company and Tippoo Saib, an event that was followed by the royal aſſent being given to Mr. Pitt's Eaſt India regulating bill, and the prorogation of the parliament.

A. D. 1785.

On the 25th of January, being the day appointed for the commencement of the ſecond ſeſſion of the preſent parliament, his majeſty opened the ſame with a ſpeech, purporting his deſire of their attention to the adjuſtment of ſuch points in the commercial intercourſe between Great Britain and Ireland as were not then finally arranged, on ſuch a ſyſtem as might beſt enſure the general proſperity of his dominions; and his information, notwithſtanding any appearance of differences on the continent, of having received from all foreign powers the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their good diſpoſition towards this country; together with his hearty concurrence in every meaſure that could tend to alleviate the national burthen, ſecure the principles of the conſtitution, and promote the welfare of his people. After ſome altercation, or rather converſation, a motion for an addreſs to his majeſty on the occaſion was carried in both houſes *nem. con.*

On the 3d of February three great points were ſubmitted by the miniſter to the conſideration of the commons this ſeſſion, viz. an arrangement of our commercial intercourſe with Ireland; a reform in the repreſentation of parliament; and the ſtate of the national finances. Theſe ſeveral ſubjects met with general approbation, and were ſet apart for future diſcuſſion.

The ſame day Mr. Fitzpatrick preſented a petition from certain of the electors of Weſtminſter, which being read, ſtated, in the moſt forcible language, the then unrepreſented ſtate of their city; that without any crime being proved, or even alledged, they were, in fact, disfranchiſed; and that, contrary to every principle of the conſtitution, without being repreſented, they were taxed. The novelty and illegality of the ſcrutiny between the Rt. Hon. Charles Fox and Sir Cecil Wray (the two contending candidates) were placed in a ſtriking point of view, without adverting to their reſpective merits. The petition concluded with praying that the houſe would grant redreſs, by compelling the high-bailiff to give a return. It was ordered to lie on the table.

On the 8th the high-bailiff attended the houſe purſuant to order, when, on one of the members deſiring to know what ſteps had been taken in the ſcrutiny in conſequence of the reſolution of the houſe of the 8th of June laſt, he related the whole of the buſineſs from the commencement of the poll; and declared, amongſt other things, that, according to the rate at which the ſcrutiny proceeded, it would, if continued, laſt upwards of two years.

The further conſideration of the ſubject being poſtponed to the next day, it was obſerved by the member who ſpoke particularly on it the preceding day, that the queſtion before the houſe was one of the moſt important that could be agitated in parliament. It involved the conſtitution, for it comprehended the prerogative of the crown and the rights of the people. After ſome ſtrictures on the conduct of the high-bailiff, he ſaid, that from the circumſtances which had tranſpired in the courſe of the ſcrutiny, the high-bailiff had avowed, that his mind was ſatisfied he ſhould be able to make a conſcientious return whenever he ſhould be authoriſed by the houſe to put a period to the ſcrutiny. On this conſideration the ſame member contended, that it was incumbent on the houſe to order the high-bailiff to make a return.

After ſome objections to theſe aſſertions, he made the following motion: "That it appears to "this houſe that T. Corbett, high-bailiff of the "city of Weſtminſter, did receive from the ſheriff "of Middleſex a precept to return two fit and "able citizens to ſerve in parliament for the city "of Weſtminſter, returnable on the 17th day of "May laſt, and that he be ordered forthwith to "make a return of the ſaid precept."

This motion was ſeconded, but being oppoſed and an amendment propoſed, a long debate enſued, and, on a diviſion, there appeared a majority of 39 in favour of the amendment, on the ſide of the miniſter, as was the caſe on ſeveral future occaſions, till the 3d of March, when Mr. Sawbridge, after ſtating the ſituation of the ſcrutiny, and the variety of inconveniences that attended the continuation of it, moved, "That the "high-bailiff of the city of Weſtminſter, by vir- "tue of a precept directed to him by the ſheriff of "Middleſex for electing two citizens to ſerve in "parliament, having finiſhed his poll on the 17th "day of May, the day previous to the return of "the writ, be forthwith ordered to make his re- "turn."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer in reply ſaid, there were no new grounds to argue on, and he ſhould therefore move, "that the houſe do ad- "journ." After ſome little altercation, the cry of "queſtion" vociferated from all parts of the houſe, which produced a diviſion, when there appeared a majority of 38 againſt the miniſter. The original motion was then carried without a diviſion.

On the 9th, the order of the day being read "for "taking into conſideration an adjourned queſtion "for the reſcinding the reſolution of the houſe of "the 8th of June laſt relative to the Weſtminſter "Scrutiny," the point was ſeverally diſcuſſed by able ſpeakers on both ſides, and particularly by Mr. Fox, who made a very long ſpeech, in which he anſwered the objections of ſeveral members, and contended for the queſtion, but without effect, there being a majority of 105 againſt it. The high-bailiff was ordered, by the houſe, to make his return; and Mr. Fox, on a ſubſequent diviſion, was declared duly elected for the city of Weſtminſter.

The next point of importance agitated in the lower houſe, was, the great queſtion of a reform in the repreſentation of the people, brought not as heretofore by a member of the oppoſition, but by "the miniſter of the crown." The ſubject was introduced by Mr. Chancellor Pitt, in a very eloquent ſpeech to one of the fulleſt houſes that had ever been known.

The purport of Mr. Pitt's propoſition was, that of transferring from certain boroughs the power of election to counties and towns of greater conſequence, not by compulſory means, but ſo as to make it an act of their own direction.

After ſtating the general principle and particular objects of his plan of reform, and enforcing his motion with a variety of arguments, he moved, "that leave be given to bring in a bill to amend "the repreſentation."

Lord North, as upon former occaſions, reprobated the motion as a direct attack upon the Britiſh conſtitution, a conſtitution the work of infinite wiſdom, the ſource of many bleſſings, much happineſs, and much glory. His lordſhip concluded his ſpeech with an emphatic wiſh that the friends of that conſtitution would feel as one man, and rouſe at the danger it would be put in if the motion was carried, and therefore hoped they would have the triumph of carrying it in the negative.

Mr. Fox declared he was for the principle of the bill ſpecifically conſidered, namely, that of increaſing the number of members choſen by freeholders in proportion to the repreſentatives of boroughs. The only point he ſaid in which he principally differed from the right honourable mover was, that the preſent parliament ſhould not be affected by the reform. He declared he ſhould give his cordial ſupport to the reform; but begged not to be underſtood as going farther, and concluded with aſſuring the houſe, that he would enter his proteſt againſt the majority of electors at boroughs ſelling the minority.

Lord Frederic Campbell and another member, the warm friends of the miniſter, likewiſe ſpoke againſt the motion; and after a few words from Mr. Pitt in reply, the houſe divided, when the numbers appeared as follow:

Noes	- - -	248
Ayes	- - -	174
Majority againſt the reform		74

On the 7th of March, in a committee on the ſupply, the houſe came to the following reſolutions:

"That 940,000l. be granted to his Majeſty, for "defraying the expences of buildings, rebuildings, "and repairs of ſhips, for 1785."

"That 675,307l. be granted for the ordinary of "the navy for 1785. The ſaid reſolutions to be "reported on Monday."

Mr. Huſſey remarked, that, having compared the eſtimates now to be provided for with the eſtimates at the cloſe of the former war, he found a very material difference. If the navy was ſo conſiderably increaſed as the difference between the two eſtimates appeared to be (411,000l. at the former period, 940,000l. now), then he was willing to give his ſupport to the motion, but he believed it was not.

Mr. Brett, in reply, ſaid, there were 160 ſail of ſhips more now than at the cloſe of the war in 1764; but another reaſon for the great increaſe was, that, at the period alluded to, there were no marines; at preſent there are. The motion was agreed to.

On the 13th of April, the houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee on the petition from the fuſtian manufacturers of Mancheſter, &c. againſt the exciſe duty on fuſtians. The witneſſes this day examined were chiefly intended to invalidate the teſtimony of thoſe who had before been adduced in ſupport of the allegations of the petition. Among them were officers of Exciſe, who ſpoke chiefly to the arts of evaſion practiſed by the manufacturers, and to the means uſed to ſecure the revenue.

A Mr. Faulkner was called to the bar; and ſeveral queſtions being aſked him reſpecting the Mancheſter trade, a debate took place, in which Mr. Pitt, Mr. Dundas, Lord North, Mr. Eden, and others, took part, Whether he did not think the evidence given by Mr. Walker was in a great meaſure influenced by the tax laid on their fuſtian manufacture? And a ſpirited altercation enſuing, the queſtion was ſo qualified, that Mr. Faulkner in reply ſaid, that although Mr. Walker was undoubtedly deeply concerned and intereſted in the fuſtian manufacture, yet he did not think him capable of giving a falſe teſtimony on that account.

An unintereſting debate took place about the priority of hearing other petitions which were referred to the committee; and the night being far ſpent, it was agreed to refer the further examinations till Friday, when the houſe accordingly reſolved itſelf into a committee, and proceeded to hear counſel on the ſeveral petitions.

The 4th of May the Chancellor of the Exchequer opened what is commonly called the budget. He ſtated without any formal preface the national expenditure for the current year, under the following heads:

Naval diſburſements	£2,550,307
Army	2,286,263
Ordnance	392,855
Deficiencies	1,612,908
Exchequer bills unfunded	2,500,000
Somerſet Houſe	25,000
Britiſh Muſeum	3,000
Miſcellaneous Services	35,695
Arrears of duty of the Leeward Iſlands	359,836

All theſe together, he calculated to amount to a ſum of 9,737,868l.; of this, he obſerved, there was already provided 6,184,117l. ſo that there remained 3,553,751l.

He then adverted to the ſituation of the Navy debt, and ſtated the amount of our naval bills to be 9,505,808l. as calculated with intereſt up to the 5th of July 1785; and the ordnance debt to Midſummer next at 504,349l. in all 1,010,157l. which he propoſed to fund; and to prefer the 5 per. cent. ſtock rather than the 3 per. cent. for that purpoſe, although he admitted there would be an additional intereſt of about 30,000l. to pay annually. He ſtated, that the whole intereſt to be provided would amount to 413,000l. for the payment of which he propoſed, 1ſt, an augmentation of the tax on male ſervants; 2dly, a tax on female ſervants; 3dly, a tax on retail ſhops; as a compenſation for this tax, he propoſed, he ſaid, to move for the repeal of licences granted to hawkers; 4thly, a tax on gloves; 5thly, a 5l. licence on pawnbrokers; 6thly, an additional half-penny per mile on poſt horſes; and laſtly, a regulation on the conveyance of ſalt coaſt-wiſe. All theſe together he calculated to amount to 422,000l. which, he ſaid, was about 9000l. more than wanted in order to make good deficiences. He then made a recapitulation of his taxes thus:

Men ſervants	£35,000
Women ditto	140,000
Retail Shops	120,000
Gloves	50,000
Pawn-brokers	15,000
Poſt Horſes	50,000
Salt	12,000
Total,	422,000

With this increaſe of revenue, together with the old, he would be able to pay the intereſt of the loan of a million from the Bank, to make good the deficiency that would be occaſioned by the repeal of ſome of the taxes; to provide for the funding of the navy bills; and for raiſing a ſinking fund of a million, which ſhould annually be applied to the gradual diminution of the national debt. In concluſion, he moved firſt the loan of a million from the Bank.

On the 10th of this month the report of the Budget from the committee of ways and means was brought up, and read. The debate that enſued was rather witty and ſarcaſtical, than ſolid argumentation.

On the 22d of June, in this year, the toll, which had been paid at Blackfriars Bridge, from its being firſt opened, was taken off.

On July 7, in a committee, to conſider of the act relating to the ſale of medicines, and to ſubject all medicines, drugs, oils, eſſences, &c. &c. ſold in packets, boxes, phials, or other incloſures, in any manner whatever; whether ſold by apothecaries, ſurgeons, or any other perſons, to the reſpective duties in the former act; it was reſolved, that every perſon in Great Britain vending the above drugs ſhould take out a licence; thoſe within the bills of mortality 20s. in the country 5s. annually.

On the 2d of Auguſt, Mr. Pitt brought in his bill for the eſtabliſhment of a commercial arrangement between Great-Britain and Ireland, which was read a firſt time, and ordered to be printed; after which the Houſe adjourned to Thurſday the 27th of October; upon which day the parliament was prorogued to the firſt of December.

A. D. 1786.

His Majeſty on the 24th of January went in the uſual ſtate to the houſe of peers, and opened the third ſeſſion of the preſent parliament. Both houſes preſented an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty, which were graciouſly received.

On April the 11th lord Cornwallis was appointed governor general and commander in chief of Bengal; as was, on the 12th, Sir Guy Carleton, commander in chief of Quebec, Nova Scotia, &c.

On the 9th of July his Royal Highneſs the prince of Wales, in conſequence of being diſappointed of obtaining an addition to his revenue this ſeſſion, by parliament, dropt his eſtabliſhment, and appointed four gentlemen to arrange his affairs, and appropriate the greater part of his income to the payment of his debts.

His majeſty, on the 11th, went to the houſe of peers, and prorogued the parliament with a ſpeech from the throne.

On the 2d of Auguſt an attempt was made by one Margaret Nicholſon, on the life of his majeſty, as he was alighting from his carriage at the gate of St. James's palace. This woman had been obſerved to wait the king's arrival for ſome time, and, previous to the appearance of the carriage, had taken her ſtation between two women that were unknown to her. On the ſight of the carriage, ſhe begged with ſome earneſtneſs, that they would not impede her from delivering a memorial to his majeſty. As the king was alighting, ſhe puſhed forward, and preſented a paper, which his majeſty received with great condeſcenſion. At that inſtant ſhe ſtruck a concealed knife at the king's breaſt, which his majeſty happily avoided, by bowing as he received the paper. As ſhe was making a ſecond thruſt, one of the yeomen caught her arm; and, at the ſame inſtant, one of the king's footmen wrenched the knife out of her hand. His majeſty, with amazing temper and fortitude, exclaimed, "*I have received no injury! Do not hurt the woman; the poor creature appears inſane.*" — The woman was immediately taken into cuſtody, and, upon examination, appeared to be inſane: in conſequence of which ſhe was afterwards ſent to the hoſpital of Bethlehem, to be taken proper care of.

Sept. 19, a plan was ſet on foot for eſtabliſhing a colony in New Holland, for the convenience of tranſporting convicts thither, and with a future view of improving the ſoil, and cultivating the manners of the natives. And in the courſe of the ſame month a commercial treaty with France was ſigned at Verſailles by Mr. Eden and Monſieur Vergennes, as miniſters plenipotentiary for their reſpective kings.

A. D. 1787. Both houſes of parliament having met, on the 23d of January, purſuant to their prorogation, his majeſty then delivered a ſpeech from the throne, in which he informed them, that having concluded a treaty of navigation and commerce with the moſt Chriſtian King, he recommended it to them to take ſuch meaſures as they ſhould judge proper for carrying it into effect, aſſuring them, at the ſame time, that, to promote a beneficial intercourſe between the reſpective ſubjects, and add permanence to the bleſſings of peace, ſhould be the grand object of all his negotiations with foreign powers. He further recommended to them to take ſuch meaſures as might appear neceſſary for carrying into execution a plan formed by his direction, for the tranſportation of convicts: and aſſured them of his reliance on the continuance of their exertions to improve the national reſources, and promote the welfare of his people. His majeſty, in conſequence, was waited on with an addreſs from both houſes.

In the lower houſe Mr. Sheridan, on the 7th of February, brought forward an important charge againſt Mr. Haſtings, late governor general of Bengal. He diſplayed, in his ſpeech, moſt aſtoniſhing powers of elocution, inſomuch that he fixed the attention of the whole houſe, and concluded with a motion that Warren Haſtings be impeached. The chancellor of the exchequer, after a ſpeech that did him much honour, gave his vote for the motion, declaring that the national character, he was convinced, had been debaſed and degraded; and it was only by this act of national juſtice it could be reſtored to its wonted brilliancy, acquired by its ſacred attachments to honour, juſtice, and humanity. Mr. Sheridan's motion was carried by a majority of 107. The miniſter carried his motions with reſpect to the commercial treaty, by a conſiderable majority. The ſeveral articles of impeachment having, by order of the houſe of commons, been taken by Mr. Burke to the upper houſe, their lordſhips proceeded in due form thereupon on the 21ſt of May. Having held ſome debates on different points, Mr. Haſtings was admitted to bail; and, purſuant to the tenor of a petition, allowed a copy of the charge, and had counſel aſſigned him for his defence.

May the 30th his majeſty went in the uſual ſtate to the houſe of peers, and put an end to the ſeſſion of parliament, by a moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

The miniſtry, ſoon after the receſs, were engaged in attending to diſputes which ſubſiſted in the Republic of the United Provinces of Holland. The malecontents there were become highly refractory and turbulent, and had treated the royal conſort of his ſerene highneſs the Stadtholder, ſiſter to the king of Pruſſia, with the greateſt indignity. As the ſituation of thoſe ſtates became, by rapid degrees, more critical and alarming, and ſeemed likely, in its conſequence, to affect the ſecurity and intereſt of the Britiſh dominions, every method was taken, on the part of his Britannic majeſty, to effect the reſtoration of tranquillity, and the maintenance of lawful government among them.

To this end a memorial was preſented on the 14th of Auguſt, by Sir James Harris, envoy extraordinary from his Britannic majeſty to the States General, repreſenting the extreme inquietude with which the king his maſter beheld the continuation of their diſſenſions; expreſſing his ardent deſire of ſeeing peace re-eſtabliſhed; and aſſuring them, that, if it ſhould be found neceſſary to recur to a foreign mediation, and to invite his majeſty, every effort ſhould be exerted on his part to bring the negotiation to a happy, ſolid, and permanent iſſue. His majeſty alſo thought it neceſſary to explain his intention of counteracting all forcible interference on the part of France in the internal affairs of the Republic: and as the king of Pruſſia had taken meaſures to enforce his demand of ſatisfaction for the inſult offered to the princeſs of Orange, and the party which had uſurped the government of Holland, had applied to the French king for aſſiſtance, and that monarch had notified to his Britannic majeſty his intention of granting their requeſt, immediate orders were given for augmenting the Britiſh forces both by ſea and land, which orders were executed with incredible alacrity.

In the mean time, the rapid ſucceſs of the Pruſſian troops, under the conduct of the duke of Brunſwick, at once obtained the reparation demanded by their ſovereign, and enabled the provinces to deliver themſelves from the oppreſſion under which they laboured, as well as to re-eſtabliſh their lawful government; inſomuch that all ſubjects of conteſt being thus removed, an explanation took place between the courts of London and Verſailles, and declarations were exchanged by their reſpective miniſters, by which it was mutually agreed to diſarm, and to place their naval eſtabliſhment on the ſame footing as in the beginning of this year. A convention was alſo agreed to between the ſame courts, explanatory of the 13th article of the laſt treaty of peace, and calculated to prevent jealouſies and diſputes between their reſpective ſubjects in the Eaſt-Indies.

The parliament met for the diſpatch of buſineſs November the 27th, when his Majeſty, in his ſpeech from the throne, took occaſion to mention the alarming events that had lately taken place in Holland, and the meaſures adopted by the Britiſh cabinet, in conſequence of the ſame, according to the tenor of what we have related. The motions for addreſs were carried *nem. con.* in both houſes. Dr. Watſon, biſhop of Llandaff, a prelate of diſtinguiſhed learning and ability, reminded the upper houſe, upon this occaſion, of the ſentiments he had delivered in the laſt ſeſſion, namely, "That an alliance with Holland was an object of the firſt magnitude to this country; and the moment that France could detach the republic from ſuch an alliance, ſo as to transfer her marine, and add it to her own, ſuch an event would put an end to the hiſtory of Britain as a great and powerful nation."

A. D. 1788. On the 17th of January Lord George Gordon, having been found guilty, in the month of June foregoing, in the court of King's Bench, of publiſhing two libels, one againſt the queen of France, and the other againſt the criminal juriſprudence of this country, was ſentenced to three years impriſonment in Newgate, then to pay a fine of 500*l.* and find ſecurity for his good behaviour for fourteen years.

Prince Charles Lewis Caſimir Stuart died at Rome the 21ſt of this month. Since the death of his father in 1765, he had aſſumed to himſelf the title of king of England; but was commonly known on the continent by the name of the Chevalier de St. George, and in England by that of the young Pretender. He was juſt 67 years and two months old on the day of his death. This perſon was grandſon to James II. whoſe ſon was recognized, by ſeveral courts of Europe, as king of England, immediately after the death of his father. As ſuch he received kingly honours, had his palace and his guards, and enjoyed the privilege allowed by the Pope to catholic kings, of beſtowing a certain number of cardinal hats. But his ſon, prince Charles, who lately died, did not enjoy thoſe honours. He was, indeed, called prince of Wales, during the life of his father; but, after that event, he no longer bore that title; nor would the catholic courts ſtyle him king. To a natural daughter, whom, by his pretended royal power, he lately created ducheſs of Albany, he has bequeathed all his property he had in the French funds, which was very conſiderable. To his brother, the cardinal, he bequeathed his empty pretenſions to the crown of England.

On the 10th of February, the city of London, in concurrence with many reſpectable counties, cities, and towns of the kingdom, preſented a petition to the Houſe of Commons, praying that the houſe would take into their moſt ſerious conſideration that part of the traffic carried on by this country to the coaſt of Africa, for procuring ſlaves for the cultivation of our iſlands in the Weſt Indies, and humbly recommending to them to make ſuch regulations in it, as in their great wiſdom and humanity ſhould ſeem meet. And on the ſame day Sir Elijah Impey, againſt whom an impeachment, conſiſting of ſix articles, had been brought forward, by a member of the lower houſe near four months before, was, agreeable to his petition, permitted to be heard in his defence. Having, in the courſe of a few days, gone through three of the charges, he expreſſed a wiſh that the houſe would come to a deciſion on the firſt charge before he proceeded on his defence; the further conſideration of the buſineſs was therefore poſtponed.

In conſequence of a motion for impeachment made by Mr. Sheridan in the lower houſe, and carried by a great majority, the trial of Warren Haſtings, Eſq; preceded by the uſual ſolemnities, commenced on the 13th before the lords at Weſtminſter-hall.

Mr. Pitt having obſerved, previous to his motion in the houſe, on the 15th, "That leave be given to bring in a bill for removing any doubt reſpecting the power of the commiſſioners for the affairs of India, to direct the expence of raiſing, tranſporting, and maintaining ſuch troops as may be judged neceſſary for the ſecurity of the Britiſh territories and poſſeſſions in the Eaſt Indies, to be defrayed out of the revenues ariſing from the ſaid territories and poſſeſſions," that as ſeveral learned gentlemen had been conſulted upon the conſtruction of the act of 1784, and had differed in their opinions, he thought a declaratory act neceſſary, in order to obviate every doubt. The motion, after ſome oppoſition from Mr. Fox, was agreed to; and, on the 12th of March, the declaratory bill, notwithſtanding much oppoſition, was carried through both houſes by large majorities. A proteſt, however, by fifteen members of the upper houſe, was entered againſt it.

In the following month, a patriotic member in the lower houſe, moved, "That it is highly injurious to the ſervice, and unjuſt to ſet aſide, from promotions to flags, meritorious officers, and officers not precluded by the orders of his majeſty in council." The motion, however, after ſtrenuous exertions in its ſupport, was negatived.

On the 9th of May the houſe proceeded, purſuant to a former reſolution, to the final conſideration of the firſt charge againſt Sir Elijah Impey. This charge ſet forth, that Sir Elijah Impey, as chief juſtice of the ſupreme court of Calcutta, in 1774, had officially, in divers inſtances, become the inſtrument of Warren Haſtings, at that time governor general of Bengal, in the unprincipled attack on the life of Maha Rajah Nunducomar. Sir Gilbert Elliot, who brought forward the impeachment, having enlarged upon ſeveral circumſtances, relative to that charge, and finding himſelf much exhauſted, begged the indulgence of the houſe till that day week, which was granted. Sir Gilbert accordingly, at the time ſtated, reſumed the ſubject, and, after adducing ſeveral arguments in ſupport of his allegations, moved that Sir Elijah Impey, for his conduct in this affair, was guilty of high crimes and miſdemeanors. A debate enſued upon this motion, in the courſe of which ſeveral gentlemen diſplayed their elocution in ſupport of their reſpective opinions. Mr. Pitt was decidedly againſt the motion. After ſome previous obſervation, he inſiſted that Sir Elijah had acted under the authority of an act of parliament, which he had not violated in any one inſtance. The motion was negatived by a majority of eighteen voices.

A proviſional treaty of defenſive alliance was ſigned, on the 18th of June, between the miniſters plenipotentiary of their majeſties, the kings of Great Britain and Pruſſia; and on the 11th of the following month a period was put to the ſeſſion of parliament.

The centenary of the revolution in 1688, was obſerved, on the 5th of November, by many ſocieties in the metropolis, and other parts of the kingdom, not only with feſtivity, but devotion and thankſgiving. At the moſt reſpectable of theſe ſocieties, a noble earl, who preſided on the occaſion, moved, that application be made to parliament, to obſerve the future anniverſary of the 16th of December, as a day of ſolemn thankſgiving, it being on that day the Bill of Rights was paſſed. It was agreed to; and at another ſociety, a very conſiderable ſubſcription was raiſed towards erecting a column in Runnemede, in commemoration of that glorious event.

On the 20th the two houſes of parliament met; but his majeſty not being preſent in the houſe of peers, by reaſon of the ſevere indiſpoſition, under which he unhappily laboured, and no commiſſion having iſſued, either for holding, or for a further prorogation of the parliament; both houſes agreed unanimouſly to adjourn to the 4th of December; when both houſes met, purſuant to adjournment. The main buſineſs related to the examination of his majeſty's phyſicians, which had taken place the preceding day, before the privy council, and motions reſpecting the ſame, were unanimouſly carried, in both houſes, which then adjourned.

On the 8th of the ſame month the Marquis of Stafford, in the houſe of peers, roſe in the abſence of earl Camden, lord preſident of the council, and after ſubmitting a variety of conſiderations to their lordſhips, which were approved by ſome, and diſapproved by others, ſucceſſively moved for the appointment of a ſelect committee, to examine the phyſicians; that the committee conſiſt of twenty-one lords; and that each peer deliver in to the clerk a liſt of twenty-one lords, ſigned by his name, the next ſitting of the houſe. Theſe three motions were agreed to *nemine diſſentiente*. And in the houſe of commons, the chancellor of the exchequer moved for the appointment of a committee of twenty one, for the ſame purpoſe; which being agreed to, the chancellor's nomination was unanimouſly approved of.

The examination of the ſeven phyſicians by the ſelect committee was, on the 10th, laid before the commons, when it appeared, that they all agreed in the main objects of inquiry. In conſequence of theſe proceedings, a grand queſtion was ſtarted in the houſe of commons, between two great parliamentary leaders, the right honourable William Pitt, and the right honourable Charles James Fox, concerning the right of ſupplying the deficiency of the royal authority, during the incapacity of his majeſty, confirmed by the unanimous opinion of his phyſicians, on their examination by the ſelect committee appointed for that purpoſe. Mr. Pitt, after adverting to the melancholy circumſtance ſo generally lamented, moved, that a committee be appointed to ſearch for precedents of proceeding, in caſe of the interruption or ſuſpenſion of the executive government from the infancy, ſickneſs, infirmity, or other incapacity of the ſovereign. Mr. Fox combated the neceſſity of appointing this committee, and aſſerted, that the heir-apparent, if of full age and capacity, had as natural and indiſputable a claim to the full exerciſe of the executive power, during the continuance of the incapacity of the ſovereign, as in caſe of his natural demiſe, and thence inferred that all further delay was improper. Mr. Pitt declared, that the aſſertion of his opponent, reſpecting the claim of the heir apparent, was little leſs than treaſon, and averred on the contrary, that in caſe of ſuch incapacity, he had no more right to the exerciſe of the executive power than any other ſubject; and that it belonged to the two remaining branches of the legiſlature alone in behalf of the people, to make ſuch proviſions for ſupplying the temporary deficiency, as they might think moſt proper to preſerve unimpaired the intereſt of the ſovereign and the ſafety and welfare of the nation. After ſome further altercation, in which Mr. Burke took a part, Mr. Pitt's motion was put and carried, and a committee was accordingly appointed.

On the 16th, the houſe of commons, in conſequence of a motion carried on the 12th, having reſolved itſelf into a committee of the whole houſe, to conſider the ſtate of the nation the chancellor of the Exchequer, after a long introductory ſpeech, which diſplayed great ability, proceeded to move the three following reſolutions:

I. " Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that his majeſty is prevented, by his preſent indiſpoſition, from coming to his parliament, and from attending to public buſineſs; and that the public exerciſe of the royal authority is thereby for the preſent interrupted.

II. " That it is the right and duty of the lords ſpiritual, and temporal, and commons, of Great Britain, now aſſembled; and lawfully, fully, and freely repreſenting all the eſtates of the people of Great Britain; to provide the means of ſupplying the defect of the perſonal exerciſe of the royal authority, ariſing from his majeſty's ſaid indiſpoſition, in ſuch manner, as the exigence of the caſe may ſeem to require.

III. " That for this purpoſe, and for maintaining entire the conſtitutional authority of the king, it is neceſſary that the ſaid lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons, of Great Britain, ſhould determine on the means, whereby the royal aſſent may be given in parliament, to ſuch bills as may be paſſed by the two houſes of parliament, reſpecting the exerciſe of the powers and authorities of the crown, in the name, and on the behalf of the king, during the continuance of his majeſty's preſent indiſpoſition."

The firſt reſolution was carried unanimouſly; and ſome amendments being propoſed to be made to the ſecond and third, the three reſolutions were communicated to the lords, for their concurrence.

On the 29th the lords took the three reſolutions of the commons into conſideration, when the firſt paſſed *nem. diſſ.* To the ſecond lord Rawdon moved, by way of amendment, " That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, to take upon him the adminiſtration of the civil and military government of the kingdom, during the continuance of his majeſty's preſent indiſpoſition, and no longer. This produced a long debate, which terminated in a diviſion, contents, 66, non-contents, 99. Majority againſt the amendment, 33. The reſolutions were then agreed to, and the houſe adjourned. A proteſt, however, was entered by 48 peers againſt the reſolutions.

A. D. 1789. On the 2d of January, the clerk of the houſe of commons announced the death of the late ſpeaker, the Rt. Hon. Wolfran Cornwall, and being directed to adjourn to the 5th, the election of a ſpeaker came on that day, when the Rt. Hon. William Wyndham Grenville was propoſed by the friends of adminiſtration, and Sir Gilbert Elliot, Bart. by the oppoſition. The former was choſen by a majority of ſeventy-one; after this, a meſſage was received from the lords, deſiring a conference, which being acceded to, the commons were informed, that their lordſhips had agreed to the three reſolutions already ſtated, without any alteration.

On the 6th a re-examination of the king's phyſicians was propoſed and carried, on a motion made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, reſtricting it to a ſelect committee of the houſe, in oppoſition to Mr. Sheridan's amendment, that they be re-examined at the bar of the houſe. This re-examination took up ſo many days, that the report of the ſelect committee could not be brought up till the 13th; and on the 16th the chancellor of the exchequer, after various arguments for the different reſolutions he had to propoſe, proceeded to ſtate them in the following form:

I. " That it is the opinion of this committee, that for the purpoſe of providing for the exerciſe of the king's royal authority during the continuance of his majeſty's illneſs, in ſuch manner, and to ſuch extent, as the preſent circumſtances of the urgent concerns of the nation appear to require; it is expedient that his royal highneſs the prince of Wales, being reſident within the realm, ſhall be empowered to exerciſe and adminiſter the royal authority according to the laws and conſtitution of Great Britain, in the name, and on the behalf of his majeſty, under the ſtyle and title of REGENT of the kingdom, and to uſe, execute, and perform, in the name, and on the behalf of his majeſty, all authorities, prerogatives, acts of government, and adminiſtration of the ſame, which belong to the king of this realm to uſe, execute, and perform, according to the law thereof, ſubject to ſuch limitations and exceptions as ſhall be provided.

II. " That the prince regent ſhould not confer peerages but on perſons of the royal iſſue, and thoſe of full age.

III. " That he ſhould not grant offices, penſions, nor ſalaries for life, or in reverſion.

IV. " That the real and perſonal property of his majeſty ſhould be ſecured, and not be conſidered as appertaining to, or under the controul of the prince regent.

V. " That it is the opinion of this committee, that the care and cuſtody of the king's perſon ſhould be committed to the queen's moſt excellent Majeſty; that her majeſty ſhall have power to remove and appoint, from time to time, all perſons belonging to the different departments of his majeſty's houſhold during the continuance of his majeſty's illneſs, and no longer; and that for the better enabling her majeſty to perform this duty, it is expedient that a council ſhall be appointed to adviſe with her majeſty, on all matters relative to the ſaid truſt, who ſhall alſo be impowered to examine upon oath, at ſuch times as they ſhall think fit, the phyſicians who have attended, or may in future attend his majeſty, touching the ſtate of his majeſty's health."

All the reſolutions were at length agreed to, but not without great altercation, before either of them was carried; and before the lords could communicate their concurrence to the commons, a proteſt, by upwards of fifty peers, was entered on their journals.

However, on the 23d, the lords took into conſideration the report from the committee, appointed to conſider the reſolutions of the commons, delivered at the late conference; and the report being read by the clerk, it was moved, to agree with the committee in the ſame, which (upon the queſtion) was ordered accordingly.

On the 27th Mr. Pitt moved, in the lower houſe, that the purport of the ſaid reſolutions ſhould be communicated to her Majeſty, and his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, which was agreed to, and the motions ordered to be communicated to the lords, whoſe concurrence being alſo communicated to the commons, on the 30th the joint committee waited on the Prince of Wales, with the reſolutions of both houſes of parliament, to which his royal highneſs replied in terms that did honour to his humanity, liberality, and patriotiſm. The ſame day the committee waited on the queen, and received from her Majeſty an anſwer, expreſſive of the ſatisfaction and pleaſure ſhe derived from the meaſures they had adopted in the preſent ſituation of affairs.

On the 31ſt the anſwers of the two royal perſonages being reported to the lords, lord Camden roſe, and after ſtating a variety of reaſons for having recourſe to the great ſeal, in the preſent incomplete ſtate of the legiſlature, he ſaid, that two reſolutions would be found neceſſary to be adopted. The firſt was, to eſtabliſh a commiſſion to open and hold the parliament in due form; the ſecond would follow up the firſt at a convenient time, for the purpoſe of impowering the royal aſſent to be given, in his majeſty's name, to the bill of regency, by the ſame, or by another commiſſion. His lordſhip concluded by moving, "That it is expedient and neceſſary, letters patent, under the great ſeal of Great Britain, be impowered to be iſſued by the authority of the two houſes of parliament, in the tenor and form following:" Here followed an exact tranſcript of the writ uſually iſſued under the ſign manual, impowering certain commiſſioners to open and hold the king's parliaments at Weſtminſter. The commiſſioners nominated by the preſent letters patent were, the prince of Wales, the duke of York, the dukes of Cumberland and Glouceſter, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, the lords preſident and privy ſeal, the two ſecretaries of ſtate, lord Chatham, lord Weymouth, and ſome other of the officers of ſtate. But at the deſire of the prince of Wales, and the dukes of York, Cumberland, and Glouceſter, their names were omitted in the commiſſion.

On the 3d of February the parliament being opened, the two houſes were deemed competent to all their cuſtomary functions; and, accordingly, in the houſe of commons, the uſual ſtanding orders, at the commencement of a ſeſſion, were now read for the firſt time, and agreed to; and the chancellor of the exchequer moved for leave to bring in a bill, "to provide for the care of his majeſty's royal perſon, and for the adminiſtration of the royal authority during his majeſty's illneſs;" which was accordingly ordered to be prepared and brought in.

The conſideration of the regency bill was reſumed from time to time, in both houſes of parliament, till the 10th of March, when the lords commiſſioners ſent a meſſage to the commons, to deſire their attendance in the houſe of peers, and announced to them, by his majeſty's command, his happy recovery from his late indiſpoſition, and conſequent capacity for attending to the public affairs of his kingdom, together with his warmeſt acknowledgments for their late proofs of attachment to his perſon and government; to which were added ſome informations of a political nature. On the occaſion, London, Weſtminſter, and the country round for ſeveral miles, were ſuperbly illuminated, and univerſal joy was manifeſted by all ranks of people. The regency bill was conſequently ſet aſide by the lords as uſeleſs.

Mr. Fox, on the 2d of April, made a motion for the repeal of the ſhop-tax. He ſpoke upon this, as upon every other occaſion, with the utmoſt energy; ſubſtantiated his arguments, by referring to matters of fact, and upon the whole, evinced its partiality, and conſequent oppreſſion. The chancellor of the exchequer, after ſome previous remarks, evidently of a popular tendency, declared he ſhould not oppoſe the repeal, but on the contrary give it his ſupport. The queſtion being put, it was carried unanimouſly; and the repeal took place on the 19th of May following.

On the 8th the earl of Saliſbury, lord chamberlain, ſignified to the houſe his majeſty's appointment of the obſervation of the 23d as a day of public thankſgiving to Almighty God for the removal from his majeſty the late illneſs with which he had been afflicted, and his majeſty's intention, for the greater ſolemnity of that day, of going to St. Paul's cathedral, to return thanks to Almighty God for the great mercy that had been extended to him. Accordingly on the day appointed, their majeſties, attended by the whole royal family, the houſes of lords and commons, and a moſt ſuperb retinue, went to St. Paul's in ſtate, amidſt the joyful acclamations of the populace, who demonſtrated their loyalty and affection by every poſſible token, and particularly on the following evening, by the moſt univerſal and ſplendid illuminations ever known.

On the 12th of May Mr. Wilberforce, for the firſt time, brought to diſcuſſion the important ſubject of the ſlave trade.

On the 9th of June, his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, the firſt time ſince his happy recovery, in order to ſignify to the commons, at the bar of that houſe, his royal approbation of Henry Addington, Eſq. to be their ſpeaker, who had been elected in the room of Mr. Grenville, appointed a ſecretary of ſtate: and on the 23d, a petition was preſented from the city of London, complaining of a propoſed plan of ſubjecting tobacco to the laws of exciſe, and praying to be heard by counſel againſt the proviſions contained in the bill brought into the houſe, reſpecting tobacco. The petition was read, and the prayer of it granted.

Both houſes of parliament were prorogued by commiſſion, on the 11th of Auguſt, after a ſpeech from the lord chancellor, purporting the acquieſcence and approbation of his majeſty with reſpect to the general proceedings during the courſe of the ſeſſion.

A. D. 1790.

On the 21ſt of January his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and opened the ſeſſions with a ſpeech, in which he expreſſed his concern for the continuance of the war on the continent, and the events of which it had been productive.

On the 5th of February Sir John Miller moved, that the clerks of the different cities and market towns of Great Britain, do tranſmit a copy of their ſtandards of weights and meaſures to the clerk of the houſe of commons, with ſpecifications of ſuch articles as are ſold by weight and meaſure. This was agreed to.

February the 9th the diſcuſſion of the ordnance eſtimates came on, when Mr. Pulteney ſtated a variety of objections to the greatneſs of the peace eſtabliſhment. In reply to what he urged on this head, Mr. Grenville obſerved, that œconomy was not to be promoted by keeping up leſs eſtabliſhments than were wiſe and neceſſary; it would be a moſt miſerable œconomy, indeed, that lowered the eſtabliſhment to ſuch a degree, as ſhould hold out a temptation to an attack, by which the country might be brought into ſuch a ſituation, that in the ſhort ſpace of one month might be ſwept away the ſavings of twenty years.

Mr. Burke ſaid, he was an enemy to all abſolute power, whether in the monarch, in an ariſtocracy, or in a democracy; he revered our well-poiſed and well-mingled conſtitution, and deprecated the ſpeculations of the French: they had proved themſelves fine architects; they had deſtroyed in two months what ages would not reſtore; in that ſhort time they had madly pulled down their monarchy, their church, their laws, their army, their commerce, their conſtitution. They had a deſperate democracy, formed of deſperate men—They had an army without a head—without diſcipline—their generals with halters round their necks—their aſſembly forced to ſubmit to the dictates of the army, and the whole empire in one general ſcene of anarchy and confuſion.

Mr. Sheridan roſe, and in the ſtrongeſt terms reprobated the ſpeech of the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Burke); he condemned his alluſions to France as ſtrictly contrary to the ſentiments that ought to be held by an Engliſhman. The right hon. gentleman had that day proved himſelf to be a ſupporter of deſpotiſm, and a libeller of men exerting themſelves in the cauſe of freedom. He conſidered the French revolution as a glorious ſtruggle, and wiſhed them every ſucceſs.

The chancellor of the exchequer highly complimented the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Burke) for the true principles he had laid down of our happy conſtitution; the ground of which he pledged himſelf, with that gentleman, to exert himſelf to maintain ſacred and inviolate, and to reſiſt all attempts to injure, under what maſk ſoever they might be made. However he had diſagreed with the right hon. gentleman on former points, he felt for the principles he had that day advanced, the utmoſt gratitude and reverence, and declared that to the lateſt poſterity the country ought gratefully to revere his name. The reſolutions were then read a ſecond time, and agreed to.

On the 2d of March, the important conſideration of a repeal of the Corporation and Teſt Acts came on in the houſe of commons, upon the motion of Mr. Fox, who in a ſpeech of conſiderable length expatiated on the hardſhips the Diſſenters were ſubject to, from the reſtrictions impoſed on them by thoſe acts: he alſo contraſted the different principles of perſecution and toleration; ſpoke highly in favour of the loyal and peaceable diſpoſition of that reſpectable body of people; and, towards the concluſion of his ſpeech, entered ſhortly on the origin of the Corporation and Teſt Acts, which were paſſed immediately after the heat of the civil wars; the Corporation, to prevent the admiſſion of ſuch Diſſenters who were conſidered to be anti-monarchical; and the Teſt againſt the Roman catholics.

The chancellor of the exchequer expreſſed his ſtrong oppoſition to the motion now ſubmitted to the houſe: he confeſſed his approbation of the right honourable gentleman's arguments againſt perſecution, and for toleration, but could not admit the definition of that word as given by the right honourable gentleman.

Mr. Beaufoy ſupported the motion: he contended, that the Diſſenters were treated with unparalleled injuſtice, and that as they had ever proved themſelves to be good citizens, they ought to participate in every privilege, enjoyed by their fellow citizens.

Mr. Martin ſpoke in favour of the repeal; but, in compliance with the inſtructions of his conſtituents, gave his vote contrary to his own opinion.

Mr. Powis argued forcibly againſt the repeal, and hoped he might never live to ſee thoſe acts deſtroyed, for, whenever they were, it would be productive of anarchy and perſecution.

Mr. Burke made a long ſpeech, declarative of his ſentiments againſt the repeal. He perfectly coincided with the arguments of the chancellor of the exchequer, and obſerved, that the turn of affairs in France proved the danger of any ſort of innovation or alteration in the laws of the land; the Teſt Act had been impoſed for the wiſeſt purpoſes, and its good effects were now experienced.

Mr. Fox at length cloſed the debate with a review of all that had been ſaid on it. He confeſſed the candour and ability which Mr. Pitt had obſerved in his reply, and explained a few remarks in which he had miſconceived him. He ſaid, he was ſorry again to differ from his friend Mr. Burke, on ſuch a great conſtitutional queſtion; for he had imbibed from his converſation and talents almoſt all the information of which he was maſter.——At three o'clock the houſe divided, Ayes 105, Noes 294—Majority 189 againſt the repeal.

On the 16th of April, Mr. Burke preſented a petition from Briſtol againſt the tobacco bill; and on the motion of Mr. Sheridan, the houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee to conſider of the ſeveral petitions that had been preſented againſt that bill, which, he ſaid, conſiſted of two parts, the expert trade, and the home manufacturers.

Mr. Pitt defended the principle of the bill; and concluded a very difficult and intricate ſpeech with an obſervation tending to convince the committee of the ſmall danger there was that the traders ſhould be driven out of the country in conſequence of the act, as it was his opinion, that the increaſe of the revenue was the greateſt proof of their proſperity.

From the obſervations which had fallen, Mr. Sheridan begged leave to withdraw his former motion, and to move for a total repeal of the Tobacco Exciſe Act. And at a quarter before three the houſe divided; when the numbers were, for the repeal, 147; againſt it, 191; majority, 44.

April 19, in a committee of ways and means, Mr. Pitt informed the houſe, that he hoped to lay before them a ſimple and intelligible ſtatement of the finances of the country, ſuch as he truſted would preclude the poſſibility of much doubt or diſpute upon the ſubject, and give univerſal ſatisfaction. According to which, among other calculations, the average revenue of the laſt three years, ending on the 9th of January, 1790, amounted to £13,123,000

Land and malt - -	2,750,000
	15,873,000

The average of the laſt three years, ending on the 5th of April, exceeded this ſum, and amounted to

	£13,246,000
Land and malt - -	2,750,000
This he ſaid was the ſtate of the annual revenue - -	15,996,000

Since the year 1785, they had paid with the loan of one million, by the help of extraordinary aids, various extraordinary expences for putting the navy on its proper eſtabliſhment. They had ſatisfied extraordinaries of the army and ordnance; they had paid large ſums to the American loyaliſts, as alſo the debts of his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales. They had paid, ſince the year 1785, above ſix millions on theſe accounts. With reſpect to the national debt, he ſaid 5,184,000l. of 3 per cent. annuities had actually been taken from the burdens of the people.

The ſeveral reſolutions having paſſed the committee, were ordered to be received on the 20th.

May 9. A meſſage was brought from his majeſty, relative to the veſſels captured at Nootka Sound; which on the following day was taken into conſideration, and an addreſs thereupon agreed to.

May 10. Leave was given to bring in a bill for altering the ſentence for burning women attainted and convicted of certain crimes, and ſubſtituting other puniſhments in lieu thereof.

June the 8th, the bill for prohibiting the exportation, and encouraging the importation of corn, till the 28th day of February 1791, was read the third time, and paſſed.

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June the 10th, his majeſty, by a ſpeech from the throne, put an end to the ſeſſion, which completed the ſixteenth parliament of Great-Britain.

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